Thornton Leigh Hunt, 10 Wellington Street, Strand.

The Leader.

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

Contents:

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News of the Week.

THE new Ministers are decidedly at a premium in the political market. They have everywhere as yet been successful; even in the three contested elections which were finished on Thursday. An astonishing unanimity prevails among all the constituencies; even where Radical opposition seemed disposed to make a stand, candidates, as at Oxford and Brighton, could not be procured, and the men of extreme opinions cordially gave way, content with a protest. A more triumphant re-entry into Parliament was never made by any Ministers who appealed for a ratification of their professed intentions to the popular voice. The no-Popery cry, revived at Halifax and Oxford, stirred no profound response; but it is a sure indication of the line which the new opposition intend to adopt.

Considered in their characteristics the elections offer some notable peculiarities. Nothing is more remarkable than the trust which the Radical constituencies, like Southwark and Wolverhampton, repose in their members. Sir William Molesworth was elected in three-quarters of an hour, unchallenged, and without a murmur of opposition. The same happy lot befel Mr. Villiers; who summed up the Ministerial programme in a striking way—"Free-trade, religious equality, and the people's rights." Nobody, at least on the popular side, seems to doubt the sincerity of the new Cabinet; which, considering the men, is remarkable. In the City, no pledges were exacted from Lord John Russell, who has regained his old position there. He opposes the Ballot, nevertheless; and declares that injustice is inherent in an income-tax. He gave some prominence to an intimation of his intention to protect British subjects abroad, which is cheering after the reign of Malmesbury. Lord John said little respecting education; which hardly accords with a rumour that has reached us that a new office—a Ministry of Public Instruction—is to be created especially for him. In which case, probably, Lord Clarendon would enter the Cabinet as Foreign Minister. Lord Palmerston scarcely kept up his oratorical reputation at Tiverton; but then he had only just recovered from that attack of influenza which prevented his attendance at the division on the Budget. He was the least explicit of all the Ministers; and his praise of the late Government was equivocal. Undoubtedly the hero of the elections is Sir James Graham. Although it was "one of the wettest days" he ever saw, he stood up before his "Radical constituents;" and dealt his blows right and left with great heartiness and good humour. He dissected the Charter in his most slashing style; but his arguments were neither novel nor logical. He showed that manhood suffrage would place the vote in the hands of the dependent classes; and having done that, he declared the Ballot practically useless as a protection. The best answer to this is, that the people who require it do not think it so; and granting the Ballot, the argument against the widest extension of the suffrage falls to the ground. We cannot omit to notice the admirable behaviour of his opponent, Mr. Sturgeon, who stood fire well, returned it heartily, and was courteous withal. Certainly he raised the character of Chartism; not a useless service in these days. It is clear that the fair promises of Ministers have won them a great amount of support; and the "strong government," so long sighed for, is acquiesced in with almost too much alacrity.

The most important contest is that for the University of Oxford. By Carlton Club manœuvres an opponent to Mr. Gladstone was raked up at the last moment, and the University, against its wishes, involved in a contest. Mr. Dudley Perceval, the new man, is totally without reputation; and he ought to have no chance against the known character, abilities, and experience of Mr. Gladstone. If he should be left to succeed, it would be to the eternal disgrace of Oxford.

The result of the week's electioneering leaves the Ministry in a very substantial position. All the great popular constituencies accept the combined administration without reserve; Oxford University seems disposed to reject it in a spirit of pique: South Wilts, the only county appealed to, has called in the aid of Grantley Berkeley, probably on account of his scorn of syntax, and hankering after Protection. But his chances are not alarming.

As respects the Opposition, we have not the slightest indication of their intentions, except that the language of Mr. Edwards, at Halifax, and the choice of Mr. Perceval, at Oxford, look amazingly like a programme borrowed from Lord George Gordon.

