

The Leader.

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

Contents:

NEWS OF THE WEEK—	PAGE
The Parliament of the Week.....	1174
The Budget Resolutions.....	1176
Anti-Budget Meetings.....	1177
Taxes on Knowledge.....	1177
Letters from Paris.....	1177
Continental Notes.....	1178
The City Banquet.....	1178
Lord John Russell at Leeds.....	1179
The Smithfield Club Show.....	1179
Mr. Charles Phillips in 1852 as in 1834.....	1180
Thackeray in America.....	1180

More of the <i>Melbourne</i>	1180
Miscellaneous.....	1181
Health of London during the Week.....	1182
Births, Marriages, and Deaths.....	1182
POSTSCRIPT.....	1182
PUBLIC AFFAIRS—	
Britannia Growing Grim.....	1183
"Tenant Right".....	1184
How Louis Napoleon is Emperor....	1184
Robert Lowe on Limited Partner- ship.....	1185

How to Man the Navy.....	1186
Singular Outrage in the House of Lords.....	1186
The Budget Examined.....	1186
Taxation in the Middle Ages at Florence.....	1187
OPEN COUNCIL—	
Income-tax—A Plea for the La- bourer.....	1188
The Morality of Woman's Rights....	1188
Sabbath Observance in Scotland ...	1188

LITERATURE—	
Australia as it is.....	1190
Jordan's Autobiography.....	1191
Books on our Table.....	1191
PORTFOLIO—	
The Haythorne Papers.....	1192
THE ARTS—	
A Word about the Theatres.....	1193
COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS—	
Markets, Advertisements, &c. 1193-1196	

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1852.

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News of the Week.

THE fate attending the commercial policy of Ministers has proved, even within the week, to be extraordinary. The Budget by which Lord Derby is pledged to stand or fall, is now before the public. It was prefaced by the announcement, that it was based upon a new principle, so applied as to do justice to agriculturists as well as traders; but the measure itself is searched in vain to discover any new principle, or anything by which a Minister could elect to stand or fall. Mr. Disraeli has evidently consulted the interests by which his party has been supported, and he has studied to give them "boons." He still gives them, principally, promises; and at present his boons are these:—100,000*l.* a year remitted to the shipping interest, in the shape of light duties; 1*s.* 6*d.* per ton virtually remitted to the sugar growers, by permission to refine in bond; 2,500,000*l.* of malt duty; 100,000*l.* of hop duty; 190,000*l.* of farmers' income-tax, remitted to the land interest; and an instalment of 4½*d.* per pound remitted to the tea consumer, with a progressive reduction of the duty on that article. Per contra, the income-tax is extended down to 100*l.* from industrial incomes, and 50*l.* from property, which will just take in the provident artisan, the clerk, and the widow; and the house-tax, extended down to 10*l.* houses, is doubled in amount. Every section of the public is dissatisfied, and the dissatisfaction evidently grows with further examination. The shipping and sugar interests cannot be very grateful for being "fobbed off" with eighteenpenny boons. The largest concession, intended for land, the half of the malt tax, will benefit neither land nor consumer. The beer monopoly will keep up the price to the consumer, will prevent any impulse to production, and will leave the remitted duty in the pocket of the brewer, for whom it was not intended. Mr. Gladstone has raised a formidable discussion on the vexed question of graduated rates of income tax; and the metropolis is preparing a vigorous resistance to the extension of the house-tax. The course of the Budget, therefore, does not promise to be quite smooth.

But the most singular incident is the obstinate refusal of Lord Derby to recognise any merit in the Free-trade policy. In refusing to invite the adoption of Mr. Disraeli's resolution by the House of Lords, in resisting its adoption when moved by Lord Clanricarde or Lord Beaumont, Lord Derby

virtually disclaimed the very basis of that Budget by which he undertakes to stand or fall! He induced the House of Lords to split down the resolution which it did adopt to the most meagre acquiescence in modern legislation. So far Lord Derby places himself in opposition to his Chancellor of the Exchequer, a defection on the part of the Premier which cannot fail to embolden the resistance now rising against Mr. Disraeli's Budget.

Some important inquiries are instituted in Parliament, pointing, however, to future rather than present results. All the Irish Tenant-Right measures, from Mr. Sharman Crawford's to Mr. Napier's, have been referred to a select committee; and although we do not anticipate any vast results from the process, we cannot but trust that the question has at last been fairly put in train for settlement. Mr. Henley has amended the terms of his committee on Railway Amalgamations, which is now, if not absolutely free, at all events not literally debarred from investigating any part of the subject.

Incredible as it may seem, "W. B.," now confessedly William Beresford, *did* desire to protect freedom of election in Derby! It appears that he employed the celebrated Frail for three years, at £300 a year, and he had sent the agent to Derby "to prevent personation, kidnapping, and other illegal acts." It is true that he would not allow the person whom he sent "to go loose in the centre of the town—he must be consigned to somebody respectable." Mr. Beresford afterwards explained, that if the agent were "loose upon society," he "might be a prey to designing persons." His agents had been "imprudent," and now he is the object of a "conspiracy." A simple man is the whipper-in of the Derby Ministry; decidedly, Frailty, thy name is Beresford.

Amongst the many othersubjectswhich have been before Parliament this week has been the increase to various branches of the national forces, which proved to be not different from the anticipatory announcements last week. In proposing these additions, Ministers meet with a prompt concurrence from the Opposition, which shows how deep and general the feeling has become in favour of preparing the country to resist aggression.

It is the more satisfactory to observe that hearty feeling, since its practical exercise will, probably, be required. Not only is the development of the forces in France accompanied by many signs of an impatience to use them, but the Minister of Marine has convened a special meeting of deputies

from the nautical districts, in order to tell them that England has taken the initiative in arming, and that France must keep up in the race. It is not worth while to notice the barefaced dishonesty of this representation, but it concerns us much to observe how readily our neighbours interpret every response to their own aggressive proceedings into a pretext for new advances, and how assiduously they advance and strengthen their outposts.

England has no disposition to run a race in arming, but will not be content until the preparations are announced to be sufficient; which cannot as yet be the case. The public temper indeed is the very best that can be wished. The mistaken zealots of the peace party, who have now sunk to a proper silence, may begin to learn the extent of their mistake when they note how little of panic the nearer prospect of war produces in the community. On the contrary, the general feeling appears to be one less of alarm than of reviving interest. The two leading ideas at present are, that the strengthening of forces or fortresses must be amply sufficient; and that while the public money will be furnished cheerfully and handsomely for all needful purposes, it must not be wasted on Admiralty jobs or unproductive routine. The practice of converting the highest offices of the Army into retiring pensions for superannuated veterans, is attracting a public jealousy which may lead to improvement. The difficulty of manning the Navy makes even official people recognise the necessity for reforms to better the condition of the men. Mr. Stafford admits as much, although he is not yet prepared to rival the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company in the efficiency of his naval organization. That Company finds no difficulty in engaging men of the best qualifications, or in keeping them after they are once engaged; but then the Company devotes a great deal of trouble and money to arranging for the comfort of the men, their provision for after years, and the education of their children. The public attention, however, is alive to these points, and reforms are likely to be forced upon official people concurrently with the increase of the expenditure.

The extraordinary jargon of eulogy on Louis Napoleon, by which the establishment of the French Empire was notified to the House of Lords, gives rise to an uneasy reflection, that a statesman who sympathizes so completely with the enemies of England, and so little with English feeling, has some share in the administration of our affairs, and even of our defences.

The "logic of the people," as interpreted by the new revision of the constitution, converts the Emperor of the French into a Czar, abolishes every vestige of dignity and independence in the legislative body, leaves a blank for the Civil List to be filled up by "munificence of the Senate," and, in a word, fills up the measure of the nation's servitude. Our ambassador has hastened to be the first to present his credentials, while M. Ducos was haranguing the Deputies of Toulon, Brest, and Cherbourg, on the aggressive preparations of England, and was promising to keep pace with us, ship for ship, and gun for gun.

The *Moniteur* protested against the insinuation that any undue influence had been exerted at Madrid, as to certain projects of constitutional reform, "attributed" to the Spanish Government: while the said constitutional projects were actually discovering their origin and their tendency by a dissolution of the Cortes, a new electoral law by royal decree, a suspension of almost the entire press, and a virtual annulling of all constitutional guarantees. How far Spanish absolutism may reckon on French imperialism we know not: it is not so likely, perhaps, that Spanish patriotism will yield without a struggle. The latest news from Madrid speaks of great excitement prevailing in the capital.

The Belgian Press Law has passed the Chamber after a sharp contest, and one of the last barriers to French annexation is removed. The national spirit has no longer any aliment: and the influences of Imperial gold and priestly intrigue are in undisputed possession of the field. The most serious notion, however, is, that the Emperor will not invade Belgium by force of arms; but in his own good time put annexation to the vote, and so proclaim himself, not the conqueror, but the "Elect of Belgium,"—a course which Lord Malmesbury would be ready to justify, and even celebrate, in the House of Lords. It is not too much to say that the presence of Lord Malmesbury in Downing-street is more responsible for the relapse in Belgium and Spain than even Louis Napoleon. Lord Malmesbury will be hereafter remembered in connexion with the *éloge* on the Enslaver of France, the press law in Belgium, the *coup-d'état* in Spain, and the degradation of Englishmen everywhere.

To return to home affairs. The agriculturists do not shine by their friends in Parliament so much as by their beasts in Baker-street. The Cattle-show of the year continues the recent improvements: the beasts are not so uselessly fat; they are more healthily and serviceably grown, and the implements in the machine department multiply. We noticed, indeed, no flax machine; although Mr. Druce, one of our largest growers of flax, was one of the chief prizemen for stock, and one of the best exhibitors of roots. Still the show attests the advance of intelligence and of production among our agriculturists; and it was impossible not to be struck with the advantages of this central gathering as a focus of enlightenment, now that farming is at length happily withdrawn from the political market.

The list of crimes and disasters for the week is unusually full—murders, railway accidents, mutiny, and a smaller repetition of the calamity that desolated Holmfirth. The mutiny happened in the *Melbourne*, notorious for its career of disasters from England to Portugal. It was attended by murder, and in the inquiry it came out that the crew were all drunk. The inundation, from a broken-down reservoir near Manchester, was caused immediately by the heavy rain, but ill construction and insufficient attendance seem to have been the predisposing causes. The reservoir was foreseen, but not prevented. The Holmfirth reservoirs, these did not overflow; and no doubt it costs less to keep a man or a pauper, than to keep up a poor-rate in time of need.

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

THE FRENCH EMPIRE.

In the House of Lords, on Monday, the Earl of Malmesbury made the following extraordinary speech:—

"It now becomes my duty to announce to your lordships an event which you must all long since have expected, but which is not diminished in importance though so long expected and foreseen; I allude to the notification that has been made to her Majesty's Government by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs at Paris, announcing that the French people have determined to change their constitution from a Republic to that of an Empire, and to attach to the person of the Prince President of the Republic the dignity of Emperor. That notification was made to me on Thursday last, and, having been communicated by me to her Majesty's Government, her Majesty's servants have thought it right, without further hesitation, to advise her Majesty cordially to accept and recognise this new constitution selected by the French people for their own government. It has been, as your lordships all know, our usual policy for a period of 22 years—since the revolution of 1830 in Paris—to acknowledge the constitutional doctrine that the people of every country have the right to choose their own Sovereign without any foreign interference, and, that a Sovereign having been freely chosen by them, that Sovereign or ruler, or whatever he may be called, being *de facto* the ruler of that country, should be recognised by the Sovereign of this. If there has been formerly any doubt as to the distinct will of the French nation in respect to the choice of their Sovereign,—if there has been any doubt as to their distinct intention at any former time, I must say that, on this occasion at least, it is perfectly impossible to mistake their undoubted determination, three times in a most solemn way expressed, with respect to the same person, in the most public manner that history can afford an example of. When the revolution and the Republic succeeded to the monarchy of Louis Philippe, the present Emperor of the French was residing in this country. He went over with none of the usual canvass that takes place at elections of minor importance, or even at those of equal magnitude. He went over, I may say, with nothing but a name—a name so great in France, that it evidently is invested with a magic which has an effect that experience only has been able to make Europe understand. We could, indeed, almost comprehend that the fate of Napoleon, checkered as it was with such a mixture of immense glory and misfortune, was admirably calculated to rouse all the sympathies of human nature, and therefore we cannot wonder that he made a lasting impression on a people over whom he ruled so long and so greatly. But it is hardly possible for any person in a European State out of France to suppose that the *prestige* of that name remains so long, and so steadily and strongly, for thirty-seven years after his abdication, that his nephew should have appeared in three different characters before the French people in the course of four years,—first offering himself, without any of the accessories of a Court or a Government to assist him, as simple President of the French Republic, with a Chamber; secondly, as absolute President of the Republic without any constitutional form of government; and thirdly, as Emperor of the same people,—and to be elected, first, by 6,000,000, then by 7,000,000; and lastly, confirmed in his power by nearly 8,000,000 of people, forming the almost entire adult male population of France. This is not the time to speculate on the reason of such an extraordinary exhibition of sentiment and conviction on the part of the French people, but I think, if we have long lost sight of the power of that name in France, it has been because we have not sufficiently observed, that up to this moment, in the changes that have taken place in that country, only one part of her population was consulted and considered. It was at Paris that all these changes were carried out. It was in Paris alone that the fate of Charles X. and Louis Philippe was determined; it was by the voice of the Parisians alone that the Republic was established in 1848; and, though both forms of government successively met with the silent approbation of the country, yet on no occasion, till the President of the Republic was elected in 1848, were the whole body, the mass of the French people, consulted as to what form of government they preferred, or what manner of man they ought to have. Among the masses of the French people one recollection, and one only, seems strongly and steadily to have prevailed, and I think it is not difficult to explain why it should have been so. In 1815, at the time of the Restoration, the army of France, an enormous army, was disbanded. It was poured back again upon the hearths of the population; the prisoners returned from all parts of the world in thousands and tens of thousands, and it is not exaggerating the number to say that 400,000 or 500,000 men, with one fixed idea in their minds, with one worship fixed in their hearts, returned to their homes. For twenty or thirty years afterwards they talked of but one man; that one man was the great idol of their imagination, and, though they could hardly have exaggerated his military merits and glory, they still attributed to him all that enthusiasm could give. Upon the rising generation all this was not likely to be lost, and it appears to me that the seeds these men have sown throughout the provinces of France are now to be seen in the fruit which has ripened on this occasion into an empire. Seeing this immense demonstration of feeling on the part of the French people, it was impossible for her Majesty's Government, even if it had not been the usual policy, not to advise her Majesty immediately and cordially to accept and recognise the empire. There might have been one, and only one reason, which might have tempted us to hesitate so to advise her Majesty, but I rejoice to say that the good sense of the present Emperor, foreseeing the difficulty, made an advance to remove from the Government those difficulties that otherwise might have existed. I allude to a somewhat ambiguous expression to be found in the report of the *Senatus-Consulto*, which referred to the late President of the Republic, and which was connected with the title

he meant to take—that of "Napoleon III." This might have induced her Majesty's Government—it would indeed naturally have induced any one to suppose—as understood in common parlance, and as it is commonly understood when designating Sovereigns—to give the bearer of the title an hereditary and retrospective right to the throne—that he was descended in a straight and legitimate line, and that by right he now mounted the throne of France. The present Emperor, however, foreseeing this difficulty, took himself the initiatory step, and frankly assured her Majesty's Government that it related simply to the historical incident that in France, and according to French law, two sovereigns of the name of Napoleon Bonaparte had preceded the present Emperor. Neither of these was recognised by this country. The French Government knew that as well as your lordships, and they have adopted the title without any intention of claiming hereditary right from the first Emperor. They have distinctly intimated this to her Majesty's Government, and it has also been since announced in a speech by the Emperor himself. They have declared, and he has himself declared, that he is the Sovereign only by the voice of the people, not by hereditary right to the throne; that he distinctly recognises all the Governments that have existed since 1814 in France; that he recognises the acts of those Governments; and that he acknowledges the solidarity of his Government as succeeding the others. With these satisfactory and frank explanations, made before we asked any official questions on the subject—with these satisfactory and frank declarations, it was only left to her Majesty's Government cordially to acknowledge the decided will of the French nation, and to send to our ambassador at Paris credentials for the new court. In the notification of the Empire, her Majesty's Government is informed that the same policy that influenced the President will influence the Emperor. And, with respect to that policy, as regards England, it is impossible to speak too highly of the cordial and frank manner in which every question has been entertained by the Government of France since I have had the honour of holding the seals of office, and I am sure my noble friend opposite will be ready to say the same thing. I have found nothing but fairness and fair play in all their transactions. I have found nothing but assurances of good will, and wishes to maintain an unbroken friendship with this country. I believe that the Emperor himself and the great mass of the French people deeply feel the necessity for the interests of both countries, that they should be at peace. I believe, on the other hand, that they see the folly and the crime of provoking war. They must know that war, so far as carried on for the subjugation of either country by the other, is an absurdity: that the one can never be so powerful or so independent as to be able to subjugate the other; and that, therefore, the war must be only a useless war,—useless as cruel, and cruel as useless."

Lord CANNING wished to know in what form the information had been received. Lord MALMESBURY said it was an "official declaration."

Mr. DISRAELI took a different course in the House of Commons. He said—

"I have to inform the House that Her Majesty has received a notification that there is a change in the form of the government of France; that the Empire has been re-established, and that the Emperor has been proclaimed under the title of 'Napoleon III.' Her Majesty's Government, acting upon the policy which has been long pursued by this country, of recognising every *de facto* government, has advised Her Majesty promptly and cheerfully to recognise the new form of government in France. I have at the same time to inform the House that, in the first instance in a friendly and informal manner, but ultimately in a formal and official manner, it has been announced to Her Majesty's Government, that in accepting the title of 'Napoleon III,' the Emperor of the French does not in any way wish to assert his hereditary claim to the Empire; he declares that his only claim to be considered Emperor is that he has been elected by the people of France; and he has further declared, in a manner perfectly voluntary on his part, that he entirely accepts all the Governments, and all the acts of all the Governments, that have occurred and taken place since 1814."

The announcement thus made by the right hon. gentleman was received with deep and earnest attention.

Lord J. RUSSELL asked whether there would be any objection to lay these documents on the table of the House? The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, he did not see any present objection to lay the papers on the table of the House; but the noble lord, he was sure, would not press him for a more definite answer at that moment. (Hear, hear.) He had thought it respectful to the House to give it the earliest information of the fact he had stated, not wishing that the House of Commons should be made acquainted with it from any other quarter.

CLOSE OF THE FREE-TRADE CONTROVERSY.

At length the HOUSE OF LORDS has passed its resolution in favour of Free-trade. Coming after the Budget, the whole proceeding is tame and dull; all through it has been undignified, neither reflecting credit on Lord Chamberlain, nor Lord Derby, nor the House. It will be seen that Lord Harrowby stepped in, and appeared as the Palmerston of the Upper House.

The Marquis of CLANICARDE, on Monday, moved the following resolution:

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

He had accepted the wording of this resolution from the Earl of Derby in the hope of securing unanimity by concession, but he had been disappointed in that expectation. He regretted having adopted such a course, as he preferred his own resolution, whilst that of the noble earl had exposed him to opposition from all parties. He assured the House that he had learned a lesson from this matter which would not in future be lost upon him.

The Earl of ABERDEEN, as one of the oldest and most intimate friends of Sir Robert Peel, congratulated the House and the country on the success of his measures. He would not himself have advised or proposed any vote of this description, as he held that their lordships had, in 1846, pronounced a very decided opinion upon the subject of our commercial policy, and nothing had since been done to indicate the slightest reaction towards the old system. At the same time, he could not comprehend why the resolution to which the Commons had agreed should be objected to by noble lords opposite. The present resolution, however, was a reactionary resolution. It was so constructed, that the logical and fair inference from it was, that the Government would agree to a change in our policy, were it not for the evils that would attend it. But this was not a sufficient ground for their adhering to the present system. If they adhered to it, it was because it was "wise, and just, and beneficial," and this he wished the House to affirm.

Lord BEAUMONT insisted that the resolution passed in the House of Commons could not be construed as a reflection on the Government, otherwise how could Ministers in that House have supported it; and if it were not insulting, why did not Lord Derby accept it? Lord Clanricarde had shown a wonderful complaisance in yielding, not only the two resolutions he had intended to move, but in adopting the resolution drawn up by Lord Derby. For himself, he was not content with that resolution, and he should move the resolution agreed to in the House of Commons.

The Earl of DERBY described the view he took of the present position of the question, and urged that the noble marquis had deliberately adopted the words of the present motion in order that there might be no division of opinion upon the subject. He put it to the House whether, consistently with their lordships' ordinary practice, they could give their support to the amendment, of which no notice had been given. He did not think any resolution was necessary on the part of the Government, as they had given ample evidence of their full intention to carry out the principles of Free-trade; but he contended that noble lords would best promote the same object by affirming that principle in such a manner as should secure the greatest unanimity in support of the resolution.

"My lords, I will not now enter into any discussion of the wisdom, expediency, and justice of the measure of 1846. I differed from the policy, and still more widely from the justice, of the introduction of that measure at the time when it was introduced and by the man by whom it was introduced, and I gave the fullest proof of the sincerity of my opinions by abandoning the colleagues with whom I had no other ground of difference; but from that time to this, I defy (I do not use the word offensively), the warmest friends of the late Sir Robert Peel to find in any speech or writing of mine a single expression derogatory to his character; and the only serious misunderstanding I had with my noble and lamented friend, the late Lord George Bentinck—a misunderstanding which I am happy to say was thoroughly removed before his lamented death—was upon a full and frank expression of my opinion that nothing could be more unfitting or more impolitic than to load with terms of vituperation those from whom we are compelled by political reasons to differ."

In conclusion, he entreated the House not to enter upon a useless discussion about the past, and to give the Government credit for having no intention whatever to adopt a reactionary policy.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE said he could not vote in favour of the amendment, in consequence of what had taken place the other night; but his noble friend was justified in calling on their lordships to express an opinion so decided on the subject that the House and the Government should not readily be able to depart from it. The motion fell sort of what the occasion demanded, but he could not recommend their lordships, under the circumstances, to refuse it.

The Earl of HARROWBY suggested that the simplest and best course of arriving at a unanimous conclusion would be to omit the preamble of the resolution, avoid the allegation of any reasons, and declare "That this House, thankfully acknowledging the general prosperity, adheres to the commercial system recently established, and would view with regret any renewed attempt to disturb its operation or impede its further progress." That would be a more statesmanlike proposition.

The Duke of NEWCASTLE concurred in the suggestion of the noble Earl who spoke last. The preamble had no particular value in the eyes of the noble Mar-

quis who proposed it, while it had been received with disfavour on other sides of the House. The remainder of his speech consisted of an able defence of Sir Robert Peel, and a vindication of his policy; especially as contrasted with that of Lord Derby. Sir Robert Peel had not made agitation against the Reform Act the basis of his party; quite the reverse; therefore a declaration, in 1835, that he would not disturb the Reform Act was not demanded of him. Sir Robert Peel had manfully and openly changed his opinion in 1845, and retired from office; "but what we complain of in the conduct of Lord Derby is, that he has not changed his opinion." If he had come forward even at the eleventh hour, and avowed a change, then there would have been no more necessity to bind the Government than to bind that House; but he had not done so; and a resolution was necessary.

The resolution and the amendment were withdrawn, and Lord HARROWBY carried his amendment, as a substantive resolution, without opposition.

What an undignified climax to the great struggle for Free-trade or Protection!

THE BUDGET: INCOME-TAX.

The final discussion in the House of Lords finishes our account with the past; and the financial projects of Mr. Disraeli carry us fairly onward into the now undisputed regions of Free-trade taxation. Let us see how Ministers seem likely to fare.

On the motion for going into Committee of Supply, Mr. GLADSTONE made a statement respecting the Income-tax, the House-tax, and the Tea duties, and the form of proceeding about to be adopted. He objected to taking the House-tax before the Income-tax; it was by no means the constitutional order of proceeding. They were about to provide for the financial year of 1853, and in April the Income-tax would cease. That Income-tax supplied one-tenth of the revenue; and they were to be called upon to decide on the augmentation of the House-tax before they knew whether the Income-tax would be continued. Then they were not called on merely to vote the renewal, but the reconstruction of the Income-tax. To that, he and others entertained wholly insurmountable objections. And, in respect of the proposal to vary the rate on incomes, to that he must offer the most strenuous opposition. The foundation of his objection was, that it would commit a breach of the public faith to the national creditor. And he quoted the Loan Act, and cited the opinion of Mr. Pitt, to show that loans had been contracted on condition that they should be "free from all taxes, charges, and impositions whatever;" that fundholders might be taxed as the recipients of incomes, but not as fundholders.

This was the first intimation of serious opposition to the Budget. Mr. HUME came in to the rescue of Mr. Disraeli, and stated that he differed entirely from the views of Mr. Gladstone as to the alleged breach of faith with the public creditor; but then he would prefer to deal with the Income-tax before dealing with the house-tax.

Mr. DISRAELI would not go into the question. Ministers were prepared to stand or fall upon the decision of the House on any point of the financial measures. Lord John Russell had desired that a distinct issue should be raised; and in complying with that suggestion, he had fixed Friday for considering the house-tax and tea duties.

But here Lord JOHN RUSSELL joined issue. He had suggested nothing of the kind. He had only asked what Government intended to do. He added his criticism to that of Mr. Gladstone, declaring that the principle of the income-tax was at variance with the principle laid down by Mr. Disraeli last session—that if you had direct taxation, it ought not to be founded on exemptions. But the proposition in the budget was not founded on one, but on various exemptions. "I must say," exclaimed Lord John, in closing his remarks, "that after what I heard on Friday night, I do think the financial safety of the country is in great peril."

From the observations of Sir CHARLES WOOD, Sir JOHN SHELLEY, Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT, Mr. EVELYN DENISON, Sir HENRY WILLOUGHBY, and Mr. JOHN MACGREGOR, and in spite of the attempt made by Mr. WALPOLE and Lord JOHN MANNEIS to win over the House, it was apparent that the course taken by the Government, in placing the house-tax first for consideration, was strongly disapproved.

The House then went into a

COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.

Mr. STAFFORD moved for votes of 113,000*l.* for 5000 additional seamen; and 100,000*l.* for steam machinery. The Government proposed to ask for 5000 additional seamen, and 1500 marines for four calendar months; but in order to make the sum which would be required as small as possible, the Government would assume that for the first two months only half the

number of seamen and marines would be raised. At the same time, he was happy to state that the rumours which were circulated of the difficulty of getting men to join her Majesty's ships were highly exaggerated, though the House must not disguise from itself that at present the British sailor was the most precious article in the market. The Government had not only to meet the competition of the mercantile marine and the attractions of the gold regions, but of every other navy in the world, and therefore it was absolutely incumbent upon us to do everything that would promote his comfort, and tempt him to remain in the naval service. With regard to the fleet which the Admiralty proposed to raise, and which he trusted the House would enable it to raise without delay, they intended that it should be stationed in the channel, cruising, of course, occasionally up and down for exercise. At the Nore, they proposed to place three frigates and five steamers; at Plymouth, four sail-of-the-line and five steamers; and at Portsmouth, five sail-of-the-line, two frigates, and six large steamers. Considering the exposed nature of the coast, and not forgetting Osborne and the hopes and loyal sympathies which often centred there, he thought this would not be looked upon as too large a force for the defence of our own shores.

Mr. HUME protested against the vote altogether. Lord JOHN RUSSELL warmly assented to it. In deference to public opinion, Mr. WILLIAM WILLIAMS would offer no opposition to the vote. Sir GEORGE PECHELL complained of the stoppage of the sailor's grog, and suggested that they should be made to understand that their position in other respects should not be made worse than that of any other service in the world. Captain SCOBELL congratulated the House that they had at last taken the right means for securing national defence. As to the vote for steam machinery, Sir GEORGE PECHELL complained of wasteful expenditure in altering ships, "pulling them about," in the system of saluting, and in pulling ships to pieces whether they wanted repairs or not. The House laughed at the complaints, and agreed to both the votes.

They subsequently voted 111,900*l.* for wages and victualling stores, &c., for the 5000 seamen and 1500 marines; and 92,658*l.* for 2000 artillerymen, 1000 horses, and additional heavy iron ordnance.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER then asked for a vote of 150,000*l.* for the purchase of land for the erection of a new National Gallery, and of edifices for other purposes, which he proceeded to explain. He observed that the time had come when it was necessary to study the industrial education of the people. This country could no longer maintain its manufacturing superiority by its mere command of raw material. The intellectual element was daily becoming more and more important. The results of the Great Exhibition had brought this conviction to the minds of those who had had the direction of that most interesting display. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then alluded to the progress which the Continent had made in the establishment of industrial schools, and proceeded to advert to some of the principal points in the recent report of the Royal Commissioners. He stated that the Commissioners had invested their surplus of 150,000*l.* in the purchase of land, and had asked the Government to recommend the House to make a similar advance. Land had been bought near the site of the Crystal Palace, and the ultimate hope of the Commissioners and the Government was to combine on one spot a complete collection of raw material, of machinery, of manufactures, and of pictorial and sculptural art. It was also hoped that the various scientific societies might assemble and combine their collections on the same site. He concluded by urging the great importance of the object, and the benefits it would confer upon the industry of the nation.

Lord SEYMOUR generally approved of the proposition, but believed that the societies would object to be removed to Kensington. Lord JOHN RUSSELL cordially concurred in the proposed plan, in which he believed that he saw a prospect of the greatest advantages to the country. Mr. HUME objected to vote public money until he knew in whose hands the future management of it was to be. Mr. DRUMMOND ridiculed the notion of trying to force upon the people a love of fine art, for which nature had not qualified them. He drew an unfavourable contrast between our artists and those of foreign nations, and asserted that we had never produced anything of a first-rate order in art. Mr. EWART protested against Mr. Drummond's inferences, believing all nations capable of improvement and development.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER defended the proposed locality, showed that Mr. Drummond had mistaken the object of the Commissioners, and reminded the House that it was not by the present vote pledging itself to anything beside the purchase of the land.

Mr. LOCKE expressed a strong opinion against the centralising system, of which the proposed arrangement formed a beginning.

After much discussion, the vote was agreed to.

A vote of 80,000% was then asked for the expenses for the Duke of Wellington's funeral.

Mr. HUME objected to the vote, on the ground that no account of the expenditure had been furnished.

Lord D. STUART took the same side, at great length.

After some observations, in reply, by Lord J. MANNERS, Mr. SAMUEL CARTER rose, and was greeted by a perfect storm of yells and groans, delivered in volleys. After vainly trying to be heard, he moved that progress be reported, and Mr. HUME seconded the motion. The House was acting in a most disorderly way, and if the Government would not keep their friends in better order, it would be quite impossible to proceed with business. (Oh, oh.) Mr. G. HUDSON then rose, but his remarks were nearly drowned amidst loud cries of "Oh, oh!" and the most discordant noises. We understood him to express his regret at the course taken by the honourable member for Montrose, and his hope that the resolution would have been agreed to without a dissentient voice. ("Oh, oh," and laughter.) Mr. HUME said he had no objection to the honourable member giving a cheque for the amount out of his own pocket, but as a trustee for the public, he, Mr. Hume, could not consent to the course now pursued. (Oh, oh.)

Mr. HUDSON: The honourable member talks about giving a cheque. I will give a cheque for as much as he will. (Roars of laughter.)

This undignified banter was put an end to by the clearing of the House for a division, which did not take place. Mr. CARTER was finally allowed to speak, and he protested against the enormous expense of the funeral, which he said had been incurred in breach of faith. Why had the Duke's obsequies cost five times those of Lord Nelson?

The vote was at length agreed to; the Chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again.

LIMITED LIABILITY IN PARTNERSHIPS.

Matters come up somewhat strangely in the House of Commons and get discussed. On Tuesday, Mr. BROWN moved for papers relating to a certain application made by the London, Liverpool, and North American Screw Steam-ship Company to the Board of Trade, for a charter containing a clause enabling the capital to be raised upon the principle of limited liability. Mr. BROWN, and his seconder, Mr. CLAY, both thought that limited liability was a violation of unrestricted competition, dangerous to credit, an exclusive privilege, and involving the adoption of the French system of partnerships *en commandite*. The principle attacked found an able defender in Mr. ROBERT LOWE:—

"He must say he thought it rather too much, when gentlemen came to the House and asked them to interfere with the important duties of a department of Government, in order to prevent a competitor being introduced into the field of enterprise—it was too much, he said, to colour such a motion with the name of unrestricted competition. It was precisely the reverse. The law, as it stood at present—the law of unlimited liability—was a restraint on competition. If there was no law of unlimited liability, there would be much more competition in the different trades than there now was, and many articles would be cheapened to the consumer. But it had been the law of England for sixty years that if any person entered into competition in any branch of trade, he must do so under the very highest penalty, and that if he were unsuccessful, he must lose his last shilling and his last acre. This was the law which encouraged the competition of capital, which told the capitalist that whatever he did with his capital, he must do under the very highest penalty—under the penalty of *proemure*—a total loss of his goods—and all this to deter him from embarking his capital in trade! That was the present restrictive state of the law; and when they were asked to bring their financial policy into unison with their commercial policy, and adopt the principle of unrestricted competition, they would do wisely if they followed up the same principle with respect to the legal policy, and swept away all those institutions and laws which tended as this law manifestly did—to restrain, embarrass, and hinder the competition of capital in different trades and employments. What was the right hon. gentleman the President of the Board of Trade empowered by Act of Parliament to do? What he was empowered to do was, *pro tanto*, as often as he should see that a case was made out, to break down the present fettering law, and give the capitalist power to compete with other capitalists, taking care that he should do so without the penalty which the law of unlimited liability attached to such a course. And this power was now attacked. It was said it was opposed to free trade. What had been its results, he would ask? Had they been unfruitful? What was it that had covered our land with railroads and our seas with steamships and mercantile fleets, except the power of suspending and annihilating the law of unlimited liability? But it was said that such a state of things was injurious to credit. That was the concern of those who entered into it. If any one should think, upon consideration, that the credit which unlimited liability gave was better worth having than the credit which limited liability offered, he was at liberty to make his election. But,

on the other hand, if he preferred the credit which limited liability offered, he had a right to do so. It was for the public to decide how much credit they would give in either case. It was no part of our laws to settle people's private affairs. But what was done with advantage in the United States of America, ought, he thought, to be done with advantage in this country also."

