

Thomson Leigh Hunt, 10 Wellington Street, Strand.

# 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, DECEMBER 4, 1852.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

## News of the Week.

AS the preliminary session advances, the position of both divisions in Parliament becomes less and less creditable, and discreet men are only wishing that their own party were out of the scrape. The position of Ministers, who have become Free Traders *not* upon conviction, is complicated by the singularly infelicitous position which Lord Derby has assumed. Invited by Lord Clarendon to report in the House of Lords the resolution affirmed in the House of Commons, the Premier hesitates, and then proposes a resolution, not candidly accepting Free-trade, but sullenly "adhering" to it in the dislike to "frequent change!" The acquiescence of Ministers in the House of Commons has therefore so little good faith in it, that the head of the Ministry undisguisedly draws back. Sir Robert Peel was reviled for his conversion in practice to an opinion which he had long entertained in theory, and had never precluded himself from adopting: within the short period since his death, the party that reviled him has professed Protection, has disavowed it, has accepted Free Trade, and now retracts from Free Trade as much as it is officially safe to retract.

In like manner the party that used to oppose Reform is now gaining what credit it can for reforms in various directions, especially in the law. Lord Chancellor St. Leonard's in England is followed up by Attorney-General Napier in Ireland. Ministers have pledged themselves, through Mr. Walpole, to bring in a measure for settling the question of Ministers' money in Ireland. In Ireland Lord Derby, taught by Lord Eglinton, promises *not* to interfere with the system of national education; a negative promise which is a great political fact, since it annuls the main Tory opposition to that system. And Attorney-General Thesiger, *not* the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is to amend the Stamp-tax on newspapers. Will his measure be to the satisfaction of the Anti-Knowledge-Tax Association, which assembled in such force at Exeter Hall on Wednesday?

But while the quondam Tories sitting on the Reform Treasury bench are thus serving their apprenticeship to an advanced Liberalism, one of their colleagues is accused of illustrating, in his own person, the most obstinate adherence to the oldest and worst abuses of Parliamentary corruption—a systematic suborning of electors. Sir Alexander

Cockburn has established so strong a *prima facie* case against Major Beresford that Government could not resist the motion for enquiry; and a select committee has been appointed to examine into a charge against a member of the Government of grossly violating the law!

The proclamation of the Empire in France, and the extensive addition to our own defences, are simultaneous, if they are not connected events. The accession of Louis Napoleon, by "the logic of the people," as he calls it, and under the title of "Napoleon the Third," has been expected; but foreign powers seem surprisingly to have supposed that something would happen to prevent it, or that Louis Napoleon would desist from his pretensions. To a man of his mind, and in his position, there can be no reason for desisting: it is evident that he dreamed of such exaltations when he was an exile, haunting Leicester-square; he has braved denunciation, ridicule, obstruction, danger, bloodshed; in spite of apparent impossibilities he has succeeded; and the prospect of subjugating Europe, surveyed from the bee-spangled throne of the French Empire, would not be so mad a project as the ascent of that throne, surveyed from the dungeon of Ham, or the isolation of Gore House. He had announced, in his message of November the 4th, that the establishment of the Empire would restore that which was destroyed in 1815; that is, would reverse the decrees which the European powers made at that date. By assuming the title of "Napoleon the Third," he claims a continuity of succession from the first Napoleon, ignoring the decisions to the contrary. The *Times* announces that the Allied Powers are unanimous in refusing to recognize that dynastic pretension; and as the proclamation of the Empire will *ipso facto* cancel the credentials of the foreign representatives in Paris—credentials addressed to the President of the French Republic—an opportunity will be at once afforded for joining issue upon that point. Europe permits the Empire, but forbids the succession: but Louis Napoleon has already assumed the succession, and warned Europe against assailing him; and the *Constitutionnel* announces that England must henceforth share the supremacy of the seas with France. According to the appearances of the day, therefore, Europe is resolute to deny that which Louis Napoleon is prepared to take—prepared to take and hold with a strong hand. And Louis Napoleon has never yet made a move till he was ready.

The defensive preparations on our own side of

the channel indicate a suddenly stimulated sense of necessity. Eight new screw line-of-battle ships are to be prepared with earliest despatch; 5000 men are to be added to the Navy, with 1500 marines. The artillery force is to be increased by 2000 men, and 1000 horses; and 200 guns are to be constructed without delay. Fortifications on the coast are to be hastened. It will be observed that nothing is said about an increase to the Army; but as several regiments are under orders for foreign stations, and as we have already stated our belief that in some cases the so-called relief of regiments will prove to be a reinforcement of the particular stations, it is evident that a serious addition will be requisite for the Infantry and Cavalry, not only to keep them in due proportion with other arms, but to make good actual deficiencies at home. The announcements have appeared by instalments, as if to bring them before the public mind by degrees; and we may expect that the largest announcement will come last.

It is already confessed that the estimates for the steam marine will be "enormous;" but the addition of men to Navy, Marines, Ordnance, and Army, means a grand addition to the estimates, besides fortifications. In short, gradually as it may be confessed, we are at the beginning of a war expenditure.

It is satisfactory to note that the militia, which constitutes an experimental commencement of a national auxiliary force, have thus far proved very good in the selection and behaviour of the men. In most of the counties the drill has either been accomplished, or is now proceeding; and the men make satisfactory progress, for their modicum of training. The strictures passed upon their equipment and drill, by a Prussian officer, do not in any degree derogate from the essential character of the force, but the reverse; and the faults which he points out can easily be remedied in the sequel, when the proper departments shall set about the work more in earnest.

At the same time, the resources of the country continue to expand in all directions. The reports of trade are excellent, although the season is one generally of relaxation. In some cases the expansion of business is remarkable. In Bradford, for example, notwithstanding the difficulties occasioned by the dearth of wool, trade continues to be brisk. And in Nottingham, which may be considered usually at a low point in the scale of prosperity, the business of the past week is pronounced to have been better than it has ever been

since the trade commenced. The instalments of gold, which continue to arrive in England, and also in New York, materially contribute to support prices, by a species of incessant dram-supply, and there is every prospect that this cause of commercial activity will continue. In this respect our own country offers a remarkable contrast to the present state of France. The commercial men of that country are at present undergoing a mania not unlike our railway mania, the object being with them, railways and joint-stock enterprises in general. Government has helped to stimulate this by its own projects of employment. But already some of the undertakings are bankrupt, and an unsound paroxysm of enterprise is likely to come to an end so soon as to embarrass the new Empire very seriously in its treasury.

The intelligence from India is mystifying. After much delay General Godwin has advanced up the Rangoon, and has captured Prome in due form; but there he stops. It is related of George the Fourth, that he could prolong the swallowing of a glass of wine to an extraordinary length of enjoyment. General Godwin seems to be protracting his conquest with the same epicurean fond delay. Annexation is already anticipated, but the veteran is making the most of the preliminary war.

The Duchess of Sutherland and certain ladies collected round her by friendship, or by the pleasure of joining a party in Stafford House, came forward to speak as "the women of England," and to preach to "the women of America" in the sense of Mrs. Beecher Stowe's book. The step is taken at the instigation of Lord Shaftesbury, but is generally regarded as a mistake. The ladies will probably go home. In the feminine world, the most notable event is a loss—Ada Byron has followed Miss Berry, and the only child of the poet is gone.

### THE PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

#### THE BRIBERY CHARGES AGAINST MAJOR BERESFORD.

THE long looked-for statement respecting the Derby election, and the alleged share of Major Beresford in that disgraceful transaction, was made on Monday night. The case was in the hands of Sir Alexander Cockburn, who stated it with great fulness and distinctness, in calling upon the House to take the petition from Derby into consideration.

The petitioners alleged that at the late election for Derby, systematic bribery was resorted to for the purpose of procuring the return of one of the candidates; and they further allege that the Right Honourable William Beresford, a Major in the army, a Privy Councillor, the Secretary at War, now a member of this House, was a party to that bribery, and himself procured the agent by whom that bribery was carried into effect; and they prayed the House to institute a full and searching inquiry into the matter of this petition; and they were the more earnest in that prayer because the right honourable gentleman accused was a member of her Majesty's Government. If these parties had been guilty of a foul conspiracy to injure the character of the right honourable gentleman, and if they wished to support it by falsehood and conspiracy, as it had been alleged, an inquiry would establish the fact. These charges and counter charges rendered an inquiry necessary, and compelled him to state what he had been informed were the facts of the case.

The former members for Derby were opposed in July last by Mr. Horsfall, who was connected with the borough by marriage only; his wife being a relative of a family named Cox, who had considerable influence in the borough, one being a solicitor, another a wine merchant, and another the head of a leadworks. Derby was a stronghold of the Liberal party; but it was rumoured the Conservatives intended to carry it by the use of gold in July. And it reached the ears of Mr. Moss, the chairman of the Liberal candidates, that bribery machinery was in motion during the election. How this came about forms a long story.

In Derby there resided an attorney named Flewker, who, after the election of 1847, had almost singlehanded unsent Messrs. Strutt and Gower, on petition. The cost of this was upwards of 600*l.*, and that sum the Tory party had never repaid him. So when the time for another election recurred, Flewker declined to act for Mr. Horsfall, though greatly importuned to do so. At length, a Mr. Radford took him in hand, told him that money would be employed "to do the trick;" that a stranger was already at the County Tavern, and begged him to go and see that all was right. Flewker went and saw Morgan—"Mr. T. Morgan, of Chester"—but he found that Mr. Morgan came from Shrewsbury, not Chester; and that he had in his possession a letter addressed to Mr. Frail of Shrewsbury, the hand-writing of which Flewker knew quite

well, and he exclaimed, "Oh, this is the writing of Major Beresford. I know the writing perfectly well; and see here is W. B., Carlton Club." After this, Flewker saw Radford, and told him all was right; that Morgan was the right sort of man; and that he was to have 100*l.* for the job. The next service Mr. Flewker was asked to perform was to go to Nottingham and secure the services of one Hibbert, who had a gang of men under him there. Flewker went and secured Hibbert; but when there he told a Mr. Cox what was brewing at Derby; and Mr. Cox got an introduction to Mr. Moss, the Liberal chairman, and set out for Derby, whither Flewker had returned. Flewker again saw Radford, and had another interview with Morgan. As there was some fear that the County Tavern would be watched by a house opposite, Radford was shown that Morgan's room had two doors and two staircases—one back and one front. While Flewker was there, the money was brought by a man whom he had seen at Cox's, the wine merchant; and Will or "Spring Rice" brought the lists of voters considered likely to take a bribe. The next day, the polling day, Flewker was again with Morgan; when Morgan told him to go to Radford and tell him to send some more "horsenails." Radford was in bed when he took the message, but a servant brought down word that the horsenails should be sent; and afterwards Radford told Flewker that the horsenails had been sent. Matters were now ripe. Flewker told everything to Cox of Nottingham—no relation to the Derby Coxes—Cox told Mr. Moss; Mr. Moss sent a police serjeant and three men to the County Tavern; by aid of the pass, they entered Morgan's room, and arrested him, his gold, and his voting-lists; and a letter was found on him, addressed to Mr. Frail, of Shrewsbury, written as follows:

"A good and safe man, with judgment and quickness, is wanted immediately at Derby. I suppose that you cannot leave your own place; if not, send some one whom you can trust in your place. Let him go to Derby on receiving this, and find the County Tavern, in the centre of the town. Send his card to Cox, Brothers, and Co., lead works, as coming from Chester. That will be enough. Yours, W. B.—Monday."

Morgan made no secret of the business he had been engaged in. Derby, he said, was a poor place; voters were shabby fellows; two voters in Shrewsbury would cost twice as much as twenty of them. So it was clear that the business of Morgan at Derby was bribery.

Now came the question—how far is Major Beresford to be considered accessory to this bribery? It had been sworn that the hand-writing was his, and he had never denied it; the envelope bore the impress of the seal of the Carlton Club. Morgan, on whose person it was found, had minutely complied with the directions it contained. He had started for Derby within an hour after its arrival at Shrewsbury; he had gone to the County Tavern; he had sent his card to Cox Brothers and Co. This letter could not have been written then without concert among the parties. And why was a safe man sent to Derby—were there no safe men in the town? The fact is, that in bribery cases strangers, because less easily detected, are always called in. Then there was the false address. That could not have been given for any legitimate purpose. Taking all these circumstances, he would put a case:—"Take the case of a man who was apprehended *flagrante delicto* in the perpetration of a crime; and that that man was found to be in possession of a letter directing him to the very place where the crime was committed, directing him what he was to do when he got there, and putting him into communication with persons who were supposed to have an interest in the crime being done, and further directing him to assume a disguise—would not those who committed the criminal for trial naturally put to themselves the question whether the party who wrote the letter was not an accessory to the crime? would it not be their duty to say that such a document, unanswered and unexplained, would be cogent and weighty evidence to prove the complicity of the writer in guilt? Mark; he said, if the letter was unanswered and unexplained. Heaven forbid he should say that this case did not admit of an answer. All he said was that this was a case which demanded inquiry."

At this point he would leave the case, had not Major Beresford declared that the facts brought to light were the result of a base conspiracy, supported by falsehood and perjury. It was said that the letter signed "W. B.," although genuine, was written respecting an election prior to 1852; and if that were so, he agreed that it would be unfair and ungenerous to visit it upon him now. Was this so? He had made inquiry, and found, from the evidence, that it could not have applied to any election prior to 1852. For he had a correspondence in his possession, which had passed between Mr. Flewker and Mr. Beresford, which conclusively proved that Mr. Beresford did not interfere in the election of 1847; and that, until 1848, Mr. Frail was unknown at Shrewsbury. The letters related to the petition got up by Flewker against the return of Strutt and Gower. The first "thought it a good thing to unseat Mr. Strutt for Derby," and promised 100*l.* in aid of that service. The next two were written in February, 1848, one of which were as follows:—

"DEAR SIR,—I have an agent who is skilled in all election matters [laughter], and understands every manner of scheme with regard to petitions [renewed laughter]. He will be in Derby next Monday, and will bring an introduction from me. You may trust him most implicitly, and you will get some very useful hints probably from him respecting your petition."

"Yours truly, "WILLIAM BERESFORD.  
"77, Pall-mall, Feb. 25."

The "agent" here spoken of is "Mr. Frail," as we learn from the next letter written on the same day. So that beyond a doubt Mr. Frail was a total stranger to Derby up to 1848. He now proposed to show the relations that arose between Mr. Frail and the leading agents and partisans of the Conservatives in the borough. The right hon. gentleman writes on the 3rd of March:—

"DEAR SIR,—I have endeavoured to see Mr. Colville, but I find he is in the country hunting, probably near Atherstone. I will speak to him whenever he comes up to town. I have seen Mr. Frail, who gives me a good account of the case that can be made out against the sitting members. I have requested him to give you every assistance in his power, and attend to anything that the Derby party desire to be done. I shall be happy to assist you also when the committee sits. [What this meant he (Sir A. Cockburn) did not altogether know.] The great matter to be looked to is to collect funds, and to keep the case quiet till it is brought before the committee."

"Yours truly,

"WILLIAM BERESFORD.

"77, Pall-mall."

The next letter was from Mr. Frail himself; and it was important, because it showed, having once obtained a footing, upon what terms of intimacy he became with the partisans at Derby. The letter was written from Carlisle [great laughter, and cries of "hear, hear"]. It appeared that there was an election then going on for the ancient city of Carlisle; an election petition was presented against one of the members for that city, which was successful, and there was an election to fill the vacant seat. Mr. Frail, it appeared, was sent down, and if not by the direction, at least with the concurrence of the right honourable gentleman, to lend his assistance in the election for Carlisle; and from thence he wrote the following letter to Mr. Flewker:—

"Carlisle, Saturday.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have only just received your letters this day. I am much engaged with the election; it will be over on Tuesday, and I hope to be in London on Wednesday. I have written to London for you; arrangements must be made for the lodgings of your witnesses, &c. This shall be attended to without delay. If you can get Andrews and Alexander do, if not, Byles."

Messrs. Andrews and Alexander were two very distinguished members of the parliamentary bar. His friend, Mr. Sergeant Byles, was one of the most distinguished members of Westminster-hall; but perhaps he was better known to honourable gentlemen opposite as the author of some profound lucubrations on political economy, generally known by the title of *Fallacies of Free Trade*, [laughter, and Conservative cries of "hear, hear."] But the most significant part of the letter was yet to come. The letter was signed at the bottom, "Frail," but immediately above that signature there was written, "Yours sincerely, Wm. Nixon," and it was dated from the King's Arms Hotel, Carlisle, which showed, he thought, that Mr. Frail had gone under the name of Nixon at Carlisle, when he was attending to electioneering matters there; and there was a postscript, "My best wishes to Mr. Hibbert as Thompson, not Johnson." It was evident from the P.S. that this gentleman also had been undergoing a change in his patronymic, and that Mr. Flewker had written the disguise Johnson instead of Thompson, which Mr. Frail takes this opportunity of correcting. The next letter was from the right honourable gentleman himself:—

"DEAR SIR,—Mr. Frail has been out of town on very important business for four or five days, and that is the reason why you have not heard from him. I do not think that he has got your letter. I think he will be able to get to Derby on Tuesday night or Wednesday morning, but not before. I have sent to speak to a gentleman from Derby, and will give him any direction I can that may be serviceable. I regret that Frail is out of town."

"Yours truly,

"W. BERESFORD.

"Saturday, —, (1848)."

Sir Alexander Cockburn then showed from these facts, that the letter did not apply to the election in 1848, which took place after the unseating of Strutt and Gower. For in 1848, there was nothing doing at Shrewsbury to keep Mr. Frail "in his own place;" and, besides, the election of 1848 took place on Friday and Saturday, and Frail actually appeared at Derby on the Thursday previous, and found nothing to do. But in 1852 there was a contest at Shrewsbury as well as at Derby, and in the same week; Mr. Frail, therefore, was "too much occupied at home to leave his own place." But how could the letter have been forthcoming in 1852, if it had applied to matters in 1848, unless there had been a great, vile, and abominable conspiracy? He was not there to defend Mr. Flewker; if Mr. Flewker had conspired, how many more must have conspired with him to make a conspiracy—Frail, Morgan, Radford, the Coxes, Mr. Moss, and many more. But Frail was faithful to his party—honourable members opposite could vouch for that—Morgan was as devoted to Frail as Frail was devoted to the Conservative party. If there was a conspiracy, how came a letter directed to Frail in the hands of Morgan? There was one little fact which proved that Flewker could not have given the letter to Morgan at Derby. On the back of the letter were some words in pencil, and those words were the names of the stations where Morgan, in coming from Shrewsbury to Derby would have to change carriages; they were, "Stafford, Lichfield, Burton-on-Trent, Derby." Sir Alexander proceeded to accumulate proofs that the letter was written in 1852. Morgan, on his arrival, was instantly taken in hand by the Coxes, by Radford, and all the leading men. When Morgan was arrested, he was defended by two solicitors from Shrewsbury; and when he was bailed out, his bail were two innkeepers from the same town. Upon this statement of facts could they entertain a belief that there had been a conspiracy? If there had been, let the authors be punished; but if the law had been broken by a gentleman high in position, it was necessary, whilst they were punishing poor voters, that that infraction should not be overlooked.

He moved the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the petition with reference to the proceedings of Major Beresford at the election.

On behalf of Major Beresford, Sir JOHN YARDE BULLER assented to the appointment of the Committee. Mr. WORTLEY expressed some fear lest the proceedings might be made a precedent, and seemed to think that



the inquiry ought to have been a matter of course, *inter alia*, before the Election Committee. Mr. WALPOLE and Lord JOHN RUSSELL showed that the House had an inherent right to inquire, quite independently of the ordinary statute law. After some discussion it was ordered, on the motion of Sir CHARLES WOOD, that the Committee should consist of five members, nominated by the General Committee of Elections, and that the parties might appear by themselves, their counsel, or their agents.

On Wednesday the Clerk announced that the committee would consist of the following members:—Mr. Goulburn, Lord Harry Vane, Viscount Barrington, Sir W. Molesworth, and Mr. Dedees.

#### PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

Mr. HUME asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on Thursday, whether it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce any measure for the extension of the franchise, the protection of the voters, and the equalization of the number of electors to the number of representatives? and he elicited the following characteristic reply:—

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that whenever it was the intention of the Government "to introduce any measure for the extension of the franchise, the protection of voters, and the equalization of the number of electors to the number of representatives," they would think it more consistent with their duty to the country to give a formal notice to the House of that intention: they would not think it would be respectful to the country that the intimation of any such intention on their part should be first acquired by the country in answer to an inquiry from a private member of the House, without any more formal notice. (Laughter.)

Mr. M. GIBSON wished to ask the right hon. gentleman whether it was the intention of the Government to submit to Parliament this session the same measure they submitted to the House at the close of the last Parliament for allotting the four seats now vacant to new constituencies? Mr. Gibson received the same treatment.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER considered that that question was part of the great subject of progressive reform, and he would prefer giving a more formal notice of any intention respecting it on the part of the Government than that elicited under the circumstances they had just experienced. (Laughter.)

Sir D. L. EVANS gave notice that if any measures were introduced for supplying the vacant seats, he should bring forward the claims of Chelsea and Kensington to two of those seats. He also obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the rate-paying clauses in the Reform Act.

#### THE CASE OF MR. STEAD.

Viscount GODERICH wished to know whether the Government had received from the Government of Prussia any apology or explanation relative to the recent expulsion of Mr. Francis Stead from Prussia by the police authorities of Berlin.

Lord STANLEY stated that Mr. Stead had, upon being arrested, taken the regular course of proceeding, and had very properly laid his case before Lord Bloomfield, who communicated with the Prussian authorities on the subject, and received from them a formal reply to the effect that inquiry should be made. After some delay, an explanation was given by the Prussian Government. It was stated that the police of Prussia had received information from England that a person of the name of Stead was about to visit Prussia, and that he was implicated in a conspiracy to assassinate the King of Prussia. When Mr. Stead arrived in Berlin, the police were under the impression that he was the person so described, and that was the cause of his arrest and expulsion. The Prussian Government at the same time expressed its regret for what had occurred. He was bound, however, to say that this explanation was not considered satisfactory by her Majesty's Government; and as another case had occurred about the same time, in which a British subject was treated with almost equal harshness, the Government of this country had felt it their duty to remonstrate strongly with the Government of Prussia on the subject. In conclusion, he stated that nothing whatever had passed which could be considered as in the slightest degree affecting the character of Mr. Stead. (Hear, hear.)

In the HOUSE of LORDS, on Monday night, Lord PANMURE, after detailing the circumstances connected with the formation and services of the enrolled pensioners, their location in New Zealand, Australia, Van Diemen's Land, and Canada, successively called the attention of their lordships to the conditions which had been held out to those who went out to Canada, and asked the Government if those conditions had been carried out in the case of 220 pensioners who had settled at Toronto.

The Earl of DERBY expressed his doubts as to the expediency of the system under which these men had been sent out to Toronto. A free passage had been given to the pensioners, and a grant of from two to three acres each promised. It turned out that, of about four hundred acres which were supposed to be available for the purpose, 280 acres were under lease to the corporation of Toronto, and the remaining 120 was all that could be made available for the pensioners. The corporation were anxious to get the 120 acres for a public park, and they offered for that quantity of land 1,000*l.* with which to aid in settling the pensioners. He could say no more than that the subject would receive the earnest attention of the Colonial Office, and every care should be taken that the pensioners received due compensation for whatever privileges they had been disappointed in obtaining.

#### FREE-TRADE.

From present appearances, the struggle all thought terminated last week, will, next week, be renewed in the Lords. On Monday, Lord Clanricarde intended to move resolutions similar to those passed in the Commons. Lord Derby would not object to resolutions "adopting the recently-established policy" for the future, but not calling for a condemnation of the past. He would agree to a resolution like this—"That this House, thankfully acknowledging the general prosperity, and recognising Free-trade as the basis of the financial system of the country, are prepared to accept and adhere to the commercial system recently established, with a view to its being fully maintained and carried into effect." Finally, it was agreed that notice of the moving of the resolutions by Lord Clanricarde should be given on Thursday.

The proceedings on Thursday were soon at an end. Lord CLANRICARDE had conferred with Lord Derby, and finding that they could not agree as to the terms of the resolution to be proposed, Lord Clanricarde had agreed to drop his own form of words and take up those suggested by Lord Derby. His own form was as follows:—

"That this House acknowledges with satisfaction that the cheapness of provisions occasioned by recent legislation has mainly contributed to improve the condition of the country and increase the comforts of the industrious classes; and that unrestricted competition having been adopted, after due deliberation, as the principle of our commercial system, this House is of opinion that it is wise and expedient unreservedly to adhere to that policy."

Lord DERBY was of course grateful for the moderation of his opponent. Discussion was not advisable, especially as to how far cheapness was the result of recent legislation. He proposed the following resolution:—

"That this House thankfully acknowledging the general prosperity, and deeply sensible of the evil attendant on frequent changes in the financial policy of the country, adheres to the commercial system recently established, and would view with regret any renewed attempt to disturb its operation or impede its progress."

Lord Clanricarde might take this, and move it as his own, or he might leave it for Lord Derby to move—just as he pleased.

Then followed this interesting colloquy:—

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE.—I accept the noble Earl's words instead of my own resolution. I would prefer moving the noble Earl's resolution immediately; but, looking to the importance of the subject, I do not think it would be right to deviate from the usual course. I therefore give notice that I will move the resolution on Monday, but I shall not think it necessary to address your lordships, nor do I anticipate that any discussion will arise.

The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH: I wish the noble marquis would reconsider his determination, and move the resolution at once. (Hear, hear.) If he postpones it to Monday there may be a debate; but if he moves it now there will be none at all. (Laughter.) I think both resolutions equally unnecessary, and would rather avoid a useless debate. (Hear, and cries of "Move.")

The Earl of DERBY rose after a pause of some minutes, and said:—I am not sure whether the noble marquis has decisively made up his mind as to whether he will move the resolution now or give notice for Monday. As far as I am concerned, I think there is a great deal of good sense in the observations of the noble earl who spoke last. (Hear, and laughter.)

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE.—I am far from dissenting from the noble earl's last sentence; but I think it is desirable not to depart from the rule observed under ordinary circumstances. I think that on so serious a subject, and one which occupied the attention of the other House for several nights (laughter), it would hardly be in keeping with the dignity of the House to move the resolution without notice. (Hear.) Besides, the proceeding might be drawn into a precedent, and noble lords, founding themselves on it, might move resolutions of great importance without previous notice.

The Earl of DERBY.—As the noble marquis has referred to precedent, I beg to express a hope that the length of the discussion in the other House may not be taken as a precedent by your lordships. ("Hear," and laughter.)

And so the House adjourned.

COUNTY POLLS BILL.—On the order of the day for the committal of the Polling at County Elections Bill, on Wednesday, Lord R. GROSVENOR, in answer to Mr. Buck and Mr. Miles, said that he did not see the necessity of referring the bill to a select committee; and that he intended confining the provisions of the bill to the simple matter of limiting the polling for counties to one day, and providing that the declaration of the poll should take place on the day afterwards. Two amendments were proposed—one by Mr. PACE, that the bill be read this day six months; the other by Mr. BUTT, that it be an instruction to the committee on the bill to shorten the time between the proclamation and the day of election in counties, and the time of the receipt and the election in boroughs. Both amendments were withdrawn after a short conversation, when the bill passed through committee, with some verbal alterations.

BUDDAH'S TOOTH: GRIEVANCES OF CEYLON. Sir ROBERT H. INGLIS asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the connexion between the Queen's Government in Ceylon, and the idolatry of any part of her Majesty's subjects therein, was or was not severed; whether the custody of the Buddhist relic was or was not transferred to those who regard it as sacred; whether any act of the Queen's Government was or was not required to entitle the priest of a Buddhist temple to exercise any function in respect to the property of such Buddhist temple; and lastly, whether it was or was not the intention of her Majesty's Government to transfer to the Buddhist priests all the concerns of their own religion in Ceylon? Sir J. PAKINGTON stated that the treaty made between this country and the King of Candi contained one clause, to the effect that the religion of Buddah professed by the chiefs and inhabitants of the province was declared inviolable, and its rites, ministers, and places of worship should be maintained and protected. Subsequently a proclamation was issued by the Queen's Government, which did not, in his opinion, in the least degree alter the obligations of the treaty to maintain and protect the Buddhists in the exercise of their own religion. It had been contended by persons in the island, and he had heard it elsewhere stated, that the treaty was made with idolaters, and was not, therefore, binding on this country. He could not be a party to any such principle as that. (Cheers.) To acquire territory under a certain treaty, and then to turn round and contend that the treaty having been made with idolaters was not binding, would be unworthy of the Christianity of this country. (Cheers.) In answer to the first question put by the honourable baronet, he felt justified in saying that all connexion really between the Queen's Government and the Buddhist religion had long since been discontinued. Under the conditions of the treaty the governor was bound to maintain the religion of Buddah, to take part in its ceremonies, and to give them the materials with which their rites were performed. This connexion was, however, finally put an end to when Sir Robert Orton was governor of Ceylon. With respect to the custody of Buddah's tooth: in a despatch sent out in 1845 instructions were given that the custody of the relic should be entirely given up by the Queen's Government. When Lord Grey came into office Lord Torrington was directed to give up the custody of Buddah's tooth, and to make no more appointments of Buddhist priests. Soon after the arrival of Lord Torrington the rebellion broke out, and the custody of the "tooth," and the appointment of priests, under the pressure of that rebellion, were resumed. This act excited great discontent among the Christians on the island, and upon his taking office he felt it his duty to endeavour to put an end to the existing state of discontent on the subject. Sir John had accordingly prepared a despatch, which would be sent out by the next mail, containing instructions on the subject, to the governor of Ceylon. He regretted that there did not exist in the Colonial-office that relation of the facts of the case which he would have wished to have found, and without which it was impossible to issue instructions to the local government upon a subject of this complicated nature with that precision and clearness which he would have wished. The nature of these instructions was, that the custody of the "tooth" was to be given up at once, and entirely, to the Buddhists, the governor being directed to provide a safe place of custody for it. He also intended to instruct the governor to give to the Buddhist priests a quantity of land equivalent in value to the 300*l.* per annum which had been, in his opinion, unjustly withdrawn by the previous governor. With respect to the appointment of the priests, he proposed that the governor request the Buddhists to act for themselves in that respect, and if any difficulty existed in the way of their so acting, that the governor should take the matter into his own hands, and provide the means of making the appointment. He would lay the despatch on the table when fully drawn.