The steady and increasing national prosperity, in a financial and commercial sense, is amply attested and confirmed by the Revenue Tables of the last quarter. The slight decrease in the Customs and the Excise is only a decrease on the quarter, and not as compared with the same period of last year, which, considering the unprecedented circumstances of 1851, and the emigration of '52, together with the effect of recent reductions of duty, and the diminished importation of corn in the one case, and the high price of barley and the recent disturbance of the market, in the other, is eminently satisfactory: while in the stamps there is an increase on the quarter of 187,544*l.*; in the Assessed Taxes, of 233,951*l.*; in the Property Tax, of 100,282*l.*; in the Post Office, of 26,000*l.*; in the Crown Lands, of 40,000*l.*; amounting on the whole to an increase in the ordinary quarter's revenue of 557,759*l.* Everything indicates abundant and elastic resources, and activity of operations. In comparing the financial years 1851 and 1852, the latter shows an excess over the former of nearly a million sterling revenue. The success of Free-trade is more than sufficiently established; and the working masses, it cannot be denied, are largely participating in its benefits. England is in a strong condition to meet any dangers and difficulties that the future may threaten, and the new Government may safely persevere in the course so vigorously struck out by Sir Robert Peel—the reduction of taxation and the lightening of burdens. Never was there a more propitious moment for a Government truly national, and awake to its responsibilities, to deal with our crying social evils that belie his wealth and darken this prosperity. Pauperism, moral and physical, has to be *extirpated*, not merely got out of the way, and fed with the soup and sermons of half-selfish charity. While the hideous contrasts and anomalies around us still fester, prosperity is but a plethora, and the great heart of the country is diseased, while the face is flushed with a false colour.

Pleasant prospects open up at Liverpool, where under the eyes of Lord Derby, England and America popularly ratified a holy alliance, based on constitutional liberty and commerce. The most generous feeling prevailed. Mr. Ingersoll's eloquent description of the ties that bind us to the United States will live in the memory. Lord Derby himself seemed anxious to demonstrate how natural, essential, and necessary is the alliance of the two peoples. Some of the old radical fire of the "Young Stanley," of twenty years ago, seemed to warm his eloquence. We look upon this banquet as the completion of one great step towards an actual official alliance; it has shown war with America to be impossible.

In the United States Senate a discussion on the proposed tripartite convention to protect Cuba, has not only elicited the exact views of the great democratic party regarding Cuba, but has drawn out its advanced views on intervention. Let us note also, that General Cass formally declared, that although in self-defence he had constantly attacked England for her snarling criticisms on the character and policy of the Americans, yet he had never desired a war with England.

The French Emperor has at length received the tardy recognition of the northern powers. Reports differ as to conditions annexed. It is not likely that the Treaties of 1815, and the "Limits of the Empire," have escaped the notice of the powers in the negotiations that have preceded the credentials. The simultaneous and collective nature of the credentials almost amounts to a note of preparation. The alacrity with which the *Moniteur* announced in a supplement the recognition of Russia was scarcely flattering to French vanity. It cannot but be in consequence of diplomatic remonstance that the *Moniteur* has repudiated that treatise on the Limits of France, to which we first drew attention some time since. It is not the less certain that the work was written and published under the inspiration, more or less direct, of the Emperor or of his in imates; and it is not to be forgotten that, under the regime of the man whose "extraordinary genius" is nothing but a compound of obstinate silence and resolute mendacity, denials and repudiations have always preceded events. How many times was the *coup d'état* repudiated and denied by the *Moniteur?* In fact, the denial only adds force to the denied.

At home, a terrifically fatal railway collision, near Oxford, arrests public attention. Two trains, one laden with coals, the other with passengers, met at full speed, and in an instant they were dashed to atoms. Eight lives were lost, and a number of persons shockingly injured. The scene was like a small spot on a battle field; engines overturned, carriages smashed; the dead and wounded lying about; and in the midst a burning engine furnace. Fortunately Mr. Cardwell was present, active, and efficient. As he is President of the Board of Trade, this will be a profitable experience for him; and the lurid blaze upon those mangled bodies may light him in his future legislation.

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

SUCCESSFUL RETURN OF THE NEW MINISTERS.

The Metropolitan Elections have terminated in the unopposed return of the new Foreign Secretary, Lord John Russell, and the Commissioner of Public Works, Sir William Molesworth.

SOUTHWARK.

Sir William was nominated on Saturday in the Town Hall of Southwark, by Dr. Challice and seconded by Mr. Martin. The whole proceedings were over in less than an hour. Sir William simply developed the views set forth in his address, which we last week published.