He trusted the day would soon come when those who wished to combine their capital for any enterprise would be able to do so without going to any Government.

A good deal was said about the principle of limited liability, but, on the ground that the charter was pending adjudication, the House generally seemed to feel the impropriety of asking for the papers required.

RATE-PAYING CLAUSES.—Sir de LACY EVANS'S Bill to amend these clauses, so that the voter might have a *bona fide* six months for the payment of rates and taxes, was lost on Wednesday by a majority of 103 to 67 against the second reading.

TENANT-RIGHT.—After a long discussion on Tuesday it was agreed on all sides that the Government measures relating to the law of landlord and tenant, and the improvement of the land, and the bill known as Mr. Sharman Crawford's Tenant-Right Bill should be referred to a select committee. The Irish members are in no way satisfied with Mr. Napier's measures.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.—A select committee has been appointed, on the motion of Mr. TUFNELL, to inquire into the expediency of distributing, gratis, under certain regulations, a selection from the reports and returns printed by order of the House of Commons among the literary and scientific institutions and mechanics' institutes throughout the United Kingdom. Mr. Disraeli rather warmly approved of the object of the committee; and, generally, the motion was well supported.

SUGAR DUTIES.—Mr. WILSON made a long speech on Thursday, to show that Free-trade in sugar had not injured the West Indian interest. He entered at length into the statistics of the question, and pointed out that, since the act of 1846, the West Indies had produced an average excess of 20,000 tons of sugar in the last five years over the produce of the five years preceding 1846; that while the increase of slave-grown sugar had been eighteen per cent., the increase in the British colonies had been thirty-eight per cent., and that the revenue had recovered itself within 500,000*l.* The cost of production had diminished in the West India colonies, and he contended that, if those colonies were not highly prosperous, they were more prosperous than before the change, which had not retarded their prosperity. After discussing the proposal for refining sugar in bond, Mr. Wilson concluded by moving for certain reports and returns.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON, in reply, contended that the facts did not justify the boasted legislation of the last six years; and that the value of property had been enormously depreciated; that the consumer had been benefited at the expense of the planter. At the same time, he admitted that improvements had taken place which he never anticipated, and he ascribed them solely to the energies of the planters. He would not retract the censure he had passed on the legislation of 1846; but he agreed that, at the present moment, no Government would be justified in meddling with the existing law.

Mr. WILSON's only object was to obtain some reports, which were agreed to.

RAILWAY AMALGAMATION.—Mr. HENLEY has obtained the appointment of an important committee to inquire especially into the railway amalgamation projects, and generally into the principles of railway legislation.

NEWSPAPER STAMP.—The ATTORNEY-GENERAL has brought in a bill to amend the definition of a newspaper; to prevent litigation; and to exclude periodicals published at intervals of not less than twenty-six days from the operation of the stamp duties.

THE BUDGET RESOLUTIONS.

The following are the resolutions laid by Mr. Disraeli on the table of the House:—

INHABITED HOUSE DUTIES.

That, from and after the 5th day of April, 1853, the duties granted and made payable by the Act 14th and 15th Vict., c. 36, upon inhabited dwelling-houses in Great Britain, according to the annual value thereof, shall cease and determine, and in lieu thereof there shall be granted and made payable upon all such dwelling houses the following duties (that is to say):—

For every inhabited dwelling-house which, with the household and other offices, yards, and gardens therewith occupied and charged, is or shall be worth the rent of ten pounds or upwards by the year:—

Where any such dwelling-house shall be occupied by any person in trade, who shall expose to sale and sell any goods, wares, or merchandise in any shop or warehouse, being part of the same dwelling-house, and in the front, and on the ground or basement story thereof;

And also where any such dwelling-house shall be occupied by any person who shall be duly licensed by the laws in force to sell therein by retail beer, ale, wine, or other liquors, although the room or rooms thereof in which any such liquors shall be exposed to sale, sold, drunk, or consumed, shall not be such shop or warehouse as aforesaid;

And also where any such dwelling-house shall be a farmhouse occupied by a tenant or farm servant, and *bona fide* used for the purposes of husbandry only:—

There shall be charged for every twenty shillings of such annual value of any such dwelling-house the sum of one shilling.

And where any such dwelling-house shall not be occupied and used for any such purpose and in manner aforesaid, there shall be charged for every twenty shillings of such annual value thereof the sum of one shilling and sixpence.

TEA DUTIES.

That, in lieu of the duties of Customs now payable on tea, the following duties shall form and to the respective days herein mentioned be charged on tea imported into the United Kingdom; viz.:—

	To Jan. 5, 1854, inclusive.	From Jan. 5, 1854, to Jan. 5, 1855, inclusive.	From Jan. 5, 1855, to Jan. 5, 1856, inclusive.	From Jan. 5, 1856, to Jan. 5, 1857, inclusive.	From Jan. 5, 1857, to Jan. 5, 1858, inclusive.	From Jan. 5, 1858.
For every lb. weight of Tea imported into the United Kingdom..	s. d. 1 10	s. d. 1 8	s. d. 1 6	s. d. 1 4	s. d. 1 2	s. d. 1 0

MALT.

That from and after the 10th day of October, 1853, the duties of Excise now payable under any act or acts in force on malt made in any part of the United Kingdom shall cease and determine; and in lieu thereof there shall be granted and payable the following duties (that is to say):—

For and upon all malt made in any part of the United Kingdom from corn, grain, or pulse of any kind whatever, the duty of one shilling and threepence halfpenny, and five per centum thereon, for every bushel imperial measure of such malt, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

MALT DRAWBACKS AND ALLOWANCES.

That, from and after the 10th day of October, 1853, all allowances and drawbacks of Excise granted by any act or acts now in force on beer exported from any part of the United Kingdom to foreign parts, and on spirits distilled in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, in respect of the malt used in the distillation of such spirits, shall respectively cease, determine, and be no longer payable; and that in lieu thereof there shall be granted, allowed, and paid, the several drawbacks following, that is to say:—

For and upon all beer brewed or made of the specific gravity hereinafter mentioned by any entered and licensed brewer of beer for sale, and duly exported from any part of the United Kingdom to foreign parts as merchandise:—

Where, in the brewing of such beer, the worts used before fermentation were of a specific gravity not less than 1.054 but less than 1.081,

The drawback of two shillings and sixpence, and five per centum thereon, for every barrel of 36 gallons, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity of such beer.

And where in the brewing of such beer the worts used before fermentation were of the specific gravity of 1.081 or upwards,

The drawback of three shillings and ninepence, and five per centum thereon, for every such barrel, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity of such beer.

And for and upon all spirits distilled in England, Scotland, or Ireland, for exportation only, or for use as ships' stores, from malted corn only, not being mixed with any unmalted corn or grain whatever, after the rate of two gallons of such spirits for every bushel of malt,

The drawback of sevenpence three farthings, and five per centum thereon, for every gallon of such spirits of the strength of hydrometer proof, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity and strength respectively.

And for and upon all British spirits distilled or made from any other materials than malt only, on the due exportation thereof, or shipment for ships' stores,

The drawback of three farthings for every gallon at proof of such spirits actually exported or shipped as stores.

MALT IMPORTATION DUTY.

That, from and after the 10th day of October, 1853, there shall be granted and payable the following duties of Customs on malt imported into the United Kingdom (that is to say):—

For and upon every bushel imperial measure of such malt imported, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, the duty of one shilling and eightpence, and five per centum thereon.

HOPS.

That, from and after the 5th day of July, 1853, the duties of excise now payable under any act or acts in force on hops the growth of Great Britain shall be reduced, and shall be payable at and after the rate of one penny, and five per centum thereon, for every pound weight avoirdupois of such hops.

HOPS.—DUTY ON IMPORTATION.

That, from and after the 10th day of October, 1853, the duties of Customs now payable on hops imported into the United Kingdom shall be reduced, and shall be payable at and after the rate of two pounds five shillings, and five per centum thereon, for every hundred-weight of such hops, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

PROPERTY AND INCOME TAX.

That, from and after the 5th day of April, 1853, the duties granted by the Act 5th and 6th Vict., c. 20, for a limited term, and continued by several other acts passed in that behalf, on profits arising from property, professions, trades, and offices, shall be granted and continued for a further term in the manner hereinafter mentioned (that is to say):—

The duties specified in the respective schedules (A) and (C), contained in the said first-mentioned act, shall be granted and continued at the rates mentioned in the said schedules respectively.

The duties specified in the schedule (B), contained in the same act, shall be granted and continued at the reduced rate of one penny three-farthings for every twenty shillings of the annual value of lands, tenements, and hereditaments in England, and at the reduced rate of one penny farthing for every twenty shillings of the annual value of lands, tenements, and heritages in Scotland.

And the duties specified in the respective schedules (D) and (E), contained in the same act, shall be granted and continued respectively at the reduced rate of fivepence farthing for every twenty shillings of the annual profits or gains, and annual amounts mentioned in the said schedules (D) and (E) respectively.

That the duties specified in the said schedule (C) shall extend to all annuities, and all dividends and shares of annuities payable in Ireland out of the revenue of the United Kingdom, to or for the use or benefit of any person, whether resident in Ireland or elsewhere.

That the duties specified in the said schedule (E) shall extend to public offices and employments in Ireland, although the duties of such offices may be necessarily and permanently performed in Ireland by persons resident there.

ANTI-BUDGET MEETINGS.

MR. DISRAELI'S Budget has certainly not found favour in the eyes of the metropolitan constituencies. Meetings were held on Wednesday at Kingsland and in Southwark, to protest against it. The Kingsland people assert,—

"That while the meeting approved the principle of substituting a tax upon property in lieu of those on the necessities of life, they nevertheless objected strongly to an increased charge on houses, as contemplated by Ministers, many of them being already charged with a house-tax of 9d. in the pound, and a property-tax of 7d., amounting together to 1s. 4d. in the pound, while land and the funds were only charged at 7d. in the pound; and that in the opinion of the meeting, an equal tax should be imposed upon all kinds of property, according to the income arising therefrom; and that, in consequence of the reduced price of corn and other articles, it is the opinion of this meeting that there ought to be a more economical expenditure of the public revenue, by which a large reduction might be made in the taxation of the country without impairing the national defences, and by that means the public be relieved from a large amount of taxation."

But the Southwark resolutions are much stronger. They roundly condemn the whole of the Budget. They adopted these words,—

"That this meeting views the proposed increase on the house-duty with indignation and alarm, considering it to be an attempt to revive the corn-laws in an indirect way, by taxing the towns for the benefit of the landed interest; and believing also that if the attempt should succeed, other and still more oppressive measures of a similar character will follow; that this meeting is also decidedly unfavourable to the proposed extension of the property and income-tax, and the arrangement in regard to it; and, in fact, this meeting condemns nearly all the important features of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's scheme, believing that it would unjustly and seriously affect large numbers of industrious classes, inasmuch as no adequate benefit will be gained by the proposed reduction of the duties on tea, malt, and hops. That this meeting therefore resolves to do what it can to prevent the new Budget from being adopted, and calls upon the representatives of the borough of Southwark in Parliament to use their influence to obtain either its revision or withdrawal."

On Thursday, there was a meeting in the Marylebone Court House, attended by the borough members, at which, while the house-tax was condemned, the principle of the change of rate in the income-tax, distinguishing between permanent and precarious income, was approved. Another meeting was held in St. Pancras Vestry Hall, and a third in the Lambeth Vestry Hall. The St. Pancras meeting resolved,—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the Budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer fails to establish an equitable system of taxation; that it will increase the fiscal exaction levied on the people, promote the means of Parliamentary corruption, and continue the wasteful and extravagant expenditure of the public money; and that this meeting can have no confidence in a Ministry lost to every principle of political morality, who have obtained power by false professions, and who retain office by the abandonment of all their previous pledges and opinions; that this meeting is fervently of opinion that there can be no safety for the people, or security, unless the House of Commons passes such measures as shall conduce to a great reduction of the national expenditure; and that this meeting, therefore, urges upon the representatives of all cities and boroughs in the kingdom, whoever may be Minister, to insist upon a rigid economy in all departments of the State, the abolition of all useless places and pensions, the reduction of all salaries to meet the altered circumstances of the times, and the abolition of all excise duties upon necessities."

At the Lambeth meeting, the resolution agreed to was as follows:—

"That the property and income-tax to the full amount being levied on houses, an addition of 6d. in the pound on shops, and of 9d. on dwelling-houses having been recently imposed, the proposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to double that additional taxation, by increasing the imposts on shops to 1s., and upon dwelling-houses to 1s. 6d., is unwise, injurious, and unjust. That this meeting is decidedly

unfavourable to the proposed extension of the property and income-tax, and to any arrangements that may follow; and, in fact, the meeting condemns unequivocally all the important features of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's scheme, by which the interests of the industrial classes would be seriously affected, inasmuch as no adequate benefit will arise to them from the proposed reduction in the duties on tea, malt, and hops. That in case it should be found necessary, after a proper reduction of the national expenditure, to impose fresh taxes for the purpose of making up any deficiency that may be created by the reduction of duties on articles of consumption, it is the opinion of this meeting that such deficiency may be supplied by the probate and legacy duty, not imposed upon real estates, being extended to the same amount as is now charged upon personal property, and by extending the property and assessed taxes to Ireland, to be there levied in the same manner as is now proposed to be levied from the inhabitants of Great Britain."

Strong opposition has also shown itself in the great provincial towns. The meetings had no party character.

TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

A DEPUTATION waited on the Earl of Derby, on Wednesday, at the Treasury, for the purpose of presenting to his lordship an address from the Association for promoting the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge. The deputation consisted of a large number of gentlemen interested in the subject, and included Mr. Hume, M.P., Mr. Milner Gibson, M.P., Sir John V. Shelley, M.P., Mr. Ewart, M.P., General Sir De Lacy Evans, M.P., and Mr. Charles Forster, M.P.

Mr. Milner Gibson introduced the deputation; Mr. Collett read an address; and Mr. Hume, Mr. Ewart, and Mr. Digby Seymour, addressed the Premier.

The Earl of Derby said he had listened with great attention to all that had been said; but it was not to be expected that he should enter at once into the details of this great and complicated question. There was one point, however, upon which he was quite clear, viz., that the law upon this subject, as it at present stood, was not in a satisfactory position, and that whatever the law was, it ought undoubtedly to be plain, and simple, and effectual for the purposes for which it was intended. He thought the present Government had shown no inclination to discourage the dissemination of knowledge. The question of these various taxes—*more particularly the advertisement duty*—was already under their notice, although, from financial considerations, they had been precluded at the present moment from dealing with it. He was prepared, however, to admit, and without undervaluing the importance of the other branches of the subject, that the present advertisement duty was of an objectionable character; and he should say, that if it were possible and consistent to notice or repeal it, one course or the other would meet with the recommendation of Government. The subject was one of great importance, and it would receive every attention from himself and colleagues.

THE SECURITY QUESTION.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

20, Great Cornam-street, December 9th, 1852.

DEAR SIR,—A mistake has arisen on the part of some persons who imagine that the Anti-Knowledge Tax Association intend to burk the Security Question. Mr. Milner Gibson is pledged to do his best to repeal the 8th section of the 60 George III., cap. 9, in the first bill which is brought in on the subject of the newspaper stamp. Permit me to add that Mr. Cobden would have risen a second time to support the amendment of Mr. Rodgers had I not assured him that Mr. M. Gibson was going to do so. Yours, &c.,

C. DOBSON COLLET.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER I.

Paris, December 7, 1852.

BONAPARTE is at the Tuileries. He eats, drinks, and sleeps at the Tuileries. From thence he dates his decrees; from thence he dictates his orders to France; and France obeys.

The marriage was to have taken place on the 10th, and the coronation on the 20th of this month, but the Pope has definitively refused to come to Paris, and the consecration is deferred till next May. Bonaparte hopes during the interval to prevail over the resistance of the Pope. He is preparing to play his Holiness one of his usual tricks to force him to have recourse to a second intervention; he will haggle for a bargain, and impose on the Pope the condition of coming to crown him at Paris. Meanwhile Bonaparte is flattering and cajoling the priests. All Paris was amazed to read yesterday, in the *Moniteur*, that "his Majesty the Emperor had attended mass at the Tuileries." On the 2nd of December the clergy were received at the Tuileries. Bonaparte said to the Curé of St. Germain l'Auxerrois—"You see, I am become your parishioner, M. le Curé." He sedulously captivates the good-will of the clergy, in

order to attain the supreme aim of his ambition—to be anointed like Napoleon the Great by the Pope. Just now all the courtier bishops, the Donnez, the Goussets, (the names are worthy of the régime they adorn!) are writing entreaty on entreaty to the Pope to conquer or change his determination. But the Pope will not so easily yield. A rumour has been current on the subject of late that Pius IX. and Bonaparte are playing against each other at high stakes. Pius IX. is said to demand as his condition of coming to France, the solemn and authentic re-establishment of the Jesuits. Bonaparte recoils from this condition as an enormity. Yet, if he should not succeed in his project of gentle compulsion, I have little doubt he will yield to the conditions of the Pope, and consent to the enormity of the re-establishment of the Jesuits in France—so great is his ambition to receive a little rancid oil on the crown of his head from the hands of an ex-chasseur of the Italian Guard. Pius IX. served in the French army at Leipsic.

Since his installation at the Tuileries, Bonaparte has become, so far as the interior of the Palace is concerned,* invisible, inaccessible, unapproachable. I had led you to expect this result. At the reception on the evening of the 2nd of December, the officers of the army were not even admitted, as in the time of Louis Philippe. Even field officers were ousted; nothing under a general or a colonel could be admitted. Another fact was remarked. Before the 2nd of December, Bonaparte was very prodigal of shaking hands—he shook hands with everybody. On that evening, his Majesty no longer deigned to grant any one this favour. This gave great offence to many of the new "subjects" present, who found themselves taken in. We do not like to be played with in France. The sudden affectation of dignity grievously offended the company present. The reception was very cold, and the ceremonial not of the most exhilarating nature. The grand master of the Ceremonies opened the doors of every saloon in succession, and shouted before Bonaparte—"The Emperor, gentlemen!" whereat the whole company divided into two ranks; the Emperor passed on, barely saluting his guests to the right and the left; the ranks closed again—and—all was over. Nothing under a grand dignitary or high functionary was admitted to enjoy the distinguished honour of figuring in the procession of the great man. Not only is this mountebank majesty inaccessible, but the Tuileries is not approachable. The Palace is now warded by an extraordinary force of sentries; there are three times as many as in Louis Philippe's time. One cannot walk from the court of the Tuileries to the gardens. The good public is henceforth obliged to make a long detour of ten minutes to get from the Carrousel to the Tuileries garden.

The triumphal entry into Paris exactly corresponded with my anticipatory description last week: and your daily journals will probably have regaled you with descriptions more or less voluminous of that event, so that I need not return to it, except to give you a few significant details. There was no crowd: the alleys of the Champs Elysées were deserted; the population of Paris, ordinarily so fond of sight-seeing, had not taken any trouble to enjoy the spectacle. The few people who had come to witness this triumphal pomp, were sullen and silent. No *entrain*, no enthusiasm, not the slightest *quolibet*, not the least pleasantry. *Jacques Bonhomme* is turning into a John Bull: he is becoming serious and sulky, and (a dangerous symptom) has given up laughing. One perceived that this population was conscious of the great act being consummated before its eyes; one perceived that it was assisting at its own funeral, at its own mourning. Not a laugh, did I say? Not a single cry, I may add, from the National Guard. There was truly something sinister and alarming in this silence. When all that is now seething in the recesses of these human consciences shall burst forth in the face of day, the world will be appalled.

After having seen Bonaparte pass by, I walked down the Champs Elysées to the Tuileries. Affected as I was by all these symptoms of the future, I was anxious to see the attitude of the population. At the Tuileries there was not a soul to be seen, nor on the Place du Carrousel. A few children were playing at hoop with their nurses: with that exception, not a spectator, not a sight-seer was there. I seemed to dream. Then I felt anxious to judge for myself of the state of the city, and I walked on by the Rue St. Honoré to the Faubourgs St. Denis, St. Martin, and St. Antoine. Every man was at work. The population had been invited to keep holiday; not a man left work: the shopkeepers had been invited to shut their shops; the greater number of shops remained open. I went into several of these shops on pretence of making some purchase, but really for the purpose of drawing the tradesmen into talk. All were

* The Emperor, we are told, rides and drives out without escort.—*Ed. Leader.*

of one mind. They would leave him alone, "but on condition that he remain quiet, or let him beware." In the evening scarcely a private house was illuminated; and the population, generally so eager to see illuminations, did not stir out to get a sight of the fairy-like splendours of the public monuments and buildings—notably the Hotel de Ville.

All these symptoms are far from re-assuring. The funds have been falling ever since the 3rd inst. In the last three weeks there has been a fall of more than six francs on the Three per Cents. I have already told you the cause of this disturbing and surprising depression. Rothschild is angry. Hostilities have commenced between him and Bonaparte. The latter began well by following the policy of Louis Philippe; he began by alliance with Rothschild, and by Rothschild he won over all the financial aristocracy. The good public was then *remis en coupe réglée*. Enormous stock and share-jobbing of every description was carried on. Bonaparte shared the proceeds of the spoil with Rothschild. His *entourage* saw nothing of it all. But after the 2nd of December, these intimates began to murmur. All the shabby-genteel squad of the Elysée demanded their share of the booty, and so loud were their reclamations, that Bonaparte was obliged to listen to them. Since that time, these harpies have required special favours. Operations have been carried on without Rothschild's privity or concurrence. Once entered on this course, the audacity of these jobbers waxed mightily, and on the 13th of November they effected that enormous fall of 150 francs in railway shares, which enabled them to realize, I am afraid to say how many millions of francs—the hungry rascals! The *Sociétés Foncière* and *Mobilière* are their handiwork. They bought in at 500 francs; three days afterwards, they re-sold at 1500 francs,—a premium of 1000 francs a share. Of this premium, Rothschild hadn't a sou. He was not in a pleasant temper at this affair,—a loss to him of some millions of francs came to confirm his disaffection. He gave his orders for a fall, and down went the Bourse. He is now intent upon crushing the Moveable Credit Association, founded by the adherents of the Elysée, by starting a rival scheme. The affair threatens to be serious. As soon as Bonaparte got wind of the affair, he sent for Rothschild, and told the financier that he intended to be master at home, and that if the funds did not rise again, he would hold him in pawn, and send him to plant sugar-canes at Cayenne. Rothschild left without making any promise, and the Bourse has continued to fall.

Imagine the rage of Bonaparte. Rothschild, like a guileless Israelite, as he is, takes good care not to "show" in all this transaction. He has created a bank of moveable credit of 600 millions (of francs) in opposition to that of Bonaparte, but he has created it under another name than his own. M. Espeleta is the director-in-chief. He is just now receiving the subscriptions of shareholders. For greater certainty, Rothschild, at a recent dinner given to his brother, Salomon, declared that he had no part in the creation of the new bank, which had been wrongly attributed to him—that the pretension of opposition to the French Government did not exist—and that, in any event, the Rothschilds were strong enough to waive such means. This reply, so clear and precise, and the reported threats of Bonaparte, created no small sensation at the Bourse, and the funds have since fallen again two francs.

Everything is now done in the name of the Emperor. Justice is administered in his name: in the churches prayers are no longer offered up for France, but for the Emperor. Passports are delivered in the name of the Emperor. Changarnier was the first to get one at Brussels, for Italy. On the 2nd of December, he presented himself at the Embassy to obtain a passport. It was delivered to him in the name of his ex-good friend the Emperor! His first impulse was to refuse it, and to ask for another in the name of the Republic: he was informed that the Republic was dead, partly thanks to him, and that henceforth he could have no passport but in the name of the Emperor. He was compelled to suffer this humiliation.

Bonaparte launches his decrees from the Tuileries without ceasing. They are of all colours and shapes. He has amnestied offences of the press, but has granted no general amnesty. He has created his brother, Morny, Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, in violation of the statutes of the order, seeing that Morny was only a simple Chevalier. He has raised to be Marshals of France Generals St. Arnaud, Maguau, and Castellane, in spite of that note in the *Moniteur*, in which he assured the public "that the services rendered during civil war could not entitle these gentlemen to be raised to the dignity of Marshals of France. To-day he launches a decree on the hereditary succession. It is Napoléon Jérôme, I know, who has been definitively nominated heir of the Emperor Na-

oleon III. I can safely answer for his being an heir who will never inherit. The Senate met yesterday to vote three *Senatus Consultes*. The first modifies the Constitution; the second regulates the Civil List of the Emperor—25 millions to his Majesty of the Second of December, and five millions to their Imperial Highnesses the Princes of the family; the third *Senatus Consulte* fixes the position and the rank of the Princes *tout court*.

The Corps Legislatif is dismissed. These gentlemen have been promised to be recalled on the 15th of February for the session of 1853; they will have the honour of being allowed to vote the Budget of 1854. To induce them to do the thing well, an allowance of 6000 francs for their three months' service will be accorded them. Bonaparte already has his "*satisfaisits*," like Louis Philippe.

Nothing, however, is more talked of at this moment in Paris than the unexampled favours and prizes granted to certain fortunate husbands of beautiful women. Our Sultan throws the handkerchief pretty liberally, it appears. I cannot forbear to tell you a little current scandal. It is right that you should know thoroughly the man and the régime that constitute the present happiness of France. After all, as good neighbours, it is only fair that you should have your share of our overflowing bliss. About a month since, his Majesty, on the strength of a little secret information furnished him by Mocquart, his secretary *des commandements* (read, his grand purveyor), took refuge on a rainy day in a country-house in the neighbourhood of Paris. A lady and her daughter were within. The young lady was charming: she was the daughter of a master builder. On the following day the father was summoned to St. Cloud, and there received an order to execute works to the tune of three millions. Joy of the father—gratitude of the daughter—enthusiasm of the mother! The enthusiasm of the last grew to such indiscretion, that she was heard to say that his future Majesty would refuse her daughter nothing. Bonaparte being informed of this indiscretion, instantly sent to the builder to countermand the works. Need I add that since that day there has been one Ariadne the more in Europe!

Another adventure: a lady from the country was recently at one of the court balls. Her rare beauty attracted the attentions of Bonaparte, who assured her that it would give him sincere pleasure to see so beautiful a person fix her residence in Paris. The lady replied, that it was impossible for the wife of a poor provincial tax-collector. The following day the husband was appointed to a receivership of 80,000 francs per annum at Paris. Since the lady has become the wife of a "receiver," she receives Bonaparte.

A third story, and I have done. Some English ladies, of the Villa Beaujon, in the Champ Elysées, burning with desire to go to the Tuileries on the 2nd of December, made a formal request to that effect to Bonaparte himself. He lost no time in sending an orderly with the precious invitation. One of the ladies, Lady S., acknowledged the invitation by a letter, which she concluded with a declaration that "she should be too happy to depose at the feet of his Majesty the homage of her adoration." Friday evening, at ten o'clock, M. Mocquart presented himself at the Villa Beaujon, and inquired for Lady S. Lady S. was in bed. M. Mocquart insisted on her getting up. Presently Lady S. dresses herself and comes down stairs. As soon as he caught sight of her, M. Mocquart recoiled with terror from her charms. They were not at all what the Emperor was impatiently expecting. M. Mocquart lost his presence of mind, and took to his heels. Whether he has ceased running, I cannot say.

S.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

THE *Senatus Consultum* for the adaptation of the Constitution to the Imperial régime, deprives the Corps Legislatif of the right of discussing the separate items of the Budget, which it will have to vote *en bloc*, leaves a blank for the Civil List to be filled up by the Senate, gives an allowance to the members of the legislature, settles the dotation of the Empress and of the Imperial family, and hands over all the national palaces and domains to the Emperor. It exactly fulfils the anticipations of our correspondent.

On Monday last, Lord Cowley, the British ambassador, went to the Tuileries in state, to present his credentials to the Emperor. He was conveyed with his suite in the Imperial carriages, and presented with great ceremony. "His reception was one (say the semi-official journals) of 'particular distinction'"—we suppose as the representative of Lord Malmesbury.

As illustrations of "*L'Empire c'est la Paix*," we may take the following facts:—A few days since, M. Ducos, the Minister of Marine, summoned the Deputies of the Maritime Departments, and declared to them, that owing to the augmentation of the forces in England, and to the national defences being carried out in the Channel Islands and elsewhere, France would have to increase her navy considerably, and to cope with England step by step.

On Friday last, writes the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*, a great military banquet took place at the Ecole Militaire of Paris, on the fête-day of St. Barbe, the patroness and tutelary saint of the artillery. The dinner was attended by a large body of the officers of artillery of the garrison of Paris; and the person who presided was a *chef de bataillon*. The affair might be passed over without notice but for a toast which was given towards the end of the evening, and which is remarkable as showing the kind of feeling encouraged at the present moment in the French army. The toast in question, as given by the president of the day, was in the following terms:—

"Gentlemen,—The Emperor reckons upon your services abroad, as he has reckoned upon your services at home. The re-establishment of the Empire is the re-establishment of our national frontiers—those of the Rhine. If people do not choose to give those frontiers up to us, we know how to take possession of them ourselves, and the Emperor will be at our head."

The *Moniteur* of Thursday announced, in its non-official part, that the Emperor will restore to liberty, to their families, and to their country, all those suffering from the consequences of civil discord, excepting such as have been guilty of crimes reproved by morality, on the sole condition of submitting to the national will, and engaging not to commit henceforth any act against the Government of the Elect of the country.

A professorship of civil law is created in lieu of that of constitutional law, which is abolished.

The *Moniteur* denies that France intends to alter the relations of Tunis with Turkey.

Ah-d-el-Kader's departure is postponed.

The *coup-d'état* in Spain, so long announced, and so often contradicted, has at length arrived. The reactionary Ministry found a compact and vigorous opposition in the Chamber. M. Martinez de la Rosa, a moderate Conservative and decided constitutionalist, a man of high character and long parliamentary services, was elected President by the combined sections of the opposition, by a majority of 121 to 107 given to the Ministerial candidate. After he had taken the chair, and had delivered a short and very moderate address, promising to defend liberty of opinion as well as order in the Chamber, and to assert at once the constitutional guarantees and the prerogatives of the crown, as essentially indissoluble, M. Bravo Murillo, President of the Council, read a decree dissolving the Cortes, and convoking them for the first of March; to be elected under the existing electoral law.

The *Moniteur*, at the very time of this dissolution, contradicted the rumour of the French Government having exerted some influence over the Spanish Government with regard to the projects of constitutional reform imputed to the Spanish Cabinet.

At the same time, we read in the *Espana* of another irruption into the Spanish territory by a company of French infantry, composed of three officers and sixty men.

Later news from Madrid of the 3rd instant, bring the project of a new constitution, published in the *Gazette* of that day, on the sole authority of the Government. The principal features in the projected constitution are—

To make the Senate a body of hereditary legislators, And to reduce the number of the Chamber of Deputies to 171.

It is proposed that the country be divided into 171 districts, each of which is to elect one deputy; the electors to be twenty-five years of age, settled two years at least in the district, and to form one of the 150 highest ratepayers in that district.

The presidents, vice-presidents, and secretaries of both Chambers are to be nominated by the Crown.

A letter from Madrid of the 3rd says—"Nothing else is talked of for the moment but the above measures, and the dissolution of the Cortes. It is very much doubted whether these 'reforms' will be postponed execution so long as to undergo the ordeal of another Cortes. Those opposed to them (which includes almost every one) attribute the whole proceedings to French influence; and this idea does not make them go down the better. The Government have taken military precautions for some days past. General Urbino, Minister of War, has resigned.

The Bourse at Madrid, as at Paris, favours absolutism, and rises as the liberties of the nation fall. Great excitement prevails at Madrid, and a military "pronouncement" of some kind or other is anticipated.

The law on the press has passed the Belgian Chamber, after considerable resistance. An amendment was accepted, that no prosecution for offences committed by the press against a foreign Government should take place, unless the Government so attacked should demand it.

THE CITY BANQUET.

POSTPONED in consequence of the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, the great annual civic banquet, usually held on the 9th of November, was celebrated in the Guildhall on Wednesday. Blazing with lights, and hung with flags and heraldic devices, the abode of Gog and Magog looked its best. About seven o'clock, the Right Hon. Thomas Chuliff, M.P., Lord Mayor, took the chair, supported, among others, by the following distinguished persons:—The Earl of Lonsdale, the Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Derby, Viscount Hardinge, Chief Baron Pollock, Mr. Ingersoll (the American Minister), Sir J. Pakington, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who was received with loud cheering upon his arrival), Mr. Henley, Lord Stanley, Lord J. Manners, Sir W. Jolliffe, Lord C. Hamilton, Mr. Christopher, Mr. Stafford, Mr. F. Mackenzie, Lord H. Lennox, Mr. Baron Parke, Mr. Baron Alderson, Mr.

Justice Coleridge, Mr. Justice Talfourd, Mr. Justice Wightman, and other judges, Mr. Masterman, Sir J. Duke, Mr. Alderman and Sheriff Carter, Mr. Sheriff Croll, Lord D. Stuart, Baron Rothschild, Sir W. Cubitt, Mr. James M'Gregor, and Mr. W. Brown.

After the health of the Queen and of Prince Albert, came the Navy, to which the Duke of Northumberland responded, and then the Army, which called up Lord Hardinge.

They had been accustomed to hear this toast acknowledged by one who stood pre-eminent in fame, in honour, and in patriotism, and to whose achievements this country was greatly indebted for the peace and happiness it now enjoyed. (Cheers.) The army would best imitate his great example by preferring the performance of their duty to every other consideration, and he believed they would, like the late Duke, be always ready to show due subordination to the civil authority and to the laws of their country. (Cheers.) And, if necessity should arise, he believed her Majesty's army, in its present discipline, would, as heretofore, prove that they had not degenerated from those glorious times when they were led to victory by their late illustrious commander. (Cheers.) He was most proud to receive the approbation of his fellow-countrymen. He felt proud, also, not only to be at the head of his profession, but to be at the head of one of the noblest armies that any country ever possessed. (Loud cheers.)

The health of the late Lord Mayor was followed by "The American Minister, and the Representatives of Foreign Powers." Mr. Ingersoll returned thanks.