COMMON LAW REFORM (IRELAND).—Mr. Whiteside's Bill to reform the Common Law Procedure was read a second time on Monday, after some discussion. The principal remarks on the measure were that it did not go far enough, and that it would extend to Ireland improvements not yet accorded to England. Mr. ROBERT LOWE made an admirable speech, in which he exposed the defects of the measure and some striking inconsistencies—such as the abolition of forms in one section, and a permissible use of them being provided for in another. Then the distinction between law and equity was not abolished. Sir ALEXANDER COCKBURN, Mr. FITZGERALD, and Mr. CROWDER, while praising Mr. Whiteside for bringing the bill in, all pointed out inaccuracies. The House was also addressed by Mr. Collier, Mr. Napier, Mr. Phillimore, Mr. George, and Mr. Butt.

MINISTERS' MONEY (IRELAND).—In the House of Commons on Tuesday, Mr. FAAGAN moved that on Thursday the House would resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the law relative to ministers' money in Ireland, with a view to provide a substitute out of the revenues of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Mr. Walpole said he would not attempt to negative the motion;

but if the honourable member would permit the previous question to pass, it would be his duty to bring forward a measure upon the subject after the recess. Mr. SERGEANT MURPHY, Mr. NAPIER, Mr. HUME, Lord BERNARD, Mr. MACGUIRE, Sir JOHN SHELLEY, Captain JONES, Mr. FORTESCUE, and Mr. MONSELL took part in the subsequent discussion. But the announcement made by Mr. Walpole took away all its interest. Mr. Macguire, who spoke for the first time, made a good speech, moderate in tone, but thoroughgoing in opinion. The House, after he sat down, grew impatient; and, as Mr. Fagan, in spite of intreaties, felt bound to go to a division, the House divided on the "previous question"—namely, "That the question be now put," and there were 140 to 94 against putting the question.

**NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND).**—Lord DERBY stated on Tuesday, in reply to Lord CLARENDON, that Government had no intention of bringing forward any measure on the subject of the present system. He considered that it would be a very great evil to disturb or alter it.

**AMERICAN FISHERIES.**—In answer to a question from Lord WHARNCLIFFE, Lord MALMESBURY said that the negotiations on the subject of the North American Fisheries were not yet concluded, and that he could not, therefore, lay the papers and correspondence on the table of the house. He paid a handsome compliment to the memory of Mr. Webster, whose loss he regretted. He had the most sanguine belief that the difference would be amicably settled.

#### ELECTION MATTERS.

THREE elections have taken place this week, at Abingdon, Oldham, and Durham. The Abingdon proceedings were disorderly. Lord Norreys and Mr. Burr were the candidates. Lord Norreys ranks with the Peelites; Mr. Burr is a Derbyite; and on the hustings he boasted of his exertions to secure the return of Protectionists in three counties—but he was not a Protectionist—oh no! The poll decided the election in favour of Lord Norreys, by a majority of 153 to 129.

At Oldham, Mr. Fox contended with Mr. Heald. Luckily for Mr. Fox, in one sense at least, he was too ill to attend the nomination, which was a scene of disgraceful rioting; admitted on all hands to have been instigated by the supporters of Mr. Heald on the platform. Sir Joshua Walmsley spoke for Mr. Fox; Mr. Heald for himself. The show of hands went for Mr. Heald, as the Derbyites had driven the Foxites off the ground. At the poll, Mr. Fox was the winner by at least 896 to 781. On the polling day, the Riot Act was read, and troops, horse and foot, marched into the town. Mr. Fox's supporters were shamefully ill-used by the other side.

The Durham election was tolerably peaceable. Lord Adolphus Vane, son and candidate of Lord Londonderry, and Mr. Fenwick, were the rivals. Lord Adolphus said that Mr. Fenwick was brought by Mr. Henderson, the "King of Durham," as he thought himself. Mr. Fenwick retorted that he was the people's nominee, but he would be rather the nominee of the "King of Durham" than the Marquis of Londonderry. Mr. Fenwick had the show of hands. At the poll, Lord Adolphus was the victor by 539 to 498.

There has been also an election at Bury St. Edmunds. Mr. Hardcastle and Mr. Oakes were the candidates. At the nomination, on Thursday, the show of hands was in favour of Mr. Oakes. The farmers rode into the town on horseback, and drove the foot people off the ground.

#### LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

##### LETTER XLIX.

Paris, Tuesday evening, November 30, 1852.

THE total result of the election is now pretty well ascertained. Exclusive of some two or three cantons, not yet returned, the number up to this moment has reached 7,863,220. At least such is the story of this morning's *Moniteur*. So the farce is played out! Everywhere, you may imagine, the scrutiny has been falsified. Copious details are current on this subject. In the first place, at Paris they began by striking out 78,000 working men, who were classed as Republicans.

At the vote of November 21, there were only 221,000 electors inscribed; on April 20, 1848, there were in all 342,000; so that besides 78,000 working men struck out, 43,000 of the middle class have been similarly cancelled, probably as "suspected" persons. While these erasures were being made, on the other side of the balance electoral tickets were being officially distributed to the first comer who applied for them, and this without asking for any certificate of residence, or of birth, or, in short, any document establishing the personal identity of the applicant. Any man might have gone to the forty-eight offices where the tickets were distributed, and obtained forty-eight tickets if he wanted them. What is more, they inscribed, under the denomination of *electeurs de passage*, any chance customer who happened to be provided with a passport. In case of difficulty, even a simple declaration was held

sufficient. By these two means the door was kept wide open for an immense system of fraud to pass through. All the Decembrists, regularly enrolled and paid, were able to vote, each man at least *forty-eight times*, under his real name, and at least 200 or 300 times under a supposititious name. In fact, the administrative functionaries had orders to close their eyes to the identity of the electors. This was everywhere the *mot d'ordre* from the Government. All this proceeding is an old trick copied from the *Gree-Napoleon*. That great histrionic impostor used to have voting-registers opened in every commune, at every notary's, at every tax-gatherer's, at the house of every public functionary and officer. You could not go, or send to any of these persons on a matter of business without having then and there to inscribe or get your vote inscribed. If you had already signed the list at the Mairie, you must sign again at the notary's, at the tax-gatherer's, at the juge de paix, at the huissier's, and so on. Every Frenchman voted at least twice. Now it was precisely the total of those superfluous (*superfétés*) votes which formed the figure of three millions obtained by Napoleon for his Consulate. The method of the nephew is, you see, a great improvement on that of the uncle. Instead of voting once, the hired Bonapartist agents have been able to vote a hundred times each at Paris. The figures, indeed, are so bizarre, the results so fabulous, that even at the Corps Legislatif there were among those servile mutes men who could not restrain an exclamation of astonishment. Really the case has some curious aspects. For instance: in the Republican departments—such as the Allier, the Cher, the Nièvre, the Hérault, the Basses Alps, the Drôme, the Saône et Loire, &c.—scarcely a *non* has been found: *en revanche*, more *ouis* have been found than were given on December 20. Some deputies of the Legislative Corps could not help remarking the fact aloud. This will be the only official protest against the said scrutiny. In the departments, moreover, other, lesser means were employed. All the manufacturers drew up a list of their "good" workmen, and a list of their "bad" workmen. The first received electoral tickets, the second received none. This manoeuvre was employed at Paris with the working stonemasons, carpenters, and excavators employed in the reconstruction of the Rue de Rivoli—about 30,000 workmen in all. The contractors were allowed a certain number of electoral tickets, which they distributed at their discretion among such of their workmen as they considered *bien pensans*. The "suspected" workmen received no tickets at all. Besides, the workmen were obliged to vote at the sections of their employers, not at their own. This fact is in evidence. With such a way of proceeding surely nothing can be less surprising than the result of the vote of November 21. Notwithstanding all these measures, however, the Government has been unable wholly to stifle the great voice of public opinion in the large towns. In these, without exception, at Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Nantes, Lille, Rouen, Strasbourg, &c., the united total of noes, and of votes not given, far exceeds the number of ayes. That is the only protest of public opinion which has made itself heard.

The Corps Legislatif met on Friday last to proceed to the general reckoning of the votes. Bonaparte opened the session by a message. He did not give himself the trouble to read it himself; he simply sent it from St. Cloud to his faithful mutes. His words are false and full of duplicity as ever. To reassure the Legislative Corps, he declares, in his message, that "the Government will only change in form." From this we may conclude that in substance (*au fond*) it will still be the same system of oppression, of despotism, of tortuous ways and lying words. *Merci!* He adds that he will "contain himself within the limits of moderation." The massacres of the Boulevard, the nocturnal fusillades, the murders of the Champ de Mars, the transportations to Cayenne and to Lambessa, the proscription and the exile of sixty thousand citizens—he calls that "moderation!" After the reading of the message, the Corps Legislatif proceeded to the *députement* of the votes. No protest having been suffered throughout the 38,000 communes of France, these gentlemen of the Legislative Corps had only to register the results of Messieurs les Préfets. The complete ascertaining of the result will be terminated on the evening of December 1. It is desired that Thursday, December 2, the anniversary of the *coup d'état*, may be signalized by the solemn proclamation of the vote, and, as its consequence, by the equally solemn proclamation of the Emperor. The National Guard is convoked, as well as the regular troops. Bonaparte will set out from St. Cloud in the morning, and proceed to the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile: there he will be received in state by the authorities of Paris; he will then betake himself, by the Champs Elysées, to the Tuileries. The troops of the line and the National

Guard will form a double line, to keep the ground. The proclamation of the Empire will take place in the Salle du Trône, by the three grand corps of the state. Bonaparte will hear the proclamation, sitting on the throne. The Salle has been magnificently decorated for the occasion. The imperial throne, it is said, is of excessive richness; the canopy, the chair, and cushion, and the table, are of velvet tissue, bespangled with golden bees. The day of the 2nd of December will be entirely devoted to rejoicings. All the public monuments will be illuminated. Largesses will be given to the poor. The municipal council (nominated by Bonaparte) has voted 350,000 francs to be employed in charitable works, distributions of bread and clothes, release of pledges from the pawnbrokers, &c. In the evening, the Corps Legislatif gives a grand banquet to Bonaparte. A subscription was got up for the purpose, which was instantly signed by all the members.

On the occasion of the accession there is to be a nomination of Marshals of France, as in the time of the Empire. I need scarcely say, that the Generals bought by gold on the 2nd of December, the St. Arnaud, Magnan, &c., will be promoted to this high dignity. The two legitimist Generals, the Comte de Castellane and the Duc de Montemart (great grand-nephew of the mistress of Louis XIV., the celebrated Montespan), will also be promoted to the rank of Marshals. Bonaparte, *en digne, singe de son oncle*, is anxious to appear to rally the noblesse to his cause, and, like a true *parvenu*, he descends to all sorts of meannesses to be on good terms with the old aristocracy. There will be, at the same time, a batch of new senators.

In pursuance of the same principle, the Marquis de Pastoret, some time agent of Henry V., is to be raised to that dignity. The Imperial household is now complete. After numerous disputes, Bonaparte has settled the question among his confidants, by pronouncing his own decision. He has given all the great offices to the historical noblesse. The Duc de Mortemart, besides his dignity of Marshal of France, is to be Grand Marshal of the Palace; the Duc de Guiche, a grandson of the Choiseul of Louis XV., has been recalled from Germany, where he had a diplomatic mission, to be Master of the Hounds. Lastly, the Duc de Mouchy is to be Grand Chamberlain. The Duchess is remarkably pretty. The Imperial etiquette is to be re-established in all its rigour, in spite of the doubts of many people, and of the precedent of unceremonious simplicity of the court of Louis Philippe. Bonaparte, henceforth, will take all his meals *solus*. None but members of his own family will be admitted to his table. He will no longer be served by simple domestics, but by his high officers in waiting. One must be a nobleman to serve that *malôtru!* Many people hope, however, that the word "subject" will not be revived. It is well to undeceive them. There neither are nor can be any more citizens in France. There remains only a master and his "subjects." That is an immense progress! You know that even in Louis Philippe's reign the word "subject" had disappeared from the official vocabulary. When, in 1832, the Ministers attempted to make use of the expression, a violent protest from the left benches in the Chamber snubbed the presumption, and since that moment it has never been employed.

Now it is to be put in vigour once more, in spite of the principle of the "national sovereignty." Every citizen, in fact, by his quality of member of the sovereign, becomes sovereign himself. Henceforward, Bonaparte will call us his "subjects." Jokes begin to rattle thereupon. "What consoles me," said an ex-deputy, "is that if I am 'subject,' Bonaparte is too. I find that he is *subject*\*—to be hung." The chamberlains, *maitres d'hôtel*, equerries, and pages of Bonaparte, are already nominated. The household of the Empress, too, is in course of active formation; ladies-in-waiting and maids of honour are being recruited in every direction; the wives and daughters of noble families are particularly the object of research. It is only parvenus who have such pretensions as these new lords of ours. The Emperor will not give audience to the first comer; court or full dress, fidgets, sword, and buckles will be *de rigueur*. Poor devils who can't afford to waste 2000 francs (80*l.*) on personal decoration for the sake of an "audience," will be politely shown the door. How many old soldiers, how many old leather-breeches, how many old Bonapartist fools, will be made to look blank!

The Empire will be officially announced on the 2nd of December to all the ambassadors and ministers of foreign courts. From the date of such notice their mission will cease until they have received new credentials from their Governments. This, again, is a tradition of 1804, ridiculously exhumed.

An immense civil list—of twenty-five millions of francs (1,000,000*l.*)—is to be appointed to Bonaparte.

\* Fr. Sujet—s. subject; ad. amenable.



These twenty-five millions will be nett, clear of all charges. Bonaparte, moreover, will have the full enjoyment of all the revenues and appurtenances of the national chateaux and palaces. The Princes of the Imperial Family will receive a dotation of five million of francs. The presumptive heir to the crown will have for his share a dotation of 1,500,000 francs. What will Jacques Bonhomme say to all this money spent? He is capable of rejoicing at it, the idiot, in the hope of catching the crumbs that fall from the table. In addition to the civil list of 25,000,000 of francs, a domain of the Crown will be constituted in favour of Bonaparte. To this effect, the grand forests and chateaux, such as Versailles, Compiègne, Rambouillet, St. Cloud, will be set apart from the domain of the state, and humbly presented to his Majesty!

You must have been struck at the mention of a dotation of 1,500,000 francs to the presumptive heir to the throne. This presumptive heir is definitively decided to be Napoléon Jérôme. The reconciliation of the two cousins is complete. At a grand dinner given lately at St. Cloud, followed by a ball, to which only the intimates were invited, about 350 guests, Napoléon Jérôme was at the right of Bonaparte, and loaded by him with attentions and flatteries. I had predicted, you will remember, that old Jérôme would make his pretended nephew knuckle down, and this has been the case exactly. Old Jérôme has marched out with all the honours of war: he is to have a personal dotation of two millions; his son, as heir, is to have 1,500,000 francs; and lastly, the Palais Royal is to be given to them both for a residence.

All the preparations for the marriage are being actively pushed on. The Princess Wasa is now said to be definitively chosen for the future Empress: she is reported to be a young lady of agreeable and distinguished appearance, gentle and engaging. Be this as it may, I fear she may be destined to play a suffering part in some bloody tragedy, and this makes her an object of pity, before even she can invite affection!

The *Moniteur* and the *Journal des Débats* have been, these last few days, hymning articles of triumph in honour of the fall of the Republic and the return of the Monarchy. "Universal suffrage has killed the Republic," exclaims the *Moniteur*, and calls that an act of good sense on the part of the French people.

On the occasion of the accession of Bonaparte an amnesty is talked of. Nothing can be more unlikely. There will be no amnesty in the broad sense of the word. Partial and individual pardons, such as are granted daily, may be accorded to those who offer their submission: he will pardon those who are base enough to crave pardon, but he will not have the magnanimity to accord a true amnesty.

These are the formal conditions of solicitations for pardon, such as they are stated in the Government journal of Limoges:—

1. No notice will be taken of any applications but such as are written, signed, and authentically drawn up by or for the prisoner himself, and containing a formal undertaking to renounce all the engagements of the past, and a promise of peaceable conduct and submission for the future.

2. The signatures must be legalised by a functionary of the administrative order.

3. All demands, whether through the mediation of the Prefect, or through any other channel, must be addressed to the office of the Great Seal, to be examined and judged on the report of the Keeper of the Seals, Minister of Justice.

In the meanwhile, Republicans and Legitimists are the object of unremitting persecutions. Numerous arrests of democrats have taken place this week in Paris and the suburbs. Many thought they had a right to distribute the *Moniteur*, containing those famous Protests. They were arrested without mercy, and up to the present time have not been released. As to the Legitimists, they are rigorously dealt with on account of the Chambord Manifesto. A great number of domiciliary visits are going on in the departments; chateaux are invested by the gendarmerie, and searched one after the other, for the purpose of discovering any copies of the Manifesto of Henry V. Singular contradiction of an infallible Government! It publishes the Manifesto in the *Moniteur*, and wont allow a single copy to be kept in a private house.

All the Legitimist Mayors, Municipal Councillors, and Generals are sending in their resignations *en foule*.

Just now men are being recruited from all parts for the Imperial Guard: the 30,000 men lately discharged from service are arriving in Paris, in detachments commanded by sergeants and quarter-masters; they are all picked men, all *décorés*, all soldiers of the army of Africa. These men are to form the Imperial Guard. That discharge of 30,000 men was only one falsehood the more. Letters from Libourne confirm the fact. "The 13th chasseurs," says a letter from thence, "is

disbanded to a man, but it is going to Paris by detachments, to form a regiment of mounted guides." Be on your guard, then, and remember "the thief in the night."

There has been great perturbation at the Bourse of late. It is said that Rothschild is in dudgeon. Rothschild *boude*! Not warned, it seems, of the fall of November 13, he declared war against Bonaparte, and they have since been "bulling" and "bearing" against each other unmercifully. Hence the continued fall in the Funds. Rothschild, in order to compete with the three banks recently created by Bonaparte, is going to create a private bank, which will discount bills with a single backer. The very knowing ones regard this affair as very serious. For my own part, I cannot help believing that the mouth even of Rothschild would close to the gentle persuasion of a few millions.

S.

[The account given by our correspondent has been fully confirmed by what took place on Thursday. To narrate the proceedings would only be to rewrite what he has written.]

## CONTINENTAL NOTES.

THE Legislative body proceeded on Wednesday to St. Cloud.

They declared the result of their scrutiny:—

Ayes . . . . .	7,824,189
Noes . . . . .	253,145

They saluted the Prince as Emperor, by the title of Napoleon III.

The Emperor then addressed them in a speech remarkable for its truthfulness, as may be judged by the subjoined extracts:—

"Gentlemen,—The new reign which you, this day, inaugurate, derives not its origin—as so many others recorded in history have done—from violence, from conquest, or from fraud. It is, you have just declared it, the legal result of the will of a whole people."

After expressing his gratitude to the nation that three times in four years, and each time by a larger majority, had "sustained him by its suffrages," he modestly adds—

"But the more that power increases in extent and in vital force, the more does it need enlightened men, such as those who every day surround me—*independent men, such as those whom I address*—to guide me by their counsel, to bring back my authority within just limits, if it could ever quit them."

He takes the title of Napoleon III., "because the logic of the people has bestowed it upon me in their acclamations; because the Senate has legally proposed it; and because the whole nation has ratified it."

He recognises all preceding Governments, as an inheritor of their good and evil; but he cannot pass in silence over the glorious reign of the head of his family, "and the regular though ephemeral title of his son, whom the two Chambers proclaimed in the last burst of vanquished patriotism." "The title of Napoleon III. is not a dynastic and superannuated pretension, but a homage to a Government which is legitimate, and to which we owe the brightest pages of our history."

The last two paragraphs are these:—

"Aid me, all of you, to set firm in this land, upset by so many revolutions, a stable Government, which shall have for its bases Religion, Probity, and Love for the suffering classes."

"Receive here my oath, that no sacrifice shall be wanting on my part to insure the prosperity of my country; and that, whilst I maintain peace, I will yield in nothing which may touch the honour or the dignity of France."

The Berlin Committee of Health has made its last report. It states that the cholera has for the present disappeared; no new cases have been announced for many days, and as soon as those under treatment can be discharged, the hospitals will be closed. Since the appearance of the disease there have been in all 235 cases, of which 157, considerably more than half, were fatal; 78 were cured.

In Spain, the Government seems to be preparing for the long-expected *coup d'état* by a razzia on the press. On pretence of an unfaithful report of a meeting of Opposition Deputies, five journals have been suspended, and only the official journal and a Ministerial organ have since appeared.

The Prussian Chambers were opened for the session on Monday by a speech from the President of the Council, in which he touched on the following points:—The budget has been regulated according to the requirements of the State, and according to the economy and regularity which tradition had handed down. Up to the present time, the treaty of September has not obtained the adhesion of all the states of the Zollverein. That is to be regretted, but the Government is convinced that its conduct in this matter will receive the approbation of the Chambers. Propositions will be made to the Chambers as to what concerns the establishment of new communications. The Government will present to them bills on the organization of the communes and circles, and on the subject of the First Chamber. The bill concerning the First Chamber will have for object to relieve the Crown of the trammels which are contrary to the interest of the country. The Government has resolved not to be influenced by any party, and not to interfere in any way with legal liberty, but, on the other hand, it desires that the Royal power shall not be weakened by a division which would be prejudicial to it.

That expensive luxury, the State of Siege, is reported likely to cease before long at Vienna. We thought it had become an "institution" under a truly paternal government.

After four years' endeavours, an English engineer—

Mr. Shepherd—has obtained leave to erect gas-works in Rome. The site allotted by the authorities is the interior of the Circus Maximus!

The number of capital executions in the Papal States during the last month is frightful.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany has expelled all political refugees from his dominions. He is more resolute than ever in his determination to extirpate "heresy," and he glories in the punishment of the Madiari.

The Vienna correspondent of the *Times*, writing November 24th, mentions a report that the King of Sardinia had requested an auxiliary Austrian corps, and that Radetsky was preparing to comply with the request. We only mention this report which remains unconfirmed. As a straw in the wind, it is worth mentioning, however strange.

The obsequies of Abbé Gioberti were celebrated with great pomp, in the church of Corpus Christi, at Turin, on the 22nd inst. The Chamber of Deputies sent a deputation to the funeral without suspending its labours.

Count Cavour is said to intend to restrict the policy of his ministry, for the present at least, to financial reforms.

A Bill has been brought into the Belgian Chamber to convert the Five per Cents. (1840) into 4½ per Cents.

The Sultan, it is reported, has resolved to appease the quarrel between the Greeks and Latins about the dilapidated condition of the cupola of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, by undertaking the repairs himself. The Firman to that effect, read in the Church of the Grave of the Virgin by the Turkish Engineer, caused an angry discussion between the heads of the three Christian Churches; during which, we are told, the Turks "quietly smoked their chiboukes" in solemn contemplation, no doubt, of Christianity "at home." In these Holy Places the Turks are constantly required to separate the Christian combatants by force.

## THE BURMESE WAR.

PROME was captured again on the 9th of October, by a British force under General Godwin, consisting of about 3000 men. The enemy's batteries were soon silenced by the fire of the steamers; and shells scattered the various bodies posted at points available for annoying our landing. After the heat of the day had subsided our troops were landed, and made short work of the only body of Burmese who offered anything like opposition. Our killed amounted to one; and our wounded to eleven. Six miles from Promé there are stockades, defended by 6000 Burmese; but, strange to say, General Godwin had demurred attacking these fellows. The troops are said to be murmuring at these continual delays. They think that three thousand soldiers and five hundred blue jackets would soon settle any differences between themselves and the Burmese about the possession of the said stockades.

Meanwhile, Lord Dalhousie was expected at Promé, and General Godwin had gone thither to meet him on the 15th of October. There seems some doubt about the annexation of Pegu. But the war is now considered as virtually ended; and the fate of Pegu will soon be known.

## ADDRESS FROM THE "LADIES" OF ENGLAND TO THE "LADIES" OF AMERICA AGAINST SLAVERY.

CERTAIN ladies of high rank, conjoined with others who have a position in society somewhat distinct from myriads of their sisters, met at Stafford House on Friday week, to consider the question of slavery in the United States.

The Duchess of Sutherland appeared to be their leader. She read a memorial, which was entitled, "The affectionate and Christian address of many thousands of the women of England to their sisters, the women of the United States of America."

Basing its appeal on "a common origin, a common faith, and a common cause;" and on religious grounds, the address proceeded:—

"We do not shut our eyes to the difficulties—nay, the dangers, that might beset the immediate abolition of that long-established system; we see and admit the necessity of preparation for so great an event; but in speaking of indispensable preliminaries, we cannot be silent on those laws of your country, which, in direct contravention of God's own law, 'instituted in the time of man's innocence,' deny, in effect, to the slave the sanctity of marriage, with all its joys, rights, and obligations, which separates, at the will of the master, the wife from the husband, and the children from the parents."

Nor could they be silent on the "awful system" which interdicts to any race religious education; and a remedy to these two evils would commence the amelioration of the sad condition of the negroes:—

"We do not say these things in a spirit of self-complacency, as though our nation were free from the guilt it perceives in others. We acknowledge, with grief and shame, our heavy share in this great sin. We acknowledge that our forefathers introduced—nay, compelled—the adoption of slavery in those mighty colonies. We humbly confess it before Almighty God; and it is because we so deeply feel, and so unfeignedly avow our own complicity, that we now venture to implore your aid to wipe away our common crime and our common dishonour."

The Duchess thought that an address presented by the women of England would not be suspected of political motives; and besides, the state of things

alluded to was peculiarly distressing to her sex. She proposed to form a general committee and a sub-committee to transact the daily business. The memorial was adopted, and the committees appointed.

The ladies present were, the Duchesses of Sutherland, Bedford, and Argyll; the Countess of Shaftesbury, Lady Constance Grosvenor, Viscountess Palmerston, Lady Dover, Lady Cowley, Lady Ruthven, Lady Bellhaven, Hon. Mrs. Montagu Villiers, Hon. Mrs. Kinaird, the Lady Mayoress, Lady Trevelyan, Lady Parke, Miss Parke, Mrs. Owen, Mrs. Carpenter, Mrs. Buxton, Miss Buxton, Mrs. John Simon, Mrs. Proctor, Mrs. Binney, Mrs. Holland, Mrs. Steane, Mrs. John Bullar, Mrs. D. Grainger, Mrs. Sutherland, Mrs. Mary Howitt, Mrs. Hawes, Mrs. Dicey, Miss Trevelyan, Mrs. Milman, Miss Taylor, Mrs. Macaulay, Mrs. Robson.

The ladies whose names follow signified their concurrence:—The Duchess (Dowager) of Beaufort, Marchioness of Stafford, Countess of Derby, Countess of Carlisle, Lady John Russell, Countess of Litchfield, Countess of Cavan, Viscountess Ebrington, Viscountess Melbourne, Lady Atherton, Lady Blantyre, Lady Dufferin, Lady Easthope, Mrs. Josiah Conder, Hon. Mrs. Cowper, Lady Clark, Lady Buxton, Lady Kaye Shuttleworth, Lady Inglis, Mrs. Malcolm, Mrs. Seeley, Mrs. Lyon Playfair, Mrs. Charles Dickens, Mrs. Murray, Mrs. Charles Knight, Mrs. Marsh, Mrs. Champneys, Mrs. Rowland Hill, Mrs. Alfred Tennyson. [Lady Kaye Shuttleworth denies that she authorized the use of her name. Lord Shaftesbury has published passages in her letter to him, which certainly imply her concurrence in the objects of the meeting.]

Several letters have appeared in the *Times* respecting this meeting. An Englishwoman points out, that it would be better for the ladies of England to prevail on the ladies of America to eradicate that feeling which impels all classes to insult, scorn, and revile all who are tinged with African blood, than to pass addresses against slavery:—

"Slavery is an institution—a detestable one I fully admit; but it must be dealt with as an institution. But colour, race, blood, are not institutions—they are subjects, not for legislation, but for sympathy and antipathy; they fall into the domain of feeling—the domain over which women reign paramount."

The wife of Academicus shows that the protesting ladies wear cotton in all shapes, the produce of slave labour. "R. G. D," says the American ladies will bid our aristocratic agitators "look at home" and ameliorate the condition of the London poor. And Lady Shuttleworth says—"So long as American women can justly taunt the women of England with the neglect, ill-usage, and starvation payment of the lady teachers employed in their families, there is little hope of their listening to our protests on the subject of slavery." It must be understood that all these writers heartily denounce the abomination of slavery.

#### SLAVE LAW IN NEW YORK.

MR. LEMMON was a slave owner in Virginia. Last month, desiring to go to Texas, he set out for New Orleans, *via* New York, going by sea to New York, and expecting to transfer his property and his wife's slaves to a steamer. However, he landed them, and they were claimed as free. The case was brought into court, and on the 13th inst., Judge Payne delivered his decision in the case of eight slaves who claimed their liberty on the ground that they had been taken into New York by their master, by which act they had been made free. The case came to an issue under a writ of *habeas corpus* issued to the respondent, Jonathan Lemmon, who claimed the coloured persons as the slaves of his wife, and demanded that they should be delivered up to her on the ground that she had been their owner for several years past, she being a resident of Virginia, a slaveholding State, and that by the constitution and laws of that State they had been and still were bound to her service as slaves; that she was now, with her said slaves, *in transitu* from Virginia to Texas, another slaveholding State, by the constitution and laws of which she would be entitled to the slaves and to their service; that she never had any intention of bringing them into the State to remain or reside, but was passing through the harbour of New York on her way from Virginia to Texas, when she was compelled by necessity to touch or land, without intending to remain longer than was necessary.

After detailing portions of the evidence, his Honour read the following section of the act under which the case came:—

"Any person, not being an inhabitant of this State, who shall be travelling to or from or passing through this State, may bring with him any person lawfully held by him in slavery, and may take such person with him from this State; but the person so held in slavery shall not reside or continue in this State more than nine months, and if such residence be continued beyond that time, such person shall be free." Such was and had always been the law of this State, down to the year 1841. The Legislature of that

year passed an act amending the *Revised Statutes*, in the following words,—viz.:—"The 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th sections of Title 7, Chapter 20, of the first part of the *Revised Statutes* are hereby repealed." The sixth section of the *Revised Statutes*, and that alone, contained an exception which would have saved the slaves of the respondent from the operation of the 1st section. The Legislature, by repealing that section, and leaving the 1st in full force, have, as regards the rights of these people and of their master, made them absolutely free; and that not merely by the legal effect of the repealing statute, but by the clear and deliberate intention of the Legislature. It is impossible to make this more clear than it is by the mere language and evident objects of the two acts. It was, however, insisted on the argument that the words "imported, introduced, or brought into this State," in the 1st section of the *Revised Statutes*, meant only "introduced or brought" for the purpose of remaining here. So they did undoubtedly when the *Revised Statutes* were passed, for an express exception followed in the 6th section, giving that meaning to the 1st. And when the Legislature afterwards repealed the 6th section, they entirely removed that meaning, leaving the 1st section, and intending to leave it, to mean what its own explicit and unreserved and unqualified language imports. "Not thinking myself called upon to treat this case as a casuist or legislator," continued the judge, "I have endeavoured simply to discharge my duty as a judge, in interpreting and applying the laws as I find them. Did not the law seem to me so clear, I might feel greater regret that I have been obliged to dispose so hastily of a case involving such important consequences. My judgment is, that the eight coloured persons mentioned in the writ be discharged."