Free-trade means that "no duties should be placed upon the import of foreign produce, except for the purpose of raising a revenue, and that those duties should be the lowest by which the requisite amount of revenue can be raised, and that they should be levied more from the luxuries than from the necessaries of life. Therefore, I am a supporter of the financial policy of that illustrious statesman of whose more distinguished followers I have now the honour of being the colleague—I mean the late Sir Robert Peel. (Cheers.)" But as the income-tax was the price we paid for Free-trade, which enabled Sir Robert to remove taxes pressing on industry; so that tax, rendered as just as possible, must be continued.

With respect to representative reform, Sir William avowed himself a firm supporter of the British constitution, consisting of a hereditary monarch, and two Houses of Parliament. But if it is to be maintained, it must be repaired and amended:—

"Now, the late elections, and the election petitions on the table of the House of Commons, disclose a hideous scene of bribery, corruption, and intimidation; and there is too much reason to fear that many of those discreditable and illegal acts were committed with the connivance, if not with the positive approval, of persons who were high in authority. I say an effort must be made to put a stop to such disgraceful proceedings, and the question of a Reform Bill is one which must and will engage the early attention of her Majesty's Ministers. (Loud cheers.) In saying this I must remind you that I have always supported an extension of the suffrage, and the protection of the elector in the exercise of his rights by means of the ballot. (Loud cheers.) If my memory be not wrong, I seconded the first motion in favour of the ballot, which was made by that eminent political philosopher and historian, Mr. Grote, whose name will for ever be connected, in this country, with vote by ballot. (Cheers.) My opinions on the ballot are unchanged. (Cheers.) In the present Government it is an open question, and you may rest satisfied that I shall be, as I ever have been, ready to give my vote for secret suffrage."

He hoped soon to see the disabilities of the Jews removed. He was in favour of non-intervention as the foundation of our foreign policy. He then came to colonial policy:—

"Gentlemen, it was with your sanction and approval that I have of late years paid great attention to colonial questions, especially to those affecting the most important of our colonies. You are aware that great states are springing up in British North America, that immense empires are being generated in Australasia, that we have huge posessions in South Africa, and that the foreign dominions of the English Crown are to be found in every zone and in every climate of the earth. With a wise and prudent colonial policy, I believe they may long be attached to this empire by the ties of the strongest interest and affection. I may, therefore, say, that one of the reasons which mainly induced me to become a member of her Majesty's Government was the hope that I might, at least in some slight degree, aid the cause of colonial reform, and assist in the development and application of the great principles of local self-government to our colonies. (Cheers.)"

After a few observations, giving a brief outline of his obvious relation to his elder and younger colleagues, between whom and himself there had been differences which had diminished year by year, and almost vanished with the repeal of the Corn-laws, Sir William sat down amid the most cordial cheering.

LONDON.

Lord John Russell was respectably cheered on his entering the Guildhall on Monday. His proposer and seconder were Mr. John Dillon, and Mr. W. R. Crawford; who both approved of the combined Government; and declined to demand any verbal pledge from Lord John; agreeing to accept his past as a guarantee of his future conduct.

As there was no other candidate, Lord John was declared duly elected. He then spoke at great length, dwelling much on the history of the Derby Ministry; especially with reference to the proceedings of the late session which ended in its overthrow. But he added no new information; barely recapitulating those events upon which our readers are as well informed as himself. Defending the Ministry from the charge of factious combination, he gave the following reasons for joining Lord Aberdeen:—