He regretted that he was not accompanied by more of his fellow-Ministers on this occasion, that they might have seen the assembled loyalty, and, he might add, the assembled beauty, present in that hall. If so, they would have been satisfied of the truth of the old adage, that "The absent are in the wrong." The country which he had the honour to represent was excelled by none other in love and admiration for the people of this country. They derived their knowledge from the same instructors, and their habits from the same examples. The charters of the middle ages, the Bill of Rights, the *Habeas Corpus*, were theirs as well as ours. He addressed them in the same copious language which they spoke, and his fellow-countrymen studied the same books, and arrived at the same conclusions of peace and happiness. To illustrate the feelings borne to the people of this country, he might remind them that a gentleman of London (Mr. T. Baring), without any particular rank, or any other title, but that of being a London merchant, came to the United States, and there received the honours elsewhere paid to a conqueror. (Cheers.) When the people of England subscribed to relieve the Irish from famine, his fellow-countrymen were not backward in rendering their assistance; and lately, when the expeditions were fitted out to ascertain the fate of Sir J. Franklin, the Americans endeavoured also to come to his rescue. (Cheers.) Since he (Mr. Ingersoll) had come to England, he had received those marks of hospitality and kindly intercourse which denoted the feelings entertained towards his country. He had seen to-day the loyalty with which the throne was regarded, and he, too, was willing to say with them all, "God save the Queen." (Cheers.)

Then followed "the Earl of Derby and her Majesty's Ministers." The Lord Mayor's introduction of this toast was characteristic [especially in a member for Finsbury]:—

"That noble earl was distinguished not more by the elevation of his rank, his great power of eloquence, and his great influence, than by his moral integrity, which inspired confidence in all. He was glad to have this opportunity of expressing his high approbation of the noble earl's character and conduct since he had had the opportunity of observing it as a member of the House of Commons. He thought there was among all those whom he was addressing a hearty, unanimous, and cordial wish that the present Government might succeed in promoting more than any other Government had been able to do, the social, commercial, and political prosperity of the country." (Cheers.)

Lord Derby was duly thankful. Referring to the state funeral, he said:—

"If I revert to that great solemnity, it is only that I may have the opportunity of expressing here what I have expressed elsewhere—the pride with which I feel myself to be the countryman of those vast masses who knew so well how to conduct themselves on that great occasion (loud cheers), and the feeling of almost self-humiliation with which I asked myself, 'What can I have done to hold so high a place among such a people?' (Cheers.) Allow me to take this opportunity, in the heart of this great city, to express also my admiration of the perfect arrangement and good order, kept indeed with ease, but not with the less merit, by all those who were placed in high authority to superintend on that great occasion. And, without making any invidious distinction, I may say that, excellent and exemplary as were the arrangements in every part of the route, undoubtedly those on this side of Temple-bar were by no means inferior to those on the other. (Cheers.) And I am bound to give the utmost credit for the admirable arrangement and good order preserved by those who had the charge of watching over and controlling the proceedings in and about our magnificent cathedral. (Cheers.) I assure you, gentlemen, that the order of that day, the solemnity of that scene, and the feelings which were exhibited by the incalculable masses of the people who were assembled, struck all our foreign visitors with astonishment and admiration." (Cheers.)

He gracefully acknowledged the compliment paid him by the Lord Mayor:—

"I may say that I shall be happy in my position as

Minister if I find an opposition so expressed, and my political adversaries using such language as has been held by the Lord Mayor. (Cheers and laughter.) I may indulge the hope, although Ministers may not enjoy the honour of the political confidence of the members for Finsbury (cheers and laughter), that occasions may arise when they may yet hope to receive the support and co-operation of the Lord Mayor of London. (Cheers.) But, however that may be, of one thing I am sure, that no difference of political opinion, no difference on any question of public interest, will interfere either with the cordiality of feeling with which we meet on occasions like the present, or in more important matters, when for the preservation of peace, for the maintenance of order, for the public weal, and the interests of the country, it may be necessary—as it often must be necessary—for the Ministers of the Crown to co-operate in the public service with the chief magistrate of the city of London." (Cheers.)

Lord Derby proposed the health of the Lord Mayor. After some other toasts, came "The House of Commons and the Chancellor of Exchequer." (Loud cheers.) Mr. Disraeli received a compliment as high as that paid to my Lord Derby—"The city of London honoured the man who had achieved his own greatness, and whose intellect had lifted him to the leadership of the House of Commons." (Cheers.)

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER was received with enthusiastic and protracted cheering. He said:—

"My noble colleague, in returning thanks for the honour you had done him in drinking the health of her Majesty's Ministers, reminded you that there might be differences of opinion, and perhaps great differences of opinion, in a large and brilliant assembly like the present. With respect to the body of men whose health you were then asked to drink, it is, my Lord Mayor, my privilege to return thanks on behalf of a body of men respecting whom there can be no difference of opinion in this assembly, because they are a body of men who represent all opinions. Gentlemen, you know well that the relations between the House of Commons and the city of London are of very ancient date. In times of adversity in the city of London the leaders of the House of Commons have found a refuge; and therefore it is not surprising that in your moments of prosperous festivity the members of the House of Commons should be your welcome and your cordial guests. (Cheers.) I trust that as the relations between the House of Commons and the city of London are of long date, and since they are connected with our freedom and with some of the most interesting passages of our history, I hope that those relations will long remain; and I think it would be an evil time for this country and for that assembly which at this moment I represent, if the feeling between the House of Commons and the city of London ever becomes deficient in sympathy and affection. My Lord Mayor, I have heard with great pleasure the willing testimony which your lordship, from your experience, has paid to the manner in which the duties of a member of Parliament are discharged. I am quite sure that your lordship will add to the indefatigable industry and devotion to duty which have characterized hitherto the proceedings of that great assembly. We are now at an interesting moment in the history of the House of Commons (a laugh), because a new Parliament has just assembled. It is not for me, and nothing is further from my thoughts, than to excite any political feelings, or to make any political allusion in this scene and upon this occasion. But I trust I may be permitted to say, because I feel sure that in giving expression to my feelings I only express your own,—I trust I may be permitted to express a hope, and even a belief that the legislation of the new House of Commons will be such as will entitle its members to receive the respect and sympathy of the country. (Cheers.) I hope that they will meet together to take a large view of the national circumstances—that they will meet together to forget petty feelings—that they will legislate, not for classes, but for the community—(cheers)—that they will consider with an impartial and patriotic spirit every measure that is brought forward for the advantage of the country, and that they will resolve, if the measures of Her Majesty's Government are entitled to public confidence and respect, that they shall not be defeated by the manoeuvres of faction. (Loud cheers.) These are feelings in which all may share, whatever may be our political feelings; and I may express a hope that in whatever character I may appear in this celebrated hall again—whether as the representative of the House of Commons, or as one of its humblest members, I may witness an increase of those feelings of sympathy and respect which I trust will, to the advantage of this country, always exist between the House of Commons and the city of London. (Mr. Disraeli resumed his seat amid loud cheering.)

He proposed the "Health of the Lady Mayoress." Here the greater portion of the company retired; leaving the citizens in possession.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL AT LEEDS.

LEEDS, it appears, has not a public room large enough to hold more than 1500 persons. Accordingly, numbers of the members of the Mechanics' Institution were excluded from hearing the address of Lord John Russell, who presided, on Wednesday, over the annual soirée at the Mechanics' Institution. It was, besides, his first visit to Leeds.

The proceedings commenced at seven o'clock, in the Music Hall, when Lord John took the chair. There were present, besides, Lord Beaumont, Sir George Goodman, Mr. Mathew Baines, Mr. Henry Cole, Professor Phillips, the Dean of Ripon, Mr. George Cruickshank, and many local notabilities.

First, Mr. James Kitson, the President of the Institution, read a report on the present position and pro-

spects of the institution, which were very good; and he suggested the erection of a building capable of affording accommodation to the members.

Lord John Russell then spoke. He delivered what may be called an essay on literature; indicating the influence of Bacon on science; showing that while the progress of science was gradual, the progress of literature was uncertain; succeeding authors but too often falling short of their more remarkable predecessors, until some change produced a new race of writers, who, while they kept the canons of pure taste, struck out a new part. The moral was, that working men should study literature and pure science, as well as attend to the mere utilities in science and politics. At the end he said,—

"There is a great charge imposed upon you, and I trust you will properly perform it. Let no insane passion carry you without reason into contests with foreign countries. (Loud and continued cheering.) Let no unworthy prejudices induce you to withhold from any part of your countrymen that which is their due. (Renewed cheers.) Let no previous convictions prevent you from examining every subject with impartial eyes, and from placing before you the light of truth, which ought to guide you in your investigations. (Hear, hear.) With these convictions I am persuaded you will abide by the institutions which you have, by the faith which you hold, and that you will adorn the country to which you belong." (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

The following "sentiments" furnished themes for the various speakers:—

"Prosperity to the Leeds Mechanics' Institution, and to all similar societies, as they not only possess, but materially promote the development of the chief resources of intellectual cultivation."

"The continued extension of schools of design and of class instruction among the people; since to these in great measure do we look for the culture of taste and the progress of such mechanical contrivances as are necessary to maintain the national position of 'the workshop of the world.'"

"The advancement of literature and science; for while the former has opened out to its votary the archives of the past, and is become the depository of the present for his instruction and guidance, so also to the steady pursuit of the latter does the Englishman owe the elevated rank of his fatherland among the nations of the earth."

"That it is the effect of such institutions to bring about cordiality and friendly feeling among men, who, however widely they may otherwise differ, are still earnestly desirous of producing for themselves and their neighbours the greatest amount of general good."

A vote of thanks to Lord John Russell terminated the proceedings.

In the morning, the corporation presented a laudatory address to Lord John. In reply, he reviewed his own connexion with legislative reforms, which he has done so many times before. His peroration alone referred to the future. It is sound Whiggism:—

"With regard to any problems that have to be worked out—whether they relate to removing defects in the Reform Bill and the extension of the elective franchise—(hear, hear)—or to the carrying into more complete effect the principle of religious liberty—whether they relate to the reform of some abuses which still prevent the complete efficiency of the established church, or to the extension, promotion, and improvement of education—(hear)—upon all these great subjects, although I doubt not we shall have differences of opinion, yet my belief is that, with that free discussion which our laws and institutions not only warrant, but approve—with a House of Commons discussing all these matters in the face of an enlightened people, and if they make mistakes in their legislation speedily corrected by the general sense of public opinion—(cheers)—I believe, with these advantages, that without risk, without convulsion, we may strengthen those advantages which we possess, we may obtain others that we have not yet enjoyed, and that with the advantages of free trade, promoting the wealth of the country, and improving the condition of the working classes—(cheers)—with a free press—(loud cheering)—keeping its eye fixed upon all the changes that are proposed, and the refusals of improvement that may be attempted,—I believe that with these advantages, with so many organs of public opinion, we shall go safely on in the career which we have to tread, and, whatever share I may bear in those changes—even if I bear no share at all—it will be the highest satisfaction to me if I can see this great people proceed in the path of freedom, of virtue, and of happiness, guarded, as it has been guarded hitherto, by that high sense of religion and morality which can be the only safeguards of a nation."

The conclusion of this speech was followed by hearty and repeated cheers, which were renewed when his Lordship, with Mr. Baines, M.P., and the other gentlemen by whom he had been accompanied, along with the Mayor and corporation, quitted the hall.

THE SMITHFIELD CLUB SHOW.

THIS week the substantial offerings which agriculture makes to Christmas have been offered up in Baker-street; in other words, fat cattle, pigs, sheep, have been shown for the substantial prizes offered by the Smithfield Club, and for the honour of winning bucolic laurels. Time was when Protection rallied round the Royal Agricultural Society, and hovered over the great December show. Protection is dead, and buried; but

the sources of fat beasts and fat farmers have not dried up; but, on the contrary, are more plentiful than ever. After all, "foreign cattle" cannot compete with the unprotected British Bull.

The entries have been larger than ever. The novel feature in the show is the new classification of animals into breeds. The classes were 33 in number, and the entries 333, an increase of 20 over last year. The show was remarkable, also, for the sustained excellence throughout; and it is observed that, on the whole, the farmers and graziers exhibit cattle superior to those sent by the great amateur agriculturists—Prince Albert, the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Aylesford, the Marquis of Exeter, Lord Radnor, Lord Spencer, and others. In fact, the merits of the show may be considered quite independent of the aristocratic contributions. With reference to the great fault of previous shows, the *Times* has some sensible remarks:—

"The grievous cruelty and waste of over-fattening is less to be complained of than on former occasions, especially among the cattle, and we sincerely hope that Free-trade, among other advantages, will at length teach our farmers that there are limits to oilcake feeding, and that they manufacture for the butcher—not the tallowchandler. While on the subject of feeding, a point strikes us as of some importance in connexion with these winter exhibitions. The conditions imposed by the club upon competitors, require them to specify the kind of food given, but not the quantity. Now, in going through the country, nothing is more common than to find agriculturists pampering animals which they intend to send to Baker-street at an unheard-of outlay—one far beyond the limits of possible recompence in the market, and which, besides outraging every rule of economical management, is the secret cause of the rage for over-fattening, against which Earl Ducie and all our great authorities on farming, have long vigorously protested. We have known instances of bullocks maintained at a weekly outlay equal to the support of a labourer and his family. This is, upon the face of it, a monstrous extravagance, and the Smithfield Club might surely do something in their regulations, if not to suppress, at least to discourage it. Might they not, for example, make the cost of feeding an element of consideration with the judges, or at least take some step by which economy of management would have its due reward?"

Prince Albert, the Duke of Richmond, and the Marquis of Exeter have carried off some prizes; but, on the whole, especially considering the advantages of the territorial aristocracy, the farmers are masters of the show-yard.

The annual dinner was held on Wednesday at the Freemasons' Tavern. The Duke of Richmond was in the chair. It was very well attended. In proposing "Success to the Smithfield Club," the Duke admitted that notwithstanding the depression of the times, the present show was better than almost any which had preceded it. The health of the President and of Mr. Pusey were drunk with applause. Then came the "Judges," the "Stewards," the Successful and Unsuccessful Competitors, the Secretary, Mr. Brandreth Gibbs, the Royal Agricultural Society, and Prosperity to the Labouring Classes. The Duke of Richmond said—

"All persons present must feel deeply the importance of having labourers on their farms who felt an interest in the welfare of their employers. Though, from their station and grade in life, labourers were too often placed in a position in bad years of not being able to get a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, he was happy to say that that was seldom the case in this country, for the occupiers of land in England had everywhere shown themselves the best and fastest friends of the labouring community. There was not one present who was not fully aware of the kindness of the farmer to the labourer and his family, when they were in sickness and temporary distress. (Cheers.) He believed that the labouring classes were sound—(Cheers)—that they looked up to their employers as their best friends, and he felt that in any meeting such as the present, or in any meeting of the tenantry and landowners of England, they ought to drink prosperity to the labouring classes. (Cheers.) They were the strength and sinew of our land, and if ever—which God forbid—they should be called upon to engage the enemy, where were they to look for men to man their ships and recruits for our army, but to the sturdy yeomanry of England. (Cheers.) Give him disciplined English labourers, and he feared not the conflict with any men. He had had some little knowledge of the value of the labouring classes of this country in this respect. In times long gone by, when a boy of 18 years of age, it was his honour to be, under the late Duke of Wellington, in the Peninsular war. There he had often met with British troops recruited from the labouring classes, and had seen them cheerfully, nay, and energetically too, hazard their lives in the protection of the officers placed over them. (Cheers.) He felt justly proud of the agricultural labourers of this country, and he believed there was not a farmer who would not cheerfully, not only drink to their prosperity, but do his utmost to promote their welfare. (Cheers.) If the landlords, tenants, and labourers would acknowledge that their interests were one and the same, and cordially pull together in one direction, he should like to see the people that would dare to stand up against this country. (Cheers.)"

The toast was drunk with three times three. Colonel Sibthorp responded for the labourers. This was the final toast, and the company separated about nine o'clock.

THACKERAY IN AMERICA.

THERE could be very little doubt in the large circle of Mr. Thackeray's admirers here as to the sort of reception his lectures would meet with among the cultivated audiences of America; but it is very satisfactory to find our anticipations so thoroughly verified as they have been by the *New York Tribune*. The critic, or rather *notifier*, of the lectures, in that paper, seems to have given the prevailing opinion of the crowded audience in his reports of the first two of these celebrated lectures, delivered before the Mercantile Library Association, in a large church in New York. Most of our readers are too well acquainted with the course to require any reminder of the subject matter; but they will be curious to know the impression produced by the lecturer on the *élite* of Yankee society—the *crème de la crème* of New York. We quote from the ample and able report in the *Tribune*:—

"The spacious church (Rev. Mr. Chapin's) was filled to the extent of its capacity at an early hour, by an audience comprising a large proportion of young men, and an unusual number of the distinguished literary and professional celebrities of New York. The fashionable circles were fully represented by an imposing array of ladies. Mr. Thackeray stood on an elevated platform in front of the pulpit. He was introduced by the Chairman of the Lecture Committee of the Mercantile Library, and was welcomed with the subdued expressions of applause due to an eminent author, with whom the audience were to form an acquaintance in a new capacity. In personal appearance, which in respect to the curiosity of the public we may be permitted to allude to, Mr. Thackeray is a fine, well-proportioned specimen of a stalwart Englishman—over six feet in stature—with an expression of quiet intelligence—and the self-possessed bearing of a man of the world, rather than the scholastic appearance of the occupant of a library. His intellectual head, which bears many silvery traces of the touch of time, is carried erectly, not without an air of reserve, some would say of defiance."

We cannot agree with the writer in the *Tribune*, when he says that "the English journals have not done Mr. Thackeray justice in respect of his elocution." We believe that all English journals, whose opinion would be worth anything in such matters, praised it highly; though we are quite ready to acknowledge that no English journal (as far as we remember) ever praised Thackeray's style of delivery more happily and gracefully than our Trans-Atlantic contemporary; *e.g.*,

"The calm flow of his speech is so transparent that the sense shines through it without subjecting the mind's eye to a too severe trial. His voice is rich, deep, flexible, and equally expressive of emotion and thought in its intonations—the words are delivered with that clean finish which so often distinguishes the cultivated Englishman—his emphasis is pregnant with meaning—and, without any apparent effort, his ringing tones fill the ear of the most remote listener. Mr. Thackeray uses no gesture, except occasionally a convulsive clinching of the fist, or an emphatic thrusting of the hand into his pocket or under his coat. In short, his delivery was that of a well-bred gentleman, reading with marked force and propriety to a large circle in the drawing-room."

As to the style of composition, the enthusiastic critic continues:—

"The composition of his lecture was masterly. Graphic, terse, pointed, epigrammatic, abounding in keen dashes of wit, alternately gay and pathetic, it displayed the same subtle perception of character, and condensed vigour of expression, which distinguish Thackeray above most, shall we not say all, modern writers of fiction. No report can do anything like justice to the numerous felicities of the lecture. Their effect would be ruined by changing one word of the language. We might as well transmute the inimitable dialogue of 'Pendennis' into an article for our daily columns as to attempt to reproduce the brilliant humour and sententious criticisms of this unrivalled specimen of literary art."

Then follows a full and faithful account of the first two lectures, without any criticism; without even a query as to the possibility that Thackeray overrates Addison immensely, and is a great deal harder upon Swift than that unhappy genius deserved.

In New York, as in England, the lectures were "received by the audience with that profound attention which shows an intelligent appreciation, better than all outward signs, though several of its most admirable passages could not be heard without interrupting the prevailing intense stillness of the house."

MR. CHARLES PHILLIPS IN 1852 AS IN 1834.

IN the Insolvent Court over which his Honour Mr. Commissioner Charles Phillips presides, Mr. Pettigrew applied, on December 4th, to be admitted to bail. One of the proposed sureties was Mr. G. J. Holyoake, of Woburn Buildings. The particulars of what then occurred, variously stated by the papers, were we believe as follows:—

The Clerk of the Court informed his Honour that there would be objection raised as to the oath.

Mr. Commissioner Phillips:—Let us hear that first. The Clerk of the Court handing the New Testament to Mr. Holyoake:—Do you object to be sworn?

Mr. Holyoake:—Please to read to the Court the few

words on this paper—handing to the Clerk a paper on which he had sought to express, in the least objectionable manner to the Judge, the explanation he had to offer.

The Clerk read as follows:—"This gentleman wishes to state to your Honour that upon a late occasion, when called to make oath in a Chancery suit, he, before being sworn, obtained permission of the Judge to declare—that while the oath was legally binding upon his conscience it was not a confession of his faith, and he prays leave to make the same declaration now."

The Bar manifested some surprise at this proceeding in that Court, where scruples of conscience are somewhat rare.

The Commissioner (after a pause).—What do you mean by the oath not being a confession of your faith? I don't understand it.

Not seeing how he could assist his Honour's understanding the deponent said nothing.

Commissioner resuming.—I suppose you mean that you do not wish to be bound by the faith of a Christian.

Deponent.—I do not wish it, your Honour.

Commission.—I thought so (in a harsh tone). Pray what do you call yourself?

Deponent.—If I must give myself a name I should call myself a Secularist.

Commissioner.—What's that? I never heard of that. What's Secularists mean?

Deponent.—A Secularist, your Honour, is one who gives the precedence to the duties of this life over considerations which pertain to another world.

Commissioner.—O! you mean that you consider your duties to man superior to your duties to God. Is that it?

Deponent.—I cannot, your Honour, answer such a question with the brevity which the Court will require.

Commissioner: (In a louder voice).—Do you believe in God?

Deponent.—In the Chancery Court, the judge—

Commissioner.—I don't want to hear what the judge said.

Mr. Holyoake proceeded no further. He wished to have added that Mr. Commissioner Ryland said he should follow a precedent set by Lord Brougham, and the Court would administer the oath in the sense in which it was binding on the deponent's conscience.

Commissioner: (More peremptorily).—Do you believe in God?

Deponent.—I am not prepared to answer that question with the brevity the Court will require.

Commissioner.—What do you come here for, and offer yourself as bail, if you are not prepared to take an oath?

Deponent.—I am prepared to take the oath, after making the declaration the Court has heard read.

Commissioner.—It is a scandal that a man should come forward in a Court who is not prepared to say whether he believes in God. (After a pause:—) I will not hear you.

Deponent bowed to the Court, and left the box.

Commissioner: (In a coarse tone).—Go and attend to your Secularism.

Mr. Holyoake left the Court, that the Commissioner might have no opportunity of recalling him, as he did Julian Hibbert, in 1834, whom he grossly outraged. At that time, Mr. Phillips received the thanks of Mr. Alderman Brown, for the course he had pursued, and the jury joined in crying "Turn him out,"—meaning Mr. Julian Hibbert. In this case, however, the Court gave his Honour no encouragement to proceed. Not a voice was raised, and rather disapprobation than otherwise glanced in the eyes of the Bar and the auditors. The public have improved, but not so the judge.

It is certainly not conducive to the reconciliation of discordant faiths that the strictest exactors of compliance with ceremonial Christianity should so frequently display, even in high places, a harsh, gross, and intolerant spirit.

MORE OF THE "MELBOURNE."

HAVING been disagreeably fascinated by the mishaps of this discreditable *Screw*, we may state, with whatever satisfaction it is possible to feel, that she has at last left Lisbon to pursue her voyage towards Australia. During a month in the Tagus, her crew were deserting daily. Nine had deserted *en masse*, some of the petty officers included. Portuguese sailors were shipped, although no officer on board understood their language. Spirits were smuggled on board almost every night, and the natural consequence was drunkenness and violence among the crew, resulting in downright mutiny and bloodshed.

When the Tagus steamer left Lisbon, about sixty passengers remained there, of whom a great number were compelled by sheer necessity to continue their voyage in the *Melbourne*. Many had spent all their money, and were even obliged to sell their watches, and some their clothes.

According to the report on the sanitary state of the *Melbourne* after the repairs she had undergone at Lisbon,

addressed to the British Consul by the medical officers of H.M.S. *Inflexible*, and dated only two days before the departure of the *Melbourne*, it appears that "additional light and ventilation in the steerage had been obtained, the berths of the crew under the fore-castle had been improved, but were 'still' (says the report) *deficient in cleanliness*." We must quote a passage of this report, of some importance, when we consider that it is dated only two days before the *Melbourne* went to sea again for tropical latitudes.

"With reference to our report to Captain Woolridge of the 28th October, we beg to state, that in saying there was 'ample accommodation on board for the crew, &c.,' we had it in view that a considerable number of the men should be removed from the place assigned to them and berthed between decks. In conclusion, while we are ready to acknowledge that much has been done, we beg to state that in our opinion a good deal yet remains to be done in the way of cleanliness and dryness, and we trust that due attention will be paid to our former suggestions respecting the full use of the skylights and windsails on every available occasion, as the utmost care will be required to render the sanitary state of the ship satisfactory, owing to the defective arrangements between decks; and especially that the undue crowding, which in our opinion originally existed, will not again be attempted or permitted. We have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servants,

"(Signed) GEORGE BURN, M.D., Surg., R.N.
JOHN WALL REID, Surg. (acting),
H. M. Ship, *Inflexible*."

"To William Smith, Esq.
H. M. B. Consulate, Lisbon."

The Secretary to the Admiralty, in reply to a question from Mr. Drummond, stated that "the mail bags were not injured so much as was generally reported." We find the reverse to be the case, as an extract from the log attests. A passenger assures us that some twenty or thirty of the bags were completely saturated, and upwards of sixty more or less injured. "I consider (continues our correspondent) the statements made by the prisoner on examination before the magistrates at Southampton were, for the most part, perfectly true, and that the men at the wheel were frequently far from sober."

Here is the extract from the Ship's log, October 21st.
"Moderate and fine. Ship rolling much. 3.30.—A leak discovered in the mail-room, upon examination by Captain Cox. The lower tier of mail bags was soaked with water, large quantities of water coming in by the after part of the mail-room. Bored several holes in the mail-room deck to allow the water to escape."

"October 22.—Fine and clear. Got the mails on deck, and found sixty bags damaged more or less with sea-water."

So much for the ship's log in confirmation of the Secretary of the Admiralty.

We now take leave of this miserable *Melbourne* with renewed disgust at the official jobbery, not confined to one Ministry, but common to all, which enables and even privileges an incompetent company so to victimize the public; and which, not content with the disasters, rises in the House of Commons to extenuate and defend them. If Mr. Stafford had been a private member, would he have offered such a questionable apology to the House of Commons? It would seem that red tape secures the official tongue from blistering.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen and Prince Albert are at Osborne, where they entertained the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Flanders, previously to the Belgian Princes quitting England on Tuesday.

The annual Polish ball is announced for Wednesday next, at Guildhall. The arrangements are announced to be on the scale of former years, and to include, as usual, an attractive concert in the council-chamber under the direction of Mr. Lindsay Sloper.

The election for Merthyr Tydvil, in the room of Sir John Guest, will take place on Monday.

Mr. Whalley has carried the Peterborough election against Mr. Cornwell Lewis, by a majority of 7.

Mr. Edmund Armstrong, sheriff of the county of Clare, has refused to call a county meeting to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament for the ballot. His reason is that it would be "most inappropriate," and tend to "no possible good result," pending the trials arising out of the Six Mile Cross affair.

The high sheriff of Clare having declined to convene a meeting to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament in favour of the ballot, the meeting has been held without his sanction and a petition agreed to.

The Countess of Lovelace was buried beside her father, Lord Byron, in the vaults of Newstead Abbey, on the 3rd instant.

The Home estate of Cooper, the renowned novelist, including his house and grounds, has been sold to a New York dealer in hops!

One of the latest seizures under the Prussian press law, is a translation of Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man," found on the premises of a Berlin bookseller.

Dr. Cahill, the writer of furious letters to public men, is lecturing on astronomy at the Hanover Square Rooms. He is a great tall man, with a rich brogue. His lectures are considered good. What does Dr. Cullen, who prefers Genesis to Newton, say to this diffusion of heretical science? "One who knows Ireland" aptly suggests that the tax on dogs and armoial bearings should be extended to that unhappy country, on the ground that "Ireland is overrun with curs and pretensions to gentility."

A "Soldier's Wife" suggests to the "ladies" of Stafford House that they need go no further than Chatham barracks to find the hard work of benevolence. The suggestion is a good one. The wives of soldiers are quite as much in-

jured by the present state of things in barracks as three-fourths of the slaves of America.

The *Bilancia* of Genoa states, from Rome, that the Pope has appointed a commission, to investigate the 'mystery of the immaculate conception of the Holy Virgin, with the greatest minuteness. The commission is composed of Cardinal Fornari, president; M. Pacifici, the Canon Audifio, Father Spada, a Dominican friar, and Fathers Péronne and Passaglia, of the company of Jesus.

The new Imperial crown of Napoleon III. is said to be not only a masterwork of the jeweller's art, but one which will surpass every royal ornament in its richness in pearls and precious stones. The jeweller, Lemonnier, has been sent to Russia to purchase various costly stones; and the Princess Matilda, who has a collection of rare black pearls, has placed them all at the disposal of the artist intrusted with the ornamentation of the crown, which is to be completed by the end of the year.

The Lobos question has been finally settled. The United States revokes the claim to take guano; and the Peruvian Government offers to charter the ships sent under the impression that they would be protected in taking the guano.

The Customs' Reform Committee waited on Lord Derby on Tuesday. From his replies, we gather that the solicitor of the Customs is preparing bills for a reform of that department.

The fourth annual Freehold Land Conference was held on Wednesday in London. Among those present were Sir Joshua Walmsley, Mr. W. Scholefield, and Mr. George Dawson. From the report read it appears that there are 130 societies, 85,000 members, 120,000 shares, 310 estates purchased, 19,500 allotments made, and the sum actually received is 790,000 sterling. These figures, compared with those of last year, shew an increase upon the period of 30 societies, 40,000 members, 55,000 shares, 174 estates, 5,500 allotments, and 480,000 sterling in payments. Estimating the shares at the average of 30s. per share, the total sum being subscribed for is no less than three million six hundred thousand pounds. The novelty in the business transacted, consisted in the recommendation of the Conference, that the system of drawing practised by the National Society should be adopted.

Another manifestation of British feeling regarding the Madiai has been made. On Saturday a deputation, with Lord Shaftesbury at their head, waited on Mr. Walpole, bringing with them a memorial to the Queen. "Having done our duty," said the memorial, "in laying at the feet of your Majesty this solemn public protest against the great outrage which has been offered to humanity, would entreat your Majesty to make the feelings of the British nation known to the Tuscan Government, and endeavour to procure either a reversal of the judgment on the said Francesco and Rosa Madiai, or at least such alteration of their sentence as would admit of their seeking refuge in some land where it is lawful for each man to worship God after his own conscience." It was signed by two dukes, fifteen earls, nineteen lords, nine prelates, twenty-one members of Parliament, and great numbers of officers, clergymen, professional men, and merchants; in all by 23,172 signatures.

A brutal murder has been committed at Pentonville. Tooley, an Irishman, suddenly cut the throat of Downes, a labourer. In defence, he says Downes was too intimate with his wife.

Robert Worthley, a broom-maker, has come forward and stated that he saw a man, named Corber, go to the house of the old woman named White, who was found in bed with her throat cut, at Milton, near Tavistock, on the morning of the murder. Corber and his wife are in custody.

Immediately on Lord Frankfort's arrival at the House of Correction, he was placed in the cells used for the reception of ordinary prisoners. On Saturday morning his Lordship, having gone through the ceremony of the bath, was clad in the prison apparel, and his own clothing taken from him. He appeared to feel the degradation of his position most acutely. Not being sentenced to hard labour, he will be exempted from the task of the treadwheel and oakum picking, provided he pays a sum of 5s. weekly for the cost of his support.

Mr. Yardley, at the Thames Police-office, has decided in favour of a claim put in by Chick, a Chinaman, engaged as a seaman to work the *Cornelia* from Sydney to London. Chick claimed his full wages, the captain insisted that he was only entitled to one half, on the ground that he was not an able seaman. Mr. Yardley decided for Chick, because it could not be expected that he would be an able seaman in the British sense. The man had not been fairly dealt with; and he ordered the balance of the wages and the costs to be paid.

The engineer of the *La Plata* has died of yellow fever since he landed.

John Grigsby, the captain of a sailing barge, drowned himself in the Thames last week. When found, a piece of chain, weighing half a hundred weight, was twisted round his body twice and fastened in a reef knot.

Mr. Leadbitter, a Bow-street officer, six feet two in height, and nineteen stone in weight, was killed in Pimlico last week. He suddenly ordered the cabman who was driving him to turn a corner; while the cabman was doing so, Mr. Leadbitter threw all his weight on one side of the cab, overturned it, and was killed on the spot.

There is a very remarkable trial, exciting great interest in Dublin, now pending. It is that of Mr. Kirwan, an artist, whose wife was found drowned, as it appeared, on a small island opposite Howth. She and her husband were alone on the island. She had been bathing. The evidence is incomplete, and therefore we can do no more than refer to it here.

There was a prizefight at Manchester between two gentlemen of the ring, rejoicing respectively in the names of "Hammer" Wilson and "Tiny Tom." They fought an hour and a half—seventy-nine rounds. At the close

of the last, Wilson fell, and his head struck a stone. He died the next day. A jury returned the verdict of "Died from a fall, but how the fall was caused there is no evidence to show."

Another reservoir has burst its embankment; this time near Bury, in Lancashire. Owing to the rains the water had risen, and its attacks upon the embankment were watched by numbers of people. On Sunday morning it gave way, and rushed down the valley; it met with a momentary check from the wall of a lower reservoir; but over this it swept, breaching the bleachworks of Mr. Whitehead, and carrying off a great quantity of property. Next it rushed through another reservoir and another factory. On went the torrent, successively breaking through the chemical works of Mr. Mucklow; flooding the town of Bury, to become absorbed in the waters of the Irwell. No life was lost; but property to a large amount was destroyed.

An inquest was held on Monday, by adjournment, upon the bodies of James Banks and Joseph Hewitt; who were killed near Huyton, by the overturning of an engine and tender. The jury returned the following verdict:—"Accidental death, in consequence of the speed at which the train was going, and of the bad state of the roads."

The jury, sitting to inquire into the death of the driver of the express killed at Heyford, have returned the following verdict:—"That George Thompson's death was accidental, by throwing himself against a 'scotch, on the line, from which he received a concussion of the brain; and the jury wish to add their opinion that the removing of another engine across the line, without hoisting the danger signal, was contrary to the rules and regulations of the company, and that great culpability, neglect, and want of judgment attach to the station-master for allowing an engine to be removed across the line more than half-an-hour after another train was due."

A young woman jumped from a carriage on the North Kent Railway last week, while the train was in motion, and was killed. She had been travelling with her mother. Annoyed by the quarrelling of passengers in their carriage they got out to seek another. The daughter got in alone, and missing her mother jumped out in her fright.