The eight persons were then placed in coaches by Louis Napoleon (the coloured man who had demanded their release), and driven off amid great cheering and waving of handkerchiefs from the coloured persons present.

This case is of great importance, as it may probably determine future cases. For instance, Illinois, a free State, is projected southward between portions of Missouri and Kentucky, slave states. A narrow slip of Virginia extends northwardly beyond the back of the State, between Pennsylvania and Ohio. The ordinary line of land travel between Missouri and Kentucky is across Illinois. The ordinary travel between the point of Virginia referred to and Kentucky is by way of the Ohio river, in boats that stop at ports in Ohio. Will the slaves passing over these ordinary routes be held to be free?

#### NATIONAL DEFENCE.

WHATEVER else the Derby Ministry may do they seem disposed to provide for the defence of the nation. Some important announcements have this week been made by the *Times* and the *Herald* on this subject—the former having the priority of information. First there is to be an increase in

#### THE NAVY.

"The public will learn with great satisfaction that the Government has resolved to call upon Parliament to vote the necessary supplies for a considerable addition to the naval forces of the country. It is not, as we have frequently had occasion to remark, in the number of her Majesty's ships of war that our chief deficiency is to be traced, and probably there never was a time of peace at which a more powerful naval armament could be equipped for sea. But the most essential condition of our maritime strength is a body of well-trained seamen to man those vessels, and to contribute to the defence of our coasts. The commission which has been sitting for some time past to consider the best means of manning the navy, has adopted several valuable suggestions from officers whose judgment and experience may be relied on; and we presume that it is in consequence of these recommendations that the Government and the Admiralty have resolved to add about 5000 seamen to the fleet, with a proportionate addition to the Marines. It would be an error to attribute to this measure a greater degree of political importance than it deserves, and although it happens to correspond in point of time with the proclamation of the French Empire, there is probably no direct connexion between the two incidents. But we cannot be ignorant that an extraordinary degree of activity has prevailed for some time past in the dockyards of our most powerful neighbour, and that while some show has been made of a reduction in the French army, the navy of that country has been augmented to an unprecedented extent. To place our own protective forces on at least an equal footing, is, therefore, the first duty of the Ministers of this country, and we are satisfied that the nation will gladly respond to a call which does not exceed what our pacific policy and our territorial security absolutely require."

This appeared in the *Times* on Monday; on Wednesday the *Herald* supplied the figures to the facts of the *Times* announcement:—

"Orders have recently been issued to hasten the preparations for commencing the construction of the batteries in the Isle of Wight, and to expedite the works as much as possible. We understand that it is proposed in the new estimates to add to the present strength of the Royal Marines 1500 men. We stated some time since that the naval forces of England would include ten screw line-of-battle ships. We believe that before this time next year we shall have double this number of two and three deckers propelled by screw machinery afloat. Messrs. Penn and Co., and Messrs. Maudslay and Field, are ordered to construct screw machinery for eight of the line-of-battle ships in course of conversion."

Secondly, we are to have an addition to

#### THE ARTILLERY.

"Yet it is upon the Artillery we must mainly rely for the speedy destruction of an invading force. To repair this defect in our preparations, orders have just been issued for the enlistment of 2000 additional artillerymen, and for the purchase of 1000 horses, which are to be exclusively appropriated to this branch of the service. Nor is this all. Vigorous measures are in progress for the construction of so many carriages and ammunition wagons as may be requisite for 200 field guns. At the present rate of preparation these batteries will be ready for service by the latter end of winter, or early in the spring; but if any greater expedition were necessary, the time of preparation could be very materially shortened. This is a portion of the military preparations which must not be postponed—for guns are not cast, nor carriages constructed, nor horses purchased, nor artillerymen trained, in a day."

The *Times* published this on Tuesday. The offences of the *Herald*, it is clear, have not been unmarked in Downing-street.

#### PRUSSIAN OPINION OF BRITISH MILITIA.

SOME admirable remarks on military matters in England have been supplied by a Prussian officer to the *Journal of the Prussian Army*. His last communication treats of the newly-raised Militia, and his remarks on that body possess considerable interest, as those of a fair observer, critical enough, perhaps, on a force so new, but not prejudiced. We can see by them at least how we appear to others:—

"With this Militia no one seems to know exactly what is to be done. To the English, usually so practical, it is a subject of just astonishment, for a greater contradiction in itself, a more half-and-half force than the Militia, cannot exist. It is evident that the Government wished something more and something different, but must be satisfied with it for the present, since in time something useful will certainly be made out of it. As it stands, no country has anything resembling it. It is not a national guard, for the men are enlisted, and receive bounty and pay, and are under martial law. Neither is it a reserve or landwehr, for in three weeks' exercise soldiers cannot be made; besides, it is only, for the present at least, for home service. What is it, then? I know only of one comparison to it—our old recruits for the landwehr, a phase of our organization we have fortunately outlived. Of the thirty regiments drawn together in the different counties for drill, I have seen two, in Middlesex, and have brought away the conviction that the force will not be left as it is; for that the practical spirit of the people is a guarantee. The especial defect of the institution lies in the officers, for the men are good strong fellows, short, determined in spirit, and yet willing. Only the drill sergeants and the officers who have been taken from the line know what they are about. All the rest it is almost grievous to look at. The officers are full of zeal for the service, but they do not succeed; nor will they till something very different is set on foot."

The remedy for this would be to give commands to retired officers of the army, instead of country gentlemen, or to afford as much encouragement as possible to old officers engaged in other branches of the state service to enter the militia, by securing them against pecuniary loss. There can be no want of such men in England if they were secured a fair position. The Prussian landwehr is wholly officered by men who have served in the line, though but for the short term of a year; we have the materials for a corps of officers of much greater experience; but the Prussian observer has not gone into the question of expense, on which all depends. He thinks the infantry exercise too complicated, and that some of the positions are useless, judging by the Prussian standard, which is, however, a very good one; and praises the forbearance of the commanders, who limit the marching drill to what is absolutely necessary for forming line and changing front; he counts up a whole list of evolutions required in the field which the recruits are wisely spared for the present. He then continues:—

"When I say that in time something very different will be made of this militia, I give not my own opinion only, but that of many experienced English officers. One thing alone is required to effect it—a national excitement of some kind; a distinct threat of an invasion, much more the actual attempt, would do it. What no one (a few officers excepted) will now recognize in the militia, would then be seen; and what is here called into existence is not so easily given up as in other countries; the enthusiasm of the nation would then be fixed."

He mentions many of the different proposals made for the improvement of the militia, and the plans sketched for giving it permanent occupation; he thinks they all prove the existence of a general feeling that the force contains the material of a body that may hereafter do good service. In the equipment he finds nothing to praise:—

"The eye of a Prussian officer cannot accustom itself to the uniforms, which sit on the men like sacks. The idea of cutting them to the shape of the human body has never been entertained. Thousands of coats are made to the pattern and number, and served out by a guess of the eye. The result is ludicrous, and deprives the men of the soldier-like bearing and appearance the drill may have given them; but in the local papers all is satisfaction and eulogy. The citizens of the provincial towns in which the regiments are drawn together admire, above all things, the



good behaviour of the men quartered on them. It appears as if they had expected something very bloodthirsty and savage to occur when they had notice to prepare lodgings for the men. They have been agreeably deceived, and are loud in praise of the militia, the more because the smallest amount of military education is something unusual to an Englishman. The process of drilling is watched with a kind of reverence."

#### REPEAL OF THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

THE annual meeting of the Association established to promote the repeal of these oppressive taxes was held at Exeter Hall on Wednesday. The room was crowded. Mr. Douglas Jerrold officiated effectively as chairman; and by his appropriate and witty speech exposed the injustice of the knowledge taxes, concentrating his force especially on the advertisement duty—

"The advertisement tax was a double tax—it was a tax on industry and a tax on want. Why should the widely-circulating advertising columns of a newspaper be taxed when omnibuses were allowed to circulate the same kind of intelligence duty free? Almost everything was an advertisement. The tradesman's brass doorplate was an advertisement; and it would be as just for the Chancellor of the Exchequer—bending his mind to the consideration of brass—(loud laughter and cheers)—to tax the brass doorplate of a tradesman as the type of the printer. (Cheers.) There would appear to be some justice in such a kind of impost. For instance, the quack, having paid his eighteen-pence duty for advertising his cosmetic, would not feel aggrieved, because he would know that the apothecary paid for his engraved plate and his night-bell eighteen-pence each." (Laughter.)

The other speakers, each in his peculiar way, attacked the grievances in question. Dr. Watts, of Manchester, proposed the first resolution, which Mr. C. Knight seconded. He showed how important books were obstructed in their publication by the taxes; and referring to Caxton, he said—

"The best monument that could be raised to the memory of that great man would be the establishment of a free library in Westminster, with this inscription—"This building was erected by the people of England in memory of Caxton, as a free library, in the year when the taxes on knowledge were altogether abolished." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Cobden went into the whole question, in support of the resolutions.

Here arose confusion and uproar in consequence of the appearance of Mr. Rogers, a friend of Mr. Brontë O'Brien, who desired that the law compelling securities against libel to be forthcoming before publication. Mr. Milner Gibson agreed to the amendment, and it stood ultimately thus—

"That the duties on paper and advertisements, and the penny stamp on newspapers, and the system of demanding security from periodical publications, tend to injure literature, to obstruct education, and to hinder the progress of the people in intelligence and morality."

Mr. Samuel Wilderspin supported the resolution, which, as amended according to the suggestion of Mr. M. Gibson, was carried unanimously.

The other resolutions were as follows:—

"That as the newspaper stamp produces only a trifling sum to the revenue, and as the advertisement duty causes a positive loss to the Exchequer, their retention can be attributed only to a desire to restrain the liberty of the press."

"That the Government having given notice to introduce a bill for the amendment of the law relating to stamps on newspapers, this meeting do appoint its chairman, together with the president and committee of the association, and the undersigned gentlemen, to form a deputation to wait upon the Prime Minister, in order to bring under the notice of the Government the pernicious effects of the newspaper stamp, and press the repeal rather than the amendment of the Newspaper Stamp Act."

The usual vote of thanks to the chair terminated the proceedings.

#### THE "M.P." AFFRAY.

THE division on Friday week took place very late in the night, or rather morning. It rained fast. Groups of members were walking up Cockspur-street; when one said, "I vote we charter the next cab." A cab accordingly was hailed. So far all the accounts of the transaction we are about to narrate briefly are not contested; but here begins a difference in the statement of the parties concerned.

It would appear, from what was stated before Mr. Henry at Bow-street, on Wednesday, that Mr. Butler Johnstone and Mr. Oliveira both hailed the same cab. When it drew up, Lord Drumlanrig and Mr. Johnstone stepped up to it, Lord Drumlanrig got in, and Mr. Johnstone was getting in, when Mr. Oliveira came up, said it was "ungentlemanlike conduct," struck Mr. Johnstone, as he says, "slightly" with his cane, turned round and "continued his course." Mr. Johnstone, feeling himself insulted, ran after Mr. Oliveira, knocked him into the gutter, and Mr. Hastie, member for Glasgow, saw him kick him when he was down. Such is the statement of Mr. Oliveira; who likewise added, that Mr. Johnstone pushed him from the cab before the "taps" were given. But Lord Drumlanrig and Mr. Walter Stirling say, that Mr. Oliveira was not pushed by Mr. Johnstone, and that as the latter was half way into the cab Mr. Oliveira struck him on the back two "hearty stripes," and "ran away" at remarkable speed.

When Mr. Oliveira recovered, he found himself the centre of a group; he heard Mr. Johnstone calling him a blackguard, with a strong qualification prefixed, and he

made a blow at Mr. Johnstone with his cane. Friends and police kept the foes apart; and both went their way.

The case was brought before Mr. Henry, at the suggestion of the Speaker, it would seem. Mr. Henry advised the gentlemen to settle the affair in private; but they would not; and, declining to deal summarily with the case, he sent it to the sessions.

#### AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS IN A POLICE COURT.

"AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS" appeared in a novel situation on Monday. A very portly, red-faced gentleman, described in the police-sheet as *John Wilson*, aged 40, of the Castle and Falcon Tavern, City, shipowner, was brought before Mr. Yardley, at the Thames Police Court, charged with being drunk and incapable of taking care of himself, at half-past eleven o'clock on Sunday night, in Lower Shadwell.

Mr. Yardley: What have you to say to this, Mr. Wilson?—Wilson: Well, I got a glass too much. It was vexation and the depression of the times caused me to do it, sir.

Mr. Yardley: We are all congratulating ourselves that we have very prosperous times. You are a master mariner, I presume, by your appearance. If you get drunk, you will lose your certificate.—Wilson: Your worship, I am not a master mariner. I belong to the agricultural interest.

Mr. Yardley: I see you are described as a shipowner. You plough the ocean.—Wilson: No; I plough the land, and my ship ploughs the ocean.

Mr. Yardley: Then you are making money both on land and sea. The division of Friday night, I suppose, caused you to get drunk.—Wilson: I was vexed with things.

Mr. Yardley: I must fine you 5s.—Wilson: I hope you won't do that; things in Northumberland are very bad.

Mr. Yardley: Oh, you come from Northumberland?—Wilson: Yes, sir. We can't get the interest of the money lent—I can't really.

Mr. Yardley: Besides being a shipowner and landowner, you lend money on mortgage?—Wilson: Well, I do; but I am in very great distress indeed. The agricultural interest is very low, sir.

Mr. Yardley: Is it really the case the agricultural interest is in a state of distress [a laugh]?—Wilson: Well, it is in great distress.

Mr. Yardley: Very well, then; I will fine you 2s. only, on account of the agricultural distress [loud laughter].

John Wilson put his hand in his pocket, and from amongst a quantity of half-sovereigns, halfpence, pieces of tobacco, and grains of wheat, picked out two shillings, paid the fine, and waddled out of the court—a large and unwieldy monument of agricultural distress.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

THE Queen and the Court are still at Windsor, where nothing unusual in the ordinary routine of royal life has happened.

Finding that an old Act of Parliament prohibiting taking money for admission into places of amusement on Sundays, would apply to the New Crystal Palace, Government have been compelled to insert a clause in the charter just granted, providing that the Palace shall not be opened on Sundays, unless specially sanctioned by the Legislature.

Prince Albert has sent a donation of fifty pounds to the promoters of the Marylebone Free Library.

The Duke of Cambridge presided over a grand dinner given at the United Service Club, on Monday, to the foreign officers present at the funeral of the Duke of Wellington. When the health of the Emperor of Russia was drunk, Prince Gortchakoff made a hearty speech in praise of English hospitality and the Duke of Wellington, whose system of warfare, he said, had been adopted and proved by the greatest captains of our day—in Russia by Prince Paskiewicz, in Austria by Radetzky, in England by Lord Hardinge. He wound up by crying, Long live the Queen and Royal Family of England—long live the English army and English navy. "In short, gentlemen," he exclaimed, "glorious old England for ever!"

Lord Eglinton was formally installed as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow on Tuesday.

Baron Humboldt has received the Copley medal of the Royal Society for his eminent services in Terrestrial Physics.

Lord Brougham, previous to his departure for Cannes, on Friday week, was entertained the preceding evening at dinner by Louis Napoleon, at the Royal Palace of St. Cloud.

Dr. Parker of New York has commenced an action for defamation against Mrs. Stowe, the authoress of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

High Mass was said for the repose of the soul of the Earl of Shrewsbury, at the Cathedral of St. George, on Monday. The building was crowded by persons who paid for admission.

Lieutenant-General Wemyss died on Tuesday morning. He had been eleven years clerk-marshal to Prince Albert, and lived in the Great Park at Windsor. He was also colonel of the ninety-third regiment, and equerry in ordinary to the Queen.

Lady Ada Augusta, Countess of Lovelace, and Byron's only daughter, expired after a lingering illness of more than one year's duration, on Saturday. She was born in 1816, at the town residence, 122, Piccadilly, of her illustrious father, like whom she died in the 37th year of her age.

The last Overland Mail announced the death of Admiral Austen, the commander of the naval forces in the Burmese war. He died on the 8th of October, off Prome. He was born in 1779; and entered the service in 1791. He was made Admiral in 1846; and appointed Commander-in-chief in the East Indies in 1860. By the death of Rear-Admiral Austen the following promotions and removals

take place: Captain Sir Thomas Herbert, K.C.B., M.P. (1822), becomes Rear-Admiral of the Blue; Sir Edward Lyons, K.C.H., G.C.B., moving to the white squadron; and Peter John Douglas to the red squadron. Sir George R. Brooke Pechell, Bart. (December 26, 1822), is now the senior captain on the list. Captain George Berkeley Maxwell (1830) succeeds to the senior half-pay list, and Lewis T. Jones, (captain of the *Sampson*) to the second senior list. The promotion of Sir Thomas Herbert gives another good-service pension to the patronage of the Duke of Northumberland; and Sir Thomas having become a Rear-Admiral, a new patent will be necessary, and the Board of Admiralty will now include three flag-officers.

Sir John Guest, one of the largest ironmasters of Wales, and member for Merthyr Tydfil, died on Friday week.

Monday being the 22nd anniversary of the Polish revolution of 1830-31, many Polish refugees resident in London attended a funeral service in memory of those who fell in that national struggle. Mass was said by the Rev. G. Stasiewicz, in the Roman Catholic Chapel, Sutton-street, Soho-square.

An important meeting for promoting emigration in New Zealand, was held on Wednesday at the Colonist's Rooms in the Adelphi. Mrs. Chisholm, Captain Hoscason, Mr. Edward Wakefield, and others were present.

Mr. Henry Cole delivered, on Wednesday, the last of the course of lectures at the Society of Arts, on the "International results of the Great Exhibition."

The second report of the Royal Commissioners of the Great Exhibition of 1851 was issued on Tuesday, by which it appears the commissioners have purchased the Gore House estate, at Kensington, facing Hyde Park, containing 21½ acres, for which they have given 60,000*l.* They have also passed a resolution authorizing the outlay of a sum not exceeding 150,000*l.* of the surplus in the purchase of land, on the condition that Government would engage to recommend to Parliament the contribution of a sum of like amount, towards carrying out the views of the commission as to the establishment of certain institutions of an educational and national character on the ground so purchased. Ministers having given this assurance, the commissioners purchased 48 acres of land adjoining Gore House estate for the sum of 153,500*l.* The proposal is to erect a new national gallery "on the Gore House estate," and "an institution like the Commercial Museum, or Museum of Manufactures, already suggested by us, might be established on the corresponding site fronting the Brompton-road, at the further end of the property." The central portion is to contain a building in which the different societies might procure that juxtaposition so long desired; while the two sides might be devoted to the departments of Practical Art and of Practical Science.

On Saturday afternoon Mr. Richard Redgrave, R.A., art superintendent of the Department of Practical Art, delivered an introductory address "On the methods adopted by the institution to impart instruction in art to all classes of the community," in the lecture theatre, Marlborough-house, Pall-mall. There was a good attendance of ladies and gentlemen on the occasion, who took much interest in the subject. The lecturer, in the course of his address, observed that the Board of Trade had determined to afford all classes the means of acquiring elementary instruction in drawing. This would prepare the student for entering upon the study of ornamental art, which will be taught in special classes formed for the purpose. These special classes will be presided over by a staff of competent professors, whose duty it would be to explain all the processes—by hand, machinery, or the laboratory—connected with ornamentation in the several branches of industry. There will be special classes of this character in the following departments—viz., 1. Ornamental art, applied to woven fabrics; 2. Ornamental art, applied to metal working; 3. Painting on porcelain; 4. Chromo-lithography, for female students; 5. Artistic anatomy, drawing, painting, and modelling the figure, especially with reference to ornament; 6. Architectural drawing, practical construction, and perspective; 7. A special class for the practice of wood engraving, for female students only. There were also a library and museum of ornamental art, containing the rarest works and examples, and to which access might be had by students and manufacturers for the purposes of examination.

The University of London claims to be directly represented in Parliament, as Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin are. A movement has been set on foot to effect this; and in order to enforce and make public the claim, a public meeting was held on Tuesday at the Freemasons' Tavern, which was largely and influentially attended. Mr. James Heywood occupied the chair. On the platform were Mr. Strutt, M.P., Mr. Thorneley, M.P., Mr. R. P. Collier, M.P., Sir George Goodman, M.P., Mr. McMahon, M.P., Mr. Barnes, M.P., Dr. Billing, Mr. F. H. Goldsmid, Dr. W. Smith, Professor Carpenter, Rev. Principal Harris, of New College, Mr. Gibson Field, Mr. J. Taylor, Mr. J. P. Gibson, and Mr. J. R. Mearn. The following resolutions were agreed to:—

"That this meeting, consisting of friends of the London University, is of opinion that the time has now come to erect the University into a parliamentary constituency, and pledges itself to support that object by all the means in its power."

"That the members of Parliament, the members of Senate, and of the colleges of the University, and the graduates and friends in London and the provinces, who join in this movement, be requested to act as a committee to promote this object, and to take such steps as they may deem advisable for the purpose, with power to add to their number."

It was also resolved that a subscription to defray expenses should be raised; and thus, with a good cause and a fair wind, another movement is under weigh.

A prize of 1000*l.* has been offered by the Royal Agricultural Society for the discovery of a manure, equal in fertilizing properties to the Peruvian guano. In order to secure the prize, the claimant will have to satisfy the

society that an unlimited supply of the manure at a price not exceeding 5l. per ton will at all times be within the reach of the agriculturists of the United Kingdom.

A Birmingham house has obtained one portion of the contract for making the copper coinage of the French Empire. Five thousand tons of copper will be required for the first issue of the metallic currency, nearly seven hundred tons of which will be used by the Birmingham firm; and the work will probably take four years to complete it.—*Morning Chronicle*.

Colonel Colt, the inventor of the celebrated repeating pistols, or revolvers, and other fire-arms, which attracted so much public attention in the Crystal Palace, in the American department of the Great Exhibition of 1851, has found his arms to be so greatly in request in this country, not only for the private use of individuals, but also for officers in both departments of her Majesty's service in Great Britain, and likewise in the various British possessions abroad, that he has deemed it expedient to make arrangements for establishing a place for the manufacture of them in London. With this intention the colonel has recently arrived in this country from the United States, and has imported a large quantity of machinery and the necessary implements for the purpose.

The consecration of Dr. Singer took place yesterday, in the college chapel, after morning service. The officiating prelates were the Lord Primate, and the Bishops of Killaloe and Tuam.

The guardians of the Tuam union have just been put in receipt of an "imperative order" for the stoppage of the instalment of the consolidated annuities out of the rates in process of collection.

Ireland has not been without its share of the rain which has incessantly poured down of late. At a meeting of the Royal Dublin Society, held on Friday week, Mr. Moore, curator of the Botanic-garden at Glasnevin, stated the results obtained from the registry of the rain-gauge in that garden during the last six weeks. They were as follow:—The quantity which fell during twenty-six days was six inches and a half, being one fourth of the amount which falls annually in this locality. The greatest quantity which fell in a single day was on the 11th of November, when the amount was almost an inch and a half; on the 12th of November it rained nearly a quarter of an inch, on the 13th more than half an inch, and on the 14th nearly three quarters of an inch.

An old gentleman, having lived seventy-one years, bearing the name of Wreford, was last Thursday week found drowned in a canal near Exeter. The facts that have come out at the inquest bear witness to frightful immorality. Wreford, it appears, was accustomed to send for a young woman named Slec, through her mother, to come and stay with him through the night. He did so on Thursday week. Slec, the mother, took Maria, her daughter, to Mr. Wreford, and "delivered the girl to him" in the market-place. Thence, the girl followed Wreford at a distance, until they came to the canal. Here Maria Slec says he "fell in," she saw him fall in, and called murder. Wreford was taken out and found to be dead; and carried to an inn near; the girl following him. Soon after she went away. Then it was that Wreford's money was found to be wanting. Suspicion fell on the girl; she was arrested; it was thought she had pushed him into the canal. But as the evidence against her was not sufficient, the jury returned an open verdict of "Found drowned."

Mr. Goode, tobacconist, was charged at the instance of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, with exhibiting in the windows of his shops on Ludgate-hill and the Strand, pipes, indecently illustrated—especially one portraying the loves of Leda and the Swan. Mr. Goode had been warned by the Society; but it was said took no heed of the warning. Mr. Lewis, who appeared for him, explained that the shopman had disobeyed orders. On the other hand it was alleged that Mr. Goode had pledged himself not to sell the pipes, and had broken the pledge. In defence Mr. Lewis contended that the pipes were not more indecent than the illustrations of the same incident in the British Museum. Mr. Henry, the magistrate at Bow-street, indignantly repelled this kind of defence. As judgment was not pressed, the summons was adjourned for two months, in order that Mr. Goode might have time to amend.

Another man named Oldburn, was similarly charged. He had exhibited a partly nude figure of a woman, in ivory, as a tobacco-stopper, wearing a collegian's cap and gown, thrown back in front. The same defence was set up. But Mr. Henry very sensibly said it was absurd and idle to compare such indecent productions, which were especially intended to be offensive, with such works of art as Power's Greek Slave and others which were rather suggestive of modesty than the reverse. It was a mistake to suppose that nakedness was the test of indecency. But it was neither necessary nor convenient to define the limits of such things in a crowded court; but every right-minded person needed not be told the distinction between a graceful and beautiful statue and a figure designed by its attire and attitude for an offensive purpose. He should grant the same indulgence in this case as the last, but with the same punishment if the offence were repeated—viz., three months imprisonment. After some further discussion, Mr. Goode was ordered to pay 5l. 5s., and 2l. 10s. the price of the pipes; and Mr. Oldburn was adjudged to pay 5l. 5s. Both the defendants to pay costs.

Mr. Long, of Marylebone police-court, has made a decision the reverse of Mr. A'Beckett's, respecting the question whether a railway station is a cab-stand. He holds that the station is private property, and that cabs standing there are not plying for hire within the meaning of the Act of Parliament.

George Roberts was found guilty, on Monday, before Mr. Serjeant Adams, of robbing his employer. In giving in the verdict the foreman said,—"We add a recommendation to mercy on account of his long service."

The Assistant-Judge.—Did they think that because a man had been robbing his employer for six years he was to be recommended to mercy?

One of the jury.—We are not unanimous in the recommendation.

The Assistant-Judge was glad to hear it. He thought that offenders like this man ought to be made very strong examples of, for the warning of others in the services of large companies and firms.

Roberts was sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for one year. The judge added—"I hope this will be punishment enough to deter others; if not, the next man who comes here shall be transported."

Mary Broome, wife of John Broome, has brought an action against John Hamp, the plaintiff in the famous Brighton card-cheating case, and his friend, the Reverend Mr. Probert, and another person, for conspiring to defraud her of 400l., which he obtained, by promising not to prosecute John Broome in the cheating business. The jury have returned a verdict against Hamp and Probert, but recommended them to mercy on the ground that "they were the victims of a base and infamous conspiracy."

Miss Anne Campbell was tried at the Middlesex Sessions on Wednesday, and acquitted of any intent to steal, in taking possession of the jewels belonging to Mrs. Phillips.

Three English swindlers have been arrested at New York.

Mr. Howson, a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, was out riding on Tuesday, when his horse ran away just as he had started, and Mr. Howson dashed against a tree, and fell insensible. It is feared he has suffered concussion of the brain.

A land-slip on the North Western Railway near Hayton, overthrew the express on Thursday night, and the driver and stoker were killed on the spot.

Mr. James Longshaw, a rent-collector, was standing between two stationary trains at the Pendleton station, on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway on Tuesday. A cry was raised of "look out." Thinking it had reference to some movement of the stationary trains, Mr. Longshaw stepped on to the other line. The express at that moment came up and killed him. Had he received no warning he would not have lost his life.

Last Friday week a train from Birmingham to London, vastly behind its time, came up to Heyford, a station on the Great Western Railway. While here the express from Oxford was pretty nearly due; nevertheless, the station-master ordered the driver of the passenger-train to cross the down line and take up some goods-trucks from a shed there. The train was being backed; half of it had got over, when the alarm was raised that the express was coming. The driver did all he could to get off the main-line; the station master turned on the danger signal; it was too late; the express driver and fireman had the moment before seen the white light; when they saw the red they were close on, coming down with great, though diminished power. Just before the crash the driver of the express jumped off and was killed. Two passengers were injured by the collision. An inquest was begun on Saturday and adjourned.

Two large factories in the West Riding, one near Huddersfield, the other near Bradford, have been destroyed by fire.

During a heavy gale last week two colliers went ashore near Aberdeen, and the master and men of one of them perished, except one, who was saved by the daring exertions of a crew of carpenters in a life-boat. The captain of the other boat was saved on a spar, but six men were drowned. At Montrose a schooner was wrecked; a brig foundered off Catterline.

Nottingham and Shrewsbury have again suffered severely from inundations: and the waters were out in the early part of the week, on all the low-lying lands mentioned in the previous accounts. At Oxford six lives have been lost. The damage to property is enormous.

A Scotchman fell into a pig-stye at Kingussie; he was stunned by the fall; and the two hogs began to eat him. When rescued he was mangled and dead.

Two shocks of an earthquake had been experienced on the morning of the 8th inst., at Reggio, in Sicily. Two shocks were felt the following day at Cosenza. Fortunately no damage was sustained.

Opinion in Rome is well known not to be so enlightened as it is elsewhere, even on the most trivial matters; but we were not prepared for such astounding ignorance as is disclosed in the following passage extracted from a letter from the Eternal City:—"A short time since a disciple of M. Robin was in Rome, and, among his conjuring tricks, he bandaged his wife's eyes, placed her in another part of the theatre, and asked her what he had in his hand, where it was made, and other questions. This trick, so common in England, was thought so wonderful in Rome, that when the Pope's Vicar heard of it he suspended the performance, although the announcement had been stuck all over the city. The conjurer was called before his Eminence, charged with being in league with the black gentleman below, and threatened with all sorts of things. The poor man, to get himself out of the scrape, was obliged to divulge the secret of the trick; after which the performance was allowed to be continued. I mention this that you may judge of the intellectual state of the Eternal City!"