"I must fairly say that I think if I had been called upon by my Sovereign to form an administration, and I had attempted to form one as my former administration had been formed—of one party—I should not have been doing my duty to my sovereign. Never will I in any way shrink from the defence of the men and the measures of the Administration over which I had the honour to preside; but it is one thing to break up an Administration—it is another to form a new Administration, which can calculate upon that support in the House of Commons which will enable it to give satisfaction to the country, and which will appear to foreign countries as a firm and strong Administration. Well, then, this opinion of mine I must say I have not concealed—I have told it to many of my friends, and to them it was generally known. Now, was it my duty to declare that I would not agree to be part of a combined Administration, unless I were at the head of that Administration? I think that I should have been attaching an undue importance to myself if I had so acted; and there were circumstances which induced me to think that the Earl of Aberdeen—a man universally respected, who had stood by the late Sir Robert Peel in his measure of Free-trade (cheers)—who had enjoyed in an important post the confidence of his Sovereign—who had been sent for by his Sovereign on a late occasion—was eminently qualified to preside over such a combined Administration. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I should have been better pleased if I could have taken the part of not entering into office, and had given my full and constant support to that Administration; and the Earl of Aberdeen was not unaware of my inclination. But both he on the one side, and my political friends on the other, declared that they thought it necessary to the formation of the ministry, that I should take office as one of its members. (Cheers.) Having received this declaration, I thought it was my bounden duty—anxious to see the country in possession of an Administration which should have the confidence of the House of Commons—I thought it was my duty, I say, to assent to the proposal of Lord Aberdeen, to lay my name before her Majesty as one of the Ministers. There was one course remaining, to be sure, which was that all those who combined in that vote should have declined to form a Ministry, and should have advised her Majesty to send again for the Earl of Derby. But there was no prospect—none whatever—that the Earl of Derby, at the head of his former Ministry, would have been able to enjoy more of the confidence of the House of Commons than they have heretofore enjoyed; and there was this to be said, that he had already dissolved Parliament—that he had already appealed to the sense of the country, and that that very House of Commons which he had summoned in the name of his Sovereign had declared against him. For these reasons, therefore, I have accepted office in the present Administration."

Reference was made to the income-tax, and subsequently to the ballot, from some one in the meeting. Lord John declared that he adhered to the belief that what Mr. Pitt and Sir Robert Peel failed in accomplishing could not be performed. Injustice, he averred, is inherent in the income-tax. But unlike Mr. Disraeli, who could not find time to examine the schedules, as to the rating question, Mr. Gladstone would "make time" to examine them; and what can be done towards removing injustice will be done by the present Government. With respect to the ballot, here is Lord John's plea against it:—

"When I was on these hustings last year, a gentlemen put to me several questions, and amongst others that question, whether I was in favour of the ballot, and I declared to him as I declare to the gentleman who addresses me now, that I was against secrecy in everything (cheers)—that as I was against secret trials in the courts of justice—that as I was against secret debates in the Houses of Parliament, so I was against secret votes by the great electoral body of this country. (Cheers.) Let me say this, however, that since we last met here, the elections which have taken place in various parts of the country have produced gross instances of bribery and of intimidation (hear, hear); and I shall think it my duty—not adopting the ballot—objecting as I shall continue to do to a secret mode of voting—to turn my mind to those other means which I think may perhaps be devised, in order, if not to extirpate, at all events to diminish those scandalous scenes that arise from the bribery and intimidation of unfortunate electors. (Cheers.)"

On other questions—education, Parliamentary reform, he claimed forbearance, as to the time and manner of bringing those measures forward. Being new to office, Lord John, in reply to a hope expressed by Mr. Dillon, that Englishmen would be protected abroad, said:—

"And with respect to another question, which of course comes under the notice of the Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, I think I am entitled to say that when any English subject, not joining in any conspiracy, or making any attempt against the Government or the internal peace of any foreign country, is injured unlawfully or wantonly, I will lose no time in bringing that case before the consideration of that foreign Government. I cannot see myself that there is any one of those Governments which is not disposed to do justice to a British subject, but this I can perceive, that the subordinates of those Governments are often entrusted with too great power to harass and vex unoffending travellers who are pursuing their peaceable vocation."

The whole proccedings were harmonious beyond precedent; and doubtless Lady John Russell, who sat with her family in one of the galleries, was, like everybody else, well pleased with the success of her liege lord.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