Fever of a very bad type has made its appearance at the Kingswood collieries, near Bristol, there having been no less than thirty deaths in one week. In a great measure, undoubtedly, it may be attributed to crowded cottages and bad ventilation. Fever equally destructive has also manifested itself at Kingston Magna, Dorset. The board of guardians have promptly endeavoured to meet the case by issuing the subjoined circular:—

"The board of guardians hereby give notice to, and require all owners and occupiers of houses, dwellings, and other buildings—1. To cleanse and limewash all filthy and unwholesome dwellings. 2. To cleanse and cover all foul and offensive drains, ditches, gutters, privies, cesspools, and ashpits. 3. To remove from off their premises swine, and every accumulation of dung, manure, offal, filth, refuse, or other matter or thing being a nuisance to, or injurious to the health of any person. 4. And the board of guardians also require surveyors, and all other persons intrusted with the care and management of the streets and public ways, and places, twice at least in every week, effectually to cleanse the same, and, by way of precaution against disease, to remove all filth, ordure, and nuisances therefrom. 5. Should any person to whom this notice is directed neglect to cleanse and to keep clean every dwelling-house, street, public way and place, intrusted to his or her care, or to remove and abate every nuisance hereinbefore mentioned, the board of guardians are prepared to cause the same to be done, and to charge the offending parties with all costs and expenses incurred. 6. In addition to such costs and expenses, every surveyor of the highways is liable to a penalty of 5*l.* for every neglect of duty on his part, and every owner and occupier of a house to 10*s.* for every day that any nuisance continues unabated after this notice. 7. All penalties incurred by all individuals, in addition to the costs and expenses incurred by the board of guardians in cleansing and limewashing any house, or in removing and abating any nuisance, will be recovered by distress and sale of the offenders' goods and chattels. 8. Whoever shall obstruct any relieving officer, or other person acting under the authority of the 'Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention Act,' is liable for every offence to a penalty of 5*l.*"

The diminution of the poor-law charges in the Newcastle union, Limerick county, is remarkable. While for the half-year ending the 25th of September, 1851, they were 10,457*l.*; for the half-year ending the 29th of September, 1852, 6,259*l.*

A Parliamentary blue-book has been printed, showing the number of criminal offenders committed for trial or bailed for appearance at the assizes of each county in Ireland in the year 1851. These returns present a decrease of 6642 committals, or 21.20 per cent. as compared with the year 1850, the total number of committals in that year being 31,326, while in 1851 the number rose not higher than 24,684. The offences against the person with violence had decreased from 4930, in 1850, to 2930, in 1851. The number of offences against property had hardly undergone any change for the better; the figure was 2224 in 1850, and 2215 in 1851. A table of the amount of crime committed during the last four years gives the following result:—Murder, 1848, 195 cases; in 1849, 170; in 1850, 113, and in 1851, 118 cases. Attempts at murder, in 1848, 15; in 1849, 5; in 1850, 28; and in 1851, 14 cases. Shooting at or stabbing, in 1848, 110; in 1849, 66; in 1850, 62; and in 1851, 87 cases. Conspiracy for murder in the four years respectively, 49, 26, 12, and 10 cases. Manslaughter 166, 173, 156, and 135 cases. Arson 134, 189, 155, and 160 cases. The other crimes in the list are—attacking houses, killing cattle, perjury, riot, rescue, and assault on peace officers. Riots have declined from 3222 cases, in 1848, to 1827 cases, in 1851; and rescue from 4131 cases in 1848, and 3077 cases in 1850, to 1916 cases in 1851.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

LAST week the mortality of London experienced an increase; the deaths, which in the two previous weeks had been 922 and 947, rose to 1042. In the ten corresponding weeks of 1842-51 the average number was 1178, which, if raised in proportion to increase of population, gives a mortality of 1296 for the present time. The average is augmented by influenza, which in the corresponding week of 1847 was 2454 persons; nevertheless the last week's return compared with these facts, still indicates a favourable state of the public health for a population in which a rate of mortality considerably higher than the average rate of England always prevails.

With respect to the causes of death, the results of last week correspond nearly with those of the previous return in the two principal classes—namely, epidemics and diseases of the respiratory organs; but in most of the other classes there is an increase, especially in “diseases of the nervous system,” which rose from 96 to 134. Taking particular epidemics, measles has increased from 15 to 24, while scarlatina has declined from 72 to 59. Typhus was fatal in 47 cases, diarrhoea in 21. There were none of cholera, and only 4 of small-pox. A man-servant, aged 26 years, died in the Small-pox Hospital of “small-pox, confluent, unmodified (13 days), believed to have been vaccinated in infancy at Stockwell, but no cicatrix.

Last week the births of 851 boys and 788 girls, in all 1639 children, were registered in London. The average number in seven corresponding weeks of 1845-51 was 1396.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean reading of the barometer in the week was 29.710 in. The mean temperature of the week was 42.4 degs., which is rather below the average of the same week in ten years. The mean daily temperature was below the average on three days, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, and on the rest was above it. On Monday it was 6.9 degs. below the average; on Saturday it was 9.7 degs. above it. On Monday and Tuesday the wind was in the north; during the rest of the week generally in the south-west. The rain in the week was 0.33 in.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 12th of October, at Lucknow, the wife of Captain Fletcher Hayes, M.A., Oxon, Assistant-Resident at the Court of Lucknow: a daughter.

On the 25th of November, at Dover, the widow of Brevet-Major Henry Griffith, of the Eleventh Madras Native Infantry (who fell at the capture of Rangoon, on the 12th of April last): a daughter.

On the 27th, at the Prieuré de Lamalgue, Toulon, the wife of General the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Adam, G.C.B.: a son.

On the 1st of December, at Hintlesham-hall, Suffolk, the Hon. Mrs. Lloyd Anstruther: twin sons.

On the 1st, at Sledmere, the Hon. Mrs. Cholmondeley: a son.

On the 2nd, at Spa, Belgium, the Lady Elizabeth Osborn: a daughter.

On the 2nd, at 39, Lowndes-street, Lady Frederic Kerr: a daughter.

On the 3rd, at 123, Gloucester-terrace, Hyde-park-gardens, the wife of Sims Reeves, Esq.: a daughter, which survived its birth only three days.

On the 3rd, at Torquay, the wife of Sir Paul Hunter, Bart.: a daughter.

On the 4th, at Balbirnie, N.B., the Lady Georgiana Balfour: a son.

On the 4th, at No. 17, Manchester-street, the wife of Professor Ansted: a son.

On the 6th, at No. 1, Lowndes-square, the wife of M. J. Higgins, Esq.: a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

On the 30th of November, at the parish church, Prettwell, Essex, John Paton, Esq., C.E., to Eliza Adlington, eldest daughter of the late William Henry Porter, Esq., late of Wanstead, and niece of the late G. R. Porter, Esq., F.R.S.

On the 2nd of December, at Leominster, the Rev. Vernon George Guise, rector of Longhope, Gloucestershire, fourth son of General Sir John Guise, Bart., K.C.B., &c., of Rendcomb-park, in the same county, to Mary Harriet, youngest daughter of Robert Lane, Esq., of the Ryelands, in the county of Hereford.

On the 2nd, at Sidbury, Devon, Thomas Charles Darnell, Esq., Fifty-first Bengal N. I., youngest son of the Rev. N. W. Darnell, rector of Stanhope, Durham, to Emily Jane, youngest daughter of Major Charles Fitz-Gerald, R.E.L.C.S., of Mount Edgar, near Sidmouth.

On the 4th, at St. James's, Paddington, Robert Peel Floyd, Esq., third son of Major-General Sir Henry Floyd, Bart., to Mary Jane, only daughter of Henry Carew, Esq., of Aysford, Sidmouth.

On the 4th, at St. Mary's, Putney, R. R. W. Lingen, Esq., assistant-secretary to the Committee of Privy Council on Education, to Emma, second daughter of Robert Hutton, Esq., of Putney-park.

On the 7th, at Harleston, Northampton, Cecil William Forester, Lieutenant-Colonel Fifty-second Regiment, second son of the late Rev. P. Townsend Forester, D.D., to Henrietta Maria, third daughter of the late Admiral the Hon. Sir Robert Stopford, and widow of the late Lord Henry Russell.

On the 8th, at St. Peter's Church, Eaton-square, by the Hon. and Very Rev. Henry David Erskine, Dean of Ripon, John Henry Wyndham King, only son of John King, of Grosvenor-place, and Coates-house, in the county of Sussex, Esq., to Emily Mary, youngest daughter of Lady Elizabeth Dawson and the late Hon. Lionel Dawson.

DEATHS.

On the 30th of September last, at Sierra Leone, from the effects of climate, John Logan Hook, Esq., merchant of that colony, and his Imperial Brazilian Majesty's Vice-Consul there.

On the 30th of November, at Cambridge, suddenly, by a fall from his horse, the Rev. George Howson, M.A., Fellow and Assistant-tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge, and late Vice-principal of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool, in the twenty-eighth year of his age.

On the 1st of December, at the Mall, Kensington Gravel-pits, in the 26th year of her age, Elvira, the wife of John Culcott Horsley, Esq.

On the 1st, at Conge près Lagny, Seine-et-Marne, France, M. Le Comte de Mandelsloh, formerly Minister Plenipotentiary from H. M. the King of Wurtemberg.

On the 6th, at Floors Castle, Benjamin Charlewood, Esq., late Lieutenant-Colonel in her Majesty's Grenadier Guards, aged seventy-seven.

On the 6th, suddenly, at Brighton, the Hon. Mrs. Peregrine Cust.

At Birmingham, of bronchitis, F. W. N. Bayley, Esq.

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

Postscript.

SATURDAY, December 4.

HERE is the BUDGET at last. Mr. Disraeli, with great courage, has grappled with the subject, and though some may be disappointed, yet, on the whole, it is well worth attention. He spoke for five hours and a half. A correspondent says of the Budget:—

“It looks like a very high bid for popularity, but it is neither scientific nor safely empirical. It is, I think (until I know it more exactly), a Budget of transition. It has struck a severe blow at indirect taxation, without establishing another principle in its place.”

In the House of Commons, last night, in a Committee of Supply, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER made his financial statement, which he reminded the House, was presented under peculiar circumstances, and he hoped, therefore, that if he deviated from the usual course, it would be attributed to no other motive than a desire to convey promptly to the House the views of HER MAJESTY'S Government upon matters of great importance, and the only favour he asked was that the House would not precipitately decide on the propositions he should make, but would consider them as a whole.

After unrestricted competition had been unreservedly adopted as the principle of our commercial code, he observed, all well-founded causes of discontent could be removed only by enlisting the sympathy of all classes; but he would, he said, first consider the claims of those who thought they had received peculiar injury from recent legislation, and whether their claims and complaints were just. The great interests which had been peculiarly affected by the recent changes in the law were the shipping interest, the sugar-producing interest, and the agricultural interest. With regard to the first, the Government were of opinion, that the shipping interest was at this moment subject to burdens to which it ought not to be liable, and to restrictions which impeded its prosperity; and they proposed to confine the light-dues paid by shipping to those from which ships really derived benefit. This relief would cost the country about 100,000*l.* a-year. They proposed likewise that if a man quitted his ship in order to enter the Royal Navy, he should not receive his wages until the rest of the crew were paid. With respect to pilotage, manning, and stamps, no immediate relief was contemplated. With regard to the sugar-producing colonies, however great might have been their sufferings from past legislation, the question was what, in the present state of affairs, Parliament could justly do for them. They claimed—first, the arrest of the descent of the duties on foreign sugar; secondly, the reduction of the duty upon British plantation sugar; thirdly, a guarantee of additional loans for emigration and improvement; fourthly, the permission to refine bonded sugar; fifthly, the permission to use molasses in British breweries; and, sixthly, the equalization of the duties on rum and British spirits. With reference to the first two claims, he showed, from the increasing imports of British sugar, and the decrease of those of foreign sugar, that there was no case that would justify the Government, after the principle of unrestricted competition had been affirmed, in asking Parliament for protection towards an interest that was successfully competing with its rivals. With respect to the guarantee of fresh loans, the Government, for reasons which he stated, did not feel justified in making such a proposition to Parliament. The refining of sugar in bonded refineries had received the fullest consideration of the Government, and they were prepared to concede the boon. The two remaining propositions were connected with the general revenue of the country. The burdens of the agricultural interest consisted in local taxation, and it had been shown by Mr. C. Lewis, that, as far as principle was concerned, it could not be contested that, whereas the support of the poor was a general obligation, it was not sustained by the general property of the country, and the agricultural interest felt that they suffered injustice from the incidence of this taxation, which was composed of three principal rates—the highway rate, the county-rate, and the poor-rate. With reference to the first, a bill would be brought in, which, he thought, would have a beneficial effect in both an administrative and a financial view. In regard to the county-rate, the amount was only 600,000*l.*, and he was not prepared to recommend a change. In regard to the poor-rate, he had not altered his opinion, but a great change had taken place since 1843, when the amount of expenditure on account of the poor was 25 per cent. higher than it was at present. The incidence of this tax being so much less severe, and believing that the measures he was about to propose would tend greatly to assist those who had been subjected to very severe treatment, he was not prepared to recommend any change whatever in the system of raising the local taxation of the country. He now approached, he said, a more important topic—the general taxation, viewing it under the new circumstances in which all agreed to place it. He had to consider that general system, after the solemn verdict of the country, applying to it the principle of unrestricted competition, and what were the measures to be recommended to Parliament, now that that principle had been finally established, to enable the community to encounter the competition which they must be prepared to meet? This could only be done by cheapening

as much as possible those articles which sustained life, and if he found any article of prime necessity subject to heavy taxation, its maintenance would be inconsistent with the new system. The House, therefore, would not be surprised to hear that her Majesty's Government were prepared to recommend it to deal with the malt tax, and they did so on no other plea than the interests of the consumer; at the same time he had never disguised his opinion that there was no tax which could be dealt with by Parliament with more advantage to agriculture. The question of the repeal of the malt tax had assumed a different aspect since the repeal of the corn laws, for there could be no doubt that the tendency of our recent legislation had been to diminish the production of wheat, by limiting its cultivation to soils eminently and naturally qualified for it. In what manner, mode, or degree, ought this tax to be dealt with? If in a small manner, none of the objects aimed at might probably be accomplished; and the Government had thought it their duty to recommend the reduction of the malt tax by one-half, levying it on malt from barley, bere, and bigg, and doing away with the malt drawback in Scotland upon spirits made from malt. The alteration would take place on the 10th of October next, when the stock on hand would be taken throughout the country, upon which a drawback would be allowed to the holders. There was another article, he observed, as much a necessary of life as malt, and subject to a much heavier tax, and he next recommended the House to deal with the tea duties. It had been argued, in objection to such a proposition, that the article was one of limited production; but its importation, which was constantly increasing, had reached the amount of 71,000,000*lb.*, our consumption, which was checked by the duty, being only 54,000,000*lb.* In dealing with this subject, the Government, after a laborious investigation, had arrived at the conclusion that there could be no prospect of any want of supply of tea, while it was impossible to shut their eyes to the fact of the impulse given to consumption in the case of sugar by a reduction of duty. They were of opinion that it would be vain to make any difference between black and green teas, or in respect to the quality of either. They proposed to reduce the present duty of 2*s.* 2½*d.* per pound to 1*s.* per pound, and that the reduction should take place during the term of six years, beginning with a reduction of 4½*d.* per pound the first year (which would make the duty 1*s.* 10*d.*), and diminishing it 2*d.* per pound each year until the duty reached 1*s.* There was another duty with which he intended to deal, namely, that on hops, which he proposed to reduce one-half. Our revenue was based upon the consuming power of the people, and he had been told that this power was becoming rapidly impaired; but he had no evidence that the consuming power of the people was diminishing. No doubt the returns showed that emigration was to a greater amount than was counterbalanced by the births in England and Wales; but the consuming power did not depend upon the number of the people, but upon their condition. By the measures he had mentioned there would be a reduction of revenue to the amount of between 3,000,000*l.* and 4,000,000*l.* But he must remind the House that in a few months one of the principal sources of our revenue would terminate; and if they supported the Government propositions, they must be prepared to deal with the consequences of these remissions of duty, and with the expiry of a tax yielding more than 5,000,000*l.* yearly—the Property and Income tax. He reminded the House of the remark he had made in the last Parliament,—that direct taxation could not rest upon a system of exemptions. The interval had not changed or modified this opinion; he still said, if we are to have recourse to direct taxation, it should be as general as indirect taxation, and that a permanent system of direct taxation founded upon a large system of exemptions was most pernicious. In applying this doctrine to the Income and Property Tax, there was one exemption he was bound to notice,—namely, Ireland. When Sir R. Peel, in 1842, first introduced this tax, he exempted Ireland, upon the ground that she contributed in another form, in duties of an amount equivalent to the tax, which duties, however, had since been repealed or had fallen off. It was impossible to be insensible of what Ireland had gone through; but she was not now without a ray of hope; her Poor Law expenditure had diminished from 1,320,000*l.* in 1850, to 855,000*l.* in 1852. He did not think it wise to treat Ireland with harshness, and say “You shall pay your quota,” he did not think it expedient to throw any obstacle in the way of her regeneration; but he still thought it his duty to extend the Income Tax to funded property and salaries in Ireland. There was another principle with regard to this tax to which the Government was prepared to assent—namely, distinguishing between permanent and precarious incomes. Viewing the tax, therefore, with reference to these two principles—namely, first, that, in constructing a direct tax, it should be as general as an indirect tax, and not established upon a system of exemptions; and secondly, that a difference should be recognised between realized and precarious incomes, he would now state the rate of duty which the Government proposed to recommend. It was not their intention to propose any increase in any of the schedules. They recommended that on all industrial incomes the point of exemption should be limited to 100*l.* a-year; and on incomes arising from property to 50*l.* a-year; that the rate on Schedules A and C should be, as before, 7*d.* in the pound; in B, D, and E, 5½*d.* The amount he calculated to receive under the schedules was 4,961,000*l.*; the reduction of the exemptions he took at 400,000*l.*, and, adding the modest sum of 60,000*l.* for Ireland, the total amount of this tax would be 5,421,000*l.* It would be his duty to lay before the House a supplementary estimate of duty to lay before the House a supplementary estimate of expenditure for our national defences, which had nothing whatever to do with peace or war, and which was irrespective of any external circumstances. This object would lead to an expenditure in the next year of 600,000*l.* He now approached the Ways and Means by which the diminution of revenue might be met. The state of the revenue was extremely favourable. He had calculated that there would be a diminution in the Customs of about 100,000*l.*;

and he thought it would be nearly that sum. He had expected a slight advance in the Excise; and though the increase was at present much greater, he would not estimate it at more than he had said. The Stamps had greatly increased. He thought the surplus, on the 5th April, instead of being, as he had estimated, 460,000*l.*, would exceed that estimate by nearly 1,000,000*l.*, amounting to between 1,300,000*l.* and 1,400,000*l.* The loss by the remission of the malt duty, which would not come into operation until October, 1853, when a drawback must be paid upon the stock in hand, he took at 1,000*l.*; the reduction of the duty on tea to 1*s.* 10*d.*, at 400,000*l.*; the duty on hops would not affect the year 1853-54; the extra estimates would be 600,000*l.*, and the light dues 100,000*l.* The total amount to be supplied was, therefore, 2,100,000*l.* It was his duty, therefore, to propose some addition to the revenue of the country. He would not lay it on the Customs, or on any source of indirect taxation. He was not going to propose a new tax, but to ask the House to consider an existing tax, and apply to it the principles they had supported—namely, the present arrangement of the house tax. This was a direct tax, but it was remarkable for all the features by which direct taxation ought not to be distinguished. Its operation was limited to houses of 20*l.* a-year. He proposed to reduce the limitation to 10*l.* a-year. At present private houses paid 9*d.* and shops 6*d.* He proposed that the former should pay 1*s.* 6*d.*, and the latter 1*s.* The amount of the tax would then be 150,000*l.* less than the window duty. He would have half a year's income tax, 2,500,000*l.*, to meet the extra expenditure of 2,100,000*l.* In 1854-55 there would be a loss arising from the various remissions, which, with 600,000*l.*, the increased estimates, would make 3,087,000*l.*; while the ways and means would amount to 3,510,000*l.* In conclusion, he maintained that the policy he had developed was one which he believed would promote the welfare of the people of this country, founded as it was upon sound principles of finance.

A conversation, rather than a discussion, ensued, in which Mr. GOULBURN, Lord J. RUSSELL, Mr. HUME, Mr. LABOUCHERE, Sir C. WOOD, and other members took part, and various explanations were given by the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER.

The resolutions before the Committee were agreed to; the House resumed, and, after some other business, adjourned at a quarter past eleven o'clock until Monday.

Had it been possible for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to surprise the House of Commons, he would certainly have done so last night by a financial statement which Peel himself would only have ventured on under the most encouraging circumstances, and in one of his most exuberant moods. But for some recollections, which it is impossible wholly to suppress, we might say that, so far as concerns the annual ceremony of the Budget, Mr. Disraeli has entirely filled up the lamentable gap left by the most illustrious of his recent predecessors. Without committing ourselves at once to every item in the long and weighty catalogue of financial reforms now before us, we must say that the Chancellor of the Exchequer not only takes advantage of his position with the dexterity of a master, but has really succeeded in showing that a new position, new resources, and new capabilities are before us. He has done much to remove that almost oppressive feeling which for the last two or three years has been creeping over the energies of the country, that we had pretty well got to the end of our tether, and, like the Arctic discoverers, had carried our political inquiries to the last limits of utility and discretion.—*Times* of this day.

The long-promised Budget has at last been opened, and it fully deserves the character its author seemed desirous it should enjoy. It is, indeed, a *bold* Budget. As might be supposed, a large audience assembled on the occasion, and the House of Commons was not only unusually full, but was also unusually quiet, and with marvellous patience listened for more than five hours to the level, clear, and interesting, but very undecorated discourse of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.—*Daily News*.

Mr. Oakes has beaten Mr. Hardcastle, at Bury St. Edmunds by eight majority.

Lord Frankfort has been sent to the House of Correction for twelve months, for circulating papers defamatory of the character of Lord Henry Lennox and others.

Rear Admiral the Hon. Sir Fleetwood Broughton Reynolds Pellow, C.B., K.C.H., has accepted the command in chief of the East India station, vice Rear Admiral Austen, C.B., deceased. The gallant admiral is son of the late distinguished admiral Lord Exmouth.

The following from the Hague was received yesterday by electric telegraph at Paris:—"The Minister of Finance has announced for this week the presentation of a bill for the conversion of the Four per Cents."

M. Abbattucci and General Carrelet are created senators. Captains Odet Pellion and Lugeol, commanding the *Napoleon*, are made Rear-Admirals.

A special meeting of the council of the Association for promoting a Cheap and uniform system of Colonial and International Postage, was held on Thursday at the house of the Society of Arts, in the Adelphi; Lord Granville, the president of the Association, in the chair.

Sponon's Gazette declares itself in a position to state that the *Muliani* are to be liberated within a month from the time of Count Arnim-Blomburg's departure from Florence, and consequently to-morrow (1st December) or next day.

The Leader

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 11, 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.

BRITANNIA GROWING GRIM.

So we *are* to have a complete system of national defence. Orders are actually out about our arsenals and dockyards, the effect of which will be, Mr. Disraeli assures us, to put the question of our ability to resist invasion at rest for ever. It is pleasant to see the unanimity with which this announcement of the Government has been received. While the Budget as a whole is being torn to bits, not a complaint has been raised against the proposed expenditure for the increase of our army and navy. Lord John Russell tenders the measure his cordial support; Mr. Cobden, quailing at last before facts too strong for that wretched peace-philosophy which is killing his statesmanship by inches, takes refuge in significant silence; and honest Mr. Joseph Hume, after haggling a little, as was natural, lets the money go like a man, and declares himself satisfied. Rumour, always busy, does attribute much of this unexpected alacrity to the influence of a Lady high in the land, a lady to whom these free islands must be dear as an inheritance; who, as she travels over them, must look at their hills, and bays, and landscapes, with a feeling such as none of us can know; and who has children, whose future, as connected with these islands, she must think of many a time with a strange solicitude. What rumour says is substantially this—that when the estimates for the increase of our service for defensive purposes were laid before this lady, she pronounced them insufficient; and that the higher sum she demanded is the sum as it now stands. Of the truth or falsehood of this report we must of course remain ignorant; but, if true, one cannot help wishing it had been in etiquette for the words to have been spoken in some place where the shout of a nation would have shown how they were appreciated.

For the country has come round to a right view of this subject. It is not long since a proposal like that of the present Government would have been received with hooting, and no end of angry opposition. It is not long since we laughed at the poor old Duke, who has since gone, when he talked of his "seventy-seven years passed in honour," and, expressing his hope that he might never live to see the day when a foreign force should land on our shores, told us that, so far as our preparedness to resist such a force was concerned, this might any day be the case. We called him an old dotard, an old alarmist; aye, and fellows among us who never fired a gun, and if they saw one, hardly knew the breech from the muzzle, expounded to us beautifully how the Duke was wrong, and how, on this or on that military principle, it was quite impossible that a landing could be effected. It was in vain that a wiser few tried to resist this deluge of sedentary nonsense. It was in vain that some tried to point out the indubitable fact that the state of our coast defences was purely a military question, and that what the Duke said on such a question was more sure to be right than what anybody else said. It was in vain that some men, going deeper still, tried to insist on such generalities as these—that there is no other ultimate foundation for the liberty of a people against either foreign foes or internal despotism, than the willingness and preparedness of that people to defend their liberty by arms; and that, according to all history, the one and only circumstance about a people once truly great, which marks that their day of power is over, and that God has doomed them, is their having abandoned or committed to others the use and practice of the implements of defence—in other words, the undue prevalence of the Manchester mode of thought. All this was in vain; invasion was styled a bugbear; and

the hopes of the human race were declared to be incorporated with the Crystal Palace.

Slowly and gradually we have come round. If we are still far short of the ideal which all our best minds entertain on this subject—namely, that we should have a citizen-force, consisting of all our men of a certain age, duly trained and armed—we have at least thrown off our stupor, begun to see facts as they are, and ceased to laugh at the old Duke. The incessant irritation to which we have been subjected by the Pope, Austria, and our Imperial friend on the other side of the Channel, has done more than argument, to bring about this change. The fact is, we *are* beginning to lose our temper. Mild a little while ago, our old combativeness is being roused; and feeling some stirring of the warlike spirit within, we discern more easily the signs and appearances of war without.

The present attitude of this country towards France is curious. At the very same moment that we are officially recognising Louis Napoleon as Emperor, the clang of hammers is going on all over the nation, preparing the means of resisting a danger which we look for from this very man. At one and the same moment, our foreign Minister Lord Malmesbury is openly paying compliments to his friend Louis Napoleon in our House of Lords; and the Government to which Lord Malmesbury belongs is as ostensibly founding cannon, building ships, and enlisting men, with a reference, deny it as they may, to this Louis Napoleon. With the exception, of course, of Lord Malmesbury's gratuitous eulogies on his friend, both things are right. The French have a right to an empire, or to any other form of government they like. We may have our own thoughts as we look on; but we have no more right to prevent their having their own way in their government, than we should have to interfere if they were all, the thirty or forty millions of them, to agree in future to walk on all fours or stand on their heads. At the same time, we are right as respects the cannon, &c. It has entered into our minds, reasonably or not, that a nation which has agreed to walk on all fours, and to stand on their heads, is not a very safe neighbour; provided they remain within their own limits, they may tumble about as they like; but so long as we are not quite sure on this point, we must continue to get the cannon ready.

And the fact is, we are getting less and less sure on this point. In addition to all the general considerations which have hitherto seemed to make a war with France a possibility—the consideration of the character of Louis Napoleon, his fanaticism, his peculiar style of action; the consideration that he must do something or other out of France, to keep his army out of ennui and mischief at home; the consideration, guaranteed even by the confessions of French democratic refugees amongst ourselves, that a war with England would be the most popular stroke for any French ruler—in addition to all these general considerations, our daily talk with each other is now full of stray facts and reported actualities which bring the danger nearer to our view, and convert mere possibility into something very like probability: we have rumours of sayings of Narvaez in Spain to the effect that Gibraltar will not be much longer in the hands of the British, rumours confirmed by signs of unusual vigilance on the part of the Gibraltar garrison, and by the accusations made against the French Government, and faintly denied by the *Moniteur*, of their being concerned in promoting the so-called "constitutional changes" in the government of Spain. We have rumours of instructions from Paris to French bankers in London, pointing to a possible *coup-d'état* in Portugal, in the Miguel interest; we have rumours of French ecclesiastical intrigue in Ireland; and we have rumours of messages to our Government from Cherbourg, connected with the state of the French fleet; we have such intimations as those conveyed the other day by the *Morning Chronicle* correspondent, that M. Ducos, the French Minister of Marine, is making our preparations for defence here a pretext for a further activity and outlay in the great arsenals and dockyards of France, so as to outstrip England while seeming only to follow in her wake; we have the startling accounts of speeches made by Frenchmen in the Imperial confidence, similar to that of the chairman of the *École Militaire* of Paris, at a great military banquet on Friday last, when he told the students present that "the Emperor reckoned on their services abroad as he had

reckoned on them at home; that "the establishment of the Empire was the re-establishment of the old national frontiers of France—those of the Rhine;" and that if these frontiers were not given them, "they would know how to take possession of them, with the Emperor at their head;" and finally, we have a hundred assurances, more or less authentic-looking, that the very ideal of the French Emperor and his Algerian generals as to the best means of wiping out Waterloo, would be to make a dash at London with fifty thousand men, visit Threadneedle-street, and then go back again. All this is vague and shadowy, half fact, perhaps, and half fiction; the mind alternately is credulous, and alternately sceptical—still, the impression remaining is, that but for some magnificent change of attitude in the French people, England is very likely to be involved in a war with France, either by a sudden outbreak, under French auspices, against England and her influence at all points, or by a more direct attack on our shores.

Well, if it does come to that, what will be the result? The result will be, that we shall be beaten at first here and there—perhaps even to the extent of an actual landing—and that in the end we shall beat the French, and beat them tremendously. A Trafalgar in the Channel, say some; a Waterloo in Kent, say others—that will be the result. This now, especially that we are beginning to prepare, is assumed by British courage as so certain, that the mind already overleaps that result, and thinks of the problem to follow. The worst of a war with France is, that it would renew and send on to an indefinite future, that feeling which has come down from Waterloo—the feeling of implacability between the two nations. Just as now the French army is burning to avenge Waterloo, so, were we to defeat them again, there would be but some years of smouldering peace, and we should have the old vicious circle over again, and Trafalgars and Waterloos *ad infinitum*. Now we cannot stand this; civilization cannot stand this; we cannot go on making wars with France for ever. And hence, should it ever come to pass that France attacks England and is defeated, it would necessarily be a problem with the statesmen of that hour so to treat France, so to frame the articles of pacification, that France, while still left capable of discharging all her functions in the world of ideas, should no more be an eternal thorn and thing of irritation in the political confederacy of Europe. This, we say, is a thing to be considered, and that by both parties. But may the necessity never come! May France, whether under the Empire or under any other form of government, resume her great part in speculation and in progressive action, teaching England in some things, and learning from her in others, but never fighting with her. War is a vastly easy thing to write about; but who can tell its woes and horrors?

"TENANT RIGHT."

THE "Irish debate" on Tuesday night, in the House of Commons, upon the rather informal question whether Mr. Sharman Crawford's is a better bill than Mr. Attorney-General Napier's, was, at least in one respect, interesting to Englishmen, as evidencing that the House of Commons has gained a large accession of respectability and statesmanship in the new class of Irish members which has been discovered in the course of the agitation on "Tenant Right." An "Irish debate" has for a long time meant in England something ludicrously stupid—a sound and fury which we had to put up with, as, *per contra*, the Union, in consideration that it signified nothing. Clearly there is a change, when the "Irish party," *par excellence*, elect as their leader a man so thoroughly temperate, thoroughly logical, and thoroughly master of his subject as Mr. Serjeant Shee. It is, indeed, wonderful how the vivid Irish intellect improves and refines under the social and political discipline of lengthened residence among Saxons!

English readers will not easily perceive the point of this "Tenant Right" controversy, if they get confused in the too technical discussion of Tuesday. English readers will not be able at all to reach a sympathy with the Irish tenant and farmer's demand, if they confine themselves merely to the question as to whether or not Mr. Napier's bills are so absurdly bad as Messrs. Shee, Lucas, and M'Mahon insist that they are. The previous question is, what does "Tenant Right" mean?

If Mr. Napier's bills are examined, they will, to the uninitiated Englishman, have this appearance, that an English Government has only just found out a country called Ireland, which is in a state of anarchy, and to which *ab initio* land legislation must at once be applied. These bills are to do the most obviously just and simple things; and that such is the fact is a terrible comment upon our preceding legislation. Evidently the landlord, putting up his Attorney-General to legislate in this way, confesses thereby that he and his ancestors have for some time been guilty of considerable robbery. What has forced the landlord into this briskeness to set matters right is, the public opinion which has been roused against him by the "Tenant-Right" agitation. The million and a half who have within three years emigrated from Ireland to New York and Quebec have somewhat diminished that competition for land, of which hitherto the landlords have taken advantage to secure their own prices and terms: and the tenant's time seems now coming round. But the protection which Mr. Napier shrinkingly offers (we are now speaking only of his Compensation Bill; his other three bills are good enough in their way as law reforms) to Irish tenants is, after all, fallacious. The case of Ireland is, that vast tracts of land are out of occupation, and that the occupied land is only half cultivated, because there is no security that the farmer will be permitted to enjoy the benefit of those improvements which he may make. To cure this evil, Mr. Napier satirically proposes that the ignorant peasant shall draw plans and specifications, serve notices, pay fees, employ counsel, enter on protracted litigation, finish his improvements within an absurdly inadequate time—and then what? That if by any chance his rent is any one year unpaid, he shall be ejected, and shall get nothing! If he violate any covenant of any impossible kind in his agreement forced on him by his landlord, he shall be ejected and shall get nothing! If certain years set down in a schedule expire—though the houses he has built, the drains he has sunk, and the fences he has made with his own money and labour, be still in excellent preservation and of permanent value—he may be ejected and shall get nothing! In short, the tenant would be entitled to claim repayment, or compensation, for his outlay on one condition only—that he shall have been wantonly ejected from his farm before the years set down in the Act as "compensating period" expire. On the other hand, the bill of the Tenant-Right party proposes explicitly, proceeding upon a great principle, that the tenant's property, created by his capital and industry, shall be as saleable as the landlord's, as long as it lasts,—that if the tenant chooses to quit his farm, he may sell his improvements to any solvent tenant ready to take his place and enter on the same conditions towards his landlord,—that if the landlord chooses to turn him out, he must repay him the money he has sunk on his land—*i. e.*, cannot take back the raw material after it has been trebled in value by skilled labour, just as if it were the identical article he had originally parted with. To illustrate this principle, let us put the case this way:—A Manchester man who got a bale of American cotton and turned it into a beautiful or useful woven or coloured fabric, would not like the Yankee factor to claim to have it returned in its manufactured state as still his own goods.