A most singular instance of the fulfilment of a dream has transpired at Newent, Gloucestershire. An inquest was held at that place on Monday, before Mr. Lovegrove, one of the coroners for Gloucestershire, on the body of a man named Mark Lane, who had been found drowned under most remarkable circumstances. The evidence of the deceased's brother was to the following effect:—"He was informed on Friday night that his brother Mark was missing; he immediately replied, 'Then he is drowned, for I dreamt last night that he was drowned, and that I was up to my armpits in water, endeavouring to get him out.' That very same night the man dreamt again that his brother was drowned near the locks at Oxenhall, and that there was a trout by him. Next morning he went to Oxenhall with another brother, and there he saw a trout in the water. He felt convinced that the body of his

brother was near; and, in fact, the body was found near to the spot. The deceased, it appeared, was addicted to drinking, and on attempting to pass home along the road, which was flooded, he was carried away by the stream and drowned. The verdict of the jury was "found drowned."

According to a return obtained by Mr. William Williams, M.P., the deduction in the year ending the 5th of January last from the public revenue for costs of collection, &c., and of amounts received by public departments other than Parliamentary grants, &c., were 6,072,151l. 9s. 9d. expended in 1851, which never reached the Exchequer.

## HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

THE weekly Return continues to exhibit a comparatively favourable condition of the public health. In the week that ended last Saturday the deaths were 947, a number which differs not much from that of the preceding week. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1842-51 the average number was 1087, which, if a correction is made for increase of population, gives a mortality for the present time of 1196. Compared with this estimated amount, the deaths actually returned last week show a reduction of 249.

In the last week of October the mean temperature fell to 44.6 degs.; this was followed in the next week by an increase of mortality, which rose to 1101. Under the influence of a higher temperature the mortality in the last three weeks declined, and was as follows: 1022, 922, 947. In the four weeks of November the mean temperature has been 54.2 degs., 51.2 degs., 49.3 degs., and 45.7 degs., which, one with another, is 5 degs. above the average. The amount of rain that has fallen in each of the same weeks is 0.84 in., 1.30 in., 1.77 in., and 1.46 in. Last week an inch of rain fell on Friday alone. It may be supposed that excessive rains by thoroughly washing the drains and carrying off injurious matters tend to promote the public health, and it is not till they have ceased that the effect of increased evaporation begins to be observed in an increase of sickness and death.

Last week the births of 855 boys, and 816 girls, in all 1671 children, were registered in London. The average number in seven corresponding weeks of the years 1845-51 was 1346.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer last week was 29.369 in. The mean temperature was 45.7 degs., which is 2.3 degs. above the average. The mean daily temperature was highest on Sunday and Friday, when it rose to 50.8 degs. and 52 degs., or 7 degs. and 9 degs. above the average. The wind blew generally from the north in the beginning of the week, and from the south-west on Friday and Saturday.

## BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

### BIRTHS.

On the 26th of November, at Tunbridge-wells, Mrs. Henry Broadwood: a daughter.  
On the 28th, the Viscountess Folkestone: a son.  
On the 30th, at the residence of her father, Lieutenant-General De la Motte, C.B., 15, Westbourne-terrace, the wife of Major Faunce: a daughter.  
On the 30th, at Chew Magna, Somerset, the wife of the Rev. Edward A. Ommanney: a son.  
On the 30th, at the Manor-house, Chiswick, the wife of Harrington Tuke, M.D.: a son.

### MARRIAGES.

On the 19th of May, at Otaki Church, New Zealand, the Ven. Archdeacon Octavius Hadfield, to Kate, third daughter of the Ven. Archdeacon Henry Williams.  
On the 30th of June, at St. Peter's Church, East Maitland, New South Wales, by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Newcastle, Arthur Edward, fourth son of the Rev. Townshend Selwyn, Canon of Gloucester, to Rose Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the Rev. G. K. Rusden, M.A.  
On the 8th of November, at St. Oswald's Church, Chester, Neville Parry, Esq., only son of John Billingsley Parry, Esq., Q.C., to Caroline, eldest daughter of the late Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Usher, C.B., K.G.H.  
At St. Michael's, Chester-square, by the Rev. J. H. Hamilton, M.A., Ellen, only daughter of the late Lieutenant-Colonel George, H.E.I.C.S., to F.S. Tremlett, Lieutenant R.N., only son of Vice-Admiral Tremlett.  
On the 24th, at Wollaton, Nottinghamshire, Captain George Thompson Wade, Thirtieth (Prince Albert's) Light Infantry, youngest son of the late Colonel Hamlet Wade, C.B., of the Rifle Brigade, to Caroline, Louisa Henrietta, eldest daughter of Duncan Davidson, Esq., of Tulloch Castle, N.B., and grand-daughter of the late Lord Macdonald.  
On the 25th, at St. James's Church, by the Lord Bishop of Oxford, the Lord de Blaquiere, to Eleanor Amelia, eldest daughter of Sir William G. H. Jolliffe, Bart., M.P.  
On the 30th, at the French Catholic Chapel, and afterwards at St. James's, Paddington, Alfonso Sciala, Esq., of Palermo, and of Connaught-square, London, to Giulietta Cordella Bianca, only daughter of the late Pompey Anichini, Esq., of Upper Montague-street, Montague-square.  
On the 30th, Major H. W. Bunbury, third son of Sir Henry Bunbury, Bart., to Miss Cecilia Napier, daughter of Lieutenant-General Sir George Napier, K.C.B.

### DEATHS.

On the 19th of November, at his house on the Royal York-crescent, Clifton, Caius de Winton, Esq., aged seventy-two, a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for the counties of Glamorgan and Somerset.  
On the 23rd, at Perry-vale, Sydenham, Augustin, F. B. Creuze, Esq., F.R.S., principal surveyor to "Lloyd's Register," aged fifty-two.  
On the 25th, at Brompton-crescent, George Stow, Esq., Superintendent of the Mail Department, General Post-office.  
On the 26th, at Dowlais-house, Glamorganshire, Sir Josiah John Guest, Bart., M.P., for Merthyr Tydvil, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.  
On the 27th, at No. 7, Westbourne-place, Eaton-square, Charlotte Frances, the beloved wife of John Downie, Esq., formerly First Puisne Judge of British Guiana, aged forty.  
On the 27th, at No. 6, Great Cumberland-place, in the thirty-seventh year of her age, Augusta Ada, wife of William Earl of Lovelace, and only daughter of George Gordon Noel Lord Byron.  
On the 28th, at his residence, 12, Dorset-street, Vauxhall-bridge-road, James J. Harrison, late bookkeeper at the Italian Opera.  
On the 30th, at Cumberland-lodge, Windsor-park, Lieutenant-General Wemyss, Colonel of the Ninety-third Regiment of Foot.



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

## Postscript.

SATURDAY, November 27.

IT IS FINISHED. The great debate closed last night; and the Free-traders, pure and simple, were defeated by an ample, and set on one side by an overwhelming, majority. Mr. Cobden and Manchester are beaten by the combined influence of the Peelites and the Leader who has no party, but who seems to control all. In fact, Lord Palmerston, as the *Times* says this morning, is "Master of the Situation."

The adjourned debate was continued by Mr. MILNER GIBSON, who denied that this was a question of want of confidence, the Government being entirely separated from it. The House should take care not to place Free-trade on a basis which might slide from under it. The fact that food was cheap might not always be a fact; but the question rested upon the right that men had to free exchange. He complained of Lord Palmerston's conduct, in taking the question out of Mr. Villiers's hand.

Mr. MILNES GASKELL thought that the denial of the justice of the policy of 1846 was compatible with an admission of the benefits it had wrought. The question was between a Government desirous to carry out our commercial policy, united upon other questions, and a party which agreed upon no other question than that of Free-trade.

Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT had been greatly disappointed at the course Government had taken at the opening of Parliament. The policy that had been adopted ought to have been stated in intelligible words. He animadverted upon the Government amendment, and censured its expressions, as not referring to the opinion of the country, which the House wanted to know. He should prefer Mr. Villiers's resolution, but that he thought there were words in it which it was impolitic to propose for the adoption of the other side. Generosity was the best policy; and as a witty writer had said that the Jews could make few proselytes, seeing that their profession of faith began with a surgical operation, it could hardly be expected to bring over converts to Free-trade if we commenced with penance and the pillory. As regarded compensation, he distinctly asserted that it was out of the question, he having always considered the legislation of 1846 as the restitution of rights which the landed interest had unjustly enjoyed. The fame of Sir Robert Peel had been placed on a pedestal from which no counter-resolution of that House could move it. Having enjoyed that statesman's friendship, and sat by him while he was accused in the foulest language of the meanest crimes (loud cheers), he knew his character and his generosity. He would wish no antagonist humiliated. But if they wanted humiliation—for not words but deeds humiliated men—they had but to look there. (Tremendous cheers, as Mr. Herbert pointed to the Treasury Bench.) He should support Lord Palmerston's amendment.

Mr. HENRY DRUMMOND explained to the House that Protection had been a creature of necessity, and had grown up when the Anglo-Saxon wanted iron breeches made by resident manufacturers, and that unrestricted competition had been another necessity, and its adoption had begun at the close of the war, the repeal of the corn-laws being only the apex of that policy. But he considered that Sir Robert Peel had given a blow to public confidence in public men from which this generation would not recover.

Mr. MUNTZ had thought the repeal of the Corn-laws a choice between evils. But as he did not believe our present prosperity (which was due to the import of gold) to be mainly attributable to that repeal, he should affirm no such proposition. He would support Lord Palmerston, but he begged to inform the House that the people were laughing at them.

The Marquis of GRANBY's reasons for not adopting either of the resolutions were threefold. He did not believe that the prosperity of the country was as great as it ought to be; he did not believe that it was attributable to recent legislation and unrestricted competition; and even if it were, he believed that such legislation was not stamped with the principles of unrestricted competition.

Mr. FITZROY said that he should feel himself wanting in his duty to the memory of Sir R. Peel, whose friend he had been, and under whom he had served, if he hesitated to record his conviction of the wisdom and justice of the policy of that statesman. But, under the circumstances, he suggested the withdrawal of Mr. Villiers's motion.

Mr. KENDALL, as a Protectionist, admitted the contentment of the people, but denied that it had been produced by Free-trade.

Mr. BLACKETT would sooner see the Free-trade resolution carried by a small than by a sham majority. They must distinguish between the true and false Free-traders.

Colonel SIBTHORP had been reminded by the three resolutions of the three cross roads in which the criminal of old was buried, and should not support either.

Mr. WARNER supported Mr. Villiers's resolution, believing it framed with patriotic intentions.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM, after some observations on the inconsistency of Ministers, said that he had endeavoured to frame his resolution in the temper and spirit which Sir R. Peel would, had he been alive, have displayed, and with that Christian forbearance for which the departed statesman was so remarkable. He was not surprised that, on the whole, gentlemen opposite were disposed to reject a declaration, that a policy against which they had so long struggled was wise and just. He was as earnestly opposed to any idea of compensation, and should resist it as strenuously, as any member in that House. But painful as it was to him to vote against Mr. Villiers, he should feel it his duty to support Lord Palmerston's amendment.

Mr. PHILIPPS, amid the noisy impatience of the House, was understood to oppose the resolution.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL hoped the debate would be brought to a close that night. After commenting on the previous proceedings, and alluding to Lord Palmerston as having relieved gentlemen opposite, and caused disunion on his own side, he said that both sets of resolutions were very well framed, and went to the same purpose, but that he could not vote against those of Mr. Villiers; although he should have voted for Lord Palmerston's had they come first in order. He did not see why he should make his vote dependent on the feelings of gentlemen opposite, who, however, he thought were more sensitive than circumstances demanded. Defending the "odious epithets," and referring to his own efforts to prepare the way for the repeal of the Corn-laws, he expressed his apprehension that the signal for a fresh struggle had been held out by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the announcement of compensation or relief. He begged, for the sake of the landed interest, that no special favour might be asked for them, but that any boon of remitted taxation might be large and general. The admission of agricultural distress, in the Queen's Speech prepared by his own Government, was expressly meant to show that he intended no specific relief to that interest. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's argument, that his party had never sought to reverse the Free-trade policy, was ingenious, but deficient in truth, and he had led the farmers to believe he meant to restore protection when he meant nothing of the kind. He would not judge Lord Derby harshly, but he seemed to have misconceived the constitutional position of himself as regarded the question of Free-trade, and also that of his subordinates, who had taken opposite sides at the elections. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had been a faithless supporter of Protection; it was for the House to take care that he was not so faithless to Free-trade. He had no confidence in the professions of the Ministry, or in the conversion of many of their supporters. The battle was not over.

Mr. Secretary WALPOLE said that the only question was, whether the legislation of 1846 should be pronounced strictly wise and just. He had himself voted against that legislation, and he could not apply to it the proposed description, though admitting that it was beneficial to the great body of the people. Lord John Russell had assumed that Government was going to give compensation to the landed interest, an hypothesis he would eventually find totally unfounded, as the financial measures of Government would be based on the policy of unrestricted competition. After a warm tribute to the Earl of Derby, he replied to Lord John Russell's charge of double principles by reminding him that the commercial policy was not the only or the most important bond of the party who had been compelled to take office. If they had not the confidence of the country they could not and would not retain their places; and he disbelieved that unworthy motives actuated the majority of public men in desiring office, for which the having abandoned certain opinions was no disqualification. He declared that he would adhere to the policy of the Corn-laws on the same ground that the staunchest Protestant would adhere to the Emancipation Act, or the sturdiest Tory to the Reform Act. But Conservative principles were the Government bond of union, and by carrying them out they should best serve the country.

Mr. COBDEN expressed his long-rooted suspicion of Lord Palmerston, and advised the "juveniles" not to follow him. If the division should result unfavourably for the Free-trade cause, the country would attribute it to Lord Palmerston. After a sketch of Corn-law history (continually interrupted by the impatience of the

House), he charged the landlords with being the cause of the mischief which might have occurred to the farmers since the repeal, by deluding them with the idea of Protection; and he taunted them with their cowardice in bowing to a resolution framed in opposition to their opinions.

Several members rose, but the clamour for a division became uproarious. At last Mr. ISAAC BUTT was permitted to be heard. He protested against Mr. Cobden's dictatorial tone, and declared that the resolution was intended to record the triumph of the Manchester School, which sought Jacobinically to achieve its objects by appeals to the fears of Parliament. He would vote for no resolution which should foreclose his claim to compensation; but professed his confidence in Government.

Mr. GLADSTONE, in answer to an appeal Mr. Cobden had made to the friends of Sir R. Peel, said that the reason why they would be found voting for the amendment was, that they believed that vote dictated by a regard to the principles of justice. The language on which Mr. Cobden replied as a bar to compensation was totally unequal to bear that interpretation. Those who should vote for Lord Palmerston's amendment would accept the Free-trade policy because believing its maintenance for the future to be wise and just. Mr. Villiers's resolution was of a character which Parliament had never adopted; and the speaker referred to the course which had been taken in rejecting a similar motion made on the subject of the Appropriation Clause. After an eloquent tribute to the memory of Sir R. Peel, and to his services in repealing the Corn-laws, Mr. Gladstone urged the repression of any desire to trample on those who had resisted manfully, and been defeated fairly.

Mr. NEWDEGATE retracted some language he had used out of the House in reference to Mr. Cobden, but expressed his indignation that a new agitation had been threatened by that individual.

Mr. VILLIERS, in his general reply, offered some explanations as to his share in promoting the resolution, and said that every one of the parties in the House who had imputed an unprecedented or unworthy character to that resolution, had previously declared that it was quite unexceptionable. He could not understand how any Free-trader could oppose it who had not ulterior views.

Lord PALMERSTON and Mr. GLADSTONE gave some explanations in reference to Mr. Villiers's remarks as to their knowledge of the resolution, denying his implied imputation.

The House divided, and the numbers were—

For Mr. Villiers's resolution - - 256

Against it - - - - - 336

Majority against it - - - - - 80

Another division was taken on the amendment, and the numbers were—

For Lord Palmerston's amendment 468

Against it - - - - - 53

Majority for it - - - - - 415

The House adjourned at two.

Early in the evening, in answer to Lord John Russell, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that Friday next would be the most convenient day for his financial statement.

The return of Mr. W. J. Fox at the approaching election for Oldham is now regarded as almost a certainty. The only doubt has arisen from the possibility of the intimidation which is expected from the more violent adherents of Mr. Heald, the other candidate, acting to prevent some of Mr. Fox's supporters coming to the poll. Meanwhile, an application which was made to the magistrates of the borough on the subject of the recent disturbances of public order, and the appointment of about 400 special constables, has checked those violent exhibitions of party feeling which took place previously. It is probable that the writ will not be issued until the new register, by which the Liberals are considerable gainers, comes into operation, on the 1st of December. The contradiction which recently appeared in the *Times* of Mr. Fox's authorship of the letters of "Amicus," during the recent dispute between the master engineers and their workmen, has gained that gentleman several new adherents, although there are not wanting persons who still believe him to be the author. The general impression appears to be that the election will take place between the 9th and 14th of December. The majority for Mr. Fox will, it is estimated, be about 100.—*Times*, this morning.

According to present arrangements, if the weather prove favourable, a grand review will take place in the course of next week in Hyde-park, in the presence of the distinguished officers who came over to this country to be present at the funeral of the late Duke of Wellington.

The Duke of Cambridge and Lord Raglan, accompanied by a considerable number of officers attached to various foreign services, who attended the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, visited the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich yesterday, and went over the different departments of the establishment.

There has been a desperate affray with poachers on the estate of Lord Hawke, Womersley Park, near Doncaster; three men have been shot.

# The Leader

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4, 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.

### PARLIAMENT STANDS CONFESSED.

To the public the result of the debate in the House of Commons, on Friday last, is different from the result to the actors in that conflict. The parties within the House seem to suppose that some very important stake was in contest; but the public outside looks in contempt upon a struggle over three forms for declaring the same thing—three papers which could have been shuffled in a hat without much matter as to the choice! There was, indeed, a contest under the surface of some greater moment than that, and it became the prime object with the combatants. On the one side we see a want of sincerity, on the other a want of close logical reasoning; on both sides much trifling. Lord Derby entered office as a Protectionist, though not avowedly in that capacity. The general election has gone against the essential doctrine of his party, and he is obliged to confess as much. But instead of recording his confession in such manner as to satisfy the public that he does not mean to tamper with the national decision, he recorded it, through the Queen's speech, in a manner so evasive, as to imply a covert purpose of falsifying that decision. The object of the Free-traders was to supply the omitted judgment of the country in explicit terms; and not as they professed, to expel the Government from office. Nevertheless, with a singular want of logical exactness, they included in their declaration of the national judgment for Free-trade, a censure upon those who had opposed the repeal of the Corn-Laws. By doing so they not only supplied Ministers with a pretext for resisting Mr. Villiers, which would not have been furnished by a more limited resolution, but they suggested to an intermediate party the expediency of altering the terms so as to omit the censure. Lord Palmerston appeared as that intermediary, and proposed the resolution in a form originally drawn up by Sir James Graham; and Mr. Villiers's resolution having been rejected by a majority of the House, Lord Palmerston's version was carried by a much larger majority. The Free-traders, therefore, have carried their essential point, although they failed in the second and non-essential point. Ministers have succeeded in rebuffing the censure, although they have been made to swallow the full confession.

But when we pass through this mere description of the debate to a consideration of its conduct, we are struck with the universal triviality. Ministers, who pretend to confess the judgment of the nation, are now seen, in the person of Lord Derby, shrinking from that confession. For in the House of Lords, where he supposes himself to have more power of reaction, the Prime Minister refuses to echo the declaration in which his colleagues have concurred in the Lower House. In other words, Lord Derby will not endorse the declaration in which his colleagues have concurred elsewhere. Ministers therefore retract from the declaration of Mr. Disraeli; they are content to make in the popular House a declaration which they recant when they have the power, even within the week. This, we say, is shameful trifling. It is insincerity reduced to a rule of practice.

When we pass to the other side of the House, we are not much consoled. We there see the leaders, as they are called, unable to lead. It was supposed that they had held council together, and determined upon a course; but we find them not only at variance, but bickering amongst themselves before the face of the public. Mr. Cobden, the Free-trade leader, complains that he has been excluded from the council. Sir James Graham complains that another Liberal leader has stolen his own particular resolution from him. Mr. Gladstone, who was supposed

to be one of the alliance, starts off on a separate course. Lord John Russell first declares that *perhaps* he may vote with Lord Palmerston, which is a practical declaration that other Members might do the same without violating their liberal allegiance, and then he votes in the minority with Mr. Villiers. Mr. Villiers, used by all parties, in some degree deceived by all, is left without his promised support. In the confusion, Lord John Russell, commander-in-chief of the Opposition, seemed to be quite forgotten,—as much lost as a little man in a crowd.

There is therefore *no* Liberal party, in any organized sense. There is on that side only an organized mutiny, with a dozen of separate ring-leaders, all contriving against each other. There is no man who will take the pains to bring his supporters together, and persuade them into a consentaneous action. There is not one Liberal leader who seems prepared to do justice to his subordinates and supporters, by raising a fixed standard, establishing a fixed line of conduct, or supplying a rallying point. It cannot be said that any of the leaders have honourable intentions, for they seem to have no intentions at all. They are waiting to see what they themselves shall do, and are probably as amazed at the turn of their own conduct, as the public out of doors can be. Ministers "in power" accept the dictation of the Opposition. Lord John Russell, leader of the Opposition, is obliged to follow it; and Lord Palmerston, "Master of the situation," as the *Times* calls him, is without a party. While Lord Derby is preparing to make the House of Lords gainsay the House of Commons. Such is the practical illustration of Parliamentary Government with which our public men are supplying Lord Malmesbury, against the time when he shall import the Napoleonic policy into Westminster.

### AUGMENTATION OF THE FORCES.

THE increase of the national forces, which is announced by the *Times*, evidently on official authority, is satisfactory to our own feelings on many grounds. In the first place, it meets a great national necessity, respecting which we have felt much solicitude. In the next place, by recognising that necessity, it confirms on authority that for which we have contended during some time past. We know that many of our readers have dissented from our view; we believe that many who dissented formerly have now arrived at an agreement with us, and we further believe that this practical recognition of a policy which we urged long before it became the popular opinion, will satisfy many of our readers who have hitherto mistrusted our course on this subject. In the third place, it must inevitably bring over many organs of public opinion into working more in accordance with the facts of the day; and it will in a great degree contribute to put the public at large on the alert, by showing that in the highest quarter, where opinion is supposed to be most accurate, and where overt acts are postponed as long as possible, the necessity for a reinforcement is admitted and acted upon.

It is necessary that the forces of England should be strengthened, because Government by the Army has become more than ever the rule throughout the Continent, insomuch that the relation of one armed State to another is now determined, to a great extent, by naked force, in lieu of the diplomacy which previously concealed the latent force. Throughout the largest portion of the continent have the actual details of government been administered by soldiers or under the immediate support of the soldiery. In such a state of the most civilized part of the world, it becomes necessary for England, if she would maintain her position, to have the mechanical means of so maintaining it. It would be useless for England to go on acting as if Europe were in a state of disarmed repose. That Europe is armed and ready for immediate contest is a fact. England must accept that fact, and must frame her own proceedings in accordance with it. It is necessary, therefore, that we should have in this country an army considerably increased, a great artillery force, and a strong navy.

The existence of such a force, already known as an ugly instrument in the domestic government of the country, is attended with no small danger to the internal freedom of the people. A standing army is a standing nuisance, and it will not become a smaller nuisance by being increased in

numbers and efficiency. In the present augmentation of the national forces, Parliament will have strengthened that instrument of arbitrary rule within our own frontiers; and the stronger instrument will lie ready in the political treasury for the use of any Government which will hereafter revive the doctrines of our Tory days; a future Castlereagh would find more potent instruments at his command than the Castlereagh who was the terror of our own earlier years. We as much wish our own circle of readers to recognise that ugly fact, as we wish them to recognise the necessity for increasing the force for extra-national purposes.

Against that mischievous use of a powerful army, there are two great safeguards, which have existed in our own country at other times, which exist in our own day abroad, and which we have taken steps to revive amongst ourselves. One of these safeguards is that the physical power should not be reposed in the army alone. The larger the army at the command of the executive Government, the more necessary is it that the people at large should not be unaccustomed to the use of weapons, and that the distinction between the military and the national bodies should be merged. This points to a development of the militia, which we have already established amongst us; and it is with great satisfaction we note a disposition at head quarters to accept strictures on that embryo force in the best spirit, to improve criticism by improving the conditions of the force, and to accept it as a valuable auxiliary to the army. We are confident, for example, that the valuable remarks of a Prussian officer, extracts from which we quote amongst our news, by the medium of the *Times*, will be perused at head quarters, with the intention of deriving any suggestions which the practical observations may suggest. We have that confidence, because we have observed in the whole bearing of the Government, with respect to the militia, a candid and practical spirit. Lord Derby appears to have discarded his old fears. Mr. Disraeli did not conceal the fact that he never entertained a mistrust; and we will not forget, while he is under a cloud, that he was one of the first to point out the militia as a commencement in training the body of the people. Lord Hardinge, in the general order which we quoted last week, expressly associated the soldiers with the people; and patriotically did he do so. General Sir Charles Napier, who wrote a pamphlet to show how a militia could be employed, as auxiliary to the regular army, has been appointed to the command of the militia of that district which confronts the Continent. All these are the concurrent steps towards the proper organization of the people in militia or volunteer corps. If a sufficient body of the people be enrolled, with Commanders like General Napier, we may expect that a comparatively limited army, as ours still is, might well eke out its strength—that it would be able to do the work of much larger forces. At the same time, this substantial strengthening of the people will disarm many of the dangers that might be anticipated from an augmentation of the standing army; and no patriotic statesman or officer, whatever may be his political doctrines, would desire to undermine the constitution of our country by Austrian conspiracy against its liberty, any more than he would desire to facilitate the conspiracies of a demagogue. We have our differences of opinion: some of us would extend political privileges, while others would limit them; but we do not believe that any one of the persons whom we have named, not even Lord Derby, would desire to strike the liberties of England in the back, and to substitute either a French Directory or an Austrian Cabinet, in lieu of our own constitutional Government.

If we did entertain any doubt on that subject, it would be suggested by the proceedings of official departments which are *not* military. When for example we observe that a monody at the Princess's Theatre on the 18th of last month, specially composed by Westland Marston to honour the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, was curtailed "by authority;" and when we know that these curtailments consisted in allusions to the people, allusions to arbitrary as opposed to constitutional Government, and allusions to victories of Wellington, even Waterloo, we must entertain very serious doubts whether the whole of the Government at present in office does share in the patriotic feeling which we recognise



in the military departments. When we understand too, though we can in no degree vouch for the fact, that a hundred police have been sent over to Paris to fraternise with the police in that capital, and to learn how to discriminate between safe and dangerous politicians, we must have a fear that Austrian principles have obtained a footing in our departments; nay, that they regulate the practical administration of this country. In short, there are signs in the conduct of the Government which make us fear that our responsible rulers sympathize much more with that particular person who is most likely to be the invader of this country, than they sympathize with the English people. Under such circumstances the second safeguard to the increase of the standing army is in serious danger—for that safeguard is public opinion, and we find our rulers suppressing public opinion. Nay, we find our more influential classes acquiescing in that suppression. But a recognition of the danger is the first step towards counteracting it. The best counteractive to the resistance of a standing army is a manly population, and perfect liberty of opinion, wherever opinion may find expression. It is time, therefore, that the people of this country should look after the insidious conduct of those departments in the Government which are not military, because we are called upon, under circumstances that forbid refusal, to increase that standing army which may hereafter, should it not be antagonized by the proper influences, lie at the disposal of an Absolutist Government in Downing-street.

#### A MODEL CONSERVATIVE.

To W. B. may be assigned the merit of having furnished the best possible illustration of the system to which Conservatives adhere as safer than an extended franchise. When Conservatives object to grant a national suffrage, they always allege that they have no desire to exclude the people, but that a suffrage extended to the general body of the people might be dangerous in its working, and that they prefer to rely upon a franchise limited as it is, or, as they say, upon our existing institutions. We want to know, then, how these existing institutions work, and, above all, it is satisfactory when we see these institutions worked under the personal supervision of discreet and Conservative statesmen.

W. B. is a model Conservative, a model Protectionist, and when he is engaged with his own hand in working one of our model institutions, we may suppose that we have the very perfection of practical statesmanship.

We find that working to be peculiar. The Protectionists professed, in the general election, to consult the opinion of the country on the subject of Protection or Free-trade, and we want to see how a Protectionist submitted that proposition to the country. From the disclosures made by Sir Alexander Cockburn, the process appears to be this. When a distinguished Protectionist wishes to consult the opinion of the town of Derby on a great national question, he asks for "a good safe man, with judgment and quickness," not in Derby, but in Shrewsbury. But this "good quick man," who comes from Shrewsbury to work the appeal in Derby, must pretend that he comes from Chester. That seems to be an essential part of the process. Another essential of the process is, that he must go to an inn at a central part of the town, conceal himself in a room which has a separate entrance and a separate exit, and he must have a plan for eluding the police. He must then possess a considerable amount of money, which, by another essential in the process, he must call "horse-nails;" and, with that money, he must bribe a sufficient number of electors in the town of Derby, according to the private wishes of the directing Conservative. Very good; we now see how our model institution works. When a gentleman specially interested in maintaining our institutions, wishes to ascertain "the opinion of the country," he does it in this wise: wishing to consult Derby he sends a man from Shrewsbury, trained in avoiding the police, and pretending that he comes from Chester; the man brings with him money, which he calls "horse-nails;" and he gives these horse-nails to a sufficient number of the more corruptible voters, to gainsay the real opinion of Derby, and make it seem as if the opinion of Derby were the same as the private opinion of W. B.

We can now understand why these gentlemen

of the "ancient ways" object to extension of the franchise. It is evident that if the franchise were extended to embrace the bulk of the English people, it would be much more difficult for any W. B. to dictate in a particular town. W. B. sitting in Downing-street would require a much larger number of "good quick men" and a much larger supply of "horse-nails" than W. B. can command; for even at present he confesses with regret that he has not always horse-nails enough to turn out a Strutt. One can perceive that if there were a much larger demand for good quick men the expense of that article would be greatly increased. Already the good quick man who went from Shrewsbury to Derby, *via* Chester, sneered at the moderate amount which the modest people expected for the votes they sold; but if there were an increase to the business of good quick men, they would of course expect, not only we might suppose more fees, but larger fees. They would prove very ostriches in the devouring of horse-nails to their own share.