Considerable mystery has attended the election of the representative for the University of Oxford; and it is asserted, with great emphasis, that the Carlton Club has been busy in the matter. On Saturday morning the town was informed, through the medium of the *Morning Herald*, that the opposition to Mr. Gladstone had been abandoned; but this announcement, like so many others in that journal, proved incorrect. It is true that Mr. Gladstone and his committee had been informed, by what they considered "competent authority," that the opposition was withdrawn, and on that assurance had left town; but in the meantime, it appears "the friends of the late administration" had held a meeting, and resolved to bring forward a candidate. In the evening, accordingly, this second announcement appeared in the *Standard*, coupled with the name of the Marquis of Chandos. Astonished at this, Dr. Phillimore, the only member of Mr. Gladstone's committee in town, finding the statement repeated in the *Morning Herald* of Monday, wrote to the Marquis of Chandos, and asked him whether it was correct. The marquis replied that it was not; but the journal of the Carlton Club still repeated its assertions. The meeting of "the friends of the late administration" resolved itself into a committee, selected a secretary, who signed himself "C. Lemprierre, D.C.L.," and by circulars and in the journals of Tuesday respectfully informed the members of Convocation that the Marquis of Chandos *would* be a candidate. So stood matters on Tuesday morning, the day of the nomination. Archdeacon Denison had arrived at Oxford, glowing with his fulminations against Mr. Gladstone, and expecting to occupy the enviable post of proposer of the Marquis of Chandos. But the reply of the marquis to Dr. Phillimore had put an end to his projected candidature; and the opposition were once more at sea. In fact, up to nine o'clock they had no candidate. Somebody then appears to have hit upon Mr. Dudley Perceval as an available person, and Mr. Archdeacon Denison was put forward to propose him.

About two hundred members of the university met in the Sheldonian Theatre, mid-day, on Tuesday, and proceeded to business. Dr. Hawkins, provost of Oriel, in a Latin speech, proposed Mr. Gladstone, as "a statesman of the highest abilities and accomplishments, illustrious for his genius and public services, and a man of spotless private life and conduct." Mr. George

Anthony Denison proposed Mr. Dudley Perceval, "a gentleman who had never done anything to dim the lustre of the name he inherited from his father, and who was noted for the warmth of his opposition to the errors and corruptions of the Romish church and the Papal tyranny."

Mr. Woollcombe, of Baliol, animadverted on the conduct of a few persons connected with a political club, who, to spite Mr. Gladstone, had disturbed the academic body. They had, he said, contended against one another with honest weapons in a clear and open field.

"But what is this new order and plan of action? Have all our principles suddenly been overthrown and abandoned—have we given up on a sudden our conscientiousness, our love of fair play, even common good faith? I confess, brother academics, I confess, for one, I am deeply ashamed to be brought into this contest—if indeed it is really a contest. I know not what you think. For myself, I confess that I have never come into a house of convocation with such exceeding offence, with such decided, such unmitigated disgust. I understand a difference of opinion—I can tolerate, I hope, strong and vehement opposition—I can bear a defeat; but one thing I cannot understand, I cannot tolerate, and that is bad faith. No, I cannot endure that we should have introduced into this venerable house the lowest and basest acts of the most unprincipled electioneering. One candidate—no, I beg pardon, one honourable person—a man of the highest character, of the greatest integrity, who never at any one time was a candidate, has most amply and most completely vindicated himself and his own spotless honour. Another candidate we are told is forthcoming—another has been named. I confess I think we might well demand the proof of his consent to be named—we might ask for his own hand and seal. But enough of these most miserable and most unworthy proceedings. Whatever be the end of this contest—if we are to have a contest—I myself can feel no doubt about the result. One thing I will say—one entreaty I will again and again make, and that most urgently—let us not allow this our venerable house of convocation to become an object of contempt, of disgrace and opprobrium. Let us not tolerate for a moment that the arts of the worst electioneering, which would be scouted with indignation from the humblest town, should here find a refuge amongst gentlemen—amongst members of a university—amongst clergymen. This is no question of party—the honour, the credit, the character of the whole university is at stake. I do not to-day fear for our real, for our most distinguished, for our true candidate. I will not to-day argue his case or plead his cause. It is our own interest, our own cause that I plead. Let it be our care, our strenuous care, that those without shall not think so meanly of us, as that we do not all, heartily, unanimously, yea, as one man, and with the most indignant denial, repudiate and disallow the proceedings which I have been compelled severely, but I believe not too severely, to censure."

This effective speech was delivered in Latin. Dr. Phillimore, in English, then exposed the practices of the opposition. Mr. Denison explained that he had nothing to do with it, but there had been some mistake with reference to bringing forward the Marquis of Chandos. Dr. Macbride said the President of St. John's had a letter which would have satisfied the mind of every person in the hall that they were fully justified in expressing their belief that the Marquis of Chandos would be a candidate. (Several gentlemen here asked, "Whose letter?") He (Dr. Macbride) was not at liberty to say. (Laughter.)