Taking "Tenant Right," however, not in its technical sense, but in its larger sense, as a protest of a peasant and pastoral people against the iniquitous selfishness of the very limited class—the owners of the soil, who, in religion and in politics, have ever been a different nation, we conceive that the agitation which found parliamentary expression on Tuesday, will obtain extensive sympathy from the people of this country. Irish public opinion is rising up against the land-laws which have crushed Ireland; and English public opinion may assist in the effort to constrain the class Mr. Napier represents, as counsel, into concessions above, and better than, those which mere legal statutes may record. Irishmen are seeking to obtain by law what Ulster has by custom, and what the English farmers have by the aid of public opinion—corrective competition. And it is somewhat to be regretted that not only do English Liberal members not vote on these Irish social questions, but they will not speak, which, prospectively, might be more effectual. To us it appears a new era in the statesmanship

of Irish memberdom, that such a question as this of Tenant-Right bills, is the only one they proffer for Imperial consideration. It is the "practical" business the Irish party have so long been taunted, in turn by all English parties, with neglecting. The inferences from such a debate as that on Tuesday are gratifying to Ireland's connexions in several ways; the broad inference being, that the landlords are losing their supremacy, and that the farmers are getting enlightened, both circumstances suggesting that a prosperous civilized era is beginning. And the appearances of the debate are justified by a reference to the facts in Ireland. Three different concurrent influences have produced a social revolution.

The emigration gave back a balance to the labour-market. The transference of lands from tied to free hands, through the Encumbered Estates Court, revived healthy relations in wide districts between owner and tenant. Lastly, the railways, which were somewhat premature in Ireland, have forced, at first artificially, but now are developing naturally, the vast agricultural resources of the country, opening markets everywhere. People are beginning to be busy in Ireland; and what may not be the future of a land eased of most of its anomalous social burdens, abounding in all the means of wealth, and in a condition to make the most of the fact that it is nearer New York by a day than we are?

It is probable that Mr. Napier's Compensation Bill will be withdrawn, and that Mr. S. Crawford's, now Mr. Serjeant Shee's Bill, will be divided on, and rejected. If, however, we had any influence with Irish members, we would advise them, as a matter of tactics, to accept the Government bills, and do their best to improve them in committee. The question of "Tenant Right" has not yet been long enough before England to enable her to comprehend its technical details: and the Irish members may be sure that they can only carry their point, this or any other, after they have both interested and convinced the English liberals. But, we would further suggest that Tenant Right is, after all, not the solitary panacea. The "transition state" of Ireland might be taken advantage of by her liberal economical philosophers, to effect that redistribution of the soil into many hands, upon which, if she is to remain an agricultural country, she must depend for that prosperity which is alone meant by the simple farmers who risk their holdings, and face the workhouse or America when they vote for a "Tenant-Right" member. The Encumbered Estates Court is doing vast good in exchanging pauperized large proprietors for unencumbered large proprietors. But something more is wanted than large proprietors: Ireland, as well as England, wants small proprietors. We are not urging the economy of "small farms" in the sense in which small farms are abhorred by British economists. We mean, when we speak approvingly of a peasant proprietary, little properties of from ten to fifty acres—nearer the fifty, than the ten. The "Freehold Land Conference," the other day, has shown how slight an extension of machinery would enable the farmers of England to become in fifty years the owners, to a large extent, of the soil they till; and the principle of the English Freehold Land movement was urged some two or three years ago by Mr. Charles Gavan Duffy, the member for New Ross, as available applicable to Ireland, *via* the Encumbered Estates Court, for purely social, apart from political, purposes. Mr. Duffy is now the organizer, as we believe he was the originator, of the Tenant-Right agitation; but we hope he has not forgotten his subsidiary plan. Sir Robert Peel always explained how Ireland was his chief difficulty, in lamenting that there was no middle class; and in an agricultural country, the only middle class is the yeoman class. Wanting yeomen, Ireland only knows the middle-man.

HOW LOUIS NAPOLEON IS EMPEROR.

THE conduct of the Allied Powers in recognising Napoleon III., notwithstanding their threatful protests to the contrary, convinces us that Louis Napoleon has attained his present position, not only by favour of his name, or personal qualities, or chance, or the lassitude and disenchantment of one half, and the fanatical ignorance of the other half of the French people, but also by favour of another system which exists in Europe,

and which is generally understood to be conducive to "order."

By his professions, Louis Napoleon has stood to the French in the light of an instrument to secure national independence. The incapacity of the Republican leaders had broken down every party, the prestige of France, which is so precious to every individual citizen, had been abased; and at that point Louis Napoleon offered himself, in a manner the most deferential towards the whole bulk of the nation, as the man to concentrate the power of that people, and to uphold it before all Europe with the strength of an hereditary name. Perplexed by different political projectors, anxious much more for national glory than for individual liberty—a preference always shown by the French people—the nation accepted Louis Napoleon and gave him successively those powers which he asked as a means of exalting the state. Thus he became President, Dictator, and Emperor; and more than ever at the present time, maintaining the bold language which he does, is he to the French people the representative of national independence. We are not now saying that he is the best of such instruments, or that he is sincere in all those professions; but we are simply noting the result of facts.

From first to last, Louis Napoleon has always professed to foreign powers with whom he has been in friendly relations, that he was the great instrument for preserving "order" in France, the said France being the great focus of revolutionary disorder in Europe. Thus it is that while at home he is viewed as the representative of national independence, viewed from without he is the representative of order. This duplex view of him has become familiar to us all; but it is only within the last few days that we have seen the great use that he has made of it.

The Allied Powers forbade him to use the title of Napoleon III.; but he insisted. They then consented to his using it, on conditions. "A rose," they argue, "would smell as sweet by any other name, and no sweeter." Louis Napoleon is as powerful as he would be by any other name, but not more powerful. The name matters little; and it can always be avoided. We call the Emperor of China the brother of the sun and moon; a contemporary has instanced the audacity of that potentate who calls himself King of the *twenty-four* umbrellas, without any international indignation. Why not, then, let him be Napoleon the Third, if he will disclaim any succession? Again, Louis Napoleon plays the double part. He tells the French people that the inheritance succeeds to him through Napoleon II., whose title was regular by proclamation, though his reign was "ephemeral;" and he tells the foreign potentates that he dates his reign from 1852, without claiming any succession, and recognising all intermediate governments. On that showing, they admitted him. He is Emperor of the French, by the grace of God, and by permission of the Allied Powers—seeing that they could not help it. Thus, at the very outset of his reign, he begins by obtaining, on his own decree, a title, with consequences, which the Allied Powers had proudly refused to him; and they begin their connexion with the new Emperor by a flinching on their own parts. His footing is now secure. He has made himself Emperor with absolute power; may choose his own alliances, without regard to the interests of France or Europe, and with regard only to his own, so that he feed his country with glory.

But what is the particular thing which has enabled him to attain this position in spite of the foreign powers, and in spite of the serious objections to him entertained at home. The one thing is the Royal system of Europe. It is one which maintains itself by a complicity amongst the Royal families, their particular heads and retainers, against the wishes of the several nations subjected to it. Being thus precariously maintained, its supporters are open to serious apprehensions of any who may bring against it a real national will. Austria, for example, with all her power, sits in constant dread of Mazzini, and maintains large forces to counteract the machinery which he wields in Italy. Louis Napoleon came before them with the same opportunities that Mazzini might command,—a revolutionary election, and a power to raise whole peoples; but then he had a willingness to join the crowned conspiracy as an accomplice. He offered to be its condjutor and instrument; and rather than set him at defiance, the Powers have

adopted him. In doing so, they lent him the use of that machinery which they employed against the peoples; and thus he is enabled to set one power against the other. He can frighten crowned heads with peoples; he can coerce the peoples by the power of the crowned heads. Had Europe been, as it once was, a mere aggregation of separate states, each maintaining its own prince according to the dominant notions in the state, or old family traditions, he would not have had that facility; but the Royal system, as it now exists, has furnished his crowning opportunity; and in the use that he has made of it, we may recognise one of the worst incidents to which that system is subjected.

But he has not yet done; indeed, he is only beginning his use of the Royal system—he is only just admitted. He is preparing, however, to strengthen himself. He is about to marry a Wasa, and there are some incidents of that connexion not without interest to the public that is watching his career. He was already connected with the Russian family by marriage, through his cousin, Beauharnais, the late Duke of Leuchtenberg, who married the daughter of Nicholas. By his putative uncle he is connected with the Austrian family. By his own marriage, he will be connected with the legitimate line of Sweden, at least in a putative sense. For there is a scandal in Vienna which points to the father of the future Empress, and that father is *not* a Wasa, but an Austrian officer. However, royalty is seldom estopped by the bar sinister. Married to a Wasa not disclaimed, on the first outbreak of war in Europe, Louis Napoleon will be able to show that his wife has a better title to the crown than Oscar Bernadotte. Russia would not dislike any change which should wipe out a constitutional state so offensively near her own threshold. The royal career of Louis Napoleon is only just commencing.

ROBERT LOWE ON LIMITED PARTNERSHIP.

THE advance of Mr. Robert Lowe in favour of limited partnership is a political event which our working-class readers have scarcely the means of appreciating as it deserves. Mr. Lowe is a man in every way remarkable. The simplest events of his life prove the energy and the grasp of his intellect. He distinguished himself highly in his studies at Oxford, notwithstanding difficulties that would have excluded most men from any study at all. A concurrence of favourable circumstances placed him in Sydney in such a position as to obtain a seat in the Legislative Council, where he became the powerful advocate of the Colonial as opposed to the Official interests. Returning to this country, Mr. Lowe attained a high position in the law; and, almost as soon, a position not less distinguished in politics. His mastery of law is known to be great, and he is one of the best representatives of technical Law Reform in the House of Commons. Although we have had occasion to differ from him on account of the strictly New-South-Wales view which he takes of Australian affairs, his knowledge of colonial politics is unquestionable. But it is well known that he is also a master of political questions at large, and contributes, through the most public of channels, to keep the people of this country informed. That he is inclined to adopt a national or popular view of public affairs, rather than a class or antiquated view, is a fortunate event; for his power is so great, that it must contribute greatly to the success of any class of views which he may have adopted. Having studied the industrial processes where they appear in their more intelligible because less complicated form, in the Colonies; having mastered the general subject of Law; having deeply considered the practical objects of life, and their reference to legislation, he is one of the fittest men to comprehend the true bearing of such laws as that of Partnership.

The subject which raised the question was one of minor interest to the public at large, though it is not insignificant in itself. A new company is in formation, called "The London, Liverpool, and North American Screw Steam Ship Company," to establish a direct intercourse between this country and Canada. Amongst other privileges not peculiar to the Company, it is asking in the charter which it seeks from Government, a clause limiting the liability of the shareholders to their subscribed shares. It so happens that certain merchants of Liverpool almost monopolize the trade with North America, through the

Cunard and New York lines; and they naturally resent the entrance of a rival into the field. There are many reasons, political as well as commercial, why it is desirable to establish concurrent routes to North America; though we should be the last to deny the impolicy of dividing a given amount of business between too many competitors. That, however, was not the ground taken by the opponents of the charter on Tuesday night, when Mr. William Brown put hostile questions to the President of the Board of Trade. The ground which they took was, that to limit the liability of shareholders in this Company would be to invade the principle of "unrestricted competition." The memorial from the shipowners of Liverpool says, "such charters have been considered in modern times as contrary to sound policy; they are calculated to give a dangerous impulse to the spirit of gambling, and they greatly tend to discourage all private enterprise." That is to say, a provision which admits a new competitor into the shipping traffic with North America, is counter to the spirit of "unrestricted competition!" It was on that point that Mr. Lowe spoke, energetically and eloquently protesting against the fallacy. On the contrary, he showed that the principle of unlimited liability, free as it looks in the literal expression, is a restriction on competition. However capable a small capitalist may be to disengage a portion of his profit, and venture in the field of legitimate speculation, he can only do so, as Mr. Lowe showed, under the penalty of *præmunire*—that is to say, the forfeiture of all his goods and substance if he should fail; and everybody knows that the practical application of this law keeps out of the field an immense number of small capitalists,—the industrial savers,—and so limits the field of competition to the large capitalists. Indeed, it acts in so hostile a manner to commerce at large, that the law is necessarily suspended in many instances. "What is it," says Mr. Lowe, "which has covered our land with railways and our seas with steam-ships and with mercantile fleets, except the power of suspending and annihilating the law of an unlimited liability?" That is most true; but a law that is subject to these immense exceptions refutes its own basis.

It is said that abolition of the law would be detrimental to credit; but no fallacy could be greater. The principle of Free-trade, duly carried out, would teach us that the public ought to have the right of giving credit in whatever form it pleases, and it could elect for itself, whether it should trust firms established on the principle of limited liability, or those established on the principle of unlimited liability. Indeed, those laws which restrict the application of credit are open to all the arguments against any species of *protection*. They are laws for the protection of credit, which is thus made to rely on statutory provisions, instead of its natural elements; the natural elements being the known substance, the known integrity, and the common sense of the dealer.

A priori, we might argue that limited liability confers a species of credit much more trustworthy and intelligible than unlimited liability. A, possessing 10,000*l.*, is free to invest 1000*l.* in ten several speculations, under the law of unlimited liability; and in each of these ten speculations the creditors will *suppose* that the speculation is guaranteed, not only by the thousand pounds which A has subscribed, but the other 9000*l.* which he is supposed to have in *retentis*. Now, any or all of these speculations may fail, and any or all of the creditors may be disappointed in the trust of that guarantee to the extent of 90,000*l.* more than A ever possessed. On the other hand, B divides his 10,000*l.* between ten different speculations, under the law of limited partnership; and in each case the creditors know that B has subscribed for 1000*l.* and no more, wherefore they calculate on no more. Is not this latter the more trustworthy and intelligible species of credit? But, indeed, if you refuse this kind, neither A nor B will be fools enough to risk their 1000*l.* where the indiscretion of other persons might sweep away the other 9000*l.* with it. Thus, both A and B are kept out of the market by the penalty of *præmunire*; leaving the market the more open to those great capitalists who can insure against their own risks by the extent of their own substance; or whose dealings are so great that they can be actually bankrupt, and yet vamp up a fresh fortune by shuffling the

many wrecks of their old; as we have seen in the case of gigantic railway speculators.

Indeed, the necessities of commerce have dictated a repeated suspension of the law of unlimited liability. But that suspension has been exercised wholly in favour of the moneyed classes—the projectors of railways and shipping companies. The working classes and the humbler portion of the middle classes are still asking for the same privilege, as an act of justice, in order to carry out more humble and homely speculations, beneficial to themselves, and not useless to the public. We agree with Sir William Clay, that if this limited liability be granted in particular charters, it ought also to be extended, under proper securities, to the industrial public. But it is a great step to have this principle really discussed in Parliament; still greater to have it discussed with so able a lawyer and so enlightened a politician as Mr. Lowe to assist.

HOW TO MAN THE NAVY.

WE English are a conservative people; mutability is not a characteristic of the nation. The fellows who stood against the men-at-arms and the chivalry of France at Agincourt, were the prototypes of those who stood firm amid the carnage of Waterloo. Forms are sacred with us. Old modes, old systems, old manners, are scrupulously retained even against the attacks of an enraged uncommon sense. Routine is one of the gods of our political theology. Radicals may rave against him, reformers may hustle round him; he keeps his state, and gets his daily worship silently. With us, the last strong fact that got itself established stands the shock of ages. An institution, crumbling with the rust of time, and craving burial, is religiously preserved. In short, the English people are conservative in religion as well as in war; in politics as well as in science. How we clung to the Stuarts, even after they had abused, and betrayed, and plundered us! How we stick to the form of convocation, which for one hundred and thirty years has been in substance a nullity! How we abide by the method of parliamentary representation by special boroughs and by counties! Are there not caps of maintenance, and swords of state, and orbs and sceptres? What efforts were required to abolish Charles; though, to be sure, steam made short work with mail-coaches. When gas was discovered, what a noble stand was made for links and oil. As a people, we abhor novelty, and carry nothing at the point of impulse. Ours is the "stable mind."

Look at the Navy. Practically it was, until lately, in the same condition as it was when, in spite of blundering Lords of the Admiralty, Nelson carried his fleet to victory at Aboukir and Trafalgar; probably much the same as Pepys left it and Pitt found it. As long as we have had a naval system, we have habitually paid off our trained sailors, for instance, after a ship had been three years in commission. Strangely as it may sound, we, a maritime people, depending for security against the invader, on our gallant seamen, have yet kept up no sea army. Soldiers go abroad and come home, but we do not disband our regiments. Doubtless there were reasons for paying off crews in past times; and the Admiralty gave not a thought as to how they could be replaced when wanted, because the Admiralty relied on the pressgang. That time has passed; pressgangs would not be tolerated; yet we still continue to pay off our seamen, and scatter them to the winds.

Ministers have taken votes for increasing the number of Seamen and Marines; a wise precaution, considering the existing aspects of the political world. But the question has naturally arisen, How shall we get the men?—how shall we man our navy, not only in time of war, but in these piping times of peace? The question is imminent for solution; and the solution must be found in a change in our naval system. The first step should be to stop the absurd practice of dismissing crews. When a ship comes home after a long stay on a foreign station, let the men have a run ashore, but retain them in the service. Let them be barracked in divisions like soldiers, and numbered like soldiers, kept in training and under discipline. At present the merchant service competes with the national service; the American navy competes with the national navy. And the reason is obvious: in the former, seamen get better pay; and in the latter they get, what they value more, better

treatment. And this suggests another reformation of old routine. Give the man-of-war's-man all comfort compatible with his station, and *treat him like a man*. Depend upon it he will then prefer the discipline of the national navy to the laxity of the merchant navy, and he will prefer to serve his own country rather than a foreign country. A sailor knows the value of discipline, but he does not know the value of the cat. He knows the worth of a just and hearty commander, but he rebels in spirit against the capricious and despotic. And when it is asked how in the face of gold diggings, and life made easy in strange lands, and general prosperity, we can man the Fleet, the answer is, enlist the men for a set term, pay them well, and treat them as men like yourselves, probably also give them a chance of becoming something more than warrant officers, and even in these days of prosperity there will be little difficulty in manning the fleet.

But not a moment must be lost. It may be said that, what with bungling and competition, —what with unpopular captains, and a positive neglect of the vast resources of our coast population, not a ship in the service has her full complement of hands. Should a war break out—not an impossible eventuality—we shall be almost without naval defence, unless the navy be made attractive. At length, however, the House of Commons have called for an increase, but will it come when invoked, while the present arrangements are maintained? Surely not. But with manlier treatment, regular service, and reasonable pay in prospect, there are still left among us enough who love a seaman's life to man the noblest fleet that ever defended our national independence or liberated an enslaved world.

SINGULAR OUTRAGE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE House of Lords was startled the other night by a most peculiar species of message, direct from the usurper of the French throne. The purport of the message was to announce the establishment of the Empire. The Peers were kindly informed of the reasons why the French nation had not previously established that empire, —because the people had never before been consulted. Charles the Tenth, Louis Philippe, the Republic of 1848, were all determined by the people of Paris; but having conquered those people on the 2nd of December, 1848, Louis Napoleon has appealed to "the whole body, the mass of the French people;" and thrice, by 6,000,000 votes, by 7,000,000, and by 8,000,000, have the people of France decided to have Louis Napoleon. We all have had an idea, indeed, that the suffrages were collected in a manner which precluded a free vote on the part of the French; who were permitted to vote "Yes," but prevented from voting "No." The message, however, vouches for the accuracy of the vote. It also assures us that the title of Napoleon the Third is "according to French law." In England we have always supposed that it was according rather to French *leave*; but here we have the assurance of the legality. The message from Louis Napoleon to the English Peers vouchsafes two other reasons, for his extraordinary success. One is "a name"—"a name so great in France, that it is invested with a magic which has an effect that experience only has been able to make Europe understand." The other reason is even more mystical. In 1815, the disbanded armies of Napoleon "returned to their hearths,"—4 or 500,000, "with the fixed idea in their minds, with one fixed worship in their hearts"—one man, "the great idol of their imagination." "The seeds of these men, sown throughout the provinces of France, are now to be seen in the fruit which has ripened on this occasion into an empire." What a contribution to the new science of embryology! How felicitous that phrase—"on this occasion."

The language bears internal evidence of its authorship; but how came this jargon to the Peers? Who ventured to intrude with it into that assemblage? Some said that the bearer was our own Foreign Minister; but it is clear that no Peer could be found to utter a French farrago, which might be well enough suited to the pages of the *Constitutionnel*, or the *Journal de l'Empire*, if it were not for its clumsy style of composition. Some conjectured that Lord Malmesbury's celebrated cook borrowed his master's aspect, to find his way into the House

of Lords. There is less difficulty in this supposition; and the internal evidence is strongly in favour of the servant's hall. There is an obvious ignorance of history; an unquestioning acceptance of the history contributed by his master's friend, Louis Napoleon, who is evidently the cook's oracle; an affectation of being hand in glove with great people, howsoever their titles may have been acquired; all of which we can only ascribe to the "high life below stairs." It is assuredly the cook, with a rejected article of the *Journal de l'Empire*, which was thought good enough as a message to the Peers of tasteless England. And they did not *much* wince under the infliction.

Another proof. Lord Canning asked how the communication had been made from the French Government to ours; and the *pseudo* Foreign Minister would not answer. It became necessary for Lord Canning to explain that communications on such subjects are always made in the form of despatches or of diplomatic notes, and Lord Canning wanted to know which form had been used in the present instance. The unlucky impostor was not prepared for this question. At first he thought he had said something wrong. Then he said that he could not produce *any* note; there had been a conversation; "the Emperor" had repeated the assurances of that conversation in his speech to the French Chambers, and it was all "satisfactory." Yes, yes; all right. Evidently the poor man thinks that matters of this sort are disposed of in a talkee-talkee! But how should he know any better? If Lord Canning had asked him for the receipt of a *pâté de foie gras*, it would have been forthcoming.

Yet a horrible suspicion occurs to us: surely the foreign affairs of our country are not *really* left to this person?

There must be something wrong in the official arrangements, otherwise by what monstrous irregularity did he enter the House of Lords while it was sitting, and actually deliver this trashy French message as a speech? If such things are permitted publicly in the House of Lords, what may not happen in the irresponsible privacy of Downing-street?

Great was the complaint about Lord Palmerston's independence of his colleagues and chief, and about his "judicious bottle-holding." We now have a reform; instead of the judicious bottle-holding to support patriotic efforts, we now have *injudicious* bottle-holding.

THE BUDGET.

OUR examination of Mr. Disraeli's Budget is not a party criticism: its objects are to inquire how far that Budget conforms to or violates scientific principles, and to learn such practical lessons as we can from the speech of its proposer, and from the progress of the questions discussed.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer professes in his speech to hear and redress the classes whose complaints he has uttered more loudly, and endorsed more conspicuously, than almost any other man. "If," says he, "we can arrive at some conclusions on these points, those classes which now assert that they have been injured by recent legislation, if their claims are heard, and if established fairly met, will merge in the mass of the community, and we shall hereafter have to consider no other claims but those which represent the unanimous voice and feeling of the entire country." But the alterations in the taxes with which he proposes as fairly meeting these claims, are no other than those which have long been required by other considerations, and have been long urged for other reasons. They must sooner or later have been made, independently of all idea of compensation or of extinguishing the special claims of any section of the community. Indispensable and long-sought reforms have thus been adroitly substituted for a promised class relief; and if these fiscal changes are a sufficient settlement of those special claims, then those special claims had no real value whatever. The whole proceeding is a covert surrender of Protection in the small and shadowy form it finally assumed. We have no quarrel with it, nor do we wonder that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the actual responsibilities of office on him, found Protection a principle utterly impossible to stand by. Our only remark is, that so will all policies which violate great natural principles desert in the end those who have stood by them. Nevertheless the budget is an irreparable estimate of the value of the claims of the unprotected classes, even as assessed by their own advocates.

Mr. Disraeli, in the outset of his speech, undertakes to inquire whether "it is possible to make such changes

in the mode of levying our revenues as may contribute more to the satisfaction and welfare of the community; whether such alterations can be effected in our system of taxation as may remove from various classes not an ill-founded sense of injury and injustice; and, above all, whether we may not take this opportunity of establishing our financial system ON PRINCIPLES more adapted to the requirements of the times, and especially to the industry of a country pre-eminent for its capacity for labour." Here, as elsewhere, is ample admission for the evils of our present system of taxation; here, too, is proposed, in words, a noble object, viz., the establishment of just principles of taxation. But no new "principle" whatever is introduced into our taxation by this Budget, which differs from its predecessors only in its adjustment of details; and however that adjustment may have been adapted to the immediate purposes of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, we have yet to seek principles of taxation; in respect of them Mr. Disraeli has taught us nothing.

The author of the budget says, "If you decree that the community are to receive low prices, your policy ought to be one which will put an end as soon as possible to high taxes." And then he proceeds, not to a reduction of the total amount of the taxes, which is what his argument indispensably requires, but only to a redistribution of them. He can only meet the requisition of the standard he has himself set up by a reduction of expenditure, not in any degree by a variation in the details of taxation.

But if by the word "community," he meant only a part of the community, *ex. gr.* the agricultural, then his argument and his plan may be understood. "Low prices" and "high taxes" refer to that part of the community; and the plan is, under cover of an argument for reducing taxes, really to transfer taxes from the part of the people to which the words "high taxes" and "low prices" apply, to the rest of the community.

But further: "high taxes" and "low prices" are here put into one of those false relations which pervade political and social discussions, especially when prosecuted for party purposes. Taxes have no more to do with prices than has food, or rent, or any other kind of expense: the amount of tax depends on one set of circumstances; the range and elevation of prices depend on another. A community which, while turbulent and rich, is also resolved to be kept in order internally by the Government, and effectually defended also at its frontiers, must pay high taxes; but it may easily afford to pay them. A poor and lawless community may pay low taxes, and hardly be able to pay them at all. The prices each may obtain for its exchangeable articles will be just the same for the same goods in the same market, whether they come from one of those bodies or the other. This broad illustration applies to the case then under Mr. Disraeli's exposition; but intent on making a point in his speech, he forgot his logic.

But if low prices are necessarily and of themselves to rule low taxes, what are we to say to our manufacturing interests? The fall of price in wheat since the peace is small in comparison with that in calicoes, woollen cloth, hosiery, lace, iron, ships, and almost every production of industry. Must we lower the whole taxation of the United Kingdom because prices have gone down?—and without inquiry into, or allowance for, the causes and circumstances of the decline? Our taxes depend on the necessity of our expenditure, and not on prices; and perhaps we have spent too many words on this glaring false relation.

Mr. Disraeli says, that in 1849 he urged large changes of taxation for the relief of certain kinds of property, on the ground of its special burdens; he says now that the burdens having been diminished, and the ratio which this property bears to other property being changed, he alters his views, and declines to propose any alteration in its favour. But what must be the system which admits of such an argument? What if Mr. Disraeli had been successful in 1849, and the changes he proposed had been made then? Clearly, by his own argument, all parties would have been in a false and unjust position now. And so must it be with every system of taxation which is founded on, and every financier who acts with exclusive reference to, the mere circumstances of the passing time: the circumstances will change, and leave all schemes broken, and all the schemers stranded. We need to replace these shifting devices by some permanent principle, unchangeable, and universally accepted from its equity alone.

This very property, by Mr. Disraeli's admission, has been greatly relieved; but it is agricultural property which has been relieved by the repeal of taxes passed for the special profit of agriculture, which laws acted through fiscal machinery. That is, the fiscal change produced an effect exactly opposite to that expected from it; and so has it happened also in every case of

the removal of so called protection. Now, if changes of this kind produce effects so unexpected by many of those most interested in them, how can we so trace the effects of indirect taxation as to rely on them for a fair or even a bearable distribution of the public expenses? As to any approximation to an apportionment of the public cost to each person according to his rightful quota, it seems, from such a fact, to be altogether beyond the capability, the pretension, or even the wish, of any plan of indirect taxation.

No doubt, the ex-protectionists allege that the improvement of agricultural as well as other property is due, not to the removal of the corn-laws, but to emigration and the gold discoveries. It is, however, so easy to show that these are insufficient to the effect, that we need not, for any such covering device of a retreating party, disturb our foregoing argument.

Mr. Disraeli first proposes "to lay the foundation of a system which shall enlist in its favour the sympathies of all classes," and then he transforms half the malt-tax, supposed to be a burden on the farmers, into an increased and extended house-tax, known to be a burden to the townspeople. He has thus raised an opposition which threatens the existence of his Ministry.

This change is not made on any allegation that the farmers have hitherto paid more, or the townspeople less, than their share of the common expense; still less is it attempted to be shown that the proposed change, if just in kind, is of such an amount as to establish a true balance for the future. The reason given for it is founded on the interests, not on the rights or obligations of the parties; and quarrels founded only on interests have no principle by which they can be terminated. Moreover, a system which is so void of principle as to admit of being changed in this direction to-day, will admit also of being changed in some other direction to-morrow: it leaves the country always liable to a strife of classes: every man feels it may any day change by some of its caprices the value of his property: and the continual upsetting of Ministries, of their policy, and of all decent practical persistence in some general principles of government, is a disastrous and almost certain consequence of a policy of taxation which has no standard principle, and no better guidance than the guess, the pressure, or the party strength of the day.

Mr. Disraeli abolishes part of the light dues as unjust; the injustice consists in their being a payment above that requisite for the service rendered, resulting from the improvident grants of former sovereigns and parliaments. But, according to established doctrines, the length of time during which these dues have been paid should have cured the original defect of right. All interests have adjusted themselves to the circumstances: the shipowner, when he embarked his capital, knew of these burdensome claims, just as he knew of the natural risks of the sea; therefore, on the principles of some, no injustice is now done by these imposts. Nevertheless, Mr. Disraeli abolishes them, and we think him perfectly right. Our comment is, that all real injustice, obvious to common apprehension, eventually works itself out, in spite of the artistic defences of theorists. Originally an injury, it leads to discontent; it lives a life of ill consequences, not the less constant or inveterate from being concealed; and it ends often in violence,—at best in condemnation and failure. A negro knows when he marries that he may any day be separated for ever from his wife; not the less for his knowing the risk he runs does all humanity revolt against the wrong. So with taxes on false principles; time and the alleged adjustment of interests do not take from them the consequences of their original injustice. If the rest of our system be unjust, it will follow these abandoned light dues.

The measure rightly set up by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the amount of the light dues, is that of the cost of the service rendered. He says: "The shipping interest will then have to pay for the light-houses which benefit them—which guide their ships and save their lives; and I am sure they will no more complain of a tax levied for such objects, and upon such principles, than any other class of the community will complain of the peculiar taxes to which they are subject, but for which they gain in return peculiar advantages." But are there no other parties paying much more than they receive in return in the form of advantage? What of the tax on public vehicles, really a tax on walking? Does it take ten shillings a-week to pay for the due performance of the duties of the Government in respect of a London street cab? And might not some of our Free-trade M.P.s, as well as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, find some injustice to be redressed, as well as some impolicy to be remedied, by applying the principle of the foregoing extract to this neglected instance? Practice in the use of the principle would soon lead to the detection of many

more cases which as truly, though not as glaringly, need its application.

Give us, however, this principle, and we want nothing more for the foundation of a just and permanent system of taxation. If payment only according to the "advantages" "received in return" be right in the case of lighthouses, it is just as right in that of government. Let us learn what are the "advantages" "received in return" for our general as well as for any special taxation, and let the tax on each person be in proportion to his "advantages," (in proportion to his direct "advantages," as the ship-owner is to pay for the direct advantage of the lighthouse,) and we shall then need for the establishment of our taxation on such a system only that constructive and administrative ability of which it would be a shame to suspect our lack.

This is not the only instance in which natural principles force themselves through the surface of Mr. Disraeli's speech and Budget. Nor is he singular in this respect. While taxation is everywhere what M. E. de Girardin says it is in France, "the confusion of taxes," and while, in the words of the *Times*, our present systems leave us "no alternative but to confiscate what and where we can," every writer, in laying the foundation of his theory, and every statesman, when he has had to defend some one tax, has resorted to natural principles. Mr. Pitt said to the fundholder, "If you expect from the State the protection which is common to us all, you ought also to make the sacrifice which we are called upon to make." The error begins when the statesman, bewildered by the strife of factious and traditional interests, fails to retain his grasp of original principles. He then produces a Budget which, like the present, affords not a principle, nor even a settlement, but the materials for new strifes of party, the objects of new discord of classes, the occasions of new embarrassments of practical statesmanship, and an absorbing interest in temporary and ever-changing questions, which perpetuates an habitual neglect of all the higher functions and nobler ends of government.

The long and suggestive speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer requires further comment, and the Budget itself must be examined in more detail.

TAXATION REDUCED TO UNITY AND SIMPLICITY.

Supplemental.

TAXATION AT FLORENCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

M. DE GIRARDIN quotes the example of Florence in the fourteenth century, for a successful instance of direct taxation. The facts seem to be these. The political power of that city was in the hands of the upper classes, consisting of the noble families and the men of commercial wealth, when, in 1378, a revolution unexpectedly transferred that power to the lower tradesmen and artificers; below whom, however, was still a numerous class, not comprehended in any scheme of government yet in operation. Among the complaints of the lower classes which led to discontent and revolution, one seems to have been the uncertainty of justice, and another the unfairness of the existing system of taxation. These two grievances almost always appear in the discontents of states where power is exclusively in the hands of particular classes, whatever may be the actual form of the government. From this time, various changes, chiefly of a factious character, took place in the government, the classes formerly excluded from it retaining, however, a much larger share of influence than they had before. In 1427, under pressure of the taxes required for a long and unpopular war, the fiscal system of the state underwent revision, and a property tax was established, founded on actual schedule and estimate of each person's property.