The only mistake that appears to have been committed on the part of W. B. is his too great trust in his agents. It is not every subordinate that can feel the same patriotic desire to consult these secrets of patent statemanship. It is evident that he relied too much on the Frail sect. W. B. has stooped to folly, and found too late that good quick men betray. Frailty, thy name is W. B.

#### THE GARRISON INVINCIBLES AT STAFFORD HOUSE.

WHEN time had applied its cooling snows to the temples of Rinaldo, he probably thought of the blandishments of Alcina, less with indignation than regret. To do wrong is grievous to the mindful conscience, when the wrong has been ugly and unpleasant; but when it has been delicious, the sin is but the spice of the delight; and as the criminal said when the judge reprimanded him, "My lord, I glory in it." With our austere sense of justice and policy, had it been our fortune to be inveigled into the saloons of Stafford House, on Monday last, we are perfectly certain that our American sympathies, our practical anxiety for the future of the Black population in that republic, our regard for the true dignity of England, our common sense, would all have clean vanished, and we should have been Abolitionists *par amours*. Lord Shaftesbury perfectly understands how to inveigle public opinion, when he engages the charming and titled Alcinas to entice English opinion into an Abolitionist Bower of Bliss, such as Stafford House. Lord Shaftesbury knows the art of using decoys. Let his example be profitable to leaders of Parliament. Turn "the women of England" upon the Opposition in the Commons, and the stoutest of Radicals would rush into the lobby with Shaftesbury.

After the most elegant of orgies, reason is apt to feel a headache; and we may ask ourselves whether this seductive method of politics be the most wholesome. The austere responsibility of the morrow is apt to scrutinize, perhaps somewhat harshly, the seductions of the eve; and we may enquire whether Lord Shaftesbury's agitating harem really constitute "the women of England." We are not apt to find amongst the women of England so large a proportion of titles. It appears to us upon the whole much more like an evening party, or a semi-scientific soiree on the eve of an election. There were, indeed, some ladies who felt the gross impropriety of appearing in that saloon attached to the theatre of politics. They saw that English women parading in a festival of political sympathy, might be reproached with the slaves whom they employ at home to deck them out for that very gala. For many of the women there assembled were dressed in habiliments prepared by white women whose condition, whose compulsory toil, whose hardships, whose agony of existence, is for endurance beyond all comparison with that of any Negro in the whole Union. Look through that assemblage; take the gay apparel off the charming form on which it sets so well; carry it back into the room in which it was made, and ask her who made it whether she would hesitate to exchange with the Negro for whom the wearer was agitating? Other ladies remembered that English women have no business to trifle with the institutions of foreign countries; others remembered that even close to the persons of these same agitators, there are slaves who may be compared with the most un-

fortunate of the mixed races in America, companions and governesses—slaves trained to enjoy refined society, whose habitual life it is to endure the ignoring of their companions, intentional slight, hourly mortification.

We are not alone in perceiving the gross improprieties of this movement. We acquit the ladies. We are certain that amongst the large number there, whatever little vanity there may have been on the surface, the prevalent impulse was a generous feeling. The person we accuse is Lord Shaftesbury; who has been content to take a canting and superficial view of the subject; who, Conservative as he is, has rashly undertaken to shake American politics in their most difficult part, and has seduced the titled women of England into his service, as decoys and handmaids. If there is discredit to them in their false position before the public, it is due to his most unseemly measure in dragging them forth—in subjecting them to these protests—in making them the object of the judicious sarcasms of the *Times*, not the less cutting because lightly and pleasantly worded. There is indeed a sound public opinion growing up in this country, teaching the public writers that the question which they have formerly handled in so summary a manner is too difficult for them to settle; although it is not too difficult to have engaged the most earnest and vigorous intellects of America, now patiently working for its ultimate solution. To them we must leave it.

If we wanted a proof of the excessive inconvenience which must result from interfering, we might point to the difficult case in New York. North and South have to consider, not only the working of the Fugitive Slave Act, sufficiently troublesome in itself, but the many collateral and branching forms in which the temporary custody of slaves in a free State will continue to present itself. It is by the discussion of these collateral questions that the healthy public opinion of the United States will develop itself. The ladies of England, in Stafford House assembled, cannot aid that hard and troublesome discussion; but the impertinent intrusion of Lord Shaftesbury's dictation might do mischief. The less, however, since the announcement of his indecorum will be accompanied by the powerful qualification from the dissidents, from the *Times*, and other members of the public press.

#### THE TOOTH AS IT IS IN BUDH.

IN the face of Inglis, Sir John Pakington uttered some alarming principles and announcements. The ostensible subject was Budh, but the real subject was much more comprehensive. Sir Robert had put leading questions as to the complicity of the Government in certain idolatrous practices of Ceylon; and, although replying on a subject of religious truth, Sir John so far forgot himself as to remind the querist that there were "treaty obligations!" On slighter ground than such a reply many a man has been called "infidel." What are treaty obligations with the heathen? No doubt it is very heinous in the Pope to absolve his faithful from *their* treaty obligations, because the Pope is an "idolator;" but since we Protestants have hold of the truth, the real infallible truth, we possess a divine test to distinguish between right and wrong; and we know that there can be no obligation, even by treaty, binding upon the owners of a true faith towards "idolators." That axiom they recognise in Ceylon; but Sir John Pakington goes so far as to deny the canon. Although a Conservative, and "serious" in religious matters, "he will be no party to any such principle." We quote his own words. Positively he recognises temporals as equal, between man and man, to spiritual obligations; and in his capacity of Secretary of the Colonies does not acknowledge his duty to determine what is final truth.

However, by dint of recognising treaty obligations, and surrendering certain land as a substitute for a yearly tribute to Budh, Sir John has got over the difficulty; and the Ceylon Government has backed out of its direct participation in the mysteries. It has ceased to be custodian of the sacred tooth. This ought to be satisfactory to the iconoclast interest, of which Sir Robert Inglis is the representative. And yet it implies a further proposition which ought to be alarming. Let us remember that the Buddhist persuasion was a religion as by law established; so that Sir John has disestablished an establishment—has severed a connexion between Church

and State—has done the work of an Anti-State-Church Association. It is true that it is only an Hindû establishment; but his proceeding amounts to cutting off Church and State in the Budh.

No apology for that revolutionary act can be founded upon the question as to the authenticity of the tooth. We admit that mere human reason may have its scepticism about the most obvious tooth. Of this particular tooth, what are the evidences? What right-minded dentist can vouch for its probabilities, non-natural and Buddhist, ornamental and elephantine, or rhinoserontic? If really a tooth, is it a bicuspid, a canine, or a grinder? Are there any traces of its having been devoted to chewing; and if there are, would the proofs of authenticity be consistent with a divine superiority to wear and tear. For if we admit wear and tear, where are we to stop? If you allow reason to enter into these subjects at all, the pride of human intellect pushes us to the most irreverent lengths; and there would not be wanting men rash enough to seek for traces of a divine caries, and thus hinting hideous suggestions as to the possibility of a celestial toothache. Let us close these painful imaginings before we arrive at the advertising of some dissenting dentifrice; for trade equally dogs the steps of fanaticism and scepticism, as the carrion crow impartially follows in the rear of either army. No, we must not permit logic to rush in where faith fears to tread; because the familiar explorations of a Tooth, commanding the belief of the Cingalese, might be imitated by investigators into other transcendental substances.

Men might, for example, ask whether it is a tooth at all, or whether it is not that more established emblem of Buddhism against which Heber so indignantly inveighs; a question which suggests a desperate confusion of anatomical knowledge amongst the authorised custodians of the sacred relic. But once license anatomy, or science of any kind, to deal with these subjects, and what truth would be safe? This Tooth is the apostolic succession of the Cingalese, and it ought not to be interfered with. How should we like to submit our own most cherished convictions to a select committee—how like our own tooth to be declared a mineral succedaneum?

But Sir John has proceeded a step further. Government used to enjoy the patronage of the established Church in Ceylon, as well as in other countries; but that has been given up, and the Buddhists "have been desired to act for themselves as to those appointments"—to appoint their own bishops over the Tooth. This is not only equivalent to restoring Convocation, but is recognising election of Bishops! Sir John has recorded the admission that officials have no infallible criterion, but that the only test of truth lies between the man's conscience and his Budh. This is a most subversive principle; it is downright Voluntarism.

#### TAXATION REDUCED TO UNITY AND SIMPLICITY.

##### IX.

##### FRENCH TAXATION.\*

IF the fiscal condition of France, and the evils it threatens, be such as they were described in our last, it is no wonder that an earnest thinker like M. Emile de Girardin should devote his energies to the remedy. Nor, amidst the variety and vagueness of existing theories of Government and taxation, and subject to authoritative usages of ancient derivation and universal acceptance, operating on opinion in one especial sense, is it strange that even so independent a mind should propose plans which, associated with much that is vitally important, are liable, nevertheless, to serious objection, when examined from other points of view.

The third division, or second part, of the work under review, is entitled "l'impôt unique, l'impôt tel qu'il doit être." The first chapter, entitled "general principles," consists chiefly of quotations from the most eminent French statesmen and authors, from Sully downwards, stating, in general terms, their views of the true subject-matters of taxation, and of the purposes for which the produce of the taxes ought to be spent. They are principally adduced to show the importance of the unity, simplicity, and directness of imposts; but they also show how generally the principle suggests itself that property is the true subject-matter of taxation; while, however, they equally show how

commonly that sound and necessary principle is marred in its application both to reasoning and practice. Moreover, if correctness of view in a few of the greatest minds of a country were sufficient to establish just principles of national policy, these extracts amply prove that France would not now have to seek a fundamental reform of her fiscal system, nor be ever on the brink of new dangers from the want of it. Of the author's remarks in this chapter we quote but the following, which is striking and important, although perhaps not entirely correct:—

"Just as before 1789 there were in France the noble and the villain,—the noble who escaped certain imposts, of which the weight consequently fell on the villain, so now there is the noble capital and the villain capital,—the noble capital, which escapes taxes through its idleness, and the villain capital, which bears all their pressure, because they are pre-levied on its activity," and are thus a condition of leave to industry to be industry at all.

The second chapter, a short one, is devoted to "unity of taxation." This also consists chiefly of interesting quotations from French writers. By a play on the French words, it opposes not unfairly "l'impôt unique" to "l'impôt inique," and it insists that the constitution of France, by providing that each person shall contribute to the taxes "in the proportion of his ability and of his fortune," establishes, by an inevitable inference, the directness and singleness of taxation.

"In effect," argues our author, "whoever says 'tax proportional' says 'tax unique'; for that tax which is not unique cannot be made proportional. When taxation is multiplied under all forms and all names,—when it is levied sometimes on capital and sometimes on revenue,—sometimes in kind and sometimes in money,—in some cases on persons, in others on things,—simultaneously direct and indirect,—at once a cumulative capitation tax and a tax of repartition,—a tax in kind for some of a fifth part of the mean duration of life, and for others an insignificant pecuniary premium,—when, in fine, it is the medley and confusion of principles the most opposed to each other, how is it possible to establish, by its means, any proportion between the tax and the means of the tax-payer? It is impossible! Proportionality of tax and unity of tax are two different expressions for one idea."

The next question is, shall this single tax be applied to consumption, revenue, or capital? The three following chapters are devoted respectively to enquiries under each of these heads.

To consumption, as the base of taxation, the following fatal objections are urged. If the taxation does not apply to every object, it becomes unjust; for then some objects are taxed, others are not. Articles of luxury are generally not taxed, because the use of them being easily contracted or given up, the taxes on them often do not produce so much as the cost of managing them; and the total consumption of the poorer classes being far greater than that of the wealthy, presents a larger and surer source of revenue, (Adam Smith;) taxation, then, falls chiefly on necessities, and of these the poor cannot avoid consuming more in proportion to their means than the rich. The tax, then, becomes unjust. Taxes on consumption encourage smuggling and adulteration; they irritate the people, diminish the sources of public prosperity, and, in the end, injure or destroy Governments. Taxes on articles of consumption, or on the raw materials required by industry, enhance prices; they thus discourage and straiten consumption, and, consequently, production, industry, and, lastly, wealth, which results from industry alone. The poor, then, are taxed in the prices of the articles they consume, and they are impoverished by the diminution of the demand for labour which the tax occasions,—they are twice struck.

Some, indeed, have said that taxes on consumption are easy to assess. True; but they are costly to collect. It is further said that these are the best of all taxes, and the least troublesome means of raising a revenue, because people do not recognize them in paying them. But if such a reason may justify an unjust tax, it may also justify robbery, the least troublesome means of getting money.

Taxes on consumption, as far as they are effective, are not as they have been alleged, optional: most commonly they have for their basis necessity. But, as far as they are optional, they are taxes against consumption. Every tax against consumption is a tax on labour, every tax on labour is a tax against wealth.

The most eminent economists are quoted in support of these views, and M. E. de Girardin definitively rejects consumption as the base of taxation.

To fix taxation on revenue or income is in like manner condemned by our author. All incomes of the same value for the year have not the same intrinsic value. Those of the landowner, the merchant, the salaried government-officer, the mercantile clerk, the artist, the workman, the labourer, have each a real value differing in its ratio to its annual value; this ratio it is impossible, in many cases, to assign, as it is also to determine the proportion such incomes should in taxation bear to each other. Even within the same class there are differences not capable of adjustment. George serves a master for 50% per annum, and finds his own board and lodging: Robert has 20% per annum, but lives in his master's house. Ought not Robert to be taxed on the value of his board and lodging as well as on his

money wages? The infinite variety of engagements renders it utterly impossible to do justice amongst the tax payers by any imaginable regulations: some will pay too little, and others must then pay more than their share to make up the deficiency.

Incomes are always uncertain. A merchant gains 1000% this year, and loses 2000% next; a wine-grower makes 200% profit on his crop this year, and next year he does not cover his expenses; a workman has employment 300 days in one year, and not 100 in another. Nobody can tell what he will gain in the coming year; often it is difficult, sometimes impossible, to know with any exactness what was gained in the last, so many are the unascertained contingencies which hang about almost every man's affairs. A rule of taxation so slippery is harassing to the tax payer, and an insufficient foundation for the proceedings of the State. Moreover, it has to resort to modes of assessment which, vexatious in any case, give bad faith an opportunity of profit, while good faith suffers. An impost which makes a dupe of him who tells the truth is detestable.

A tax which is proportional to income is progressive in respect of consumption; but it is *inversely* progressive. For, of different incomes a much larger part is spent on objects liable to taxation in the small incomes than in the large ones. An income of 1000% per annum in the hands of one man would pay much less to the State than the same income divided amongst 10 or 20 men; and a much smaller proportion of his enjoyments or subsistence would be derived from taxable articles than others.

If small incomes are taxed, then labour is taxed, and incomes often insufficient for the wants of the tax payer are diminished still more. If these incomes are not taxed, then a large part of the total income of the country escapes taxation to the unfair burdening of the rest.

A tax on gross income is a tax on wages—that is, a tax on labour—eventually a tax on consumption.

But, say some, so is all taxation, whatever its name and form, an indirect tax on labour, for it always eventually falls on labour. But even if it were so (which is not here either asserted or denied), it is yet a vast question who shall find the ready money for the taxes, they who have possessions, or they who have none? A tax on all incomes, so rigorously universal as to be just to all, would force ready money from those who often have neither necessities nor credit. Let the well-to-do pay it, and they will gain much more than a compensation for the advance (if it be an advance) by thus setting at liberty the consumption and industry of the working classes.

It is only to avoid the obvious danger of directly taxing, according to their consumption, those who labour, that taxes, deceptively called indirect, have been invented; these taxes do at least as much mischief as if they were openly exacted; but they do it covertly.

Promote consumption by removing taxes from income; then production must advance. National welfare requires that we produce all we can either consume or exchange. Does France, with her 36 millions of inhabitants, produce all she can, or the half of it? Most assuredly not; nor do her people consume more than half of the commonest necessities of life which they might do to advantage.

But why tax income?—because it is a measure of a man's means of payment? But how false a measure! One man is a bachelor, without care but for himself; another, with the same income, has three or four children to educate and provide for. How can income, alone, then, be a true measure of the means any man possesses of contributing without inconvenience to the expenses of the State?

If income is to be taxed at all, it should be only on the superfluity, which is the measure of the excess of the income over the expenditure—that is, the saving. But a tax on saving is, in fact, a tax on property; for all present property was originally only savings. We are thus led to the true fiscal basis.

For the preference to be given to capital as the base of taxation, M. E. de Girardin assigns reasons drawn chiefly from convenience and advantage. It would impartially tax all persons, and be applicable to all things; it would tax known and certain objects, not matters of problematical existence and value. Its consequences would be highly salutary: it would compel capital to be active instead of, as now, idle; it would thus promote industry and enterprise, it would emancipate agriculture from the consequences of the high price of land which follows from the competition of capital seeking idle investment, with the cultivator who would use the land as his own instrument of industry; capital, skill, and labour, under such a system, would soon find truer relations than those by which they are at present connected; money would flow from quarters where it is now dormant to those where it could be made active with profit; individuals would be obliged

\* *L'Impôt.* Par Emile de Girardin. Sixième Edition. Paris: A la Librairie Nouvelle, Boulevard des Italiens, 15, 1852.



to cultivate an exact acquaintance with their own affairs; many vexatious and burdensome taxes would be superseded; consumption, and consequently production, would be extended; the wealthier classes would become the most active guardians of integrity and economy in the affairs of the nation; the interests of the poorer classes, which are those of industry, of the springs of wealth, and of the greatest number, would be cared for in a manner more befitting justice and their intrinsic importance; the greatest numbers of the people, and the classes now the most dangerous, would become interested in the maintenance of the Government, and so afford the wealthy classes a degree of security they have never yet enjoyed, and perhaps never can enjoy by any other means. To these reasons, and to others which are the converse of those given for rejecting the other bases of taxation, there follows a short chapter of points of contrast between a tax on income and one on capital; for the most part, these contrasts are perfectly just, and they are all excellently expressed.

It will be seen at once that these reasons for preferring a tax on property apply in their full force chiefly to France, not, however, without having weight and significance here also, if we allow for some errors of principle and some difference of circumstances. They are, moreover, of a kind to carry conviction to many minds which prefer a proof of probability of advantage in practice to the stricter method of deduction from the nature of the case which we have followed in our former articles. We therefore gladly add these views to those we have ourselves propounded, although on several points we can hardly concur with our talented author. Nor are we the less willing to express our estimation of the great general value of this part of his investigations, from our having in all candour to state some differences, and to sustain them.

On the points which thus call for discussion, it will be seen that M. E. de Girardin has been chiefly influenced by that looking to Government for help, indemnity, and control in all the affairs of life, which has grown up in France with ages of centralized bureaucracy.

M. E. de Girardin, regretting the idleness of much capital, encouraged, as he thinks, by the existing taxation, says that under a tax on property, "capital would be condemned to a forced activity," (page 190,) for it would then have to realize a satisfactory return beyond the tax on it. But, without staying to show that it is not now the capital which is idle, but the capitalist, and that this distinction materially affects the argument, it is more important to remark that it is no part of the business of a Government to *force* capital either to idleness or activity. Probably, indeed, under more just taxation, capitalists would be pressed by a necessity for personal care and diligence which they do not now feel, and if it were so, they, as well as society in general, would be gainers by the change in every view; but it is not for Government designedly to thrust on them as a special class either the risks or the advantages of that or any other state of things. To admit the right of Government to control capital for the advantage of labour, is to admit also its right to control labour for the advantage of capital; and the end of such a course can only be the delegation of all the powers of society, as well as the custody and direction of individual energies to the Government, to the destruction of individual care, foresight, and vigour, and of all the consequences on human character, contentment, and progress, which they alone can insure.

If a Government profess to force capital or capitalists into a particular mode of action, no matter how advantageous, it will commonly excite resistance, or it will be defeated by evasion, or counteracted by remote consequences of its measures manifesting themselves in unexpected quarters. But if that Government content itself with removing the obstructions former legislation had put in the way of industry, of individual action, and of improved modes of association, and with cautiously, firmly, and impartially administering justice and protection to all classes in matters of taxation as well as in all beside, then capital and capitalists, labour and labourers, will always find their true best places in the social system, according to the requirements and intelligence of the times. We undoubtedly do greatly want better modes of association; but they are neither to be discovered nor applied by Governments. M. de Girardin himself says, admirably, (page 306,) in France "liberty will not enter profoundly into ideas and manners, until centralization shall have ceased to create a nation of functionaries in the midst of a people of taxpayers."

These remarks will supply the key to any objections we have to make to the plans of our author; which plans we now proceed to state.

Napoleon said, in 1806, when France was larger than at present, that 600 millions of francs per annum

(twenty-four millions sterling) ought to be a sufficient amount of taxes in time of peace (page 283); and this was about the extent of the expenditure before 1789. The revenue is now about fifty-five millions sterling; and M. de Girardin proposes to reduce it to the old standard. He insists on the possibility and the justice of this reduction.

Our author wishes to make taxation voluntary. We can hardly understand this phrase until we remember that in France many matters are supported by taxation and regulated by the state, which in England and the United States are left wholly or in great part to voluntary zeal—religion, charity, science, amusements, &c. M. de Girardin proposes, and we think quite rightly, to relieve the state of all concern with these subjects. But he means also something more, as we shall see.

In many respects Government resembles an insurance against certain evils, and taxation resembles the premium. M. de Girardin pushes this idea so far as to include in the evils against which the insurance is effected, not only violence and wrong, but poverty, fire, inundations, hail, frost, epidemics amongst cattle, and shipwreck (page 313). This, however, he does, not as a matter involved in the nature of the case, but only as a contrivance of expediency; and we think it highly requisite to point out the distinction, lest the plans proposed in the remarkable work before us should be supposed to result necessarily from the principle of direct taxation. The author's words are these:—

"The principle of assurance is only a spring in the machinery of the tax on capital. Assurance fulfils there only the office of the necessary counterpoise; it is a premium offered to the sincerity of the tax-payer's declaration. The tax-payer having an interest in diminishing the reputed value of his possessions, in order to reduce his tax, what ought to be done? Seek another interest with an opposite effect, that they may balance each other."

For this purpose, it is proposed not only to take up the trade of assurance, but that of lending on mortgage and pledge. The right of pre-emption, with an addition of one-tenth to the declared value, is suggested as an additional security for correctness. Moreover, one person wants commercial credit, another social consideration, another to marry one of his children, and so on; all of which require him to make the best public statements of his circumstances which they permit. It is believed that under such arrangements not five persons in a thousand would be without greater motives to be sincere than to be otherwise. M. de Girardin thus expects to render taxation in great part voluntary as well as accurate, and to prevent future revolutions by interesting great numbers in the stability of the Government. We need hardly stay to remark that any possible value of these plans, as mere machinery of administration, depends on the question whether other and better cannot be found; and that, at best, their value in that sense would be far outweighed by the immense evils of so placing all interests in the hands of the Government.

It is proposed also to consolidate the mortgage debts of all the French landowners, and to place the consolidated obligations under charge of the state; the whole to be represented by Government engagements, transferable and irredeemable like the national debt. The difference between the interest paid by the landowner to the state, and that paid by the state to its creditors, would go *pro tanto* to the relief of the taxes. That any reflecting man, acquainted with the condition of the landed proprietary of France, and with the dangers it portends, should be tempted to propose some such plan, is indeed no wonder. It is, however, much more likely that such a device would aggravate the ills of France, merely meanwhile concealing them by change of form, than that it should work that radical cure which France imperatively requires.\*

Every person would have his name inscribed in the books of the state, with all the chief incidents of his life as they occurred, a register available as well for the purposes of private life, as for the relations of the individual with the Government. The statistics of every town would be regularly preserved, showing the classes and condition of the inhabitants of each, together with quantity and value of the lands, vines, &c. But how prevent simulations, forgeries, and other frauds? or how prevent official currency and sanction to frauds when once effected? Is society found to need any such labelling of individuals, or can *true* labelling be effected? We talk of the inquisitiveness of our income-tax; but what is it to this? The books of the Government would either be, as is probable, one mass of error and fraud; or if not so, then an

\* Something of this sort seems now being commenced: a Bank to deal in landed, Government, railway, and other securities, its wires being pulled from behind the Imperial throne. An immense establishment, investing large sums in unnegotiable securities, would be sufficiently certain of failure: it was hardly necessary to add to it the complications and corruptions of an unscrupulous Government, struggling for its life.

enormous mirror, in which every incident of private life is held up to the general gaze.

Every workman would be at liberty to pay as a special assurance one centime for each hour he was in actual employment (about one penny a-day), for which he would be insured against wounds received or infirmities contracted in the pursuit of his calling, as well as against premature death, and some other foreseen evils; he would also have a right to a retiring pension after 90,000 hours of labour. If the rate of payment here required is sufficient to cover the indemnities, then any other agency would be sufficient to manage the organization, and would be better than that of the State. If the payments are *not* sufficient for the indemnities, then the workmen would be pensioners of the State for the balance—a balance sure to increase, and equally sure to swallow up the independence and vigour of the workman in the all-controlling, all-dispensing, partially-favouring power of the State.

A charge of one centime per diem, about three farthings a-week, to be made for a certificate, which certificate signed by the authorities preparatory to the elections, would testify the legal blamelessness, up to that date, of the person holding it. Surely it cannot be necessary to give every Frenchman a certificate that he is not a thief?

The right to devise property by will to be abolished. A living person to be at liberty to give away his property under certain restrictions already established by law. The succession to property to be regulated as at present with the following changes only. The widow or widower has now no right to participate in the property of the deceased, if there be children, legitimate or illegitimate, or relations within the twelfth degree; it is proposed that the survivor should count as one with the children. It is also proposed that the Commune and the State shall together count as another child, and shall part their share equally between them.

The funds thus arising to be employed by the State in the redemption of the national debt, and by the commune—first, in the support of foundlings, the sick, infirm, insane, blind, deaf and dumb, aged, &c.; next, in paying the debts of the commune; and afterwards, in the support of institutions of utility, enjoyment, or taste. Every person, other means failing him, to have a resource in the funds of the commune in which he was born.

A principal object [here is to connect each person with his natal commune, under the title of *commune-mère*. But if the ordinary course of human life be examined where it is left free as in England and the United States, it will be seen how widely families soon disperse themselves, and, consequently how violent and unnatural must be the force which attaches men artificially to one spot. Moreover, to take a share of every property at death for such purposes is, in fact, a poor rate levied once for all at the end of each man's life; but with this difference, that the shorter the life the heavier the payment in proportion to the time. What difficulties come of poor laws, even without this aggravation, let English experience testify.

Afflictive punishments, even for the greatest crimes, to be replaced by restraint of residence to the natal commune of the criminal, under bail and guardianship of his family, or of the commune; the offence to be registered in his certificate. Failing the willingness of these, or of some friend to undertake for him, the offender would be driven to beg an asylum, at the expense of the State, in some colony of like characters abroad. Civic degradation follows some offences, and repetition of a grave crime is punished with transportation. The chief reliance for the effect of punishment is on the continued residence of the culprit, for a term or for life, amongst those who know his crime. Reduction of expense is one motive to this proposal. We are unwilling to say one word adverse to any attempt to supply new principles to our mournfully inefficient systems of punishment, however unlikely we may think the success of this proposal.

By these various measures, by giving up the vain attempt to maintain a naval force of the first class,\* and by remitting to local authorities, or to voluntary support, the objects best so provided for, M. E. de Girardin calculates that the budget may be reduced to 600 millions of francs, or 24 millions sterling. That sum, he says, may be raised by a rate of one half per cent. on the 12,000 millions of francs, or 4800 millions sterling, of property which some say France possesses.

All mention of these plans of M. de Girardin's might perhaps have been omitted, as beyond the limits of the present discussion, but that the proposing of them is prominently associated with, and might appear to arise out of, the great principle of taxation on which we

\* The present activity of the French naval arsenals and Government dockyards shows that this part of M. E. de Girardin's plans finds no favour with the present Government.

broadly agree with their author. We purpose to show that they can only originate in assumptions different from, if not contradictory to, that principle.

M. de Girardin, as we have seen, wanting a means of ensuring faithfulness of assessment, looks for no other than that of encouraging other countervailing interests by the same process as taxation. He does not show why insurance or lending money is to be selected for this purpose; nor does he show that access to a knowledge of those transactions would not be as good for the purposes of assessment as actual participation in them. But having adopted this as a device, he then defends it as a principle, with how much consistency let us see. In page 229, he admirably says:—

"Taxation ought to be only a premium of insurance, payable by all the members of a society called National, to insure the full enjoyment of their rights, the effectual protection of their interests, and the free exercise of their faculties. For that purpose they set apart a determinate portion of their strength, which is thus constituted the strength of the whole body. To support this public force, which guarantees the national independence, defends individual weakness, and ensures the execution of contracts and judgments, the members of the society pay a quota proportional to the protection without which none of them would be certain to retain peaceably that which he had legitimately acquired. That quota ought to be proportionate to the value of the objects declared, &c."

But this just, simple, and sufficient principle is swamped in the next page, by saying, that "a state ought to be only a national insurance society against all the risks which are capable of being foreseen." It would be a sufficient answer to this to say that no experience has yet shown that a government can be a true and effectual insurance "against all the risks that are capable of being foreseen;" while, however, it is our daily reliance, such as it is, for security against wrong. The two functions are clearly separable, and are actually separated; they cannot *both* be indispensable criteria of the rightful action of government. Moreover, a government possessing itself of interests, such as those of an assurer, is no longer a disinterested supreme judge amongst interests, but an irresistible armed party, deeply involved in their strife.

We have briefly shown above how each part of our author's plan is liable to failure. We may add, as applicable to the whole, the certainty of inefficiency and abuse where such interests are entrusted to a government. "A nation of functionaries in the midst of a people of tax-payers," is an expression which the history of French taxation has forced from M. E. de Girardin; and we need scarcely point to the octroi and the registration of landed incumbrances, to show how easily in France, as in other countries, any institution, in the hands of a government, is turned to purposes as far removed as possible from that of its origin.

The following passage (page 382) contains a striking association of differing principles:—

"To manage forests and domains, to repair buildings, to manufacture tobacco and powder, to sell Latin and pay for prayers, to employ itself ingeniously in raising obstructions to consumption, and consequently to labour, under all the forms of vexatious and burdensome imposts requiring an innumerable army of agents on horseback and on foot,—this is now the business of the state, business which it transacts exceedingly ill, and at great cost."

So far we are entirely at agreement. But our author proceeds:—

"A different mission is reserved for it in the future, a mission much more simple and useful. To be the terrestrial providence of all, it will suffice that it be the depository of the daily savings of each."