Dr. Phillimore remarked, what Dr. Lempriere might have written to Dr. Macbride could not reasonably be put in comparison with the published statement of the Marquis of Chandos himself.

After some further discussion, which is described as disreputable, jocose, and undignified, in which a Reverend Mr. Lichfield, from Northamptonshire, played a distinguished part; and after Mr. Charles Marriott, of Oriel, had ably and temperately enforced the claims of Mr. Gladstone, the polling commenced. At the close of the poll on the first day, the numbers were—

Mr. Gladstone	69
Mr. Perceval	49

At the close of the poll on Wednesday—

Mr. Gladstone	171
Mr. Perceval	170

And at the close of the poll on Thursday—

Mr. Gladstone	304
Mr. Perceval	324

Every effort will be required, therefore, to secure Mr. Gladstone's return.

CARLISLE.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM has been triumphantly returned. Although Mr. Sturgeon issued an address and declared he would go to the poll, he contented himself with making a good-tempered and sensible speech in defence of the Charter; but we are afraid it was no match for the attack made by Sir James. But Mr. Sturgeon has placed Chartism on a much higher position in Carlisle by his manly and courteous but unflinching bearing. Sir James Graham was proposed by Mr. Dixon, and seconded by Mr. Irving. He was in the heartiest possible state of mind. Good-humour overflows in his speech; and he seemed on the best possible terms with himself and with his constituents, and they with him. Their good-humour, he knew, was inexhaustible. The last time he addressed them it was in July—"One of the hottest days I ever knew. To-day I address you on one of the shortest as well as one of the wettest days I ever saw." Let us congratulate ourselves on our safety—Lord Derby is overthrown, but "the deluge is not come."

"Mr. Dixon has reminded you that it has been said, on high authority, that Carlisle is a Radical constituency; and I, fresh from the contagious atmosphere of Downing-street, fresh from the Royal presence, bring with me a clean bill of health. Lord Derby says, Carlisle being a Radical constituency, I am a very good person to represent it. I rejoice in that certificate (loud cheers), and am glad to present it to you. Something has been said upon the merits of Mr. Cobden, with reference to the repeal of the Corn-laws. I cordially subscribe to what fell from Mr. Peter Dixon on that subject, and my lamented chief, the late Sir Robert Peel, when he was at the head of the Government, and able to carry that great and important measure, frankly acknowledged that great merit, if not the highest merit, was due to Mr. Cobden. (Cheers.) It is charged by Lord Derby against me, that I called Mr. Bright my honourable friend. Am I ashamed of having so called him? Far from it. (Cheers.) I admit that in my opinion, without the Corn-law League, at the present moment the Corn-laws would not have been repealed. (Hear, hear.) And with such weather as this, wheat having risen to such an amount with open ports, let me ask you, the population before me, what would have been the price of bread but for those efforts and the triumphant carrying of that measure? (Cheers.) I understand the honourable gentleman (Mr. Sturgeon) to say, in his address, that I am a Tory in disguise. Well, gentlemen, if I am a Tory, I am certainly very ill-placed in the present councils of her Majesty, for I have been instrumental in overthrowing a Tory Government. I am charged with being a conspirator for having done so, and I do not deny I did think Lord Derby's Government unworthy the confidence of Parliament and the nation. (Loud cheers.)"

He had avowed his opposition at Carlisle last summer; when he said he would give effect to his opinion in Parliament at the proper time. He did not want to overthrow Lord Derby prematurely—not before he had brought forward his budget: but when he saw that budget he voted with the majority against it, and the Government resigned. Now he was associated with three of the authors of the Reform Act—Lord Lansdowne, Lord John Russell, and Lord Palmerston. (Cheers.)

Here he greatly amused his hearers by announcing his intention of presenting Mr. Steel, the editor of the *Carlisle Journal*, with a copy of the report of the committee which investigated the Beresford business—intimating that it might be treated as a twelfth cake, and given out in slices. From this he glided easily to an attack upon manhood suffrage which he ridiculed severely—showing that paupers, government officials, and Mr. Walpole's friends the militia, would all have votes, and all be driven to the poll in the interest of their paymasters. Nevertheless, he said, "The time has arrived, when, with safety to our institutions, the franchise in this country may be considerably extended."