It appears that before this fiscal revolution, the taxes were assessed on individuals at least with uncertainty, and often according to personal or party feelings: it seems, too, that the burden was made to fall chiefly on the less wealthy classes. The new tax, *pressing proportionately on all*, was odious to the richer merchants and the nobles, who endeavoured, both by artifice and objection, first to prevent its adoption, and afterwards to deprive it of effect. Besides the hate they bore it from its depriving them of aristocratic distinction, they objected to it, that as they gave their time to the republic, it was unjust to tax their property also; and they alleged that it was impracticable to tax men according to possessions which must ever be fluctuating in the amount. To this the less wealthy classes answered, that others would be quite ready to take their place in managing the affairs of the republic, and that the assessment could always be made just, if it were renewed with due frequency and care: they, moreover, charged their opponents with disliking the tax because it prevented them from going to war to

the injury of the interests of the republic, without subjecting themselves, as before time, to a due proportion of the expense. It is, at any rate, clear that if so simple and just a law excited those violent contentions, the previous state of the taxation must have been extremely bad; a conclusion confirmed by the ecstasy of contemporary chroniclers, who declared the new law not merely justice, but holiness.

The richer classes, however, contrived, by means of their influence with the magistrates, gradually to debase the assessment to their own profit, by screening great part of their own property from the impost. The law was therefore re-established in its original force in 1458, and the success of the commonalty on that occasion was again considered a triumph. Ten commissioners were at that time charged with the assessment, probably in supercession of the magistrates, who had mismanaged or corrupted it. In 1471 the law, on whatever occasion, was again enforced.

This tax was one of the measures which most distinguished the successful and popular policy of the earlier Medici, in opposition to that of the oligarchical rulers of Florence; and the decline into which it fell with the consequent necessity of renewal, was probably much connected with the party strifes and changes of the time in which that distinguished family were principal actors. But the fundamental cause of the instability of so just a tax, was evidently the condition of law and morals at the time. In a state where violence was commonly resorted to, whether for private revenge or for the accomplishment of public changes, it is quite clear that calm equity had no chance of success, although it might happen to be expressed in the terms of a law.



Open Council.

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

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

INCOME TAX.

A PLEA FOR THE LABOURER.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—I believe the object of the valuable series of papers which have appeared in the *Leader* on Taxation, is to show the truth of the principle that it is only realized property which should be taxed directly for purposes of government. I have long held this view myself, and urged it in several places; and as my grounds for doing so are somewhat different from yours, perhaps you will allow me to state them, and to challenge contradiction to them by any of your readers.

I wonder that the quoters of Dr. Adam Smith have never stumbled on such passages as these:—

"Taxes upon the produce of land are in reality taxes upon the rent, and though they may be originally advanced by the farmer are finally paid by the landlord." (B. 5, Chap. 2.)

"The revenue or profit arising from stock divides itself into two parts—that which pays the interest and belongs to the owner of the stock, and that surplus part which is over and above what is necessary for paying the interest. The latter part of the profit is evidently a subject not taxable directly." (B. 5, Chap. 2, Part 2.)

And in his article on taxing wages and labour, which includes all professional income, he says that such taxes are absurd and destructive, and that the labourer will in no case pay them.

The result of all his remarks on those subjects leads to the conclusion that it is not unfair to lay all direct taxation on realized property; that it is not, as Mr.

Disraeli said, confiscation to tax one income more than another; that it is not politic in Government to interfere between a person and the servants he pays, and stop a part of the wages; that it is a false principle to believe such interference necessary; that this tax, if it have any effect, is only to punish most that capitalist who pays most in wages, and that it must therefore check enterprise.

In fact, Government is the immediate superior of realized property, but it is not so of the income I receive from my master, perhaps as his clerk, steward, chaplain, or physician.

Let Government tax my master in the first place on his means and property—he can and will afterwards regulate my salary according to his power, or in some cases his choice.

Let it tax me on my means; that is to say, on my property, or the estimated good-will of my business, judged externally; but it has no business with my actual salary or profits. It might, indeed, without injustice to any one, disregard so mere a trifle as the estimated good-will of any business; but if it should put a tax on this, it might be done without such interference as is practised at present with so much damage to morality.

Sir Robert Peel was, perhaps, justified in imposing such a law as a temporary measure, and, indeed, he was forced to do it; but as a permanency it is perfectly indefensible.

Your obedient servant,

AN ARITHMETICIAN.

THE MORALITY OF WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—In the belief that there are many women watching the signs of the times, and waiting, like myself, for guidance out of the narrow and miserable life of the present into something nobler, I feel justified in asking space for a few remarks, suggested by the admirable letter of Mr. Nicholls in last week's *Leader*.

All he says is too emphatically true to need repetition; my object is, therefore, simply to point out where I believe the chief difficulty in the way of its reception is to be looked for, and to ask counsel as to the best method of dealing with it.

The main difficulty, I conceive, to rest with women themselves, and to arise from their looking at the question from a false point of view. So long as they continue, either through ignorance or perversity, to treat as a matter of taste that which is really a question of principle, so long as they take their stand on grace instead of worthfulness, and plume themselves on forbearing to demand as a right that influence, the faithful exercise of which God has laid upon them as a duty,—so long must all efforts to raise their position be unavailing, because unseconded by their own exertions.

This brings us to the subject of female education, in which reform is sadly needed. If women are to be what God intended them, their nature must have fair play, and instead of the careful toning down to inanity which characterizes so much of modern education, there must be as careful a toning up to earnestness and vigour. Teach women by all means that they are to be elegant and graceful, but show them that this is to be accomplished at a less cost than the sacrifice of all that is deepest and holiest in their nature. See if careful training will not stand in place of lopping,—if we cannot have the elegance of the bryony instead of the primness of the clipped hedge.

In our attempts to raise the social condition of women, then, we want, before all, a better system of education; but is there nothing we can do that will be more immediately efficacious—no seed to be sown, the fruit of which we may ourselves hope to gather? To this question the letter of Mr. Nicholls appears to me to be an answer; and heartily thanking him for calling upon women as he has done, to work out for themselves a better position, I beg to inquire whether there is any means of working for this great cause, and inducing others to work for it, in which more can be done by concert than by single-handed exertion. If so, how is this concert to be arrived at?

Yours very faithfully,

F. E. C.

November 30.

SABBATH OBSERVANCE IN SCOTLAND.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—Will you permit me to offer a few remarks in your paper, in which both sides of a question obtain consideration, on your correspondent A's letter, on "Sabbath Observance in Scotland." He has told some home truths, but he has not told all the truth.

The greatest errors prevail, out of Scotland, as to the manner in which the Sabbath is spent in Scotland. It is generally believed that the vast majority of the people consign it to gloom and moroseness. Now, what are the facts? The facts are these. About one-tenth of the population, consisting of Irish Roman Catholics, pay almost no regard to it at all. Another large section, Protestant in name, disregard it also, and many of the moral virtues besides. A third, consisting of intelligent reading men, many of them liberal and benevolent, devote it to reading, amusement, and the like. A fourth spend it entirely in the exercises of religion. This fourth class, I venture to say, without fear of contradiction, and without any disparagement to the third class, which is small in numbers, is the cream of the country. You will find them sober, industrious, moral, and intelligent. I know Scotland well, and I am prepared to take any stranger through any town in Scotland, and show him the serious worshipper on Sabbath the true-hearted man during the week. I say nothing of bigots and hypocrites—they are to be found of all creeds, and are just as little the representatives of one as of another.

Mr. A. draws a dark picture of a Sabbath day in a Scotch Christian family. Does he not know that the system he so justly condemns has no necessary connexion with either the Bible or the Shorter Catechism? It is a portion of that stern and unintelligent mode of education which was at one time universal; which wielded the birch so unmercifully in the public school, and compelled youths to study Latin and Greek in grammars written in the Latin language. The evil yet exists, but is not to be found among the really intelligent pious of Scotland.

But Mr. A. will have us believe that the morose observance of the Sabbath is intimately connected with the immorality so vividly described by Dr. Buchanan of Glasgow. Why, three-fourths of those who have sunk to the degradation described by him are immigrants from Ireland, who are innocent of all acquaintance with Protestant clergy, or Bibles, or Shorter Catechisms, or Sabbath Observance. Is it fair, I ask, to charge the guilt of such men on anything peculiarly Scottish? If you will just sweep away all the Irish Catholics who have come into Scotland during the last fifty years, and their children with them, you would see that Scotland, even yet, would present a spectacle at the least as moral as any country in Europe.

But then the drunkenness of Scotland: how superior ungodly France is to godly Scotland. Sir, I grant the superiority in this one particular. I abominate the drinking usages which prevail in Scotland, and think it no extenuation that Norway and Sweden, where the Sabbath is not observed, are quite as bad. But who are these drunkards? A considerable proportion, these immigrants I spoke of; a still larger proportion those who never enter a church door, and who may spend their whole Sunday in the fields, if they choose; and only a fraction those who are members of Christian churches.

But I admit the inferiority of Scotland to France in point of sobriety. Is, therefore, Scotland inferior in morality as a whole? Will any man who knows both countries assert that France, which has submitted without a struggle to the yoke of a petty profligate tyrant, which never ventured one remonstrance when its government trode out the spark of liberty at Rome, where the clergy offer up blasphemous adulation to a pinchbeck Emperor, and where the very first principles of good and evil are still in debate—that this is a country superior in moral principle to Scotland? Drunkenness is a monster evil: let every good man lift up his voice against it; but there are other virtues besides sobriety, not less estimable. What shall we say of the virtue of Parisian women, and the good faith of Frenchmen? Is there enough of good principle in France to send out one hundred and fifty thousand unpaid labourers, every Sunday, to teach our young and ignorant population what they believe to be God's truth? The man who prefers French morality, as a whole, to Scottish, must have very different ideas of right and wrong from those which I entertain.

As to the cure of Scotch drunkenness, I very much fear that those will not be reclaimed from it by dancing on the green, and cheap theatres, who have rushed into it in spite of the terrible warning of that volume which we call the Bible, where it declares, that no drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of heaven.

Your obedient servant,

J.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Our Correspondents must excuse us if we decline re-opening the *Butler* question; it is not from discourtesy, but from journalistic exigencies; correspondence on such a subject would be interminable. We opened the arena to all comers, intending, however, that it would not be re-opened.

Mr. James Hall, Galashiels, should address his complaint to the Postmaster-General, London.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

THERE has been not a little outcry raised against the concluding incident of the last number of *Bleak House*; the death of Krook by Spontaneous Combustion is certainly not an agreeable incident, but it has a graver fault than that of "shocking" people with "sensitive nerves;" it is a fault in Art, and a fault in Literature, overstepping the limits of Fiction, and giving currency to a vulgar error. We must be permitted a passing remark on both these faults.

It is allowable to introduce the Supernatural in Art, but not the Improbable; the reason is, that in the one case, Imagination and our mysterious sympathy with the Unknown are appealed to, without pretence of claiming more than imaginative credence; in the other case, the Understanding is called upon to ratify as a truth what it rejects as falsehood. When SHAKESPEARE introduces the Supernatural, it is enough for us that in those remote ages people believed in the existence of Ghosts and Fairies; but when BALZAC and DUMAS introduce Clairvoyance as a part of their machinery, and make the events depend thereon, doing so as if Clairvoyance were an undoubted element in our human life, then the rebellious Understanding rejects as impertinent what it recognises as false. DICKENS, therefore, in employing Spontaneous Combustion as a part of his machinery, has committed this fault of raising the incredulity of his readers; because even supposing Clairvoyance and Spontaneous Combustion to be scientific truths, and not the errors of imperfect science, still the simple fact that they belong to the extremely questionable opinions held by a very small minority, is enough to render their introduction into Fiction a mistake. They are questions to be argued, not to be treated as ascertained truths.

In the second place, we assure Mr. DICKENS that Spontaneous Combustion is not only a scientific error, which we doubt if he can find one organic chemist of any authority to countenance now, but is absolutely impossible, according to all known laws of combustion, and to the constitution of the human body. As a novelist he is not to be called to the bar of science; he has doubtless picked up the idea among the curiosities of his reading from some credulous adherent to the old hypothesis, and has accepted it as not improbable. This is not the place to enter minutely into such a question, but we will endeavour to state a few fundamental objections in language sufficiently popular for general comprehension.

The hypothesis is, that ardent drinkers so steep the tissues of their bodies in alcohol, or induce so morbid a constitution, that a highly combustible gas is formed within their bodies, which either spontaneously, or by the accidental approach of a flame, kindles, and burns away the whole body, as a candle burns away when once lighted.

Now, if you consider this simple fact, that in the human body *three-fourths of it are water*, and that even gunpowder will not ignite if damp, you will understand one reason why the body is not easily combustible. You may char it as you may char damp wood, but you cannot produce flame from it as long as it retains its fluids.

Suppose the body soaked in alcohol, and the alcohol to remain in the tissues as alcohol, even that will not make the tissues burn. This Christmas you will, at snapdragon, see the proof; the raisins will be soaked in alcohol, the alcohol will burn, but not the raisins.

It has been said, indeed, that in certain morbid conditions of the tissues, there is a gas formed which will ignite on contact with the air; this gas, phosphuretted hydrogen, is unfortunately a gas that never has been detected in any living tissue, that *could not* exist there, and even if it could, would only consume itself, and not the incombustible moist tissues; for to burn the body you must first completely *dry* it, and when you have dried it, it is no longer a living body. With moistened fingers we snuff candles unhurt; with moistened hands BOUTIGNY tossed about molten iron as if it had been snow. Unless, therefore, it is maintained that the effect of continued drinking is altogether to change the conditions of vitality, to remove the liquids from the body, and substitute alcohol in their place, Spontaneous Combustion is an impossibility; the body will not burn except by the continued application of intense heat furnished externally; and cannot be made to *flame*.

In one sense, Spontaneous Combustion is the incessant act of Life itself; the tissues are called into activity through constant oxidation; and Man is truly said to be ashes. But Spontaneous Combustion, as the denouement of the drama with blue fire from the side scenes, is only admissible as a metaphor.

Captain MARRYAT, it may be remembered, employed the same equivocal incident in *Jacob Faithful*. One phrase deserves immortality for its cynicism; it ran somewhat thus:—"There was a puff of smoke up the chimney, and that was all I saw of my mother."

In another part of our paper will be found a report of a proceeding in the Insolvent Court, in which Mr. CHARLES PHILLIPS, not content with the extremely unenviable notoriety he has already earned for himself, was unwise enough, as well as ungenerous enough, to refuse to hear Mr. HOLYOAKE, because Mr. HOLYOAKE does not consider the Bible as containing his confession of faith, though he is willing to consider the act of

taking the oath as binding on his conscience. A former Commissioner, following the precedent established by Lord BROUGHAM, had the wisdom to allow Mr. HOLYOAKE the same exemption which he would allow to a Quaker, who, from religious scruples, would refuse to take the oath, and which Lord BROUGHAM did allow to the Chinese. It is from religious scruples that Mr. HOLYOAKE refuses. The Bible is not his Confession of Faith; and it would be hypocrisy in him to take oath upon it. The Commissioner appreciated this, and allowed the oath to be taken in the only effective way it could be taken. Mr. CHARLES PHILLIPS, with characteristic coarseness, refused.

To the public, the question involved in this refusal is a very important one. Are we, or are we not, *outlaws*, if we hold religious opinions differing from those of the Established Church? That is the plain question. The answer leads to terrible results. Is the Catholic, or the Dissenter, or the Jew, or the Spiritualist, or the Pantheist, or the Atheist, *as such*, a member of the social body, a citizen, or an outlaw? Not to complicate this question, we will separate from it those members of *tolerated* religions, and include only the Spiritualist, the Pantheist, and the Atheist—and ask, are they citizens or outlaws? If society says, "we will have no liberty of opinion; we will admit into our state no man who does not believe the creed we have recognised as the state creed; all dissidents are outlaws:" then a direct understanding will easily be arrived at. We will have a fight for Liberty of Thought, and if vanquished, seek some other home, as our Pilgrim Fathers did before us. If, on the contrary, Society says that Liberty of Opinion is granted, and that we *are* citizens in spite of our heterodoxy, then we say that the refusal to take our oaths in a court of Law is a direct violation of our citizenship. For observe: the Atheist is called upon to pay his taxes for the support of the "sacred institutions" of society; he helps to support the Church which he disowns, and the Law which disowns him; he helps to pay for the Army and Navy, the Ambassadors and Red Tapists, the Police and the Prisons, and the Poor Houses; he is drawn for the Militia; he is called upon in every way a citizen can be called upon to support and defend that society of which he is a member. In return, Society undertakes to protect his life and property; it takes justice out of his own hands, that it may more peaceably and equitably administer it for him. Its Courts of Law are for that purpose. Can, therefore, Society in the one case claim the help of the Atheist as a citizen, and in another refuse him the very return for which he gave that help? When the State pockets Mr. HOLYOAKE's money, its conscience is not troubled by the fact of his being an Atheist; but when he claims that protection for which he paid the money, then the sensitive conscience rises in alarm, and refuses! To the tax-gatherer he is a citizen; to Commissioner PHILLIPS he is an outlaw! Say at once the Atheist is an outlaw, and shall be hunted down like a dog; *that* we can understand; but that you *dare* not say! A man of the known piety and virtue of Professor NEWMAN would have his oath refused, because he does not accept the Bible as the truth, and his evidence would not be taken; while the evidence of the vilest scoundrel from the lock-up house would be accepted!

Passing from the general to the personal aspect of this question, let us note how strangely the objection comes from Mr. CHARLES PHILLIPS, whose name will be remembered, as long as it is remembered, in connexion with COURVOISIER! Mr. HOLYOAKE is a man of unsullied purity, of the most distinguished sincerity in thought and speech. We differ very widely from him on some moral and religious points, but no difference can prevent our emphatic testimony to his integrity. There is no man's word we would sooner take than his. Mr. CHARLES PHILLIPS probably knows nothing of this; but Mr. CHARLES PHILLIPS—the author of *Celestine and St. Aubert*—the scorner of bigots and the panegyrist of PAINE—the defender of COURVOISIER—standing as the representative of indignant orthodoxy, refusing to Mr. HOLYOAKE his rights of citizenship, presents a spectacle a Mephistopheles would gloat over. Mr. CHARLES PHILLIPS will say, perhaps, that he was young when he wrote *Celestine and St. Aubert*; but this "error of his youth" might have taught him, at least, to credit the sincerity of disbelief, and the possibility of an unbeliever not being an unworthy citizen! When Mr. HOLYOAKE defined his creed of Secularism as that of one "who gives precedence to the duties of this life over considerations which pertain to another world," Mr. PHILLIPS exclaimed, "O! you mean that you consider your duties to man superior to your duties to God." Now, *what* God does Mr. PHILLIPS specially refer to? The God of PAINE, the God of Mr. HOLYOAKE, or the God to whom the Jury were to be responsible if they found COURVOISIER guilty of the crime which Mr. PHILLIPS *knew* him to be guilty of?

A new volume by COMTE has just appeared. It is called, *Catechisme Positiviste, ou sommaire Exposition de la Religion Universelle*, and contains, in the form of dialogues between a Priest and a Woman, a popular exposition of his religious views. In this, as in all his later writings, we see the deep and ineffaceable influence of one woman upon his life and system; to her he owes, as he confesses, the development which enabled him to "found the universal Religion on sound Philosophy, after having elaborated the latter from Science," or (as he puts it in language which will raise a smile) to continue the career of ARISTOTLE by that of SAINT PAUL. It will be strange if he does not succeed in engaging the sympathies of women, who are the best propagandists; for not only will they appreciate his lofty, and yet just estimation of their sex, and the part it plays in life;

but they will also be grateful to him for having furnished in his own person the most striking tribute to them since the days of DANTE; indeed, as we have said before, the tribute paid by Poets and chivalrous natures to that gentle, yet exalting influence which it is woman's glorious privilege to exercise, is as nothing compared with the tribute paid by AUGUSTE COMTE, a man of austere science, a man grown old and solitary, without the passions or the illusions which are usually thought to be the impulses to adoration. Happy he who has Love for the helm and star of Life: who can say of one woman, that to be worthy of her,

Ogni basso pensiero dal cor m'avulse,

he has banished every unworthiness from his life!

AUSTRALIA AS IT IS.

Australia as it is: its Settlements, Farms, and Gold Fields. By F. Lancelott, Esq., Mineralogical Surveyor of the Colonies. 2 vols. Colburn and Co.

THERE are travellers with an eye to the picturesque, travellers with an eye to comfort, travellers with an eye to their own glorification, but very few travellers with an eye to what will be of practical advantage as well as interest to the public; of this last-named order is Mr. Lancelott, whose scientific position has aided him in writing the most instructive and not the least amusing book on Australia which has fallen in our way. Keeping himself and his own affairs modestly in the background, he presents us with a calm spectator's view of colonial life in town and country. The book is correctly indicated in its title, *Australia as it is*. Mr. Lancelott cares more about interesting us in zoology, botany, geology, and climate, than in his own personal mishaps and adventures; and we are abundantly grateful for the preference. He has described the Australian farms and farm-life, the cultivation of vine and other crops, the various inducements and drawbacks which ought to influence emigrants,—and he has described them in a sensible, vivid, trustworthy style.

The second volume is devoted to the diggings, which are described mineralogically, practically, socially, and politically. The subject acquires fresh interest from his sensible and authoritative treatment; but we must refer to the volume itself; our readers will be more tempted by various glimpses of Australian life to be met with in the first volume. Here, at the outset, is a picture of

AUSTRALIAN CONTRASTS.

"Almost everything in nature is, in Australia, the reverse of what it is here. When we have winter they have summer, when we have day they have night; we have our feet pressing nearly opposite to their feet: there, too, the compass points to the south; the sun travels along the northern heavens; the mercury of the barometer rises with a southerly and falls with a northerly wind; the animals are disproportionately large in their lower extremities, and carry their young in a pouch; the plumage of the birds is beautiful, their notes are harsh and strange; the swans are black; the eagles are white; the moles lay eggs; the owls screech and hoot only in the day-time; the cuckoo's song is heard only in the night; the valleys are cool, the mountain-tops are warm; the north winds are hot, the south winds are cold, the east winds are healthy; the bees are without sting; the cherries grow with the stone outside; one of the birds has a broom in his mouth instead of a tongue; another creature (the duck-billed platypus) unites with the body, fur, and habits of a mole, the webbed foot and bill of a duck. Many of the beautiful flowers are without smell; most of the trees are without shade, and shed their bark instead of their leaves: some indeed are without leaves, in others the leaves are vertical; and even the geological formation of the country, as far as ascertained, is most singular."

The chapter on the Aborigines and on the zoology and botany are interesting, though containing nothing novel. As of more immediate importance to those emigrating, or whose friends have emigrated, read this on the

CLIMATE.

"The seasons in Australia are the reverse of ours, July is mid-winter, January, mid-summer. The spring and autumn are brief, and the transition from one season to the other is so imperceptible, that it is difficult to say when the one begins or the other ends. Spring sets in early in September, when the atmosphere acquires a delightful warmth; as the season advances, the fall of rain decreases, the heat increases, and about the middle of November, summer commences. The heat now becomes great, and by the end of December, nearly all the rivers are dried up, vegetation has ceased, and the country assumes the appearance of an arid desert. At the close of February a diminution of temperature commences, autumn beginning about the middle of March, and early in April genial showers carpet the country with bright verdure, and the atmosphere becomes pleasantly cool and buoyant.

"Early in June, the season that can only be called winter from its situation in the calendar, commences, and by the middle of July torrents of rain have inundated the country, and rendered the water-courses mighty rushing streams; this cold rainy season generally terminates by the middle or end of August.

"Between the rains at this season of the year, there are days, and, in some years, whole weeks together, of delightful weather, cool and bracing as spring in England, but more beautiful and exhilarating.

"With the exception of about twenty-five extremely hot days, and sixty disagreeable wet or cold days, the weather throughout the year is indescribably pleasant, the air is balmy and bright, scarcely a cloud is visible, and the sun looks down from the deep blue sky in unveiled splendour."

"Day and night are of nearly equal length throughout the year. The sun never remains above the horizon more than about fourteen and a half hours, nor less than ten and a half; and, as twilight does not linger in these latitudes, the changes from day to night, and from night to morn, are to an Englishman unpleasantly abrupt.

"The greater number of the nights are most enchanting. The southern constellations shine forth from the hard, dark heavens in unrivalled brightness, and the haloed moon pours her chastened radiance on the plains and hills with such refulgence, that everything for miles around is distinctly visible. The light of both the sun and the moon is more intense than in Britain. I should say the difference is as five to three.

"The climate throughout the Australian provinces is decidedly hot. The ther-

mometer in Sydney and Melbourne during summer, frequently reaches 90 or 100 deg. Fahr. in the shade; and occasionally 110 deg., or even more. In winter it rarely ranges below 46 deg. Fahr.; hoar frost sometimes occurs: ice, seldom or never.

"The variations in temperature are great and sudden: noonday is frequently 20 deg. hotter than morning or evening, while the heat of one day often differs from that of the next by 15 deg. Then, as the southerly winds are altogether more moist than those from the northward, a change of wind without any alteration in the thermometer often chills severely; indeed, the climate is much affected by the direction of the winds. That which blows from the northward is always extremely dry, and often violent. In winter it is moderately warm, in summer it is intensely hot, and rushes on with the velocity of a hurricane, raising the thermometer in the shade to 110 deg., or even 120 deg. Fahr., drying up the grass like hay, depriving the grape of its watery elements, rendering iron exposed to its influence so hot as to burn the hand on touching it, doing injury to the promising harvest, and filling the air with such quantities of dust and sand, that the sun's rays are shut out and only darkness is visible. The current of heated air appears confined to no particular altitude, but rushes upwards or downwards, according to circumstances; sometimes it assumes a rotary movement, as if revolving on a series of horizontal axes, thus: *Ullull*; or undulates thus: *~~~~~*. Occasionally the hot wind travels so slowly that its movement is scarcely perceptible; there is then little dust, the heat of the sun's rays is great, and the earth is so torrid, that a thermometer which I sunk horizontally into the ground to the depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, in a situation exposed to the sun and the wind, stood at 151 deg. Fahr. On another occasion I placed a bar of copper about one foot long and three inches wide by one inch thick, in a situation exposed to the hot wind and the sun's rays; when it had been thus placed for about two hours, I wrapped some common post letter-paper round it, and in doing so, it accidentally came against my hand, which it burnt, and in a few hours afterwards the place blistered. After the paper had been in contact with the copper about an hour its colour changed to a deep straw or pale brown, and it was so scorched and rotten that it broke in pieces when I attempted to unwrap it. During the prevalence of these siroccos, the high clouds, cirrus, and strata frequently disappear, while the lower remain unchanged; and at night the air is commonly filled with beautiful sheet lightning.

"It is believed that there are no noxious gases in these winds, and they are said to exercise no deleterious effects on the health of man; the climate would, nevertheless, be more salubrious without them, as, during their prevalence, nearly all persons of weakly or debilitated constitutions suffer extreme lassitude and depression. The moisture dries from the eyes, the lips become parched and cracky, the breathing short and quick, the air as it enters the mouth feels burning hot, and while sitting perfectly still the perspiration oozes from every pore in the skin. Individuals of robust constitution, however, are not thus affected: the hardy sun-tanned colonists freely expose themselves to the fiery blast, and, breathing the hot air full of dust and sand, toil on indifferent to everything but the demand of a parched thirst, and, in some cases, a wolfish appetite. When questioned, they reply: 'Oh, the heat is no nuisance; it's the choking dust that's unbearable.'"

"The variation in temperature, from the hot northern blasts to the chilling squalls from the south, is as great as it is sudden. In November, 1850, a hot wind was blowing; my thermometer in Melbourne stood at 108 deg. in the shade, a south wind came, drove back the north, and, in rather less than five minutes, the thermometer fell to 60 deg., and I shook with cold from head to foot. This variation, 48 deg., is the greatest that I have registered on these occasions; the least is said to be 25 deg. Though perhaps disagreeably sudden, the change is, nevertheless, most refreshing to all animated nature. The birds of the air, and the beasts of the earth, come out from their hiding-places, and gleefully wanton in the bracing breeze; even the dogs that have buried their noses in the corners of your room, and would not go out, though you severely flogged them, now lift up their heads, and with a wough! wough! joyously rush into the open air. The effect on man is equally great; in an hour or so all lassitude has vanished, and your wonted vigour returned."

Mr. Lancelott instituted close inquiries into the state of mortality, and he thus sums up the results:—

"1st. Melbourne is the churchyard of infants; but the mortality of children in the country districts is not so great as in Britain. 2ndly. Healthy natives of the British Isles, of both sexes, who arrive in Australia in the heyday of life, and settle there, may expect to die about ten years sooner than they would had they remained at home. 3rdly. Natives of Great Britain, either male or female, who have passed the meridian of life, will in all probability add ten or twenty years to their existence by going to either of the colonies, and ending their days there. 4thly. Individuals born in Australia, or taken there in infancy, arrive at maturity earlier than they would in England, especially the females; at fifteen a girl possesses all the charms and many of the graces of womanhood. 5thly. The climate usually cures dyspepsia, checks a tendency to consumption, increases nervous debility, and apparently develops the latent seeds of insanity. 6thly. During summer, ophthalmia, sore lips and mouths, and bilious and intermittent fevers occur. The fevers, however, are neither so violent, so fatal, nor so frequent as in India, China, and other hot countries, where marsh miasma abounds. 7thly. The frequent and sudden changes of temperature, especially at the close of spring and commencement of autumn, often induce diarrhoea and dysentery; indeed these maladies, although seldom fatal, are of common occurrence. 8thly. The climate exercises a curative effect on diseases of the kidneys, renders those of the skin more virulent than in Britain, occasionally induces derangement of the liver, is baneful to the scrofula, and beneficial to the gouty."

As the ideas about the healthiness of Australia are very vague, it is well to bear in mind the conclusion arrived at by our author:—

"It is, however, by no means advisable for those who enjoy buoyant health in the cold, moist winter and spring of England, and suffer lassitude in the height of summer, to settle in Australia; for the climate, although highly salubrious in a general sense, is an extreme one—great dryness and heat being its characteristics—and as the hot winds turn green leaves yellow, so they shrivel up those individuals whose physical conformation only fits them to dwell in more temperate climes. Persons who are not scrofulous, who suffer from cold and moisture, and are most healthful in hot weather, have nothing to fear from the climate of Australia. I know instances of such individuals, after a few years' residence in the colonies, becoming quite robust, and much invigorated.

"As before stated, it is an ascertained fact, that persons of a consumptive habit

generally preserve their health by a residence in any of the Australian colonies. The climate, however, may only safely be recommended for instances as have simply a disposition to disease of the lungs, but on whom the enemy has as yet made no direct attack; for when once the disease has made a fatal breach on the lungs, the decay is much hastened by the enervating influence of excessive heat, and death soon closes the scene."

We will close our notice of this excellent work by a brief passage on

THE PROS AND CONS OF THE BUSH.

"The wild life of a bushman presents few charms to tempt the cockney, dwelling amongst and enjoying the luxuries of civilization, to desert the quill and the ledger for the shepherd's crook. True, the wealthy squatter, who, unable to procure shepherds and stockmen to tend his fast increasing flocks and herds, and which, for want of a better paying beef and mutton market, are consigned by hundreds to the melting-pot, may, for the best of breeches-pocket reasons, indite flaming epistles to his friends in Britain, describing the Australian bush as a terrestrial paradise, where only pleasure and plenty hold their court. But let this same individual be, as is the case with his shepherd, confined to the bush for a twelvemonth round, and, during that time, see scarcely a person but his chum, the hut-keeper; let him go the same eternal round, day after day, all weathers and seasons, live on nothing but damper—flour and water baked in wood embers—mutton, tea, and tobacco smoke, sleep at night in a hut alive with fleas, and neither wind nor water tight; and withal, be tempted, too often successfully, to spend all his earnings at the pot-house during his sojourns in town. Such individuals would probably then paint life in the bush in colours more true, but less glowing. *Bush cuisine* he might thus describe:—

"You may talk of the dishes of Paris renown,
Or for plenty through London may range,
If variety's pleasing, oh, leave either town,
And come to the bush for a change.

"On Monday we've mutton, with damper and tea;
On Tuesday, tea, damper and mutton,
Such dishes I'm certain all men must agree
Are fit for peer, peasant, or glutton.

"On Wednesday we've damper, with mutton and tea;
On Thursday tea, mutton, and damper,
On Friday we've mutton, tea, damper, while we
With our flocks over hill and dale scamper.

"Our Saturday feast may seem rather strange,
'Tis of damper with tea and fine mutton;
Now surely I've shown you that plenty of change,
In the bush, is the friendly board put on.

"But no, rest assured that another fine treat
Is ready for all men on one day,
For every bushman is sure that he'll meet
With the whole of the dishes on Sunday.

"Nevertheless, bush life has its charms, especially to the hope-blighted citizen, the hater of etiquette, and the hollow conventionalisms of civilization, and the Mr. Skimpole, whose highest ambition is to live a free, independent, lazy life.

"In the bush there are no roads, no villages, no shops, schools, nor churches; no ministers of the gospel; no law, except that of might, and very few women and children. The Sabbath is rarely observed. Individuals are born and buried like heathens, without the aid and the consolation of doctors and parsons. The rude dwellings are akin to the huts of savages, and in fact it would be difficult to devise a more effectual mode of uncivilizing individuals than that of isolating them in the bush. To the needy Australian settler, the bush is a *dernier ressort*, like the work-house to the poor in England, affording ready employment, a rough home, and a bellyful of food. It is also notorious that a bush life, even if begun in the greatest poverty, will in a few years lead the industrious, persevering, self-denying settler to honourable independence. Many of the most wealthy colonists thus commenced their colonial career, and all who deem the isolation and privation more than counterbalanced by the enjoyment of health in a salubrious climate, and the certainty of fast-augmenting wealth, will experience but little hardship in the wild life of a bushman."

JERDAN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

The Autobiography of William Jerdan. During the last fifty years. Vol. III. Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co.

"I AM not aware that I am yet overtaken by the foible of garrulous old age." This remark gravely made in the pages of so garrulous and insipid a work will bring a smile over the face of every reader; recalling the earnest protestations hiccupped forth by men who insist that they are sober. It is not garrulity, however, that we complain of most in this unfortunate work; the garrulity of age might even have had its charm, had the wandering stream of memory borne with it any real fragments of the past; but Mr. Jerdan as a young man seems to have lacked the art of vivid representation, and is not likely to have acquired it in his seventieth year.