But how it can happen that "a nation of functionaries" should manage so abominably the business the state has now on its hands, and yet should hereafter take such excellent care of the daily savings of each workman as to deserve, in any degree, the title of the "Terrestrial Providence of all?" The mistake is in committing any such matters to any government at all. To change the matters, or even to change the men, is to leave the root of the evil untouched. At the very best, corruption and favour even supposed apart, such affairs cannot be managed by the vast, complicated, practically irresponsible, and stiffly-ruled agency which alone a government can employ. The "daily savings" would soon fare, in its hands, just as have done the octroi, the aides, and the registration, the forests and the domains, the tobacco, the Latin and the prayers.

These discussions, arising rather from M. E. de Girardin's other plans, than from the direct taxation of property, serve, however, to show that there is no real connexion between the two subjects. His views of taxation may be wholly true, his other plans may be at the same time wholly mistaken. In as far as both are founded, as by our author, on reasons of mere expediency, they clearly have no necessary dependence on each other. In as far as the direct and exclusive taxation of visible property is deduced, as by us, from the true nature and relations of government, it rests on principles wholly incompatible with M. de Girardin's plans.

We take leave of this book with great respect. Its fulness of facts, incisive vigour of expression, earnest advocacy of a great reform, and manifest singleness of purpose, entitle it to praise, from which its occasional

contradiction of principles or obscurity of views ought to make but little deduction. Nor has its errors, as we deem them, an insufficient excuse in that overpowering pressure on the judgment which the highly abnormal condition of France and Frenchmen must exercise over the strongest intellect. If we have any regret in recommending this book to the earnest examination of the mysteries of taxation, it is only that a different arrangement, or a copious index, does not give them a readier mastery of its multifarious and most important details.

We have now cleared the ground for an impartial consideration of the financial revision submitted to the country by Mr. Disraeli.

## ON THE CULTIVATION OF FLAX.

### SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES AND FIGURES.

To our previous articles on this subject, we ought to have added the fact that, of some 150,000 ships and coasters employed in the marine of Great Britain, it is supposed that *not one is fitted with stores manufactured from flax of home growth*; that in order to supply necessities for these vessels, and for domestic use, the produce, not of 400,000 acres, as stated roughly in our first letter, but of 700,000, as assumed by Sir James Graham, would be annually required to displace foreign importations of flax, hemp, and jute; and that to effect this, we only require to multiply the present growth of Ireland by five. Of the 150,000 acres supposed to be now grown in Great Britain, Ireland in 1851 contributed as much as 138,000, and with a further development of her resources, could herself increase the supply of flax beyond the requirements of the British empire.

These are facts which admit of no dispute, and when we further remark that 10% is a very moderate profit out of an acre of flax, and that it is in the power of our agriculturists to create a clear annual gain to themselves of at least 7,000,000*l.* more than they now divide, by admitting flax as a regular rotation crop, we shall have stated our case without any exaggeration.

It may be thought that the displacement of our foreign importations by an equal quantity of home growth will tend to lower the price, and so render the culture unprofitable. Our answer is that *raw cotton is now, on the average, double the price of raw flax, while linens are retailed at a price more than double that of calico, weight for weight*, and that so long as this state of things is permitted to exist, the value of flax will be maintained. Ireland, in 1848, grew 53,863 acres, and 138,619 acres in 1851, and yet the quotations of raw flax in the Irish markets have not diminished. Whenever the average price falls to one half (and we only hope we may live to see the day) the farmer may then consider whether the cultivation of flax is worth his further attention. It is as easily relinquished as it is undertaken, and it will be time enough to cry when we are hurt!

We could dilate upon this subject "*usque ad nauseam*," and never tire. But we refrain. We have contributed more than our fair share of seed in this field of gold. We will let it germinate in peace, confident that, sooner or later, in proportion as our landlords neglect or study the questions which most affect our national and domestic prosperity, the flax cause will flourish. Decay it never can, in any country where it has once taken a firm root!

### "WATERLOO!" HUSH!

Was that Waterloo that Westland Marston touched upon in the monody at the Princess's Theatre on the night of the funeral? "Oh no, we never mention it!"—at least not in authorised assemblages of Englishmen. Marston's own published version indeed contains the passage that the public missed; and if he had been fully recited four lines of the following extract ought to have been followed by the passage within brackets:—

"For not to him we give the more acclaim  
That greets the Conqueror. His was higher fame.  
The sword that led our squadrons to the fight—  
Ne'er drawn in vain—*was ever drawn for right.*"

"Whether with patient foot on India's shore  
He tracked the winding "Tiger of Mysore;"  
Or at Assaye—the foe piled rank on rank—  
Breasted a sea of fire, and on its bank,  
Planted our banner; or when Douro's coast  
Lay black 'neath hostile thunder, looked and crossed;  
Or built our eyry on the entrenched height  
Of Torres Vedras, thence to sweep in night  
Upon usurping valour; or last, throw  
His sword into the fate of Waterloo,  
Poised up the scale where realm on realm was hurled,  
And *evened the wrong'd balance of the world.*"

Marston wrote thus; but at the performance, licensed by the Lord Chamberlain and checked by the censor, the passage was not delivered. Why? Did the official mind suppose that at these reminiscences of English triumph, the audience of the Princess's, fired like the guests at Alexander's feast, would seize the stage weapons, and take the steamer for a renewal of the conflict. We might do

so, seeing that even now, on the very soil of Belgium, re-Imperial France is avenging the defeat of her arms by the encroachments of her intrigues, and is regaining the Flemish field by an army of native priests. But "England" no longer meets her on that field, although the uncle of England's Queen is now the sovereign there, and a constitutional monarchy is at stake. Or was it felt that an English audience, led by recent appearances, might take Downing-street for France, Lord Malmesbury for Louis Napoleon, and consummate Waterloo by a storming of the Foreign Office—foreign in so many senses. We know not: we only know that certain Englishmen are growing ashamed of English victories, or are afraid to mention them lest it "offend the foreigner." If we are no longer to mention our victories on the English stage—even T. P. Cooke is no more to gag but to be gagged—the censor should look out for other offensive manifestations. If Marston be castigated, why not constrain Macaulay? Why not rechristen our streets. Let Waterloo-place be called Fontenoy-square; let Trafalgar-square be Thiers's-parade; cancel the name of Wellington wherever it appears, and call the Thirty-third Regiment "Louis Napoleon's own."

### HOW AND WHERE "ENGLAND" ASSERTS HERSELF.

FAITHFUL to a principle which it has established for its own guidance, the present Ministry has at last interfered on behalf of a British subject. A Mr. Stead has been arrested in Prussia without reason, and he finds a champion in Lord Goderich, who demands explanation. Mr. Stead, it appears, has been released, but our Foreign Office has sent a "strong remonstrance." A very proper act; but if you remonstrate with Prussia for outrage on an English subject, why not with Austria, why not with Naples—states which have committed so many and so much worse outrages?

We cannot tell the reason, but we can only note certain differences between those states and Prussia. Prussia is not so arbitrary as Austria or Naples; has not committed such bad outrages on liberty or Englishmen; has not so obstinately withheld reparation; and is not, in short, so thoroughly anti-English. Thus, whatever their motives, Ministers stick to their rule of never doing the right thing if they can help it, but if they can't, they do the right thing in the wrong place, at the wrong time, and in the wrong way.

### TWO WELLINGTON AUTOGRAPHS.

OUR contemporary, the *United Service Gazette*, has editorially cautioned the purchasers of Wellington autographs, that the greater number of letters supposed to be written by the Duke's own hand during the last ten years, were in fact written by his secretary. In any case we should have been little disposed to recommend autographs, however authentic. The sale of these mementos smacks too much of that trading in death which Mr. Charles Dickens has stigmatized in *Household Words*. But in the present case, we believe we are serving a meritorious and charitable intention in drawing notice to two notes in the handwriting of the Duke, for the authenticity of which we believe we can vouch, and which are now to be sold for the relief of a case of very severe and undeserved distress. The case is briefly as follows. In 1840, General Alava, an old comrade of the Duke, and one of his aides-de-camp at Waterloo, was ambassador from Spain to the Court of St. James's. One day a Spanish lady called at the embassy, representing herself as the widow of a M. de Carabassa, who had been Spanish ambassador in Portugal, but compromised with his Government by services rendered to Don Carlos in exile, had subsequently been driven as a refugee to London, where, after years of distress, he died, leaving a widow and young family. General Alava, on finding the lady's story to be strictly true, set about to seek relief for her distress; and among those friends to whose charity he applied with most success in her behalf, was the Duke of Wellington. The two letters to which we are calling attention are addressed by the Duke to his old friend, General Alava, on this subject. They are singularly characteristic: written half in Spanish, and half in French. In the style of intimate friendship, the Duke complains of the illegibility of the General's request: the Duke's own hand-writing at that time being not so difficult to decipher as it afterwards became. General Alava's intimacy with the Duke is itself a guarantee for the genuineness of the autographs: the General having given them to the lady who is now anxious to dispose of them in behalf of the same poor widow and family, whom she had formerly assisted General Alava to relieve. We may add, that when the General offered these autographs to the lady who now owns them, she declined the gift, but he insisted, with these words, "Never reject what comes from a great man." We repeat, that in drawing notice to these two autographs, we are simply complying with the request of charity; and we believe we may, without doubt, vouch for their authenticity.



## 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*.

COPYRIGHT in America is not only a consummation devoutly to be wished by all English writers, as a matter of pecuniary interest, but equally as a matter of integrity, for at present their names and their works are subject to very unpleasant liberties. The American pirates, like the gypsies, smirch the faces of stolen children to make them pass as their own; and even when a name is given, it often happens that the owner of that name would be considerably outraged by the pretended parentage. In turning over an American catalogue, we find BULWER credited as the author of the *Roué*, and the *Oxonians*; those works being anonymous, BULWER'S name is as good as any other to place on the title-page! *Agnes Grey* is also put down to CURRIER BELL, though not anonymous. But HARRISON AINSWORTH has most cause of complaint, for he is charged with a small catalogue of Newgate literature; *The Illustrated Life of Dick Turpin, highwayman, burglar, murderer, &c.*; *Life of Henry Thomas, the western burglar and murderer*; *Life and Adventures of Ninon de l'Enclos, with her Letters on Love, Courtship, and Marriage*; *The Pictorial Newgate Calendar, &c.* This is what comes of writing Jack Sheppard!

This is magazine week. *Frazer* and *Blackwood* are agreeable and various, but not striking; *Tait* and *Bentley* give average numbers. It may be the accident of our own mood, it may be the fault of the writers, but we have read nothing in the magazines which can call forth such brief comment as we usually find space for; however, it is well to take the pleasantest alternative, so let the fault be laid at our door.

In another part of our paper, the subject of the Chamberlain's interference with MARSTON'S *Monody* is treated as a question of political significance, so that we only allude to it in passing as a topic of literary gossip. Report also says that all allusions to LOUIS NAPOLEON in the forthcoming *Pantomimes* are interdicted; we shall not be astonished soon to hear that "disrespectful allusions" to the Devil are interdicted, in deference to his Satanic Majesty. Satan has had his apologists, no less than the "saviour of society." Among the public lectures of that wandering knight-errant of philosophy, GIORDANO BRUNO, was an "Apology for the Devil," full of fine irony, we doubt not. Every one remembers the pitying verse of BURNS; every one loves the magnificent imagery of MILTON, wherein Satan shines with a dusky splendour, which makes him the real hero of *Paradise Lost*; but modern science might, in playful zoologic mood, make out a strong case for his necessary innocence, grounding it on his *hoofs and horns*, the indications of a graminivorous, peaceable, non-aggressive type!

The death of Lady LOVELACE, at the same age as that of her illustrious father, BYRON, calls for a passing remark among the events which chequer the literary world. Not only by right of her own great parentage, but by right, also, of her unusual accomplishments in Science, she deserves a notice. Those who moved within her circle know how admirable a mathematician she was, and how clear and decisive her grasp of scientific generalities; to those without that circle it is enough to say, that for a long time she was credited as the writer of perhaps the most remarkable philosophic work which has been produced for many years in science, *The Vestiges*, a work which, sneered at by hundreds every way incompetent to apprehend its real scope and value, it is, nevertheless, a considerable honour to be credited with—and Lady LOVELACE had that honour.

## EARTH, PLANTS, AND MAN.

*The Earth, Plants, and Man. Popular Pictures of Nature.* By J. F. Schouw. *Sketches from the Mineral Kingdom.* By Francis von Kobell. Translated and edited by Arthur Henfrey, F.R.S. (Bohn's Scientific Library.) H. G. Bohn.

MR. BOHN really deserves that poor students should erect a small monument to him, for the steadiness with which he continues to issue solid books at low prices. The last addition to his excellent Scientific Library is a very superior translation, by Arthur Henfrey, of two popular German works, Schouw on *Earth, Plants, and Man*, and Kobell, *Sketches of Minerals*. Professor Schouw's name, familiar to all botanists, will draw attention to these "pictures of Nature," and although the philosophic student may complain of some very indifferent reasoning, and a general want of organization in the materials, which makes the volume nothing more than a series of detached "articles" on various topics; nevertheless, even the philosophic student will not be ungrateful for the multiplicity of facts, while the general reader will be delighted with the "pictures of Nature," somewhat sketchily portrayed in this work. There are as many as thirty essays on plants of former epochs, on rain, malaria, repetitions of nature, Alpine plants, Etna, mountain rumbles, the part played by forests in nature and human life, geography of bread plants, the coffee tree, tea tree, sugar-cane, vine, cotton plant, pepper plant, flax, tobacco, the characteristic plants of nations, the action of the human race upon nature, &c. Very pleasant reading and very instructive details, but labouring under the disadvantage of being aimless details. Here is a sample:—

## CLIMATE AND CHARACTER.

"Nothing is commoner than to hear persons talk of the warm blood of the South Europeans, which is supposed to depend upon the warm climate, and there must produce violent outbursts of passions. This is used to explain the bloody

revenge of the Corsicans. But the Hindoo, who lives in a far warmer climate than the Italian, is brought forward as an instance of patience and resignation; while the Turk, who has come to Europe from warmer regions, is noted for his phlegmatic temperament. Is the Dutchman more passionate than the Norwegian or Scotchman? and whence came the sanguinary vindictiveness of olden times to Scandinavia, nay even in the cold Iceland?

"It is imagined that mountaineers possess more strength, or more energetic character, and a more warlike spirit than the inhabitants of plains; the character of the latter is supposed to be softer. Thus it is thought the Norwegian and Swede are more energetic than the Dane. Mountainous countries, perhaps, afford more numerous examples of obstinate defences behind the cliffs of narrow valleys but a man is not to be called more courageous because he has a good shield. The soil of Denmark, however, has not sunk since that time when it sent out those combatants who kept the population of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean coasts in terror; whence did they acquire their spirit, and has it now really vanished? They were inhabitants of the plain of Northern Germany who rose against Napoleon's despotism; the July revolution took place in the plains, and in the plains did the Poles, alas in vain! fight probably the last battle for their liberty.

"It is believed that the great pre-eminence of the Europeans above the inhabitants of the rest of the world is caused by Europe being so intersected by the sea, and so free from elevated plains, so that communication between the nations is much facilitated. But in the great Indian Archipelago, or in the Archipelago of the West Indies, communion is still easier. The cause of the earlier civilization in India and Egypt is sought in the great rivers Indus, Ganges, and Nile, which so greatly facilitate intercourse; but civilization did not exist on the largest rivers of the world, the South American Amazon and Plata, until the Europeans brought it."

Let us also draw attention to the following curious passage on

## THE EARLY INHABITANTS OF FORESTS.

"Turning our attention, lastly, to the human race, we see that nations in the lowest stage of development are sometimes closely connected with the forests. In the colder lands, where the trees ordinarily bear no edible, or at least no well-flavoured or nourishing fruits, it is the game which chiefly furnishes the inhabitants with food and clothing; these races then appear chiefly as hunters, such as the aborigines of North America. In the torrid zone, on the contrary, races in the same stage of culture live principally upon the fruits of the trees or the pith of the trunks, like some of the tribes of Brazil, some of the inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago, and several races of negroes. South America even affords an example of a race who, almost like monkeys, live upon the trees; whose existence, in fact, is to a great extent bound to a certain species of tree. There are the Guarauni, at the mouth of the Orinoco, who live by and upon the Mauritia palm. While the ground is flooded, mats woven from the leaf-stalks of those palms are suspended between the trunks; these mats are covered with clay, so that fires can be made upon them, and here the Guarauni sleep, and pass a great portion of their lives. The trunk furnishes a fecula; the juice, a palm-wine; and the fruits are well-flavoured, mealy at first, and afterwards sweet."

This fact of men living upon trees, like the chimpanzee, is worth noting by all inquirers into the development hypothesis.

Apropos of development, that hypothesis is touched on indirectly in the early chapters of this work, wherein Professor Schouw discusses the origin of plants. His editor, Mr. Henfrey, seems alarmed, lest even the small approach to that hypothesis indicated in these chapters, should be allowed to find acceptance here. We cannot say that the reasonings of Professor Schouw strike us forcibly:

"A little bay of the Odensefiord was dyked in about thirty years ago. One of the landowners resident there is fortunately a meritorious botanist, M. Hofman. He has been very attentive to the overgrowing of the reclaimed land, and kept a journal of the changes which occurred upon the tract converted from sea-bottom into dry land. A scientific and friendly contest arose between my friend and myself, whether the plants which gradually came to light in this way, originated from seeds which had come in one way or another on to the reclaimed land, or owed their existence to the so-called spontaneous origin (equivocal generation), which latter opinion was maintained by M. Hofman. Whichever opinion be adopted, this much is certain, that the newly originated plants were not new species; so that we have here again, as it appears, an evidence that the natural forms now at work are incapable of producing new ones."

Setting aside the question of equivocal generation, which has no place here, what force is there in the fact that the new appearances were not new species, *i. e.*, species unknown in other parts of the globe? Does not the development hypothesis maintain that wherever the conditions are precisely similar, the results will be similar? and, in the above instance, as the sea-bottom became converted into dry land, ought we not to expect that the vegetation would be analogous to that of other spots of dry land where the conditions were analogous? Otherwise, what is the meaning of an Alpine flora, for example?

"The zone which lies between the upper limit of the growth of trees (tree-limit) and the lower limit of the everlasting snow (snow-line) is called the Alpine zone, and the plants met with here are called *Alpine plants*. This flora has so remarkable a resemblance to the Polar flora that it must be combined with it. Not only are almost all the families and the greater part of the genera the same, but even a considerable number of species are common to both—a fact the more remarkable, since there lie between the Alps and the nearest Norwegian mountains, where this flora occurs again, extensive plains, or at most only mountains not rising high enough for these plants to flourish upon them.

"The Polar flora, or, as we may also call it, the Alpine flora, is not merely met with in the higher regions of the Alps—the highest mountains of Europe—it is found everywhere in Europe and the northern part of Asia and America, where mountain masses present themselves high enough to furnish a suitable climate to these plants in their more elevated districts. Hence we find this flora in the Pyrenees, in the Sierra Nevada, the Carpathians, and the Caucasus; in the Norwegian, Scotch, and Icelandic mountains; and traces of it are seen on the highest peaks of the Apennines and the Grecian chains; it is seen also in the Altai and other Asiatic mountains, and on the higher chains of North America."

Overlooking this point, the professor naïvely goes to history for confirmation. He consults the work of a botanist living one hundred and sixty years ago, and, from his description of the forest of Charlottenland, finds that the same plants which grew there then grow there at the present

day, though mingled with some new species. He goes even further back, and summons history to the bar. Theophrastus and Herodotus are in the witness-box. From them we see that the corn, pomegranate, grape, dates, olives of our day, were the products of that day also. What then? Unless the *conditions of growth* have been removed, why should there be an alteration of growth? The sun shines on the mud-banks of the overflowing Nile as ardently and as constantly as in days of yore. "He loved her then as now." Wherever there is permanence of conditions there is permanence of result. The argument, therefore, that

"If the vegetable kingdom has remained unaltered for more than 2000 years, it is in the highest degree probable that it was not subject to change long further back in historical time; and, therefore, it is in this way also rendered exceedingly likely, though not strictly proved, *that no new species of plant has originated in the historical period.*"

seems to us wide of the mark, nay, demonstrably false. Let us consider it. The professor continues the passage with this avowal of the conditions being unchanged:—

"If the vegetable kingdom has remained unchanged, this must have been the case with the climate also; for climate and vegetation stand in such close connexion, that alterations of climatal conditions must necessarily bring about changes in vegetation; a total change when the climate is greatly altered; a partial when the alterations are slighter. But there are other reasons besides, which testify to the constancy of the climate.

"The changes which the surface of the earth itself has undergone, through volcanic eruptions, elevations, earthquakes, altered course of rivers, the action of the sea on coasts, &c., are, taken as a whole, too inconsiderable to be taken into consideration when speaking of Nature at large.

"We thus arrive to the remarkable conclusion, that the same nature which surrounds us, also surrounded our Pagan forefathers thousands of years ago; that the same Nature in which the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans lived, also surrounds the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans of the present day."

The answer is, If certain climatal conditions which produce certain organic forms remain permanent, the forms will be permanent also; if the Nature surrounding us is in these respects the same as the Nature of the Egyptians, then will the corn, pomegranates, &c., be the same. Species are only produced by a *specialization of the general into the particular*, owing to some particular change in the conditions to which the organism has to be adapted; and if you say that, in spite of its fifteen hundred varieties, the primitive crab-apple, from which they are all produced, nevertheless remains to testify to the "fixity of species"—if you choose to quibble, and call that a "variety" which others would call a "species" (the difference between species and varieties being only the difference between *profound* and *superficial* modifications), we ask you, Is a dog a different species from a serpent? yet both are varieties of the vertebrate structure—the vertebral column remains *permanent*, because the general conditions to which it is adapted remain equally for the serpent, without any modifications, in the shape of appendages, as for the dog; but although these *general* conditions corresponding to the general type remain permanent, there have been *particular* conditions which in past times modified the general structure, and produced variations from the type; just as in the geologic epochs the change in the climatal conditions produced flowering and fruit-bearing plants, *without, however, preventing the existence of flowerless plants.* Professor Schouw says:—

"The easiest way in which we can imagine the origin of new species, must be, either that an existing species assumes other characters through alterations of the climate or soil, or *that accidental deviations from the normal type become constant through isolation.* In this manner *fixed varieties are formed*, which sometimes *deserve to be regarded as species*; but in cases of this kind which present themselves, the result has been brought about by the assistance of *cultivation*; so far as I am aware, we have no certain facts in regard to this point from natural conditions."

What foggyne prevents men from seeing that the *cultivation* so much insisted on, is nothing but a change in the conditions? To say, as is said here, that we have no evidence from "natural conditions," is asserting that Nature has undergone no changes, when the very fact of different results proves that there must have been differences in the influence!

There can be no doubt that the differences we observe between species are very great, but these differences may have had a common origin, just as all the oxides and carbonates have common origins in oxygen and carbon; and if any man attentively considers the enormous differences produced through a series of progressive changes, which, starting from a structureless cell, passes through the forms of leaf, stem, stamen, pistil, &c., he will not find it difficult to conceive how the *various modifications* we name *species*, have arisen. A stamen is always a stamen, never a leaf; just as much as a dahlia is always a dahlia, never an aster; yet in spite of the "fixity of form" (no less *fixed* than the famous "fixity of species," admitting also its endless "varieties," but always remaining a leaf)—there is no scientific botanist now who doubts the truth of Goethe's discovery that the stamen is only a modification of the leaf. To the argument that a dahlia is never a cauliflower, we reply, a leaf is never a stamen, never a bud, never a seed, but always a leaf; the stamen always a stamen, the bud always a bud. It is true the leaf will not reproduce leaves, as dahlias reproduce dahlias, but that difference in the analogy does not destroy it; one may call the leaf a *hybrid* modification, in the reproductive sense. The bud, however, if separated from the plant, will reproduce the plant, just as dahlia reproduces dahlia. The whole question of species is so confused by metaphysical assumptions, that no wonder men are foggy in their attempts to explain it. We have no space for more than these indications of our opinion.

#### THE CLOISTER LIFE OF CHARLES V.

*The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth.* By William Stirling, Author of "Annals of the Artists of Spain." J. W. Parker and Son.

THE voluntary abdication of Charles the Fifth, in the plenitude of his imperial power, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, saddened by incurable sorrows, broken in health, without hope and energy to play out the rest

of his life on a throne, has always been an event which moralists and historians have delighted to consider; and here, at last, we have an erudite, elegant, unexaggerated, and sensible book, setting forth the story in all its details, and never once sacrificing the powerful effect of truth to the factitious effect of "picturesqueness" or "point," so absurdly sought after by moderns. It is a perfectly charming book: the erudition is minute, without pedantry or dullness; the style is quiet, elegant, unassumingly graphic. We commend it to a place on every historical shelf.

Who has not felt the desire to abdicate? We all of us occupy thrones, of greater or smaller significance in life; we have all our parts to play, our crowns to bear as burdens or as triumphs; and in moments of sadness, when health and hope are gone, when the elastic energy "which made ambition virtue," has left us, we all wish that we could abdicate and retire to some solitude for repose. "O that I had the wings of the dove, to flee away and be at rest," is the psalm of thousands, and wherefore not of kings and emperors? If no monastery of Yuste is ready to receive us, we play the part out on the scene where we began it; and read with something of envy the narrative of an emperor's retreat.

Charles did not fly from his throne as emperors and monarchs have done in our day, terrified at their uprising subjects; he stepped down from it with dignity, realizing a long-cherished plan, formed in hours of security and happiness. On the first aspect, there is something sorrowfully grand about the act; if, on a second glance, we see collateral details which detract from its dignity, they only prove this life to be the "mingled yarn" of great and small, heroic and familiar we all know it to be. Thackeray, who loves to point with a quiet sarcasm to the *reverse* side of the tapestry of life, would delight in such a glimpse of the abdicated emperor as we have here:—

"In this matter of eating, as in many other habits, the emperor was himself a true Fleming. His early tendency to gout was increased by his indulgences at table, which generally far exceeded his feeble powers of digestion. Roger Ascham, standing 'hard by the imperial table at the feast of golden fleece,' watched with wonder the emperor's progress through 'sod beef, roast mutton, baked hare,' after which 'he fed well of a capon,' drinking also, says the fellow of St. John's, 'the best that ever I saw; he had his head in the glass five times as long as any of them, and never drank less than a good quart at once of Rhenish wine.' Eating was now the only physical gratification which he could still enjoy, or was unable to resist. He continued, therefore, to dine to the last upon the rich dishes, against which his ancient and trusty confessor, cardinal Loaysa, had protested a quarter of a century before. The supply of his table was a main subject of the correspondence between the mayordomo and the secretary of state. The weekly courier from Valladolid to Lisbon was ordered to change his route that he might bring, every Thursday, a provision of eels and other rich fish (*pescado grueso*) for Friday's fast. There was a constant demand for anchovies, tunny, and other potted fish, and sometimes a complaint that the trouts of the country were too small; the olives, on the other hand, were too large, and the emperor wished, instead, for olives of Perejon. One day, the secretary of state was asked for some partridges from Gama, a place from whence the emperor remembers that the count of Osorno once sent him, into Flanders, some of the best partridges in the world. Another day, sausages were wanted 'of the kind which the queen Juana, now in glory, used to pride herself in making, in the Flemish fashion, at Tordesillas,' and for the receipt for which the secretary is referred to the marquess of Denia. Both orders were punctually executed. The sausages, although sent to a land supreme in that manufacture, gave great satisfaction. Of the partridges, the emperor said that they used to be better, ordering, however, the remainder to be pickled.

"The emperor's weakness being generally known or soon discovered, dainties of all kinds were sent to him as presents. Mutton, pork, and game were the provisions most easily obtained at Xarandilla; but they were dear. The bread was indifferent, and nothing was good and abundant but chestnuts, the staple food of the people. But in a very few days the castle larder wanted for nothing. One day the count of Oropesa sent an offering of game; another day a pair of fat calves arrived from the archbishop of Zaragoza; the archbishop of Toledo and the duchess of Frias were constant and munificent in their gifts of venison, fruit, and preserves; and supplies of all kinds came at regular intervals from Seville and from Portugal.

"Luis Quijada, who knew the emperor's habits and constitution well, beheld with dismay these long trains of mules laden, as it were, with gout and bile. He never acknowledged the receipt of the good things from Valladolid without adding some dismal forebodings of consequent mischief; and along with an order he sometimes conveyed a hint that it would be much better if no means were found of executing it. If the emperor made a hearty meal without being the worse for it, the mayordomo noted the fact with exultation; and he remarked with complacency his majesty's fondness for plovers, which he considered harmless. But his office of purveyor was more commonly exercised under protest; and he interposed between his master and an *cel-pie* as, in other days, he would have thrown himself between the imperial person and the point of a Moorish lance."

The Emperor was a man, and a Fleming; this love of eating, though it may mar a picture composed according to the "dignity of history," does not really lessen the effect. He was in earnest; had he been acting a part, he would have preserved his "dignity" with more care.

We have so much to borrow from this volume, that we must be sparing of our own reflections. Let us peep at the Emperor in his monastery:—

"A great monarch, leaving of his own free will his palace and the purple for sackcloth and a cell, is so fine a study, that history, misled, nothing loath, by pulpit declamation, has delighted to discover such a model ascetic in the emperor at Yuste. 'His apartments, when prepared for his reception,' says Sandoval, 'seemed rather to have been newly pillaged by the enemy, than for a great prince; the walls were bare, except in his bed-chamber, which was hung with black cloth; the only valuables in the house were a few pieces of plate of the plainest kind; his dress, always black, was usually very old; and he sat in an old arm chair, with half a seat, and not worth four reals.' This picture, accurate in only two of the details, is quite false in its general effect. The emperor's conventual abode, judging by the inventory of its contents, was probably not worse furnished than many of the palaces in which his reigning days had been passed. He was not surrounded at Yuste with the splendours of his host of Augsburg; but neither did the fashions of the sumptuous Fugger prevail at Ghent or Innsbruck, Valsain or Segovia. He liked black-cloth instead of arras, for his bed-room hangings; but he had brought from Flanders suits of rich tapestry, wrought with figures, landscapes, or flowers,



more than sufficient to hang the rest of the apartments; the supply of cushions, eider-down quilts, and linen, was luxuriously ample; his friends sat on chairs covered with black velvet; and he himself reposed either on a chair with wheels, or in an easy chair which is described as having six cushions and a footstool belonging to it. Of gold and silver plate, he had upwards of thirteen thousand ounces; he washed his hands in silver basins with water poured from silver ewers; the meanest utensil of his chamber was the same noble material; and from the brief descriptions of his cups, vases, candlesticks, and salt-cellars, it seems probable that his table was graced with several masterpieces of Tobbia and Cellini.