"The next point is the point of the Ballot. I will not flinch from any one point. (Cheers.) It would be unmanly if I did so, and the weather being rather brighter you will excuse me for trespassing on your patience. Now, we will talk of the Ballot. There is no man who views with more disgust than I do the intimidation, the bribery, the corrupt practices which have prevailed, and which did prevail at the last general election in this country. (Cheers.) I think it is cruel, when men have privileges which they ought to exercise freely and independently, for either landlords or employers to intimidate by threats, or to hold out the fear that if they do not vote in a particular way they will lose either their farms or their customers. I say it is unworthy this country that free men should be exposed to what I hold to be such tyranny and such oppression—(cheers)—and I for one am willing to entertain any question which shall alter such oppression, and put an end to such intimidation. (Renewed cheers.) But I tell you frankly that I cannot satisfy myself that the Ballot will be an effectual remedy for this purpose. If the ballot is to be made effectual, the right of voting must be by law made universally secret. I say you cannot enact such secrecy in this country, and if you do not, then the ballot is flagrantly ineffectual. If a landlord desires to control the vote of his tenant, and it is optional whether the vote shall be given in secret or openly, the landlord says:—'I insist on your giving an open vote. If you give a secret vote, I shall presume you gave it against my wishes, and shall act accordingly.' So also the customer says:—'I insist on your giving an open vote. If you do not, I shall not only suspect, but be satisfied you have voted against my wishes.' I say, therefore, the Ballot is useless, unless secret voting is compulsory, and secret voting cannot be made compulsory, because you cannot prevent men exercising the right of voting openly if they so think fit. Then, also, with regard to the effect of the Ballot on bribery; I believe, if you have the Ballot in all small constituencies, you will have Mr. Flewkers and Mr. Frails—men with quickness and judgment—sent down by the Carlton Club to deal wholesale with parties possessing local influence, on the principle of 'No return, no pay!' Small constituencies will then be bought wholesale, and, as I believe, at a lower price than they are bought now. (Cheers.) I say, therefore, looking at this matter deliberately, while I am quite ready to entertain any proposition which shall give to voters greater security for the free exercise of the franchise, as at present advised, I cannot satisfy myself that the Ballot is effectual for that purpose. It is easy to talk of Manhood Suffrage—it is easy to talk of the Ballot as a blessing on the people on whom it is conferred; but let me entreat you to remember well, with all the imperfections in our system, the freedom and the blessings you enjoy. (Cheers.) In Europe you are the only people who really enjoy perfect freedom of speech, perfect freedom of action, and a control over the servants of the Crown—a control which you are exercising this day in my person. (Cheers.) You enjoy the utmost liberty which man can desire, namely, the liberty of doing everything short of doing that which is injurious to your neighbour; and although I admit there are imperfections, great imperfections, which require to be remedied, let me exhort you to think twice before you support Manhood Suffrage. (Cheers.) Look abroad. There is Italy—a garrison of foreign troops. There is Germany. Since 1848 everything like representative institutions has been put down, and that mighty country is a camp of hostile armies. Above all, look at France, once the seat of representative government, and distinguished for its success in the arts, in science, in literature, and in almost all the accomplishments which adorn mankind. Universal Suffrage and the Ballot have been established there: and look! where are the liberties of nearly 40,000,000 of men? One single man is victor over their liberties, and all their rights and privileges are prostrate in the dust. (Loud and prolonged applause.) I scorn to deceive you. I am favourable to the extension of the suffrage, and I am favourable to the protection of the voter by every means consistent with that open manly conduct which is the characteristic of Englishmen, and there is nothing that I will not do, in concert with my colleagues, to give effect to that opinion; but I am not prepared to vote for Universal Suffrage and the Ballot. (Cheers.)

He did not object to the abolition of the property qualification; but he warned them jocosely against paying members—against bringing down gentlemen from London, especially not well knowing who they are, and sending them back with the payment of the electors of Carlisle. As to Annual Parliaments, he was with Sheridan—"a witty and lively man"—in favour of "as often as need be" Parliaments. For instance he had been elected twice in six months!