Volume the third is, like its predecessors, a whining apology and unpleasant self-glorification; the staple is frivolous, the anecdotes mostly pointless, and the personal recollections uninteresting. The best anecdote we have met with before, but it bears repetition:—

"Unequal marriages are, it is true, seldom happy, but sometimes those which appear to be equal at the outset, turn out no better. Baron Bolland, of tall memory, used to tell that in walking out near London one day he saw an old wizened Italian Tramp on one side of the road with two or three monkeys, and on the other a rather buxom woman trudging along in the same manner with a tambourine. He was struck by the contrast, and entering into chat with the lady found she was the Signor's wife, and asked her, How she could marry that old man? 'Oh, Sir,' said she, with a deep drawn sigh, and a meaning glance at the questioner, 'when I married him, he had a dromedary!'"

L. E. L., to whom the volume is dedicated, forms the greatest attraction among these "personal recollections," and considering how much of her history was bound up with Mr. Jerdan, we take it as convincing proof, if proof were not everywhere manifest, of his want of that skill before alluded to, when we find so colourless and vague a portrait as the one given here. The first glimpse is charming:—

"My cottage overlooked the mansion and grounds of Mr. Landon, the father of L. E. L., at Old Brompton; a narrow lane only dividing our residences. My first

recollection of the future poetess is that of a plump girl, grown enough to be almost mistaken for a woman, bowling a hoop round the walks, with the hoop-stick in one hand and a book in the other, reading as she ran, and as well as she could manage both exercise and instruction at the same time. The exercise was prescribed and insisted upon: the book was her own irrepressible choice.

"A slight acquaintance grew out of neighbourhood; and I was surprised one day by an intimation from her mother that Letitia was addicted to poetical composition, and asking me to peruse a few of her efforts and say what I thought of them. I read, and was exceedingly struck by these juvenile productions—crude and inaccurate, as might be anticipated, in style, but containing ideas so original and extraordinary, that I found it impossible to believe they emanated from the apparent romp, and singular contradiction of the hoop and volume. An elder cousin, who took a part in her education, seemed to me to be the real, and Letitia only the ostensible writer; and the application made under this disguise to conceal the diffidence of a first attempt at authorship. But the bill was a true bill, and my doubts were speedily dispelled."

Why is this charming, and why are the other passages so unsatisfactory? Because in this he allows memory to recal the fact, in the other he allows his pen to maunder into "reflections." The visible fact of L. E. L. trundling her hoop with a book in one hand, simply set down as it lives in Mr. Jerdan's memory, is to us very interesting; will Mr. Jerdan be persuaded in future volumes to give us more such facts and spare the supremely superfluous "remarks" with which he fills his pages?

That one glimpse of the poetess is the only one we get, except from her letters from Paris, which are not uninteresting. She appears to have been "lionized" in Paris. Heine, St. Beuve, M^{me}. Tastu, M^{me}. Recamier, Chateaubriand, Odillon Barrot, Buloz, the proprietor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (called Beulot, and named *rédauteur* by mistake—*rédauteur* meaning "contributor") move across the scene; and L. E. L. is delighted with them, and with French literature, which "we know nothing of here," and especially delighted with her own effect.

"What I have enjoyed most at Paris," she writes, "has been my own reception. I have met with the most flattering kindness, and have produced a very proper effect. All say that I speak French with an *étonnante facilité* and *avec une grace tout à fait particulière*." How naïve this is! Those wicked French will always be astonished at the way foreigners speak their language (and with reason!) and turn the corner of any difficulty in the way of discrepant genders, hazardous idioms, and unmistakable accent, by saying we speak *avec une grace*! We never knew a Briton who had not astonished himself by the way he "astonished the natives." By George, sir, they took him for a Frenchman everywhere.

Miss Landon being a very charming person, was doubtless very charming to French people, even though she *did* call M. Sainte Beuve, *très spirituelle*, "to use the national expression"—an expression which would have made that critic smile. And the French wits were glad enough to forgive all sorts of natural mistakes, for the sake of the bright nature and the fascinating manners of the young poetess. This sentence amused us greatly:—

"I have received so much kindness and attention from Monsieur Merimée; he is very amusing, speaks English (a great fault in my eyes) like a native, and tells you all sorts of anecdotes in the most unscrupulous fashion."

We were also amused, though in a different way, by her saying she had been to the opera, and was delighted with the *Teutcheon* of Sainte Antoine; upon which Mr. Jerdan remarks in a note, "I am not sure of the name." We have no doubt that Mr. Jerdan has astonished Frenchmen with his *étonnante facilité*, and are surprised, therefore, that he did not decipher the word into something more like French than *Teutcheon*; what does he think of *tentation*? and of the opera being on the temptation of St. Antony?

The mention of M. Buloz in a preceding paragraph, recalls to us the witticism of the amusing Harel, on some one mentioning that Buloz was proprietor of two reviews. "*Oui, il est en effet, l'âme des deux revues, mais avec l'attention habile de n'en être jamais l'esprit.*" (It is not translatable; we can only paraphrase it by saying "Yes, he infuses his whole soul into the two reviews, but with the delicate attention of not adulterating it with any of his intelligence.")

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

A Plan for the Formation of a Maritime Militia, or a Sea Fencible Force. In a Letter to the Earl of Derby. By Charles Elliot, Captain, R.N. Ridgway.

CAPTAIN ELLIOT'S Plan deserves serious attention. He proposes that a convenient division of the whole coast should be made, in sections; each section having a head quarters, placed in its centre, with outlying posts on the right and left hand. In each section he would provide for the enrolling of a Sea Fencible Force, strictly for Home Service, and divided into "Moveable" and "Reserve." The "Moveable" body to be required to serve, either on shore, or afloat within a certain number of leagues from the part where they are enrolled; the "Reserve" formed specially for service in the parts or places where they are enrolled. The whole to be under the command of a distinguished naval officer. Provision to be made for training and exercise. This force, composed of 40,000 men, would, it is estimated, cost about 460,000*l*. All the details, as to pay, clothing, pensions, &c., are provided for. The whole plan is based on strict but manly treatment of the men enrolled. Such is an outline of the plan, for the filling up we refer to the pamphlet. We pronounce no judgment on it, but we re-assert that it well deserves the most serious consideration.

Shirley: a Tale. By Currer Bell, Author of *Jane Eyre*. In One Volume. A New Edition. Smith, Elder, and Co.

It will be agreeable news to many of our readers that a cheap edition of *Shirley* in the form of a companion to the one previously issued of *Jane Eyre*, is now obtainable; and even pleasanter news, that a new work by the same authoress is "in the press." Of *Shirley* and the cheap edition before us, we need only say that it is compact, readable, and handsome enough for the library shelves.

Critical Biographies. By George Henry Francis. J. W. Parker and Son. Two separate volumes, each containing a "study" of a remarkable man,—the first, *Sir Robert Peel*, the second, *Benjamin Disraeli*. They are expanded reprints of

articles which formerly appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*, and, although not all that we could desire, are nevertheless, sensible and graphic sketches, forming very attractive railway volumes,—their bold type and convenient form admirably suiting them to railway reading.

Household Chemistry; or, Rudiments of the Science Applied to Every-day Life. By Albert J. Bernays, F.C.S. New and Enlarged Edition. Sampson Low and Son

THE call for a second edition implies that this work has its attractiveness, although we cannot congratulate Mr. Bernays on the attractiveness of his exposition. It is addressed to children and the uninformed, but, being little more than a crude collection of facts, and those facts not popularly stated, it misses its aim. However, a man cannot even collect facts together on such subjects as the chemistry of the atmosphere, the chemistry of breakfast, dinner, fermentation, china, glass, and metals, without arresting the attention of the young.

A New Introduction to Logic.

J. W. Parker and Son.

THIS is really an admirable little book! In the compass of sixty pages it gives the main outlines of logic, so that rising from it, the student may attack with success any of the more elaborate treatises, if he think fit; though our advice would be to content himself with this broad survey of the subject, and not waste time in learning the names of his tools.

The Life and Letters of Barthold George Niebuhr. Vol. III. Chapman and Hall.

Elementary Drawing. Chapman and Hall.

Ireland considered as a Field for Investment or Residence. By W. B. Webster. Hodges and Smith.

Rhyming Dictionary for the Use of Young Poets. James Hogg.

Biographical Magazine. J. Passmore, Edwards.

An Atlas of the Battles of the British Armies. By James Wyld. J. Wyld.

Liverpool a Few Years Since. Whittaker and Co.

The Cherished Spring. By C. Wills. John Snow.

Stamboul, and the Sea of Gens. R. Bentley.

The British Controversialist. Houlston and Stoneman.

The Portrait Gallery. W. S. Orr and Co.

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

Bleak House—Sponge's Sporting Tour. Bradbury and Evans.

The Dodd Family Abroad. Chapman and Hall.

The Picture Pleasure Book—Grimm's Household Stories—The Charm. Addey and Co.

Julii Cæsari's Commentarii de Bello Gallico, with Notes. By George Long. Whittaker and Co.

Lawson's Merchant's Magazine. T. F. A. Day.

The Reasoner. Part LXXX. James Watson.

The Home Circle. W. S. Johnson.

The Christian Examiner. John Chapman.

The History of the Battles of Ligny, Quatre Bras, and Waterloo. S. Booth.

Portfolio.

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

THE HAYTHORNE PAPERS.

No. IV.*

A THEORY OF TEARS AND LAUGHTER.

HERE can be little doubt that the various bodily acts, which we class as "the natural language of the passions," have each a biological meaning. The changes of face and voice, which we are apt to regard simply as indices of certain mental states, and as having no purpose but to express these states, will probably be found, when analyzed, to be the collateral results of some necessary vital acts. In the blush of shame, and in the sudden pallor accompanying fear or great anger, the physiological student will at once recognise disturbances of the circulation consequent upon the sudden demand for blood made by excited faculties. A sigh he will understand as a supplementary act of respiration—possibly suspecting also, that the previous slow breathing it implies serves as a sedative to painful emotion, by diminishing vital activity. And so with frowns and grindings of the teeth and tremblings, all of which may be more or less distinctly traced to certain functional necessities.

Assuming that tears and laughter come within this same category, we shall at once greatly narrow the field of inquiry respecting their physiological nature, by calling to mind that, like other manifestations of emotion, they must primarily depend upon states of the brain; but that, unlike other such manifestations, they depend upon generic, and not upon specific, states of it. Neither of them is peculiar to any one feeling; but either, and sometimes both, may occur when any feeling becomes intense. We do not laugh only from a perception of the ludicrous: great joy, proceeding from the gratification of whatever desire, is liable to produce the same effect as a *bon mot*. The miser chuckles over his treasures, and the cunning schemer over a successful piece of dishonesty; the smile of a little girl, just presented with a handsome doll, often ends in a giggle. The salutations of attached friends, meeting after long separation, are broken by short laughs. A fine poetical image will raise a smile; and probably many will recollect, as I do myself, laughing over the solutions of difficult mathematical problems. Similarly with tears. Not only are they produced by all kinds of painful emotion—by sorrow, however caused, by vexation, sometimes by rage—but by many pleasurable emotions also, when very intense. We have tears of joy, as well as of grief; and these accompany, not one species of joy only, but various species. Further, it should be remarked, as evidencing the common relationship of tears and laughter to great mental excitement, that either, when carried to an extreme, is accompanied by the other. We may laugh till our eyes run over, and we may cry, or, at least, women may, till hysterical laughter is produced.

Connected, then, as both these phenomena are with extreme cerebral activity of various kinds, both pleasurable and painful, we may reasonably suspect that they are directly related to some constant pre-requisite of extreme cerebral activity; and the constant pre-requisite which at once suggests itself is—a large supply of blood. With the brain, as with every other organ, the amount of blood varies, within certain limits, as the amount of function performed. Great deficiency of blood in the brain causes fainting, that is, a suspension of cerebral action; whilst great excess, up to a certain point, produces delirium. And between these extremes, every exaltation of activity demands, other things equal, an increased supply of blood. Let us, then, inquire whether tears and laughter are not in some way caused by distention of the cerebral arteries.

All the tissues of the body are fed by the serum, which filters through the walls of the capillary bloodvessels. No longer surrounded by the muscular and protective layers which cover the larger arteries, these hair-like tubes consist of the pellucid, structureless membrane forming the lining of the larger tubes, out of which they branch; and through this delicate membrane continually oozes the albuminous or nutritive portion of the blood, to be thereupon absorbed by the neighbouring tissue-cells. In health, and under an ordinary state of the circulation, this oozing goes on at an uniform rate; but it may be greatly accelerated from either of two causes: diminution in the thickness of the blood, or increase in the pressure of it. Every one who has used a filter, knows that a thin fluid percolates faster than a thick one; and that, with the same fluid, percolation is accelerated by pouring more into the filter—that is, by adding to the pressure. The excess of capillary filtration produced by undue thinness of the blood, is most markedly seen in dropsy, which arises either when the digestive system has finally failed to do its work, or when the oxidation of the tissues has been temporarily greatly in excess of the assimilation, as in scarlet-fever, which is commonly followed by dropsy. A minor phenomenon, having the same essential nature, is seen in that puffiness under the eyes which accompanies old age, and debility, and the fatigue of strong people. On the other hand, that excess of capillary filtration caused by increased pressure of blood, is liable to occur wherever there is great local excitement of the circulation. Up to a certain point, the more rapid oozing of serum, consequent upon the greater distention of the ultimate bloodvessels, is merely proportionate to the extra demand of the muscle, or gland, or viscus, as the case may be; but, passing this point, the oozing appears to go on at higher rate, and produces an accumulation of fluid in the adjacent tissues. The simplest example of this is a blister, which, whether caused by friction, or by the sun, or by an irritating application, is always preceded by distention of the neighbouring capillaries. Similarly is it with the exudations of serum that accompany inflammation, whether seen in the tumefaction attending local injuries, or in the effusions consequent on such a disease as pleurisy. And thus, too, arise those local accumulations of serum which follow over-excited and inflammatory states of the brain.

The cause and function of tears will now be readily comprehended. They are due to unusual distention of the cerebral bloodvessels, and they have the effect of diminishing that distention and its accompanying dangers. On referring to anatomical plates of the vascular system, it will be seen, that just before its entrance into the brain, each internal carotid artery gives off a branch—the ophthalmic artery—to supply the eye and its appendages, including the lachrymal gland. Hence it happens that when there is great cerebral excitement—that is, when the internal carotids are greatly distended, the ophthalmic arteries and their branches are greatly distended too, and thus the capillaries of the lachrymal glands are subject to the same pressure as the capillaries of the brain. Under ordinary circumstances, the lachrymal glands secrete no more fluid than is needful for lubricating the eyes; but, as with other glands, an unusual pressure of blood causes them to exude their secretion at an unusual rate. And thus, at times of high cerebral activity, when, as we have seen, they are subject to this unusual pressure, they permit a rapid filtration of modified serum (tears); and, by doing this, lessen the distention of the bloodvessels of the brain, and the accompanying liability to bursting or serous effusion. The lachrymal glands, therefore, serve, not metaphorically, but literally, as safety-valves; and tears may be regarded as a spontaneous and economical kind of blood-letting.

From this point of view, it will at once be seen why tears are liable to accompany both pleasurable and painful emotions when they become intense. We may perceive also how it happens that during periods of much excitement, persons of active brain shed tears without any assignable cause. And, further, it becomes clear that there is truth in the common notion, that grief is relieved by having "a good cry."

Before considering the physiological meaning of laughter, it must be premised that all variations in the action of the lungs, of which laughter forms one, have a direct relationship to the oxygenation of the blood; and there are many familiar facts which illustrate the need for, and the effect of, this relationship. For instance, the deep breathing consequent upon exertion. All exertion implies increased oxidation of tissue; this demands a greater supply of oxygen, and this pre-supposes more rapid respiration. So that only by virtue of such relationship is continuous exertion possible. A parallel fact is seen in the effect produced on the lungs by change of temperature. A certain bodily temperature is necessary to the maintenance of the vital actions. This temperature is maintained by the oxidation of

* See *Leader*, Nos. 93, 104, 135.

certain elements in the blood and the tissues. Any great abstraction of heat from the system must consequently be followed by increased absorption of oxygen to make up the loss. Life therefore is rendered possible only by fulfilment of the condition, that the application of cold to the skin shall excite the lungs to greater activity. Hence those convulsive inspirations produced by a shower-bath, or by walking into the sea; hence the remedy for asphyxia from carbonic acid—deluging the patient with cold water; hence the use of sprinkling in the face to revive those who have fainted.

Now, the action of the lungs in laughter is essentially the reverse of that produced by cold or by exertion. The effort made is, not to take in more air, but to take in less. By a series of convulsive muscular contractions, the contained air is, as far as possible, expelled; a short inspiration follows, and then another series of expulsive movements; and so on till the laughter ends, we being then, as we often significantly say, "out of breath." Evidently the result of all this must be a temporary falling off in the absorption of oxygen, a corresponding diminution of vital activity, and, by implication, a decrease of that high cerebral excitement, of which, as we saw, laughter is a consequence. It may also be remarked, that the mechanical action by which laughter is effected, itself aids the same end; seeing that the muscles employed, making as they do a demand on the system for blood, must indirectly tend to diminish the circulation in the brain. So that the protection of the brain from effusion, and from rupture of its bloodvessels, is subserved both by the laughter itself and by the contractions producing it. In crying, too, which, as shown, is accompanied by excess of cerebral circulation, the action of the lungs is in essence the same. The long and forcible expirations, and the short inspirations, which characterize it, must similarly cause deficient oxygenation and its results. The liability of crying to run into hysterical laughter may thus be readily understood; the one being simply a less intense form of the other.

On turning to the plates of Quain's Anatomy, in the distant hope of learning how this effect of the feelings upon the lungs was produced, I was surprised to find the agency effecting it distinctly visible. Each of the carotid arteries, just before its entrance into the brain, is surrounded by a nervous plexus derived from a branch of the great sympathetic nerve. The lower part of the sympathetic nerve sends fibres to join the pulmonary plexus, and the motor nerves of the intercostal and abdominal muscles. Thus distention of the carotids, by impressing the nerves surrounding them, sends a reflex stimulus to the apparatus by which laughing is effected.

Laughter and tears, then, are both caused by pressure on the cerebral bloodvessels, and have alike the effect of lessening that pressure. When the arteries supplying the brain are considerably distended from pleasurable emotion, laughter results; when considerably distended from painful emotion, tears are produced; when excessively distended from either cause, we have tears and laughter simultaneously. The extreme importance of these two checks to the cerebral circulation will be seen on remembering the liability to be paralyzed by strong shocks of grief or joy; and, further, on remembering that those kinds of mental excitement which are not accompanied by tears or laughter—as great anxiety or intense intellectual action—are common causes of paralysis.

The Arts.

A WORD ABOUT THE THEATRES.

I TAKE it quite unkindly of Managers and Purveyors of Amusement generally, that they cannot let us critics rest even at this dull season, when we are recruiting for Christmas. It is not often I enjoy repose, but to be

troubled at this season is too bad. Charles Mathews must needs bring out a new farce, *The Jenkines*—or one so old it may be counted as new (what are new farces but forgotten old ones? who ever saw a new farce? who ever saw anything new?) and I am weak enough, out of friendship, to go and see that farce, weak enough to laugh at it, weak enough to forget my Christian Fathers, with whom I had made arrangements for a solid and serious fortnight's entertainment! The fact is, to use a scientific metaphor, I boil at low temperatures, and whatever seriousness may occupy me, I can't resist a laugh. It is a very amusing little farce this of the *Jenkines*, without a particle of wit, but so neatly constructed and so well acted, especially by Frank Matthews, that the hour passes gaily.

Then there is Albert Smith: another inflicter of amusement! Why couldn't he keep quiet till after Christmas, and leave me to my Fathers? He doesn't read them himself—at least, not ardently. Therefore he has no compunctions in dragging me out these damp nights to listen to his *Ascent of Mont Blanc*, with all its former attractions, heightened by new scenes, new matter, new fun!

The *Marionnettes* have returned from their Provincial Tour, and taken up their home in the *St. James's Theatre*. London having declared these Marionnettes to be a philosophic pastime not unworthy those who are worthy to be amused, the Provinces have followed the lead; and now these wooden actors have come back to us. But why couldn't they wait till after Christmas, when the children will be home for the holidays!

Then there is Mr. Phelps, who, with total disregard to my feelings, produces a new five-act play, *Might and Right*, and counts upon my going to see it. So I shall. Meanwhile, see what the *Times* says of it, and go yourself:

"The play of *Might and Right*, brought out on Wednesday night at Sadler's Wells, came with much novelty to recommend it. The scene is laid in Russia, amid a host of conspirators, whose names end in 'ski,' and thus we have an unusual costume, and scenery of an uncommon character. But the story also is new, and that is the great merit of the piece. We are growing mortally tired of the conflicts between the Royalists and Republicans of every country and period; our sympathies deaden towards those young ladies who have fathers in one faction and lovers in another, and we are glad to see new motives at work, however imperfectly the theme may be worked out.

"The author's constant purpose has been alternately to awaken and satisfy the curiosity of his audience. The personages are mere sketches, which even an actor can scarcely fill up, and the language put into their mouths does not rise above that conventional level which is found in so many of our blank-verse plays. But the story is both novel and interesting, and if the characters of the meek *Olga* and the imperious *Helena* had been written up to their full capability, a drama of a much higher order might have been produced. The best scene, dramatically speaking, is that in which *Obolenski*, to save *Olga*, works upon the *Czarina's* feelings by recalling the days of their early love; and this scene derived great advantage from the acting of Mrs. Ternan, who represented the conquest of love over anger with much delicacy. But altogether, the play is an unkindly one for the actors; Mr. Phelps, as *Obolenski*, has a great deal to do, but nothing that appeals to the sympathies; and *Olga*, who is played by Miss Cooper, is interesting rather through her position than through her acts or her discourse. It is as a clever melo-dramatic spectacle that the play succeeds, and in this respect everything has been done for it in the way of scenery and dresses, the Russian views by Mr. Findlay being as beautiful as they are novel.

"The audience were so delighted with the piece, that they began to call for the author at the end of the third act. The cry was of course renewed at the end of the fifth, when their curiosity was balked by the statement that the author's name was unknown to the manager. There also seems to be a mystery as to the source of the story. Vassili Ivanovitch, who died towards the middle of the sixteenth century, left behind him a son, during whose minority Helena acted as regent, and as this son was no other than the atrocious Ivan IV., whose name is placed with the Neros and Caligulas of old, it is difficult—to say nothing of his sex—to identify him with the innocent and amiable Feodora."

There, having discharged my "duty," I now betake myself to my delight.

VIVIAN.

THE GREAT DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.—Our chief, whom England and all Europe, saving only the Frenchmen, worshipped almost, had this of the god-like in him, that he was impassable before victory, before danger, before defeat. Before the greatest obstacle or the most trivial ceremony; before a hundred thousand men drawn in battalia, or a peasant slaughtered at the door of his burning hovel; before a carouse of drunken German lords, or a monarch's court, or a cottage table, where his plans were laid, or an enemy's battery, vomiting flame and death, and strewing corpses round about him;—he was always cold, calm, resolute, like fate. He performed a treason or a court-bow; he told a falsehood as black as Styx, as easily as he paid a compliment or spoke about the weather. He took a mistress, and left her; he betrayed his benefactor, and supported him, or would have murdered him, with the same calmness always, and having no more remorse than Clotho, when she weaves the thread of Lachesis, when she cuts it. Perhaps he could not have been the great man he was, had he had a heart either for love or hatred, or pity or fear, or regret or remorse. He achieved the highest deed of daring, or deepest calculation of thought, as he performed the very meanest action of which a man is capable; told a lie, or cheated a fond woman, or robbed a poor beggar of a halfpenny, with a like awful serenity and equal capacity of the highest and lowest acts of our nature. His qualities were pretty well known in the army, where there were parties of all politicks, and of plenty of shrewdness and

wit; but there existed such a perfect confidence in him, as the first captain of the world, and such a faith and admiration in his prodigious genius and fortune, that the very men whom he notoriously cheated of their pay, the chiefs whom he used and injured—(for he used all men, great and small, that came near him, as his instruments alike, and took something of theirs, either some quality or some property,—the blood of a soldier, it might be, or a jewelled hat, or a hundred thousand crowns from a king, or a portion out of a starving sentinel's three farthings; or (when he was young) a kiss from a woman, and the gold chain off her neck, taking all he could from woman or man, and having, as I have said, this of the god-like in him, that he could see a hero perish or a sparrow fall, with the same amount of sympathy for either. Not that he had no tears; he could always order up this reserve at the proper moment to battle; he could draw upon tears or smiles alike, and whenever need was for using this cheap coin. He would cringe to a shoeblack, as he would flatter a minister or a monarch; be haughty, be humble, threaten, repent, weep, grasp your hand or stab you whenever he saw occasion)—But yet those of the army, who knew him best and had suffered most from him, admired him most of all; and as he rode along the lines to battle or galloped up in the nick of time to a battalion reeling from before the enemy's charge or shot, the fainting men and officers got new courage as they saw the splendid calm of his face, and felt that his will made them irresistible.—THACKERAY'S *Esmond*.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	222	100	222	222	223	.....
3 per Cent. Red.	100	100	100	100	100	.....
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	101	101	101	101	101	.....
3 per Cent. Con., Ac.	101	101	101	101	101	.....
3 per Cent. An.	103	103	103	103	104	.....
New 5 per Cents.	.....	.....	.....	.....	127	.....
Long Ans., 1860	.....	.....	6 7-16	6 7-16	6	.....
India Stock	277	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ditto Bonds, £1000	83	80	80	82	80	.....
Ditto, under £1000	83	80	80	80	80	.....
Ex. Bills, £1000	69 p	69 p	69 p	65 p	65 p	.....
Ditto, £500	.....	.....	71 p	65 p	.....	.....
Ditto, Small	.....	68 p	71 p	65 p	.....	.....

FOREIGN FUNDS.

(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING

THURSDAY EVENING.)

Brazilian 5 per Cents.	102	Portuguese 4 per Cents.	39
Brazilian New 4 per Cts.	97	Russian, 1822	119
Dutch 2 per Cents.	90	Russian 4 per Cents.	104
Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	98	Sardinian Bonds, ex div.	90
Guatemala Deferred	13	Spanish 3 p. Cents.	51
Guatemala Bonds	40	Spanish 3 p. Cts. New Def.	24
Mexican 3 per Cents.	24	Spanish Com. Certif. of
Peruvian 3 per Cent. Def.	60	Coupon not funded	3

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34, CASTLE-STREET EAST, OXFORD-STREET.

WALTER COOPER, Manager.

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

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

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

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

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

LIST OF PRICES FOR CASH ON DELIVERY:

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

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

** Country Orders most punctually attended to.

THE SIX-DAYS CAB & CONVEYANCE COMPANY.

Offices—15, DUKE STREET CHAMBERS, ADELPHI.

Provisionally Registered pursuant to Act of Parliament, for supplying the Public with CABS at FOURPENCE per MILE, and Brougham, Clarence, and all other Carriages, at a much reduced rate.

Principal Stables, Adelphi.

In 15,000 Shares of £1 each, with power to increase the Capital to £50,000. Deposit, 5s. per Share.

DIRECTORS.

Trevetham Thomas Spicer, Esq., LL.D., 4, Gray's Inn Square. Frederick J. Sewell, Esq., Ecclestone Street South, Eaton Square.

William Barrett, Esq., Doctors' Commons, and The Lawn, South Lambeth.

Thomas B. Loader, Esq., Civil Engineer, 14, New Church Street, Edgeware Road, and Princes Street, Stamford Street. Charles Henry Price, Esq., Crescent, Avenue Road, Old Kent Road.

Captain Montague, Wandsworth Road, Surrey.

SOLICITOR.

Grantham Robert Dodd, Esq., F.L.S., 26, New Broad St., City.

Mr. Henry Spicer. (Manager.)

Mr. S. Watkins Evans. (Secretary.)

Notwithstanding the existence of several Cab Companies, it is admitted, on all hands, that there is ample room for another. The Directors on that account have determined upon starting the Six Days Cab Company, to run at reduced fares and to abolish all Sunday traffic.

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:—

1st.—To have first-rate Horses and Carriages, the latter to be provided with improved Indicators, by which it will be at once seen the distance travelled.

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.

RECEIPTS.

Weekly Income derived (from each £1000 capital) each horse travelling 25 miles per diem, for 6 days, at 4d. per mile, 8s. 4d.	
20 horses at £8 6s. 8d. per diem	
or per week	£50 0 0
Deduct Expenditure	33 10 0

Gross Weekly Profit. . . £16 10 0 or £858 per annum.

PAYMENTS.

Keep for 20 Horses	£13 0 0
Ten Drivers	10 10 0
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.

ECONOMIC FREEHOLD LAND ASSOCIATION.

(Enrolled as the Economic Benefit Building Society.) Central Office—23, John Street, Tottenham Court Road.

President—WILLIAM CONINGHAM, Esq.

Trustees—Henry Travis, Esq., M.D., 15, High Street, Camden Town; Mr. Thomas Whitaker, 18, South Row, New Road; Mr. John Ivory, Sen., Victoria Villa, Kentish Town.—Treasurer—Mr. Thomas Whitaker, 18, South Row, New Road.—Directors—Mr. Charles Abbey, 12, Rosoman Street, Clerkenwell; Mr. Thomas Birchmore, 7, Bartholomew Place, Kentish Town; Mr. Francis Smith, 66, Charlotte Street, Portland Place; Mr. Chas. Tiffin, Sen., 30, Great Marylebone Street; Mr. Henry Slaughter, 17, Euston Place, Euston Square; Mr. W. J. Young, 33, Park Street, Dorset Square.—Bankers—The London and Westminster Bank, Marylebone Branch.—Secretary—Mr. Henry A. Ivory, 52, College Place, Camden Town.

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.

BOARD OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

CONSUMERS' PROTECTION AGENCY.

Provisional Office: FENCHURCH CHAMBERS, 159, FENCHURCH-STREET, CITY.

Now open only for diffusing information respecting the plan. Due notice will be given when the collection and execution of orders are to commence, and the names of the Supervisors will then be announced.

Objects of the New Business concern:—

To undertake the execution, on behalf of the public, of any orders for any articles of trade;

To secure the purity, quality, right price, prompt and safe delivery of articles ordered;

To establish and maintain, upon an extensive scale, warehouses for receiving and testing the articles for consumption;

To recommend to the clients of the Board the tradesmen, contractors, working men, and various persons whose services may be required;

To settle accounts and make payments on behalf of the customers or clients, &c. &c. &c.

Advantages secured to customers dealing with the Board:—

An easy, safe, inexpensive mode of transmitting their orders;

All and every security, that the existing state of civilization, and the concentrated power of capital, labour, machinery, skill and experience can afford, as to the purity, quality, right price, prompt and safe delivery of the articles ordered;

An efficient responsibility in case of damage and defect;

Simplification of household accounts;

All articles charged according to a list of fixed prices, settled between the merchants and the Board: all such lists published and forwarded, from time to time.

Reduction of prices, and great saving by the suppression of all the costly experiments that consumers have to bear from their not being acquainted with proper places of supply, and with well-controlled merchants;

Facility for credits applicable to the whole of their consumption, and bearing upon the whole of their income, whatever may be the terms of receiving the said income, monthly, quarterly, half-yearly, or yearly.

Further particulars to be had by applying to the above address, or by forwarding four postage stamps.

The prospectus of the CONSUMERS' PROTECTION SOCIETY may be had also, at the above address, by personal application, or by forwarding one postage-stamp; the BOARD OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND being established practically to further the views of the Consumers' Protection Society.

TRAFALGAR LIFE ASSURANCE

ASSOCIATION.—Chief Offices, 40, Pall Mall, London.

Notice is hereby given, that the DIVIDEND of Five per Cent. per annum on the Capital Stock of this Association, declared at the Annual General Meeting of Shareholders, held on the 30th ultimo, will be PAID on and after the 15th of December instant.

By order,
THOMAS H. BAYLIS, Manager.

All Policies Indisputable, and payable to Holder within fourteen days after Death, and free of Policy Stamp to the Assured. An entirely new and most economical Scale of Premiums.

HOUSEHOLDERS' AND GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

15 and 16, ADAM STREET, ADELPHI, LONDON.

DIRECTORS.

William Ashton, Esq. Richard Griffiths Welford, Esq.
The Rev. Thomas Cator. Edward Bascome, Esq., M.D.
Charles Hulse, Esq. Peter Paterson, Esq.
F. Davenport B. Webster, Esq. Peter Paterson, Esq., jun.

DISTINCTIVE AND PECULIAR FEATURES.

1. Every Policy is absolutely indisputable, the state of health, age, and interest, being admitted on the Policy.
2. A Lower Scale of Premiums than any other Office.
3. Policies transferable by indorsement.
4. Policies Paid within Fourteen Days after Proof of Death.
5. No charge for Policy Stamp.
6. Persons recently assured in other Offices may obtain indisputable Policies from this Company at more moderate rates of premiums.
7. Medical Referees in all cases paid by the Company.

RICHARD HODSON, Secretary.

THE OAK MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE

and LOAN COMPANY. Offices—49, Moorgate Street, London. Guarantee Fund, Fifty Thousand Pounds.

The OAK LIFE OFFICE undertakes all transactions involving the contingencies of human life, whether they relate to the Upper or Middle Classes, which are now almost peculiarly the objects of Life Assurance, or to those in a humbler sphere—the industrious Labourer, Mechanic, or Artisan.

The constitution of the Office is upon the Mutual Principle, and embraces Assurances upon Single or Joint Lives and Survivorships, Endowments, and the granting of Immediate or Deferred Annuities.

The attention of benevolent persons, and employers of every description, is invited to the Prospectus and Tables of the Industrial or Workmen's Branch of this Company.

Table showing the Monthly Contributions payable for the Assurance of any of the following Sums payable at Death.