“In his dress he had ever been plain to parsimony, and therefore it was not very likely that he should turn dandy in the cloister. His suit of sober black was no doubt the same, or such another, as that painted by Titian in the fine portrait wherein the emperor still sits before us, pale, thoughtful, and dignified, in the Belvidere palace at Vienna; and he probably often gave audience in such a ‘gowne of black taffety and furred nightcap, like a great codpiece,’ as Roger Ascham saw him in, ‘sitting sick in his chamber’ at Augsburg, and looking so like Roger’s friend, ‘the parson of Epurstone.’ In his soldier-days he would knot and patch a broken sword belt until it would have disgraced a private trooper; and he even carried his love of petty economy so far, that being caught near Naumburg in a shower, he took off his velvet cap, which happened to be new, and sheltered it under his arm, going bareheaded in the rain until an old cap was brought him from the town. His jewel-case was, as might be supposed, rather miscellaneous than valuable in its contents, amongst which may be mentioned a few rings and bracelets, some medals and buttons to be worn in the cap, several collars and badges of various sizes of the Golden Fleece, some crucifixes of gold and silver, various charms, such as the bezoar-stone against the plague, and gold rings from England against cramp, a morsel of the true cross, and other reliques, three or four pocket-watches, and several dozen pairs of spectacles.

“If the emperor despised the vulgar gew-gaws of wealth and power, his retreat was adorned with some pictures, few, but well chosen, and worthy of a discerning lover of art, and the patron and friend of Titian. A composition on the subject of the Trinity, and three pictures of Our Lady, by that great master, filled the apartments with poetry and beauty; and as specimens of his skill in another style, there were portraits of the recluse himself and of his empress. Our Lord bearing his cross, and several other sacred pictures, came from the easel of ‘Maestro Miguel’—probably Michael Cock, of Antwerp, famous for his skill in copying, and his dishonesty in appropriating the works of Raphael. Three cased miniatures of the empress, painted in her youthful beauty, and soon after the honeymoon in the Alhambra, kept alive Charles’s recollection of the wife whom he had lost; and Mary Tudor, knitting her forbidding brows on a panel of Antonio Moore, hung on the wall, to remind him of the wife whom he had escaped, and of the kingdom which his son had conquered in that prudent alliance. Philip himself, his sisters the princess-regent, the queen of Bohemia, and the duchess of Parma, and the king of France, portrayed on canvas, or in relief on plain medallions, likewise helped by their effigies to enliven the apartments of the emperor, as well as by their policy to occupy his daily thoughts and nightly dreams. Long tradition, which there seems little reason to doubt, adds, that over the high-altar of the convent, and in sight of his own bed, he had placed that celebrated composition called the ‘Glory of Titian,’ a picture of the last judgment, in which Charles, his wife, and their royal children were represented in the master’s grandest style, as conducted by angels into life eternal. And another masterpiece of the great Venetian—St. Jerome praying in his cavern, with a sweet landscape in the distance—is also reputed to have formed the apposite altar-piece in the private oratory of the emperor.

“ Music, ever one of the favourite pleasures of Charles, here also lent its charms to soothe the cares which followed him from the world, and the dyspœsia from which he would not even try to escape. A little organ, of exquisite tone, was long kept at the Escorial, with the tradition, that it had been the companion of his journeys, and the solace of his evenings, when encamped before Tunis. The order of St. Jerome being desirous to gratify the taste of their guest, the general had reinforced the choir of Yuste with fourteen or fifteen friars, chosen from the different monasteries under his sway, for their fine voices and musical skill. In the management of the choir and organ, the emperor took a lively interest ; and from the window of his bedroom his voice might often be heard to accompany the chant of the friars. His ear never failed to detect a wrong note, and the mouth whence it came ; and he would frequently mention the name of the offender, with the addition of *hideputa bermejo*, or some other epithet savouring more of the camp than the cloister. A singing master from Plasencia being one day in the church, ventured to join in the service ; but he had not sung many bars before orders came down from the palace that the interloper should be silenced or turned out. Guerrero, a chapel-master of Seville, having composed and presented to the emperor a book of masses and motets, one of the former was soon selected for performance at Yuste. When it was ended, the imperial critic remarked to his confessor that Guerrero was a cunning thief ; and going over the piece, he pointed out the stolen passages, and named the masters whose works had suffered pillage.

“The simple and regular habits of Charles accorded well with the monotony of monastic life. Every morning, father Regla appeared at the bed-side to inquire how he had passed the night, and to assist him in his private devotions. He then rose and was dressed by his valets ; after which he heard mass, going down, when his health permitted, into the church. According to his invariable custom, which in Italy was said to have given rise to the saying, *dalla messa, alla mensa*, from mass to mess, he went from these devotions to dinner about noon. The meal was long ; for his appetite was voracious ; his hands were so disabled with gout that carving, which he nevertheless insisted on doing for himself, was a tedious process ; and even mastication was slow and difficult, his teeth being so few and far between. The physician attended him at table, and at least learned the causes of the mischief which his art was to counteract. The patient, while he dined, conversed with the doctor on matters of science, generally of natural history ; and if any difference of opinion arose, father Regla was sent for to settle the point out of Pliny. The cloth being drawn, the confessor usually read aloud from one of the emperor’s favourite divines, Augustine, Jerome, or Bernard, an exercise which was followed by conversation, and an hour of slumber. At three o’clock the monks were mustered in the convent to hear a sermon delivered by one of the imperial preachers, or a passage read by Fray Bernardino de Salinas from the Bible, frequently from the epistle to the Romans, the book which the emperor preferred. To these discourses or readings Charles always listened with profound attention ; and if sickness or

business compelled him to be absent, he never failed to send a formal excuse to the prior, and to require from his confessor an account of what had been preached or read. The rest of the afternoon was devoted to seeing the official people from court, or to the transaction of business with his secretary.

“Sometimes the workshop of Torriano was the resource of the emperor’s spare time. He was very fond of clocks and watches, and curious in reckoning to a fraction the hours of his retired leisure.

“ Sometimes the emperor fed his pet birds—of the sylvan sort—which appear to have succeeded in his affections the stately wolf-hounds that followed at his heel in the days when he sat to Titian; or he sauntered among his trees and flowers, down to the little summer-house looking out upon the Vera; or sometimes, but more rarely, he strolled into the forest with his gun, and shot a few of the wood-pigeons which peopled the great chestnut-trees. His out-door exercise was always taken on foot, or if the gout forbade, in his chair or litter; for the first time that he mounted his pony he was seized with a violent giddiness, and almost fell into the arms of his attendants. Such was the last appearance in the saddle of the accomplished cavalier, of whom his soldiers used to say, ‘that had he not been born a king he would have been the prince of light-horsemen, and whose seat and hand on the bay charger presented to him by our bluff king Hal, won, at Calais-gate, the applause of the English knights fresh from those tournaments,—

Where England vied with France in pride on the famous field of gold. Next came vespers; and after vespers supper, a meal very much like the dinner, consisting frequently of pickled salmon and other unwholesome dishes, which made Quixada's loyal heart quake within him."

Did Charles ever repent the step?

“It has been frequently asserted that the emperor’s life at Yuste was a long repentance for his resignation of power; and that Philip was constantly tormented, in England or in Flanders, by the fear that his father might one day return to the throne. This idle tale can be accounted for only by the melancholy fact, that historians have found it easier to invent than to investigate. So far from regretting his retirement, Charles refused to entertain several proposals that he should quit it. Although he had abdicated the Spanish crowns, Philip had not yet formally taken possession of them; and the princess-regent, fearing that the turbulent and still free people of Aragon might make that a pretext for refusing the supplies, was desirous that her father should summon and attend a Cortes at Monzon, in which the oath might be solemnly taken to the new king. The emperor’s disinclination to move obliged her to find other means of meeting the difficulty, which was finally surmounted without disturbing his repose. Later in the year, in the autumn of 1557, it was confidently reported that the old cloistered soldier would take the command of an army which it was found necessary to assemble in Navarre, and at one mournful moment he had actually taken it into consideration whether he should leave his choir, his sermons, and his flowers, for the fatigues and privations of a camp. He was often urged, both by the king and the princess-regent, directly by letters, and covertly through his secretary and chamberlain, to instruct the prince of Orange to keep in abeyance as long as possible the deed of imperial abdication; the reason alleged being that when the sceptre had absolutely departed Spanish influence would be woefully weakened, in the duchy of Milan especially, and generally throughout Europe. But on this point Charles would listen neither to argument nor to entreaty: he was willing to exercise his imperial rights so long as they remained to him; but he would not retard by an hour the fulfilment of the exact conditions to which he had subscribed at Brussels. Philip, on his side, seem to have been as free from jealousy as his father was free from repentance. Although frequently implored by his sister to return to Spain and relieve her of the burden of power, he continued in Flanders, maintaining that his presence was of greater importance near the seat of war, and that so long as their father lived and would assist her with his counsel, she would find no great difficulty in conducting the internal affairs of Castille. In truth, Philip’s filial affection and reverence shines like a grain of fine gold in the base metal of his character: his father was the one wise and strong man who crossed his path whom he never suspected, undervalued, or used ill. The jealousy of which he is popularly accused, however, seems at first sight probable, considering the many blacker crimes of which he stands convicted before the world. But the repose of Charles cannot have been troubled with regrets for his resigned power, seeing that in truth he never resigned it at all, but wielded it at Yuste as firmly as he had wielded it at Augsburg or Toledo. He had given up little beyond the trappings of royalty; and his was not a mind to regret the pageant, the guards, and the gold sticks.”

We would fain linger over these pages, but have only room for—

THE LAST SCENE OF ALL.

“About this time, according to the historian of St. Jerome, his thoughts seemed to turn more than usual upon religion and its rites. Whenever, during his stay at Yuste, any of his friends, of the degree of princes or knights of the fleece, had died, he had ever been punctual in doing honour to their memory, by causing their obsequies to be performed by the friars; and these lugubrious services may be said to have formed the festivals of the gloomy life of the cloister. The daily masses said for his own soul were always accompanied by others for the souls of his father, mother, and wife. But now he ordered further solemnities of the funeral kind to be performed in behalf of these relations, each on a different day, and attended them himself, preceded by a page bearing a taper, and joining in the chaunt, in a very devout and audible manner, out of a tattered prayer-book.

"These rites ended, he asked his confessor whether he might not now perform his own funeral, and so do for himself what would soon have to be done for him by others. Regla replied that his majesty, please God, might live many years, and that when his time came these services would be gratefully rendered, without his taking any thought about the matter. 'But,' persisted Charles, 'would it not be good for my soul?' The monk said that certainly it would; pious works done during life being far more efficacious than when postponed till after death. Preparations were therefore at once set on foot; a catafalque which had served before on similar occasions was erected; and on the following day, the thirtieth of August, as the monkish historian relates, this celebrated service was actually performed. The high altar, the catafalque, and the whole church shone with a blaze of wax lights; the friars were all in their places, at the altars, and in the choir, and the household of the emperor attended in deep mourning. 'The pious monarch himself was there attired in sable weeds, and bearing a taper, to see himself interred and to celebrate his own obsequies.' While this solemn mass for the dead was sung he came forward and gave his taper into the hands of the officiating priest,

in token of his desire to yield his soul into the hands of his maker. High above, over the kneeling throng and the gorgeous vestments, the flowers, the curling incense, and the glittering altar, the same idea shone forth in that splendid canvas whereon Titian had pictured Charles kneeling on the threshold of the heavenly mansions prepared for the blessed.

"Many years before self-interment had been practised by a bishop of Liege—cardinal Erard de la Marck, Charles's ambassador to the diet during his election to the imperial throne; an example which may perhaps have led to the ceremonies at Yuste. For several years before his death, in 1528, did this prelate annually rehearse his obsequies and follow his coffin to the stately tomb which he had reared in his cathedral at Liege.

"The funeral-rites ended, the emperor dined in his western alcove. He ate little, but he remained for a great part of the afternoon sitting in the open air, and basking in the sun, which, as it descended to the horizon, beat strongly upon the white walls. Feeling a violent pain in his head, he returned to his chamber and lay down. Mathisio, whom he had sent in the morning to Xarandilla to attend the count of Oropesa in his illness, found him, when he returned, still suffering considerably, and attributed the pain to his having remained too long in the hot sunshine. Next morning he was somewhat better, and was able to get up and go to mass, but still felt oppressed, and complained much of thirst. He told his confessor, however, that the funeral service of the day before had done him good. The sunshine again tempted him into his open gallery. As he sat there, he sent for a portrait of the empress, and hung for some time, lost in thought, over the gentle face, which, with its blue eyes, auburn hair, and pensive beauty, somewhat resembled the noble countenance of that other Isabella, the great queen of Castille. He next called for a picture of Our Lord praying in the garden, and then for a sketch of the Last Judgment, by Titian. Having looked his last upon the image of the wife of his youth, it seemed as if he were now bidding farewell, in the contemplation of these other favourite pictures, to the noble art which he had loved with a love which cares, and years, and sickness could not quench, and that will ever be remembered with his better fame. Thus occupied, he remained so long abstracted and motionless, that Mathisio, who was on the watch, thought it right to awake him from his reverie. On being spoken to, he turned round and complained that he was ill. The doctor felt his pulse, and pronounced him in a fever. Again the afternoon sun was shining over the great walnut-tree, full into the gallery. From this pleasant spot, filled with the fragrance of the garden and the murmur of the fountain, and bright with glimpses of the golden Vera, they carried him to the gloomy chamber of his sleepless nights, and laid him on the bed from which he was to rise no more."

#### CORRESPONDENCE ON BUTLER.

WE have now to lay before our readers the letters received from correspondents in answer to our remarks on *Butler's Analogy*. Our own comments we shall make as brief as possible.

SIR,—A notice of Bishop Butler's Works, which appeared in the *Leader* of the 30th ult., contains strictures as well on the general method of the *Analogy*, as on some of the special doctrines which it undertakes to defend. Into the latter questions it is not my purpose to enter; but I cannot refrain from offering some remarks on the more general one, in the hope that your reviewer, who expresses strong confidence in the cause of truth, may be induced to read the work in a new light.

1. The reviewer complains at the outset that Butler undertakes to *confirm*, not to *prove*, the truth of Christianity. Surely there can be no good ground of complaint against a writer, who undertakes no more than he performs, and performs no more than he undertakes. Butler's tactics are, in the main, defensive. For direct positive arguments the inquirer must look elsewhere.

2. The reviewer accuses Butler of assuming throughout the point at issue. As he has not cited instances of *petitio principii* from the body of the work, I presume that he refers to the following specified points, which, as they are fundamental, may be said to be assumed throughout. The reviewer cites from the Introduction to the *Analogy* Butler's comment on, and deductions from the *dictum* of Origen—"He who believes the Scripture to have proceeded from Him who is the Author of Nature, may well expect to find the same sort of difficulties in it as are found in the constitution of Nature." On this it is observed: (1.) That "He who believes the Scripture," &c., wants no confirmation of his belief. Nobody said he did. For the gist of the argument lies in the converse: "And in a like way of reflections it may be added, that he who *denies* the Scripture to be from God on account of these difficulties—may, for the very same reason, deny the world to have been formed by Him." Let us put a parallel case. As "he who believes the *Choephora* to have proceeded from him who is the author of the *Agamemnon*, may well expect to find the same sort of difficulties in it as are found in the *Agamemnon*;" so, conversely, "he who denies the *Choephora* to have been from Æschylus upon account of these difficulties may, for the very same reason, deny the *Agamemnon* to have been written by him." What unfair assumption or *petitio principii* is there here? But,

2. It is objected, that the difficulties of Nature and the Bible are not parallel—an allegation which, if admissible, destroys the force of my last argument. "The difficulties we find in Nature," says the reviewer, "arise from our not being able to trace the chain of causation throughout all its stages." Such, I suppose, are the unanswered questions of science. But it is not of these that Butler speaks. He is obviously speaking, for the whole context shows it, of those facts in the ordinary course of Nature which appear irreconcilable with either the goodness, wisdom, or power of the creator. Surely there are "internal" or "external" to Nature in exactly the same degree in which the analogous difficulties are "internal" or "external" to the Bible.

(3.) Lastly, the reviewer places among the "details" of Butler's work a point which, in fact, affects the general argument. "If there be an analogy between Natural and Revealed Religion, this is a presumption that they have both the same author." Here it is complained that the terms "Revealed Religion," as before, involve a *petitio principii*. The words, be it observed, are not Butler's, but the reviewer's. However, by "Revelation," the expression actually used, I presume that Butler means that which claims, and is popularly believed to be revealed. Substitute "the Bible," and the argument suffers nothing. Indeed, the reviewer admits its force, and adopts it. "If there is an analogy between Natural and [that which professes to be] Revealed Religion, this is a presumption that they have both the same author." Now, "Natural Religion is the interpretation of the various phenomena of Nature which has grown up in the mind

of men," and is, therefore, of man; therefore, Revealed Religion [so called] is probably so.

I answer, first, that God, who has made all natural objects, and with them our faculties for observing and interpreting them, speaks to us through Nature, and is so far the Author of Natural Religion.

Secondly, that so far as Natural Religion is human—i.e., an inference of human reason from phenomena—there is no analogy between it and the Bible, which is not proved to be such an inference. The analogy to which the reviewer appeals, if it proves anything, proves, not the Bible to be human, but the Creed.

Thirdly, that the reviewer's arguments are wholly wide of the mark, for the simple reason, that he has misquoted his author. Butler speaks, not of "an analogy between Natural and Revealed Religion," but between "the known course of Nature—which all confess to be from God—and 'that system of things and dispensation of Providence which Revelation [i.e., the Bible] informs us of,' and which Christians believe to be equally from God."

I am, Sir, obediently yours,

CRONIPPUS.

We did not quarrel with Butler for performing no more than he intended; we simply pointed out the fact that his argument was powerless against the New Theology, because it never once touched the vital point.

The "parallel case" put by our correspondent does not strike us as conclusive. It is quite true that he who *believes* the *Choephora* to have been written by the author of the *Agamemnon* may expect in both to find the same sort of difficulties; but to him who does *not* believe Æschylus wrote the *Choephora*, the "difficulties" are no proof. Because there are difficulties in the *Koran* and the *Vedas*, no less than in Nature, Cronippus himself would repudiate any argument drawn from those difficulties to prove that God wrote the *Koran* or the *Vedas*. Did Æschylus write the *Choephora* and *Agamemnon*, and did God write the Bible? are the questions which require preliminary settlement; and, as we have seen, Butler throughout *assumes* that God did write the Bible.

We deem it unnecessary to enter further into our correspondents' letter. The reader has it before him, for consideration. One point, however, we must notice; for (by a slip of the pen, we would fain hope) we are accused of having misquoted Butler, in using the terms "Natural and Revealed Religion." The *title-page* of Butler is sufficient answer, had we not taken the sentence said to be misquoted from the very first page of the edition before us—viz., the Analytic Introduction. What is Butler's book entitled? "*The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the constitution and course of Nature.*"

Our second correspondent, *Discipulus*, argues an important point, and suggests a view both subtle and to us novel:—

SIR,—Before observing the allusion to Diderot in a recent number of the *Leader*, and even being unaware of his having proposed the celebrated question,—“If the Almighty has spoken, why is the universe not convinced?” I must confess that, in the course of my own cogitations, a similar idea has occurred to my mind,—namely, that any communication from the Divinity must be expected to be accompanied with evidence irresistible, and so as to compel the unanimous conviction of all beings to whom it is made. I cannot, however, think the question to be absolute and final, in the sense in which you seem to adopt it, because, on the ground of Theism, it is simply inapplicable; because, the questioner being supposed to acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being, he must know that many have denied such existence, and that very many more live and act as if they were under the influence of the same disbelief, and that, consequently, while he wonders at the incredulity which resists the evidence for the Divine Being and operations, he has good reason to doubt whether he himself does not labour under the same insensibility as to a communication of the Divine will. With him the question, If God *lives*, why is the universe not convinced, would be a *reductio ad absurdum*.

Moreover, with believers in revealed religion, the question does not hold at all, inasmuch as they consider that the same depravity, alienation from the Supreme Good, or call it what you will, which necessitated a Divine revelation, is of itself sufficient to account for the withstanding of the evidence for it after it has been made.

The mind of a free and rational being, such as man, is not to be coerced, even by Omnipotence. Abundant illustration of this truth may be gathered from the Gospel history, which for the present may be assumed as hypothetically true. The works of the Founder of Christianity afforded evidence of a Divine commission, to the extent of demonstration, and yet how few the number of those who adhered to Him, compared with those who did quite otherwise; how astonishing to us seems the malignant ingenuity which prompted the retort, "He casteth out devils by Beelzebub the Prince of the Devils;" and how profound and touching the wisdom of His own saying on another occasion: "If they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither would they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead."

It would thus appear that no amount of evidence, of whatever kind, will produce conviction in the mind which chooses to resist it, and that thus, after all, the question of Diderot is found to be inadmissible.

I remain, Sir, very respectfully,

DISCIPULUS.

Glasgow, 22nd November, 1852.

The argument is not, however, conclusive to our minds; for if it had been God's express desire to save mankind from eternal perdition by a certain process of conversion, Reason says that he would have taken care the process should be *effective*. When men write books to convince mankind, they use their utmost endeavours to be intelligible and convincing. There is no "coercion of a free and rational being" in Euclid, yet no one disputes his theorems. If men, "fallen from their high estate," had natures so "depraved" that the pure light of truth could not be recognised by them, God, who knew their depravity, knew also what they could recognise, what *would* convince them, and should have addressed them as we address scientific truths to children, with a proper allowance for their imperfect apprehension.

The third letter is interesting, as an illustration of how men accommodate Scripture to their own views:—

SIR,—There are many Christians in the old sense, and not "Christian Theists," who believe as little as you do that God is a capricious tyrant, in good as well as in evil; and who can find no such representations of God's character in the Bible, though they do in the commentators. If your object is merely to attack certain



superstitions, well and good; but if you would refute Christianity itself, you should meet it as maintained by its thinking defenders, not by its ignorant old women.

"Take your child with the jam-pot, and state the case thus:—The father exposes the child not only to the temptation of his own appetite, but also to those of the artful boy, because it is only by successful resistance to both kinds of temptation that a really *manly* character can be formed: kept out of temptation, he would be at best an innocent and happy animal. Yet, though the father purposely withdraws his own presence, which would at once nullify the temptation, he leaves the child's elder brother, who has already successfully resisted the same temptation, in order that he may by example and advice influence, though not forcibly control, the younger child; and may thus help him against the counter-persuasions of the artful bad boy.

"If the elder brother succeeds in helping the younger, he is an effectual *mediator* between the child's weakness and the father's law of family order; and he brings the father and child together according to the original design of the father, which was that the child should be (so far) educated, and taught to live by reason and not by appetite.

"But the child yields to the temptation, and takes the jam; and *you* say that the father then turns the child out of doors in a rage. But the New Testament says that, on the contrary, the father and the elder brother *never* give up the weak and erring child; that though he may so habitually yield to one temptation after another, that in spite of all entreaties he will leave the father's house, because its rational order is intolerable to his sensual temper, yet that they *never* cease to seek him however far he may wander; and that, *in the end*, he will be recovered. 'As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. Then cometh the end, when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father.'

"I am, &c.

"E. D. W."

It is not for us to designate the "ignorant old women" who are the defenders of "superstition," but we suggest to E. D. W. that in Eden there was no Elder Brother helping the infirm Younger Brother with advice; according to the plain, uncommented text of Scripture, this Elder Brother did not *mediate* until some four thousand years afterwards. The illustration, therefore, cannot be admitted. It is rejected by the documents: it is rejected also by Reason, which says—That father who allows his child to be tempted, *knowing before hand that the child will fall*, and inflicts on him a punishment wholly disproportionate to the offence—an *infinite* punishment for a slight (and inevitable) offence—is neither just nor reasonable. What E. D. W. says about a really *manly* character being only possible through resisted temptation, is admissible in a human but not in a divine sense of the formation of character. It is perfectly gratuitous to assert that God could not have created a *manly* character otherwise than by placing men amidst temptation. If manliness were the object, why was it not effected in some better and more certain way? "We must not presume to scrutinize the motives of our Creator; we cannot say *why* he chose this method!" That is the ready answer. We reply, "Truly, we cannot say *why*; we can say nothing on the subject; we cannot even say that this *is* the method chosen."

Kept out of temptation, man would be, "at best, an innocent and happy animal." Well, what then? We see no harm in that. Is innocence nothing, is happiness nothing, that Virtue (by which is meant resistance of one part of a God-given nature to *another* part of the same nature) should be everything? What are the angels, in whom E. D. W. believes? or have they also their little temptations?

The fourth letter opens a subject which cannot be discussed in the few lines we can give it:—

"In your paper of the 30th October, I have read, with intense interest and gratification, the article on *Butler's Analogy*: it gives a lucid expression to sentiments, the justice of which I have long acknowledged, and has enabled me to form a more distinct idea of the subject of free will than I had ever before been able to accomplish. You say in that article, as you have said in previous articles, that you believe in a future state of existence—not a state of rewards and punishments—a belief not founded on revelation. I should like very much to know the grounds of your belief, for I have such faith in your clear-sightedness and honesty, that I cannot help doubting the soundness of my own views and conclusions regarding a future state of existence, when I find them differ from yours. Do you believe in a soul capable of existence apart from and independent of the body, or in the resurrection of the body by a miracle of God? I see no reason to regard man in any other light than as an animal of superior organization. It seems to me, therefore, that a belief of his existence in a future state is not borne out by analogy, unless the existence of other animals in a future state be likewise admitted. I am, Sir, a subscriber and sincere admirer of the *Leader*,

"C. C. TUPPER."

As a reader of this journal, our correspondent must be aware that on questions which *transcend* human logic, we neither offer nor accept the arguments of logic; but, as we often insist, the Soul of man is larger than logic, and that soul is conversant with certain transcendental Ideas, such as God, Love, Life, Immortality, which logic can neither shake nor support. We believe in God as we believe in Love and in Life, without being able to render any "definition"—without pretending to any "demonstration;" in a similar way we believe in Immortality, though we think the "arguments" usually futile; and we pretend to no knowledge whatever of the process by which it is to take place, either as a "miracle" or as a continuance of present existence. With the most serene repose we trust in the Creator's disposal of the future, without knowing, or caring to know, *what* that future will be. It is known to all metaphysicians that you cannot *prove* even the existence of an external world; but our faith is not limited within the sphere of demonstration.

As men, however, are so fond of arguments—"O ye of little faith!"—some of them may not be sorry if we give them one which at least has novelty. We do not like to argue this question of Immortality, because we feel that Logic is not competent; but when we *do* argue, it is somewhat in this sense. The one emphatic lesson taught us in the study of Nature is, that all moves towards life, and that *nothing is destroyed*; such a fact as *waste* is not known to us. If, therefore, this enormous amount of moral and intellectual life is to vanish when we vanish from the scene

—if it is to be wasted, thrown away, like the evanescent bubbles floating on a stream—if this moral life is not to pass into other forms as the materials of our bodies pass into other forms, then we say it is an exception to the whole teaching of Nature! We know no Death, we only know Transformation; if death is always new birth in the physical, why should it not be new-birth in the moral world?

#### BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

*Short Short Hand.* By Laming Warren Tear.

Whittaker and Co.

THE author says: "It is true it requires more practice than any other; but the great advantage to be derived therefrom is surely worth the extra trouble necessary for its acquirement."

We have carefully examined this little work, and admit it to be very ingenious; but we cannot discern many advantages in it over other systems of short hand extant. Its main principle is in using paper ruled with a great number of lines intersecting each other, and using the interstices between these lines as positions for vowel places, for the auxiliary verbs, for signs for the numerous words in ordinary use, and for the most useful combinations of letters, thus enabling the writer to express hundreds of words simply by a dot or dash of the pen. The positions for combinations of letters are thus used: to write the word *minister* the pen is placed in the position for *mn*, and the affix, *str*, is written; for the word *suspected* the pen would be placed in the position *s*, and the characters for *spcd* written. This is the principle upon which short short hand is carried out, and it undoubtedly saves labour, ensures legibility, and the facility of note reading. For manuscripts, then, it may have some advantages over other systems of stenography, but we cannot recommend it as adapted to practical reporting, where *speed* is of primary importance, for the reasons, that we do not think the eye-sight could bear the presence of such a strange checkered surface as the ruled paper presents without suffering injury, and when the lines are abolished the characters are thus necessarily so increased in number, that as a system it becomes far inferior to some others; and, either with or without lines, it is very far removed from the principal advantage of all good systems of short hand, that of having the characters so simple in themselves and in their combinations as to permit the hand to travel as much as possible in a line, as if we were writing running hand.

*Protection to all Intending Emigrants—An Abstract of "The Passengers' Act, 1852."*

By J. T. Judge.

W. Strange, jun.

THIS salutary Act of Parliament, passed during the last session, and which came into operation on the 1st of last month (repealing all other Acts relating to the carrying of Passengers by steam or sailing vessels), will prove of utility to intending emigrants of all classes, who may now proceed to their destination, "satisfied, under ordinary circumstances, that their safety and welfare are secured as much at sea as if they were ashore." This edition of the Act points out (amongst many other important matters) the number of Passengers a Vessel may carry, according to its registered tonnage, for the purpose of preventing Emigrant Ships from being over-crowded—The number of superficial feet required on deck, in proportion to each Passenger—The height between decks—The dimensions of the Berths—The arrangements to be made on board for Light and Ventilation—The quantity of Boats to be carried, according to the tonnage of the Vessel, and the number of Passengers—The Dietary Scale; supply of Provisions and Water—The mode of proceeding against the Owner, Charterer, or Master (or their Agents), if the sailing of the Vessel be delayed; and the amount of compensation to be recovered by the Passengers—How to proceed summarily, on arrival at the Port of destination, against the Captain, for any impropriety on his part, or dereliction of duty, during any part of the Voyage—and numerous other highly important and salutary Provisions for the Safety, Protection, Health, and Well-being of every one on board.

Mr. Judge has appended to his useful edition of this Act of Parliament (in addition to a copious index for facility of reference) several calculations as to the number of cubic feet contained in various sized boxes, &c. This information will be found useful to all Emigrants; as packages, containing more than a *certain* number of cubic feet, are not allowed to be taken on board, unless paid for, extra, as Freight. Emigrants, by attending to these calculations, will thus be enabled to have their boxes and sea-chests so constructed as to avoid excess, on the one hand, and to ascertain, at once, what space (according to measurement) any extra luggage would occupy, on the other.