Age next Birthday.	For £20.	For £30.	For £40.	For £50.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
10	0 0 7	0 0 11	0 1 3	0 1 6
12	0 0 8	0 0 11	0 1 3	0 1 7
15	0 0 8	0 1 0	0 1 4	0 1 8
18	0 0 9	0 1 1	0 1 5	0 1 9
20	0 0 9	0 1 1	0 1 6	0 1 10
22	0 0 10	0 1 2	0 1 7	0 1 11
25	0 0 10	0 1 3	0 1 8	0 2 1
28	0 0 10	0 1 4	0 1 9	0 2 2
30	0 0 11	0 1 4	0 1 10	0 2 3
32	0 1 0	0 1 5	0 1 11	0 2 5
35	0 1 0	0 1 6	0 2 0	0 2 6
37	0 1 1	0 1 8	0 2 2	0 2 9
40	0 1 2	0 1 9	0 2 4	0 3 2
45	0 1 3	0 1 11	0 2 6	0 3 4
48	0 1 4	0 2 0	0 2 8	0 3 8
50	0 1 6	0 2 3	0 2 11	0 4 1
55	0 1 8	0 2 5	0 3 3	0 4 4
60	0 1 9	0 2 7	0 3 6	0 4 7

EXAMPLE.—A person aged 21 may, by the small payment of 9d. per month, secure to his wife, children, or other relatives or nominees, the sum of £20 at his death, whenever that event may occur. The Premiums will be received by instalments at such of the Company's Agencies as may suit the convenience of the Assurers.

Prospectuses and Forms of Application may be had at the Company's Offices, and of the Agents throughout the Kingdom.

(J. MANNERS COODE, Secretary.)

N.B.—Agents required in all parts of the Kingdom.

BANKS OF DEPOSIT AND SAVINGS BANKS.
INVESTMENT OF CAPITAL AND SAVINGS.

NATIONAL ASSURANCE and INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION,

7, ST. MARTIN'S PLACE, TRAFALGAR SQUARE, LONDON,
AND 56, PALL MALL, MANCHESTER.

Established in 1844.

TRUSTEES.

Lieut.-Col. the Right Honourable Lord George Paget, M.P.
Rev. Joseph Prendergast, D.D., (Cantab.) Lewisham.
George Stone, Esq., Banker, Lombard Street.
Matthew Hutton Chaytor, Esq., Reigate.

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.

Immediate Annuities granted, and the business of Life Assurance in all its branches, transacted, on highly advantageous terms. Rates, Prospectuses, and Forms of Proposal, with every requisite information, may be obtained on application at the offices of the Association, or to the respective Agents throughout the United Kingdom.

PETER MORRISON, Managing Director.

Applications for Agencies may be made to the Managing Director.

CLERICAL, MEDICAL, AND GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

The Assured may reside in most parts of the world, without extra charge, and in all parts by payment of a small extra premium.

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.

FIVE BONUSSES have been declared; at the last in January, 1852, the sum of £131,125 was added to the Policies, producing a Bonus varying with the different ages, from 24½ to 55 per cent. on the Premiums paid during the five years, or from £5 to £12 10s. per cent. on the sum assured. The next and future BonusSES may be either received in Cash, or applied at the option of the assured in any other way.

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.

CLAIMS paid thirty days after proof of death, and all Policies are Indisputable except in cases of fraud.

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

The Assurance Fund already invested amounts to £850,000, and the Income exceeds £136,000 per annum.

The Accounts and Balance Sheets are at all times open to the inspection of the Assured, or of any person who may desire to assure.

A copy of the last Report, with a Prospectus and forms of Proposal, can be obtained of any of the Society's agents, or will be forwarded free by addressing a line to

GEO. H. PINCKARD, Resident Secretary.

99, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, London.

ESTABLISHED 1837.

Incorporated by special Act of Parliament.

Intending Life Assurers and Policy Holders in other Companies are invited to examine the rates, principles, and position of the

SCOTTISH PROVIDENT INSTITUTION for MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE by MODERATE PREMIUMS.

THE SCOTTISH PROVIDENT INSTITUTION claims superiority over other mutual offices in the following particulars:—

- 1.—Premiums at early and middle age about a fourth lower.
- 2.—A more accurate adjustment of the rates of premium to the several ages.
- 3.—A principle in the division of the surplus more safe, equitable, and favourable to good lives.
- 4.—Exemption from entry money.

All policies indisputable, unless obtained by fraud.

SPECIMENS OF PREMIUMS.

Annual Premiums for £100, with whole profits.

Age 20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55
£1 15 8	1 18 0	2 1 6	2 6 10	2 14 9	3 5 9	4 1 7	5 1 11

Annual Premiums, payable for 21 years only, for £100, with whole profits.

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

A comparison of these premiums with those of any other office will at once show the immediate advantage secured in the Scottish Provident. The premiums payable for 21 years only are nearly the same as many offices require during the whole of life.

PROGRESS.

Since its institution in 1837, this Society has issued upwards of 5750 policies, the assurances exceeding Two Millions and a Half, a result the more satisfactory, as the Directors have firmly adhered to their rule of allowing No Commission to any other than their own recognised official agents.

Its whole affairs are in the most prosperous condition, as shown by the Annual Reports, which with prospectus, tables of annuity and assurance premium, and every information may be obtained, free, on application to the London Branch, 12, Moor-gate Street, City.

GEORGE GRANT, Resident Secretary.

On the 18th instant will be published, price Threepence; Stamped, Fourpence,

A ROUND OF STORIES BY THE CHRISTMAS FIRE.

Being the Extra Christmas Number of "Household Words,"

CONDUCTED BY CHARLES DICKENS.

And containing the amount of One regular Number and a Half.

THE POOR RELATION'S STORY.
THE CHILD'S STORY.
SOMEBODY'S STORY.

THE OLD NURSE'S STORY.
THE HOST'S STORY.
THE GRANDFATHER'S STORY.
THE CHARWOMAN'S STORY.

THE DEAF PLAYMATE'S STORY.
THE GUEST'S STORY.
THE MOTHER'S STORY.

Office, 16, Wellington Street North, Strand.

Nearly ready, small 4to, handsomely bound in cloth, gilt edges, price £2 2s.; morocco, £2 12s. 6d.

POETRY OF THE YEAR:

PASSAGES FROM THE POETS, DESCRIPTIVE OF THE SEASONS.

With Twenty-Two Coloured Illustrations, after Drawings by the following eminent Artists:—

T. CRESWICK, R.A.
H. LE JEUNE.
C. DAVIDSON.
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W. LEE.
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J. MULLER.
J. WOLF.

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C. WEIGALL.
BIRKET FOSTER.
HARRISON WEIR.

D. COX.
E. V. B.
R. R.
LUCETTE E. BARKER.

GEORGE BELL, 186, FLEET STREET.

THE PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY

Book Passengers and receive Goods and Parcels for MALTA, EGYPT, INDIA, and CHINA, by their Steamers leaving Southampton on the 20th of every Month.

The Company's Steamers also start for MALTA and CONSTANTINOPLE on the 29th, and VIGO, OPORTO, LISBON, CADIZ, and GIBRALTAR, on the 7th, 17th, and 27th of the Month.

For further information apply at the Company's Offices, 122, Leadenhall Street, London; and Oriental Place, Southampton.

CAWSON HILL MINING COMPANY.

Shareholders in this undertaking are referred to the Leader of the 27th November for a full report of the First General Meeting.

Persons desirous of becoming Subscribers can obtain a prospectus and fullest particulars upon application personal, or by post, to the Purser, at the offices of the Company, No. 3, Crown Court, Threadneedle Street, City.

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

The PATENT WOOLLEN CLOTH COMPANY beg to inform the trade that their new patterns in CARPETS and TABLE COVERS for the present season are now out, and will be found far superior to any they have hitherto produced, both in style and variety. The Public can be supplied at all respectable Carpet Houses in London and the country. The Company deem it necessary to caution the Public against parties who are selling an inferior description of goods as felted carpets, which will not bear comparison with their manufacture, either in style or durability; and that the genuineness of the goods can always be tested by purchasers, as the Company's carpets are all stamped at both ends of the piece, "ROYAL VICTORIA CARPETING, LONDON," with the royal arms in the centre. The Company's manufactories are at Elmwood Mills, Leeds, and Borough-road, London. Wholesale Warehouse, at 8, Love-lane, Wood-street, Cheap-side.

THE BEST MATTING AND MATS OF COCOA-NUT FIBRE.—The Jury of Class XXVIII.

Great Exhibition, awarded the Prize Medal to T. TRELOAR, at whose warehouse (42, Ludgate Hill) purchasers will find an assortment of Cocoa-Nut Fibre manufactures, unequalled for variety and excellence at the most moderate prices.

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

NEW AND CHOICE BOOKS.—All the BEST NEW WORKS may be had in succession from

MUDIE'S SELECT LIBRARY by every Subscriber of ONE GUINEA PER ANNUM, and by all First-class Country Subscribers of Two Guineas and upwards.

For prospectus apply to CHARLES EDWARD MUDIE, 510, New Oxford Street.

PUNCH'S ALMANACK FOR 1853 IS NEARLY READY.

Price 3d.; or Stamped 4d.

Office, 85, Fleet Street, and sold by all Booksellers and Newsmen.

In fcap. 8vo, cloth, price 4s. 6d., with Steel Engraving,

THE FAIRY GODMOTHERS; and other Tales. By Mrs. ALFRED GATTY.

"Her love for fairy literature has led Mrs. Alfred Gatty to compose four pretty little moral stories, in which the fairies are gracefully enough used as machinery. They are slight but well written, and the book is altogether very nicely put out of hand. Its title is 'The Fairy Godmothers.'"—*Guardian*.

"Approaching in tone and tendency to the fairy tales of Andersen. Most commendable as a fairy book, with a beautiful illustration by an amateur artist, Miss L. E. Barker."—*Athenaeum*.

"A very pretty little book, showing a great deal of talent and originality; indeed, the children are so real, so like our own small friends and acquaintances in all their ways and sayings, that it gives an additional quaintness to the story to find them subject to the influence of fairies. The lessons are all admirable."—*The Monthly Packet*.

London: George Bell, 186, Fleet-street.

NEW NOVEL BY THE AUTHOR OF "OLIVE," &c.
On Wednesday will be published, to be had at all the Libraries,

Agatha's Husband.

A NOVEL.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "OLIVE," "THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY," &c.

In 3 vols. post 8vo.

NEW NOVEL. This day, at all the Libraries,

The Fortunes of Francis Croft.

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

In 3 vols. post 8vo.

"A pleasant, graphic, clear, connected story of a life, in which sound sense, good taste, and an extended knowledge of things are conspicuous."—*Morning Advertiser*.

London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly.

NEW SPORTING NEWSPAPER.

On the 1st of January will be published, price Sixpence, to be continued Weekly,

THE FIRST NUMBER OF

THE FIELD; or, COUNTRY GENTLEMAN'S NEWSPAPER. With occasional Illustrations; devoted especially to

HUNTING, SHOOTING, YACHTING, GARDENING, and RACING, COURSING, CRICKETING, POULTRY-FISHING, ARCHERY, FARMING, KEEPING;

Agricultural and Health-giving pursuits generally. With a Comprehensive Summary of the Week's News; Law and Police Reports, Lists of Markets, Theatricals, Fashionable Intelligence, Reviews of Books, Veterinary Information, &c.

The Paper may be obtained direct from the Publisher, or through all respectable News Agents throughout the kingdom.

Publishing Office, 4, Brydges Street, Covent Garden, where Advertisements and Communications to the Editor can be addressed.

NEW EDITION OF MR. MACAULAY'S ESSAYS.

Just published, in 3 vols. fcap. 8vo, price, in cloth, One Guinea,

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ESSAYS

contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*. By the Right Hon. THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY, M.P. Seventh Edition.

London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

Of whom may be had,

MR. MACAULAY'S CRITICAL and HISTORICAL ESSAYS, complete in One Volume, with Portrait and Vignette. Square crown 8vo, price One Guinea; or bound in calf, by Hayday, 30s.

Also,

Another Edition of MR. MACAULAY'S ESSAYS, in 3 vols. 8vo, price, in cloth, 30s.

Now ready, price 2s. 6d.

PUNCH'S POCKET-BOOK FOR 1853.

With a Coloured Plate by JOHN LEECH, and numerous Wood Engravings by JOHN LEECH and JOHN TENNIEL. Punch Office, 85, Fleet Street.

TWO LADIES.—Just published, price 6d.

No. 6 of "THE NEEDLE," a Monthly Magazine of Ornamental Work, conducted by Mlle. RIEGEL.

London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.; Ackermann and Co. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. Dublin: Hodges and Smith; and all Berlin Warehousemen.

N.B.—Mlle. Riego continues to supply every requisite for the work-table, of the best quality, and at the lowest price, at her establishment, 100, New Bond Street.

TRAFALGAR LIFE ASSURANCE ASSOCIATION.

OFFICES—40, PALL MALL.

THE Second Annual Meeting of this Assurance Company was held on Tuesday, the 30th ult., at twelve o'clock, at the Offices, Pall-Mall. **GEORGE BERMINGHAM, Esq.**, the Chairman of the Board, presided. The meeting was very fully attended.

The **CHAIRMAN** observed that it was at all times highly interesting to watch the progress of a young society, particularly one which, like the "Trafalgar," had been established under certain difficulties, and at a period when, perhaps, some degree of doubt was thrown upon institutions of that description. With this observation, and also with the strong conviction that the "Trafalgar" would become the most flourishing institution of the kind in the metropolis, he would, without further preface, call upon the Secretary to read the report.

Mr. T. H. BAYLIS (the manager) then read the following report:—
 "The directors feel they have just cause to congratulate the shareholders and assurers at this their second annual general meeting, on the solid success that continues to attend the operations and progress of the institution. They have to announce a very large increase to the income—the formation and consolidation of many very valuable agencies in various parts of the country—and the continually increasing confidence of the public in its principles and management. In order to illustrate practically and forcibly the foregoing statements, the directors beg to submit the following abstract of the business transacted during the first two years:

POLICIES COMPLETED.

Comparison of the First with the Second Year's Business.	No of policies issued.	Amount assured.	Producing in annual premiums.
1st Year—From 24th Nov. 1850, to 24th Nov. 1851 ..	325	95,783	3092 15 9
2nd Year—From 24th Nov. 1851, to 24th Nov. 1852 ..	567	196,863	6381 1 7
Excess of Second Year's operations over First	242	101,080	3288 5 10

By this it is shown that new premiums amounting to 6381l. 1s. 7d. have been added during the last twelve months to the former income of the association, the total of which is now in this, the second year of its existence, 9473l. 17s. 4d., arising from 892 policies, assuring 292,646l.—a circumstance in itself so encouraging, that the directors abstain from making any comment upon it. In reference to their numerous agents, the directors are gratified in being enabled to report how deeply they are indebted for the very great zeal and ability with which the principles and objects of the association have been by them asserted and defended, in opposition to the vigorous and unjust attacks levelled at the reputation of young life assurance companies generally by those of older date. Indeed, to their respectability and indefatigable exertions may, in a great measure, be attributed the present enviable and unprecedented position of the association. The directors cannot leave this subject without expressing their conviction, that by means of experienced and energetic agents alone, aided by public advocacy, can the operations of a life assurance institution be materially and permanently extended and maintained. They have on all occasions endeavoured to cultivate the very best feeling and confidence of those acting on their behalf; and, notwithstanding the insidious attempts of some of the older institutions to destroy their faith in the "Trafalgar," and press them into their own service, they are not aware that to this date any such attempts have been successful; but, on the contrary, the most satisfactory feeling continues to distinguish their correspondence, which is better and more substantially illustrated by the large amount of business furnished through their exertions. In order to make known the principles and capabilities of the association, and to afford the public opportunities of becoming familiar with their practicability and necessity, meetings have been held and lectures delivered in various parts of England, accompanied with the best results; and the directors feel themselves especially called upon to express their high approval of a lecture delivered by John Smith, Esq., of Liverpool, a gentleman of great respectability and influence, to a numerous and attentive auditory, in the important town of Sheffield. The directors were enabled, at the last annual meeting, to announce to the shareholders, that the whole number of the shares—namely, 25,000, representing the entire capital of 250,000l., (of which 237,500l. remains untouched, but is at all times available for the purpose of the association, should occasion require)—had been subscribed for in the short period of seven months, by a most extensive and influential proprietary; and the confidence entertained by the shareholders and public generally will be best understood from the fact, that the shares are not now to be obtained, except at a large premium. The number of policies lapsed by death is six, assuring, in the aggregate, 3300l., which sum, being deducted from the premiums received, leaves a large balance in favour of the association. The directors recommend a dividend, and which they propose shall be made payable, on and after the 15th of December next ensuing. In conformity with the provisions of the deed of settlement, two directors retire by rotation. The directors so retiring are, Mr. George Bermingham, and Mr. Robert Garland, who being eligible, offer themselves for re-election, and are recommended by the board accordingly. The auditors who retire are Mr. Thos. Cooper, and Mr. Alfred C. Tatham. They being again eligible, are recommended to the board for re-election. The directors refer with peculiar satisfaction to the formation of the "Unity Fire Insurance Association"—a company which combines the interests, influence, connexions, and co-operation of the three kindred life offices, namely, the "Professional," "Trafalgar," and "Waterloo"; three offices already possessing in the aggregate a constituency composed of more than 10,000 persons, the power and certainty of whose exertions, to make success sure in any enterprise in which they may cordially engage, must be apparent to every one. The directors of the "Trafalgar Life Assurance Association" are gratified to state that good effects have already accrued from this connexion; for, by the "Unity" undertaking a share of the expenditure—the two offices being carried on under one roof—the expenses of rent, taxes, and other incidental outgoings are mutually divided between them. Further, the establishment of the "Unity" has added vastly to the energies and efficiency of the several agencies, by stimulating them into new channels of usefulness and advantages, necessarily enlarging the sphere of operations of the "Trafalgar." Finally, in reviewing the prospects, present and future, of the association—in estimating the important and manifest influence, strength, and stability which it unquestionably possesses and commands in its numerous and substantial proprietary—in appreciating the effects and progress of the new and valuable principles which guide and distinguish its transactions; and, in perfect reliance upon the determination of every one, however connected with it, whether as shareholders, assurers, agents, or radical referees, to contribute to, and insure its imperishable usefulness and success, the directors entertain a confidence, in which all must share, that the "Trafalgar" is destined not only to realize profit and advantage to its shareholders and assurers, but in due time to confer inestimable benefits upon the community at large.

"By order of the Board,

GEORGE BERMINGHAM, Chairman."

The **CHAIRMAN**, in proposing the adoption of the report, said—it would be seen that enormous progress had been made since the last meeting, and in the report they had adhered to facts, which, like their policies, were indisputable—(hear)—for it appeared that they were rather moderate. They had not spoken of facts referred to by other companies, and told them of the number of policies accepted, which formed a fountain from which they might draw occasionally, and which would serve to swell the gross number of policies. The board had 725 policies before them for consideration, which would be a business in itself for any office, but for one in the second year of its existence it was most encouraging. The board did not like to transact business at random, and every one of these policies, embracing in all 292,646l., would receive that scrutiny which every individual would give to any bond which came before him, and they were anxious to guard the interest of the company, and not to transact their business in a slovenly manner. When these 725 policies were completed, it might be relied upon that they were pledged to documents as firm and sure as human documents could be. He had been told by eminent actuaries that 350,000l. was the amount necessary to secure an insurance company, and it would be perceived that they had nearly arrived at that amount which secured them from every possible contingency. (Hear.) The amount of their policies assured was now 292,646l. (Hear.) The balance sheet had stated what it had cost to acquire this large amount of business, which was now 10,000l. a year, and it had certainly required enormous exertions on the part of their agents and their staff, and on the part of their executive, who had determined to exercise all their powers to increase the income of the association. To secure this income of 10,000l., they had sunk 14,000l., and it did not matter what might be said about extravagance which was only well-timed liberality. He fully expected that next year their income would be 20,000l. (Hear.) Now, would not any man of business consider this a lucky hit? But many persons were intimidated at the expense, and took a short-sighted view of the matter. They would see that they had an income far exceeding some of the old societies, and one which fully justified the out-

lay. With regard to the attacks made upon them, he considered that Mr. Baylis, in his pamphlet in reply, had taken a moderate position. There was a vast difference between the three united institutions—the "Trafalgar," the "Professional," and the "Waterloo"—and the older established societies, with respect to the principles upon which they were embodied; and in defending these institutions his (the Chairman's) impulse would have been to strike in return, for he thought hard attacks deserved a hard repulse. It was said also that they had no capital. No assertion could be more gross and more calculated to impose upon public credulity, and the persons who said so must be aware that they were telling a falsehood. They had only to apply at the office to see the daily account there, to know that they had a capital of half a million nearly untouched—(hear)—for they had only drawn 12,600l. from it. In conclusion, he appealed to the position of the association to refute these attacks, which he considered most unbecoming.

Captain J. W. Dornay, of Poole, as the representative of upwards of 100 shareholders, holding 3000 shares, had much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the report. He expressed his satisfaction at the prospects of the association, and was sure that if the proprietors would put their shoulders to the wheel they could bring a thousand policies to the institution every year.

Mr. JOHN SMITH, of Liverpool, felt happy at having the opportunity of supporting the motion for adopting the report, which he had read through with the greatest attention and care—a care which he had exercised in other cases—and had arrived at the conclusion that it ought to be unanimously adopted. The report which had been laid before them showed the amount of business which they had done in the second year of their existence to be really astonishing, they having so far overtopped the first as to have increased the number of their policies from 325 to 892, and he believed that next year the number would be more than double what it was at present. He found that their revenue from premiums now amounted to 9473l., and he expected that by this time next year they would be at least 18,946l., or double what they now were—in fact, that the business of next year would produce as much as the two first years put together. Should that be the case, they would not only have passed the "Rubicon," but obtained a crowning success. If their balance-sheet were founded on the model of those of some of the old offices, it would contain items which it was now altogether free from. Thus, in a balance-sheet of the "Provident," one of the most respectable offices, to which he wished all success, issued in 1847, there was an item amongst the available assets, "balance in agents' hands, 16,110l." They had no such item in their balance-sheet, strange as it might appear. They were not so imprudent as to leave out large sums in the hands of agents, paying no interest to the company; but all their funds were made available to earn something for the proprietors. (Cheers.) If a society so young as theirs could afford so much benefit to the trading classes, and at the same time punctually and honourably meet every claim that came against them, and keep a balance at their bankers, surely they were not fairly open to the attacks which had been made upon them by the old offices. (Cheers.) He believed that the public would appreciate the attacks made upon the new companies at their proper value, and he now told them that the whole of their conduct, during the attacks made upon them, proved their company (the "Trafalgar") to be the true "Amicable"; all their proceedings showed that they were the true "Equitable"; the liberality of their arrangements, combined with the care which they took of their profits, showed that they were the true "Provident"; and, by the union of the three life assurance offices (the "Professional," "Trafalgar," and "Waterloo"), to establish the "Unity," they showed that they were the true "Alliance" also. (Cheers and laughter.) Furthermore, they would show, by their integrity, their candour, and the regularity of their annual path, that they were as bright, as steady, and as punctual as the "Sun," and were determined to carry their operations—mark the word—over the "Globe." (Cheers.)

Mr. E. BAYLIS, after the able and convincing speech of Mr. Smith, felt that he had very little to say, and, indeed, not being the manager, but only the consulting actuary of the company, he would not have ventured to address them on that occasion, if he had not been requested to do so. (Hear.) The whole of his life had, for the last few years, been devoted to an extension of the knowledge of the principles of life assurance. He felt that the very existence of the new principles depended on the energy and determination displayed to make them take root in the public mind. They had struck root, and all who became connected with the new offices were so many eloquent supporters and propagators of the principle. He regretted that the discussion which had arisen relative to life assurance had partaken somewhat of a party character; but he would not deal in personalities, nor would he forget the dignity of the subject involved in the excellent system of life assurance of which he was the advocate. He could not help, however, pitying the littleness of soul—the little knowledge of the business of an actuary—displayed by the man who could attack those principles. He could not see why any one should attack the society; and he hoped, when they met next year, that the shareholders would not be content to receive five per cent. on their capital, but they would demand at least seven and a half per cent. He found a company with a capital of 5,000,000l. and 500,000l. paid up, giving to its proprietors a return of fifteen per cent., whilst the "Trafalgar" had only 12,500l. paid up, so that they would see that the fifteen per cent. in the one instance would be equal to 300 or 400 per cent. in the other. He advised them not to be content with five per cent., as at present declared, next year, feeling assured that they were fully entitled to seven and a half per cent. As an actuary, he could prove that their income ought to fairly spread over thirty years, and that therefore it would fairly pay double and treble the dividends they are now receiving. (Cheers.)

The report was then put, and unanimously adopted, amidst loud cheers. **Mr. TAYLOR** rose to move the re-election of the retiring directors—Mr. Bermingham and Mr. Garland. Mr. Bermingham had, by his eloquent speech that day, shown them how worthy he was of support; and Mr. Garland, as a good architect, he was sure, would do his best to establish the society on a sure and steadfast foundation.

The Rev. G. HENRY seconded the motion. He knew much of the gentlemen, and he had heard more, and from all that he had seen and heard, he had arrived at the conclusion that they were in their proper places as members of the board of direction. (Cheers.)

The resolution having been carried by acclamation, **Mr. HARRY** moved the re-election of the auditors, and stated that, having had twenty years' experience of life assurance, he could fairly state that this company had far outstripped the progress of any other company.

Mr. BACHY, of Sheffield, seconded the motion, which was unanimously carried.

Mr. EDWARDS, of Bath, seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The **CHAIRMAN** returned thanks, and assured the proprietors that the directors would ever endeavour to do their utmost to promote the interests of the company.

The Rev. E. JOHNSON had a proposition to make which he was sure would meet with the approbation of every gentleman present—it being a vote of thanks to their friend, Mr. Thomas Baylis, the manager of the institution, to whose zeal and ability they were most deeply indebted. We had had various opportunities of witnessing the exertions of Mr. Baylis, and he could truly say that the prosperity of the "Trafalgar" was wholly due to the exertions of that gentleman. It was true that the directors were anxious to do all in their power to promote the interests of the company, but Mr. Baylis stood in the position to them as the mainpring to a watch, without which it could not go on. He had the pleasure of being constantly in communication with Mr. Baylis, and a more energetic or more talented man could not exist. (Cheers.)

Mr. BUCHAN would do violence to his feelings if he allowed the resolution to pass without seconding it, and bearing his testimony to the energy and talents of Mr. T. Baylis.

Mr. SMITH also bore his testimony to the same effect, and said he felt he could not express his sense of gratitude as he wished to do, for the very kind manner in which his name had been mentioned; and that it was a source of the utmost gratification to him to know that the exertions which it was only his duty to bring to bear upon the promotion of the interests of the company, had met with their approval. (Cheers.) He was delighted beyond measure that the results that they had that day been enabled to present to the shareholders and the public who had given them their support, had met with their unanimous and cordial approbation, and which was a sufficient return to him for any anxiety or labour which he had brought to bear in the development of the principles on which the "Trafalgar" was founded. (Cheers.) He assured them he was not insensible to the responsibility that devolved upon him as their manager, nor to the position of others similarly situated. He strove to the best of his ability to discharge his duties effectively and conscientiously, and in such a way as to merit their approbation. (Cheers.) The speeches delivered that day in praise of the "Trafalgar," and generally upon the importance and necessity of life assurance, would, he was certain, animate every gentleman present to aid them in the good work in which they

were all engaged. They would, he believed, carry home with them feelings of a more exalted kind upon the nature of life assurance than those with which they entered the room. They were not afraid, and could afford to despise the attacks of Mr. Christie and others, for he considered no true man who wished well to his fellow-creatures, and who yet spoke against life assurance based upon principles like those offered to the public by the "Trafalgar," deserving of aught else than condemnation. It was, perhaps, better, however, that such persons should be met with principles such as they had heard expounded to-day, that they should be asked to confront the advocates of the new system fairly and openly, afforded a fair opportunity, if they dared avail themselves of it, to exhibit the position and expenditure of the offices with which they were connected, at the same age as that of offices such as the "Trafalgar," and he would then leave it to dispassionate men to say whether the principles offered by any other office were more calculated to benefit the social condition of mankind than those of the "Trafalgar." (Hear.) The old offices were established for life assurance only, offering no collateral advantages; and, moreover, imposed restrictions upon their customers which tended to retard and confine, within a narrow circle, the practice of life assurance. The difference between the old offices and the "Trafalgar" was this, that whereas the former gave but one advantage for the premium of 1l. 1s., or 2l. 10s., whatever the sum might be, the latter gave five advantages. (Cheers.) He hoped they would all take a copy of the report with them, and show it to their friends. He assured them—and any director, clerk, or other person employed in the office would bear him out in what he said—that there was not one item that had been incurred in the whole course of their transactions, whether favourable or unfavourable, that was not to be found in the financial statement that had been furnished. (Hear.) And in detailing the nature and extent of their operations during the past year, they had not had recourse to any glowing or evasive language, for there was no statement therein that was not borne out by actual facts. (Hear.) In the first place, they gave an account of the business transacted during the first year, against which they set the business transacted in the second; and he need not direct their attention to the large margin exhibited, denoting the great progress they had made in the second year as compared with the first. (Cheers.) That they had more than doubled their income in the second year must be highly gratifying to all who had heard the statement. They went, however, further, and gave the exact amount of their losses; and he would venture to assert that the directors of very few of the old offices would furnish the full amount of their losses in each year, unless called upon to do so by the inexorable voice of their shareholders. (Hear.) They had also furnished a financial statement from the time of the closing of the year's accounts to the 30th of September last; but they must bear in mind that the whole of the 3,300l. set down as the amount of the losses, was not all made known up to that date; in fact, up to that period they had only received official information of losses to the extent of 1,500l. (Hear, hear.) As, however, they happened to learn of these losses from the obituary of the *Times*, they had seemed it well to mention in the report the whole amount which they were liable for, and ready to discharge. (Hear.) There was nothing then behind the curtain. Favourable or unfavourable, the balance-sheets contained every liability; all had been ascertained and discharged. They would, doubtless, preserve copies of the report and balance-sheet for comparison with those of future years, and from all he knew, and having a firm reliance in the excellency of the machinery they possessed, he confidently believed that next year they would show an improvement, not only in the business, but in their financial position. He was satisfied from the amount of candour displayed in the report that the shareholders would repose confidence in the directors, and help them to realize all the high expectations they had formed with respect to a great increase in their business. Each year would thus, he hoped, show an advance on the last, and if any other office could do more, they were confident they could follow it very closely. The directors could not well avoid alluding in the report to the attacks made on the new system of life assurance, because their calumnies had cast upon the directors and himself a good deal of correspondence in consequence of the fears which they had attempted to excite in the minds of those connected with the office. Parties had been engaged, or had rather engaged themselves to traduce them, and these people had endeavoured, with a plausible manner, but unsuccessfully, to undermine the interests of that society, by going to their connexions and calumniating it. He declared that persons had been engaged to wait upon their friends and supporters and to strive to fix in their minds statements totally at variance with the truth. These people said, further, that that society carried on an expenditure totally at variance with the character of institutions of this kind. Nothing could be more untrue—nothing more calumnious. In order that their friends and the public might judge for themselves, a detailed statement of their affairs had been published, and favourable as it was, he believed it was the most unfavourable financial statement they should ever be called upon to issue. Thus they were enabled to ask questions, which would be freely answered. It had been prognosticated that their income next year would be 20,000l. This was doubtless a bold statement to make, but he confidently believed it would be realised. He did not find that Mr. Christie's office in its 10th year did a greater amount of new business than the "Trafalgar" in its second. (Hear.) Certainly the old offices had not, and did not transact anything like the new business they had done; nor did they intend to stop in Pall-Mall, for they felt that their principles were such that they ought to be more extensively known. They ought to be known in every part of England. (Cheers.) And as they advocated "truth" not "libel," they intended to go from Birmingham to Leeds, thence to Newcastle, and finally to Edinburgh, where they would challenge Mr. Christie to a fair stand-up fight of principles in his own town. (Loud cheers.) He was confident they had spirit and talent enough to defeat those undermining practices that had been had recourse to by the older companies. Instead of regretting these attacks, they were indebted to them, because they had roused fresh energies in them, and stirred up those that were dormant, if such there were. (Hear.) His father, the founder of the "Trafalgar," had recently produced a pamphlet, which for philosophical argument, and as showing the great capabilities of life assurance, was unequalled. (Cheers.) The statements and arguments contained therein had been drawn from his father most unwillingly, but the institutions he had defended would live as long as time. The public were therein shown how they could benefit themselves and their kindred. He wished for no better occupation than to serve them, to promote the welfare of the institution, and thus not only to win the good wishes of shareholders and policyholders, but to enlist the aid of children, thousands of whom were yet unborn, in its behalf, by extending to them likewise the great advantages that had been conferred on their parents, and of which they could become partakers. Like the "Equitable," the magnificent plan of the company would not be fully developed at the first declaration of a bonus. At earlier divisions 100,000l. was divided, and at future ones 200,000l. But in the "Trafalgar" the money apportioned at the divisions for the various purposes specified in their plan would remain for ever as a fund for these great ends; if they could educate but four or five children at the first division, at the next they could elect another four or five to take their places, as well as fifteen in addition. As years rolled on, vast numbers would be educated, apprenticed, and relieved. The "Equitable" was little more than an ordinary man's age, yet it was tottering into the grave; it had not attracted of late years much public attention; and they were office had done so, and hence they had excited their envy, and they were spending their money in trying to shake the confidence of the public with respect to them. But they could not do it; they had not even a dissatisfied shareholder—every one had received a notice to attend, and they had uttered a complaint or pronounced a censure. (Hear, hear.) He wished they had all come, so that they might have heard all the good things that had been said. (Loud cheers.) Why, they had even taken the door off the hinges so as to afford them all the room possible. They did not introduce any mystery into their proceedings—they had no clerks sworn to secrecy as the old offices had, so that their proceedings might not reach the public ear. (Hear.) They invited the public press to attend, and he thought the number of gentlemen from the press before them, taking notes of their proceedings for the information of the public, showed that they had nothing to conceal. (Hear.) He hoped Mr. Christie would read their reports, and digest the sentiments enunciated if he could. (Hear and laughter.) He begged again to thank them for their kind expressions, and in conclusion, that the "Trafalgar" would become like an inverted sugar-loaf, expanding from the base to the top, and that year after year they should be enabled to report the transactions of a vastly-increased amount of business, as compared with its predecessor. (Loud cheers.)

The **CHAIRMAN** next proposed a vote of thanks to the consulting actuary, who was distinguished alike for his great abilities as a writer and a satirist, and his social qualities. It was to Mr. Edmund Baylis they were indebted for those grand principles on which the "Trafalgar Life Assurance Company" was founded. From his knowledge of the singleness of purpose of Mr. Baylis, his entire devotion to the principles of life assurance, and his desire to serve his fellow-creatures, he felt that no gentleman was more entitled to their thanks, and he hoped they would carry the resolution he now proposed by acclamation.

Mr. J. ANDREW DUNHAM seconded the resolution, which was unanimously carried.