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## Portfolio.

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

## LETTERS OF A VAGABOND.

XII.

March 9, 1852.

**H**ELLEN, I never loved you as I did while I read your letter, just received, and from which I dissent more than I ever did from what you have said. You do not do justice to your own strength. Valperduta is to us a haven, not because it is secluded from the world, but because it is a fixed point to rally our wandering feet and our ideas. No man is in his duty who shuts himself out from the world; nor can he even keep himself to himself. We live so much more in others than in ourselves, that if a man seeks to limit himself only to what he is in himself he retains but a wreck of what he was born to be. Nor can we pick and choose a beloved few in whom to live: if you, dearest Helen, were to seek to live only for Giorgio, closing your heart against sorrows and anxieties which others may bring with them, even *your* heart would grow self-calculating, inert, and your capacity for loving would shrink within you. Organic life cannot be shut up, or defined, or separated from the open air of vitality, for then it will die with its own essence perverted to a poison. We avoid the storms only to be suffocated.

And why exclude "the unworthy." Who are the unworthy? Are they not the unfortunate, the misguided, the blind? And if they seek to come back, is it not that they have still the *worthy* within them? Is it not the voice of God speaking as clearly as in the conscience of the purest? Do not let even the deceptions practised by the weak deceive you. They may be deluded by their own diseased phantasies, but we know that never can the human heart refuse allegiance to the divinest influences; and that if it thinks itself case-hardened in the cunningest wisdom, it will taste of retribution still, and through vain depravities will once more long for the pure waters of its native home, the natural sunshine of its infant sports,—for the child never dies within us.

And you are wrong to class Giulia Sidney as one of those same "unworthy." She may be so at times. At other times she is that which Sidney loved; and she is never less unworthy than she is in Valperduta. I do not for a moment believe that *you* can be "jealous;" not only because you are happily exempt from that intellectual disease, but because Giorgio is the last man to be led from you by a woman like Giulia. Although he is full of life and generous blood, there is an inflexible force and majesty about the man that could never be bent. His heart, indeed, has expanded under your love, like iron long lying in the sun; but is the work of years to be altered in days? I can see him now, with his stalwart but tapering limbs, his tall form, his ample chest, his black pointed beard, his cheerful solemn countenance, his great iron voice, murmuring music when it falls towards your ear as the soft breeze sings in the slumbering trumpet. To me, who am more unstable, Giulia might be dangerous. Dangerous, I say, because she who makes man desecrate love with a counterfeit of it, where no love exists, is a siren of mischief. But in Valperduta the dear shade of Yseult would make us all graver and better than Giulia or I may be elsewhere.

Admit her then, and welcome her. Wash her feet, sustain her with mountain wine, and lay her to sleep in our valley's healthful quiet.

I find it impossible for me to remain in Cheshire, however I might desire it; I am certain to be summoned up to London; and this time I had a double summons. One was a note running thus:—

"My faithful Tristan,—I want you."

"MARGARET."

The other, scarcely less laconic, was from dear cousin Julie, to tell me that she had arrived at Liverpool. "I had waited long enough," she said; "the reason for my stopping longer had ceased; I have finished that which I wished to bring with me, to surprise you; and I longed to throw myself into your arms." Of course, either summons would have sufficed.

It was time for me to go, although Audley, who sees nothing beneath the table-cloth, and suspects nothing to contain what is wrong beneath the surface, except unbroken egg-shells and unaudited accounts, continued his gentlemanly hospitality, uninterrupted by the tacit storm raging around him. Black looks were levelled at me from more than one fair face; I was evidently regarded as a monster of lawlessness and ingratitude towards that estimable gentleman King; who must have given some romantic version of my acts towards him. His manner was a model of expressive art: he was grave and melancholy, and from time to time turned his eyes upon me with a half-abstracted air of frank compassion, as a candid saint would regard a lost sinner; he handed me the good things of this world and of breakfast as though they were the sole remaining nexus and solace between us; and while he thus disarmed every hostile act from me, he implied to those who listened to his own actions that he was a wronged, forgiving, condescending Christian, who knew how to treat a fallen fellow-creature according to his merits. When I announced my departure, Mrs. Audley received the fact with the slightest hint of a sneer in her face, as if my evasion was to be expected; and the other fair avengers bade me farewell in a pointed manner which implied that my conscience would tell me what they meant.

Before I had well entered Edwardes's passage, I was lost in a storm of curls, laughter, tears, and kisses, through which I discovered the identity of dear Julie—so grown, so altered, so much the same, that recognition and strangeness were confounded. I am so proud of her; for it has only been through her that I know what it is to be a brother. I want you to admire her before you see her. And yet if I cannot describe her to you, for all I could say would mislead you. If I were to tell you that she is only of a middle height, you would not imagine how tall and lithesome she looks; if I were to tell you how audaciously gay and lively she is, you would not fancy the tender grace and delicacy which temper every sally. You never for an instant fear for her wildest moods; and yet, when I say that, you will think her studied, though she is as wild as a honeysuckle. Her voice is so like the child's, and yet so loudly ringing, and yet again so sweet and just. But description is baffled to follow perfection run wild. I dare not confess that she is not strictly handsome, for then you could not conceive the laughing loveliness which snatches away your breath, and makes even women look upon her with doting.

When I had become accustomed to the atmosphere of pleasant tumult, I discerned other friends—Yseult, with the steadfast sunshine of her golden countenance; and Margaret, with her grave brow. Margaret is graver, as majestic still, but thinner than she was. Her hurt still weakens her health, and she is beginning to learn the cares of life.

I was impatient to know her commands, and she did not keep me in suspense, but took me into the drawing-room. Margaret carries Yseult's directness still farther, and silently proceeds to her purpose with instant step, like the goddess of an ancient bas-relief. Markham had "proposed" for her, to her father; and there was the usual difficulty—Johnson bewildered and angry at her refusal; her mother taking down *Mason on Self-Knowledge* with the most cutting resignation.

"And do you refuse?" I asked.

"Of course. Independently of Walter, I do not know this man."

"And have you told your father, Margaret?"

"Of what?"

"Of Stanhope."

"No, he could not understand that, and there is no necessity. But that is not the difficulty. I am under no trouble about myself. My father is not a stage tyrant father; and my mother, although she is grieved, and I think puzzled, has always indulged me more than any of us—indeed she never did anything else. But I want you to console my father, and to put a stop to his hopes that he can persuade me."

As I looked at Margaret, who spoke with the most absolute peremptoriness, I recalled what her mother had said, about her not having given any trouble to her parents. How little they ascribed her unfailing obedience to the strong will which now made her mistress of herself so soon! How little had they,—content to rule the obedient, to conquer the mutinous, worked to understand their children, to follow the varying impulses, or win the confidence of son or daughter! Vagabond as I am, I almost hesitated to encourage Margaret in her venturesome course.

She said no more, calmly awaiting the expression of my willingness to do her bidding. Again I asked her if she had reflected? She replied only by a smile. Again, with importunate affection, asked her how I could reason with her father, if I did not know her own intentions?

"Do you not know them?" she said; "has not Walter told you?"

"No; and I have no right to expect his confidence, nor yours—unless you require me to act for you."

"There need be no secret for you, Tristan; and we will tell you all; but—"

"Tell me at least, when he is to marry you."

"Never."

"What then am I to say to your father?"

"Nothing of *that*, Tristan; no question respecting Walter and me can arise for nearly two years. Think no more of that. He or I will tell you all we mean presently. But meanwhile, were Walter a stranger to me, I should not marry *this* stranger; who has no knowledge of me, no right to me. You understand that. I need tell you no more. My father, poor man, would think little of giving me up, even to his creditor! Well, that is 'moral;' but *you* will not wish it so. And my father, whom *you* can persuade to do anything, will think all right when you have settled it, whether with Markham or me."

I went to Johnson at once, and in five minutes reconciled him to his fate. He soon forgot the matrimonial project in the idea of a commercial alliance. And then, resolved to exhaust all sources of trouble, but not unexpectant of a storm, I went without delay to Markham, and told him that Margaret had sent for me.

"And she accepts?"

"She refuses."

"Damnation!"

He looked at me fiercely, as if I had refused; and taking up a pistol that lay on the table, asked if he should shoot me. He evidently did not know how to get out of his mortifying position. He still kept the pistol pointed at me. He might fire if he liked, I said. I did not think that it was loaded; but turning it from me to the window, he fired at the sky, shooting through an upper pane; and then threw the pistol across the room, smashing something as it fell.

He broke the silence with an apologetic laugh. "I am growing unused to refusal!" he cried.



"You are doing injustice to yourself, Markham," I said. And I remonstrated with him, for going to Johnson instead of the girl herself; since he could not know what mischief that might have done. It would be difficult to make you understand how he not only received, but welcomed my remonstrances. He confessed he was "an ass;" he talked of making a trip up the Rhine or the Nile, to get out of the way of Margaret's laughter; but remembered that he could not leave business yet. "And there is my father to provide for."

"Markham," I said; "Margaret will not laugh at you, but she will be proud of you as a friend. Do not go away from her, but to her. Always march up to a difficulty."

And without any trouble, I bore him off at once. Edwardes and the women were in the drawing-room, tea just departing. The instant I entered the room, Julie seized me, and holding me by the shoulders, complained to Edwardes, who gazed upon her with undisguised delight, that I, after being absent from her for years, after knowing that she had come from America on purpose to throw herself into my arms, had left her within a few minutes, and in obedience to that very young and solemn lady, who stood looking at us, had gone away to settle some matrimonial or non-matrimonial mysteries.

All this while Markham stood like Coriolanus on the hearth of Tullus Aufidius; and Margaret, with her inexorable self-possession, stood also, conscious but unrecognising. I crushed the fluttering obtruder in my arms, and taking Markham by the hand, I challenged Margaret to receive him as a friend whom she would learn to value. She took his hand from mine, and I could see a cordial pressure. Markham was at home.

"But, Julie; I said, the 'surprise'? What is it that you have brought, that is to astonish us?"

Clasping her hands together, Julie looked at me very slyly, and said, "What if it were a husband?"

"I should have seen him by this time."

"I will not keep you, Tristan,—you see I already know you by your new name." She cast her eyes round, opened the piano-forte, placed a song upon it, looked at Yseult, who sat down; and, without any preface, the young Canadian dashed into "Una voce poco fa." She had never told me even that she was learning! As I looked at her in amaze, she increased her dash and vigour; and never did the lovely rebel of Rossini find a more brilliant utterance. You know how daring skill delights me; but to realize it thus in my own blood! As she finished, I folded her in my arms, and exclaimed that I loved her alone, better than anything in the world.

"No, you don't," said Margaret. "You may love Julie; but have I not leaned upon you when I was suffering? have you not served me when I was helpless? do we not know each other's dearest wishes?—and dare you say before me, Tristan, that there is only Julie whom you love?" She spoke in her own name; but I could follow her thought: her reproach included other associations.

From Margaret my eyes turned to Yseult, and hers met mine with a look of steadfast and reproachful inquiry, recalling all that Margaret had told me. Still I hesitated to understand so literally as Margaret spoke. "You must sing as well, then," I answered, "and I will love you as well."

"I cannot. But—yes, I will." And Margaret turned to the duett, "Ebbene, a te, ferisci," which she had so often sung with Yseult.

"Well," cried Julie, with all the impudence of a half-child sister, when they had done, "and why don't you love them as you loved me?"

I folded in my arms the calm Margaret, who looked a dignified pardon.

"And Yseult!" cried Edwardes.

I kissed her on the cheek, which burned against my lips. But I half hated the ceremony, which falsified itself by its compulsion. Julie, however, clapped her hands.

We had more music, and satisfied Julie's love of surprise with our admiration of the treasure she had brought over in a voice and spirit so rare. Supper, and then more music. In the course of the evening I saw that Markham and Margaret conversed together more than once. The great grocer was unusually grave and subdued, more by Margaret's unaffected frankness than by anything else. He seemed to be really *learning*. With a proud tact, he had dropped the suitor as abruptly as he had taken up the character, and he replaced it by a brotherly familiarity very natural to him. Julie teased him as mercilessly as any of us; carrying her audacity so far as to ask him "what he came there for?"

"I came," he replied, meeting her effrontery by a courage prepared to outdo hers, "because I had been fool enough to behave presumptuously to Margaret Johnson, and because I wished to be forgiven. But what makes you ask me?"

"Oh! now you are going beyond your right. Men ought to disclose themselves frankly; women should be reserved."

"A rule which leads men into mistakes. If women were always frank, men would learn a habit of being more consistent and just."

"Now, really, Mr. Markham, it is time for you to go: when men philosophize it is a sign they are getting sleepy."

And go he did; but not for ever, I could see.

Julie tells me that she has brought over her voice for a purpose—which she will explain when she knows *my* plans better. Always mystery! And she is so frank, and so impatient to tell! All our thoughts at present,

however, are directed to devising a country trip for Margaret, whose health needs it. I want to bring her to Valperduta: "In 1854," she replies.

Were I a philosopher, Helen, I should be half inclined to analyze the varieties of female character which have come before me since I have been in England, in order to seek an answer for my own question, how much is real and how much is factitious. I do not mean affected. The affectations which were so common when I was here in my boyhood, seem to me for the most part to have gone. But what I now see appears to me, in a still larger proportion, to be more the factitious product of set opinions, customs, and artificial training, than of inborn forces. Most women appear to be moulded, like their clothes, to a pattern—or like their own feet in the universally narrow shoe. In Mrs. Johnson I see the extinction of the individual, but half-effected in Sarah Selby, and begun only in the daughters. But even in the less sophisticate, perhaps exceptional cases, there is the same dominance of the artificial. Their very emotions are custom-grown. Poor Fanny Chetham is nearly as rude as woman can be, and I see the natural working of instinct in that affectionate impulse which makes gratitude for service mistake itself for "love." But she, who is woman, and nothing more, is converted to a murderess. That is her allotted part. Dear cousin Julie, so little altered since I remember her light laugh outside her father's cabin, long before the house *au petit portage* was built, is prepared to take her stand as a competitor,—to feel and to provoke that factitious passion which is confounded with instinctive jealousy. Eager for admiration, she is pleased at homage even from me, and almost forces me to render it in form. But I can see that she has already made up her mind to appropriate Markham. It is not her study of art that has done that! it is her careful trustee, old Norin, her schoolmistress Lehocq. And although she has not as yet a soul in the world but me to care for, her brother in truth, she is almost challenging a competition for me with others whose relation she cannot understand. Even Yseult, direct and thoroughly genuine as she is, submits, I can see, to a certain mould put upon her—yields to be something less, or at least something different from what she is, and so far disguises her real nature. But perhaps I scarcely dare to penetrate that riddle.

The only woman, not excepting even you, dear Helen—for you condescend to be "jealous" of my regard for you, engrafted as that is in the dearest part of my past life. Why do people so misunderstand friendship between man and woman, that because, as I feel with you, man cannot forget the tender influence of womanhood, and his friendship takes a gentler expression, it must always be supposed that there is "love." Love you, I do; and no love, however great, can obliterate that affection. If Giorgio had not been, nor Yseult, possibly we might have used that ambiguous and indiscriminate word with a different meaning. But you have been so moulded to Giorgio's great heart, that you could not match with any other, as hearts must match in love that is nearest; and you could not be content with any half love. You are not my "sister"; and I hate pretences against fact. Why are those subterfuges so common? But we have lived side by side, each absorbed in an all-sufficing love. In what, then, can my regard for any other woman resemble my friendship for you, that you should be "jealous." Decidedly when you last wrote you were ill.

Indeed, the only woman whom I perfectly understand, and always, is Margaret. And that is because she is so simple, so direct, so single-minded in all she does. She never intends something beside that which she professes; she is never diverted by any collateral issue. To her there is no fear lest a thing should be that which it is not. In her friendship for me,—and I believe I am *prouder* of it than of any other that I have enjoyed,—she is not deterred from the direct, open, and complete manifestation of it, lest people "think" that it is something more than she means. She knows, as well as I do, that to her I am not Stanhope; but she does not shape her conduct by other people's possible misconceptions. Nor will she let her own fate be determined by the feeble will of others. She considers each question on its own merits, and will not let her destiny be shaped by the veto of those who cannot fulfil it.

Her ill health has brought out this strength but the more strongly. Her fixed purpose never falters; and thus we all feel a certainty in her which gives to the affection for her an amount of repose which I have known with her alone. For even Yseult with the dark brow would accuse you of "change." With Margaret it seems as if it were only necessary to say a thing once.

Now you will be "jealous"; and if I were humbler, I might be proud to be the object of that feeling of competition. But it is so with Margaret; and yet how does my consciousness of that fact alter the dear love between you and me, which depends not upon Margaret's qualities, but upon your own, and upon my capacity to understand those own. Why are we always judging of a thing precious to us by something else?

## The Arts.

### DEFAACEMENT OF PICTURES AT THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

THE cleaners are again at their work in the National Gallery, defacing the pictures. After a repose of five years, they have resumed their activity, on a more extensive scale than before; and as before, Mr. Morris Moore is the person to announce this more than Turkish destruction of art. The new denunciation has sent many to the gallery, to see what has been

done, and the officials are alarmed at a new "outcry." We trust that it will be loud enough to affright them from their work. Amongst those who go to look, indeed, are many who are not the most experienced or the most clear-sighted; it is not possible for every man, however quick or accomplished in other things, to pronounce upon questions of the kind; and many, who feel their usual credit for sagacity somewhat at stake, fall into the natural asylum for perplexed intelligences, assume a compromise as the practical form of "impartiality," or fall to balancing supposed motives, and are misled by insinuations that this or that man has personal objects. This, however, is not impartiality, but evasion of judgment. The case, we believe, is capable of being put into so precise and tangible a shape, that the man most unfamiliar with technicalities may grasp it, so long as he does not suffer himself to be led off by general expressions or vague comparisons. It is strictly a matter-of-fact, and ought to be treated as such.

The pictures injured are nine—"Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba," "Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca," "Landscape with figures, by Claude," "View in Venice," and "View on the Grand Canal," by Canaletto; "Consecration of St. Nicholas," by Paul Veronese; "Angels Weeping over the Body of Christ," by Guercino; "Conversion of St. Bavon," by Rubens; and "The Plague of Ashdod," by Nicholas Poussin. A tenth, and that one of great importance, seems to have been touched, "The Raising of Lazarus," by Sebastian del Piombo. Some of the more striking traces of the decortication process in the nine pictures, are described by Mr. Moore:—

"The words '*La Reine de Saba va trouver Salomon*,' written by Claude himself, on the quay to the right of the 'Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba,' were distinctly legible previous to the last vacation. For this we have the authority of the official catalogue; and I can, for once, testify to its accuracy. Some of these words are now utterly illegible. The unmeaning scratches left to indicate where they were mark the audacity, not the forbearance of the operators. The same may be said of the 'Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca.' In the Guercino, the lower portion of the outline of the angel's face in the centre of the picture is all but rubbed out, so that face and neck, until lately relieved from each other, are now confounded in one unintelligible mass. 'The View in Venice,' by Canaletto, scoured into a jumble of near and remote objects, offensively huddled together on the same plane, suggests, by the excessive rawness and spottiness of many equally white objects, a bad representation of a snow scene. In the 'St. Bavon' the features, modelled in transparent colour in the final process of the work, have been almost effaced from some of the heads, which now look like repulsive excrescences of badly imitated or diseased flesh. 'The Plague at Ashdod' has fared little better. So violently have some of these pictures been scoured, that scumblings of their own body pigment are perceptible on their surfaces."

**POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE DAYS OF ANNE.**—'Tis strange here, and on a foreign soil, and in a land that is independent in all but the name (for that the North American colonies shall remain dependents on yonder little island for twenty years more, I never can think), to remember how the nation at home seemed to give itself up to the domination of one or other aristocratic party, and took a Hanoverian king, or a French one, according as either prevailed. And while the Tories, the October Club gentlemen, the High Church parsons that held by the Church of England, were for having a Papist king, for whom many of their Scottish and English leaders, firm churchmen all, laid down their lives with admirable loyalty and devotion; they were governed by men who had notoriously no religion at all, but used it as they would use any opinion for the purpose of forwarding their own ambition. The Whigs, on the other hand, who professed attachment to religion and liberty too, were compelled to send to Holland or Hanover for a monarch around whom they could rally. A strange series of compromises is that English history; compromise of principle, compromise of party, compromise of worship! The lovers of English freedom and independence submitted their religious consciences to an Act of Parliament; could not consolidate their liberty without sending to Zell or the Hague for a king to live under; and could not find amongst the proudest people in the world a man speaking their own language, and understanding their laws, to govern them. The Tory and High Church patriots were ready to die in defence of a Papist family that had sold us to France: the great Whig nobles, the sturdy Republican recusants, who had cut off Charles Stuart's head for treason, were fain to accept a king, whose title came to him through a royal grandmother, whose own royal grandmother's head had fallen under Queen Bess's hatchet. And our proud English nobles sent to a petty German town for a monarch to come and reign in London; and our prelates kissed the ugly hands of his Dutch mistresses, and thought it no dishonour. In England you can but belong to one party or to other, and you take the house you live in with all its encumbrances, its retainers, its antique discomforts, and ruins even; you patch up, but you never build up anew. Will we of the new world submit much longer, even nominally, to this ancient British superstition? There are signs of the times which make me think that ere long we shall care as little about King George here, and peers temporal and peers spiritual, as we do for King Canute or the Druids. —THACKERAY'S *Esmond*.

**ETNA IN WINTER.**—I saw Etna in its winter character at the beginning of March, 1830. Three-fourths the mountain, namely, the whole of the naked and

These are palpable effects, which most men can trace for themselves; but even the more general consequences are comprehensible without any technical profundities. Canaletto was a scene-painter, and his pictures have the characteristics of a man practised in that branch of art: they are precise in outline, illusory in point of distance, literal in colouring. They somewhat lack aerial perspective; but it will be remembered that in Italy the much greater clearness of the air diminishes the effect of aerial perspective in proportion to the distance. On the other hand, Canaletto is remarkable for conveying the local colour of atmosphere in a sunny climate. Now let the spectator compare the damaged pictures with one of Canaletto's in its true condition, and he will see that the damaged pictures have a sombre, hard look, like an English scene on a day of steady rain without mist, and that there is as little distance as there is sun. Much the same difference will be seen in the damaged "Queen of Sheba," if it be compared with the undamaged picture, by Claude, to the left of the door as you enter. One is lit up with sun; the other is the watery sun of a Scotch autumn. In like manner the Paul Veronese can be more distinctly traced in its outline, where the opaque colours were of a light species; but in the dark parts, the removal of the transparent colours renders the picture more obscure than it was before, while the richness of its golden hue has gone. The reason is, that with the "dirt," the "cleaners" have removed those delicate and transparent colours with which the artists finished their works.

When the decortications were made five years ago, we were told that the pictures would "recover;" as though time could re-execute the finishing process of a Titian or a Rubens: the spectator can now see how far the "Peace and War" has recovered. It has, indeed, recovered some of the dinginess that it had lost, but the painting which it lost has gone for ever. It may wait another couple of centuries without ever being revisited by the warm hand of Rubens.

It might be supposed that, in the present state of picture-cleaning knowledge, the alternative for the owners of ancient pictures lay between toleration of obscurity induced by time, and dilapidation. But that is not exactly so. Careful and tender cleaning, properly so called, without invading the surface, may do much to preserve pictures. On the other hand, when dirt has once eaten into the substance, it is not to be extirpated, even by abrasion, as we see in the water of the other damaged Claude—excoriated, without losing all its dirt. The practical question is this, will you prefer to see the work of the great master unmutated, although as if through a glass dimmed by time, or will you tear off the glass and the surface of the picture with it? We believe that most sensible men would say, let us retain the picture unmutated. Well, at the National Gallery they are mutilating the pictures which are the public property—mutilating valuable property which can never be restored.

almost the whole of the wooded zones, lay beneath an unbroken covering of snow, while at the base all the fields were clothed in the brightest green of spring; peas, beans, and flax, were already in full blossom, the flowers of the almond had fallen, and given place to the leaves, and the fig-leaves were beginning to unfold; the meadows were decorated with hyacinths, narcissuses, crocuses, anemones, and countless other flowers. Etna stood there as an enormous cone of snow, with its base encircled by a gigantic wreath of flowers.—SCOTT'S *Earth, Plants, and Man*.

## Commercial Affairs.

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

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock .....	223	.....	223½	222½	.....	.....
3 per Cent. Red. ....	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½	.....
3 per Cent. Con. Ans. ..	100½	101½	101½	101½	101½	.....
3 per Cent. Con., Ac. ....	100½	101½	101½	101	101½	.....
3½ per Cent. An. ....	104	104	103½	103½	103½	.....
New 5 per Cents. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Long Ans., 1860 .....	6 7-16	.....	6 7-16	.....	6½	.....
India Stock .....	277	.....	275	.....	277	.....
Ditto Bonds, £1000 ....	83	83	82	83	83	.....
Ditto, under £1000 ....	83	83	83	83	83	.....
Ex. Bills, £1000 .....	71 p	72 p	72 p	72 p	69 p	.....
Ditto, £500 .....	70 p	73 p	72 p	72 p	.....	.....
Ditto, Small .....	70 p	73 p	72 p	72 p	.....	.....

### FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Austrian 5 per Cents. ....	83	Mexican 3 per Cents. ....	25
Brazilian 5 per Cents. ....	102½	Peruvian, 1849 .....	104
Brazilian New 4½ per Cts. ..	97½	Peruvian 3 per Cent. Def. ..	64½
Brazilian New, 1829 & 39 ..	103	Portuguese 4 per Cents. ....	38½
Danish 5 per Cents. ....	106	Russian 4½ per Cents. ....	104½
Dutch 2½ per Cents. ....	67½	Spanish 3 per Cents. ....	61
Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif. ....	98	Spanish Passives, Conv. ....	64
Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif. ....	98½	Spanish Com. Certif. of .....	3½
Account, December 16 .....	98½	Coupon not funded .....	3½
Granada Deferred .....	13		

**MR. ALBERT SMITH'S ASCENT OF MONT BLANC, EVERY EVENING,** at Eight o'clock. Stalls, 3s., which can be secured at the Box Office every day from Eleven till Four. Area, 2s.; Gallery, 1s. A Morning Performance every Saturday, at Three o'clock. EGYPTIAN HALL, Piccadilly.

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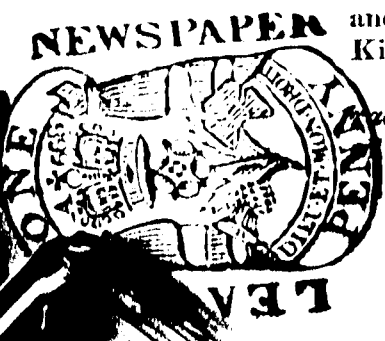
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The degree of success that has attended similar Associations proves that there is very little speculation in the objects of this Company.

The following are among the advantages which this Company presents:—

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2nd.—To abolish the Insult and Extortion now too prevalent, by employing men of known respectability of character, who will be provided with Livery Coats and Hats, and paid a regular weekly salary.

3rd.—To afford their Servants the opportunity of moral and religious instruction, by entirely abolishing all Sunday Work, thereby constituting this, what the Title imports—viz., a Six-Day Conveyance Company.

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

The following statement is submitted to the Public for consideration. It is calculated that each £1000 will purchase 10 Cabs, 20 Horses, and Harness complete.

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Weekly Income derived (from each £1000 capital) each horse travelling 25 miles per diem, for 6 days, at 4d. per mile, 8s. 4d.  
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Deduct Expenditure ..... 33 10 0

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Duty on 10 Cabs ..... 5 0 0  
Wear and tear ..... 5 0 0  
£33 10 0

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

Applications for Shares, &c., in the usual form, to be made to Mr. Evans, at the offices of the Company, 15, Duke Street, Adelphi.

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Prospectuses and further particulars may be obtained on application to the Secretary, at the Central Office, every Saturday Evening, between the hours of Eight and Ten.

A PUBLIC MEETING will be held in the LITERARY INSTITUTION, JOHN STREET, FITZROY SQUARE, on Monday, Dec. 13, 1852, to explain the objects of the Association. W. Coningham, Esq., will take the chair. Mr. L. Jones, Mr. G. Bird, and other Gentlemen, will attend and address the Meeting.—The Chair to be taken at Half-past Eight o'clock.

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

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

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

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Good West of England Cloth Frock Coats from £2 5 0  
Best superfine ditto, with silk-skirt linings ..... 3 18 0  
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Super ditto ..... from 2 0 0  
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Super ditto ..... from 1 1 0  
Superfine Dress Vest ..... 0 16 0  
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The small share of Profit divisible in future among the Shareholders being now provided for, without intrenching on the amount made by the regular business, the ASSURED will hereafter derive all the benefits obtainable from a Mutual Office, with, at the same time, complete freedom from liability, secured by means of an ample Proprietary Capital—thus combining, in the same office, all the advantages of both systems.

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On Policies for the whole of Life, one half of the Annual Premiums for the first five years may remain on credit, and may either continue as a debt on the Policy, or may be paid off at any time.

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INVALID LIVES may be assured at rates proportioned to the increased risk.

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2nd.—For the relief of aged and distressed original proprietors, assured or not, their widows and orphans, together with 5 per cent. per annum on the capital originally invested by them.

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Annual premium for assuring £100, namely:—

Age—20 ... £1 10 9     Age—40 ... £2 13 6  
30 ... £1 19 6     50 ... £3 18 6

Prospectuses, with tables and fullest information, may be had at the Offices of the Company, or of any of their agents.

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Established in 1844.

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The Investment of Money with this Association secures equal advantages to the Savings of the Provident, and the Capital of the Affluent, and affords to both the means of realising the highest rate of Interest yielded by first-class securities, in which alone the Funds are employed.

The constant demand for advances upon securities of that peculiar class, which are offered almost exclusively to Life Assurance Companies, such as Reversions, Life Interests, &c., enables the Board of Management to employ Capital on more advantageous terms and at higher rates of Interest than could otherwise, with equal safety, be obtained.

The present rate of Interest is *five per cent. per annum*, and this rate will continue to be paid so long as the Assurance department finds the same safe and profitable employment for money.

Interest payable half-yearly in January and July.

Money intended for Investment is received daily between the hours of 10 and 4 o'clock, at the Offices of the Association.

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Annual Premiums for £100, with whole profits.

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£1	15 8	1 18 0	2 16 0	2 6 10	2 14 9	3 5 9	4 1 7	5 1 11

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Age	20	25	30	35	40	45	50
£2	7 10	2 10 8	2 14 6	2 19 8	3 6 4	3 14 9	4 7 2

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