"It is said, Radicals are destructives. Is that a true charge? (Loud cries of 'No.') If you are a Radical constituency, I am sure you are not a destructive one. (Cheers.) Now, I will try it. Was the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act a destructive measure? Has the admission of the Dissenters to corporate power proved destructive? I think far otherwise. Has corporation reform proved destructive? Is the police in this city worse than it was under the old corporation? Is the law enforced with less certainty than heretofore? Is the community less happy, less contented, less orderly? I think far otherwise. (Cheers.) Has the effect of the repeal of the Corn-laws been destructive? (Loud cheers.) Ah, there was a morning—the 10th of April, 1848—when all constituted authorities in Europe trembled, when Crowns had fallen, when Ministers throughout Europe were flying for safety, and Kings were hiding their heads in shame. (Cheers.) There was a Sovereign who did rejoice that in time there had been a reform in Parliament, that in time the Corn-laws were repealed; and on the 10th of April, when others were afraid, Victoria rejoiced in the loyalty of her people. (Vehement and prolonged applause.) Order, security, the rights of property, triumphed, and I know not where were the destructives. They met on Kennington-common—(laughter)—under a leader towards whom I will use no harsh expression, because he is now unfortunate. They appeared on Kennington Common—a handful of men. The populace of London, in millions, determined to maintain the cause of order and our British institutions. (Enthusiastic cheers.)"

He summed up all in assuring them that in Law-reform, "We must deal with the Ecclesiastical Courts." Parliamentary-reform would be continued. Here are his views on education:

"I have said that I am of opinion that the franchise may be extended. In order that it may be safely extended, I think education should be spread as widely as possible among the entire body of the community. I look upon religion as an essential element in education; but, according to the view which I take, I think that particular element ought not to be under the direction of ministers of the Established Church only, but that all the different sects should have a fair opportunity, in their respective schools, of teaching that form of religion which they believe to be the best. (Cheers.)"

Mr. Sturgeon denied that he had the slightest connexion with Mr. Frail or the Tories, although in his ignorance, he had put up at the Royal Hotel. Lord Derby had been deceived when he said Carlisle was a Radical constituency; it was Whig to the back bone.

With regard to manhood suffrage, the right honourable baronet objected that many a poor man would go up to the poll to vote with nothing except what he received from the tender mercies of the poor-law guardian. His answer was, he had always estimated the value of a man to be beyond price, and had considered an Englishman and a freeman to be better than a 10*l.* house or any other qualification you could give him. The right honourable baronet objected also to the payment of members. His short answer was, would any of them permit a man to manage their accounts and to control their bills who offered to do it for nothing? No! The very offer itself would afford just grounds of suspicion. Besides, if there were so many men anxious to do the public work for nothing, why did not the right honourable baronet now say he would work for nothing. (Laughter.) He had to complain of one thing. The right honourable baronet had given them a long lecture on Kennington-common, and the meeting, on the 10th of April, 1848, of the Chartists of London. On his honour

as a man, he never belonged to the Chartist Association in his life (cheers), nor did he ever go among those poor men until they were broken up by the treachery of their leaders [expressions of approval]. He knew there were many misguided men among them, and he knew their leaders had urged them on to talk of physical force, and rifles, and daggers, trying to entrap them. But their iniquities were discovered, and the leaders were repudiated and cast off. The democracy of England were not a few. No. They were the mass of mankind. They were the intelligence that was growing; they would not require to be lectured by Lord John Russell; they would ultimately obtain their rights. He agreed with the right honourable baronet that the ballot might be perverted. He thought it very likely men would be found rich enough to buy a constituency, ballot-box and all, and in small towns it might be done; but he saw no difference between the man bought with the ballot on his back and the man with the ticket of infamy which attached justly to every free man who sold his vote. (Applause.) He was sure the right honourable baronet would co-operate with him in anything that would check bribery and corruption at elections. ('Hear, hear,' from Sir J. Graham.)

The show of hands was in favour of Sir James; and as Mr. Sturgeon did not demand a poll, Sir James was declared duly elected.

Sir James again addressed them. Among other things he said:—

"The extension of the popular right is, in my opinion, necessary. The Government is pledged to introduce that measure; but the proper time and the manner of doing it must be left, in moderate limits, to the discretion of those you trust. I ask no more. I tell you frankly I for one would not have accepted office if it was not distinctly understood—avowed by Lord Aberdeen at the head of the Government, and still more distinctly by Lord John Russell, who is the leader of the Government in the House of Commons—that a measure of revision of the representation of the people should be undertaken by the Government. (Loud cheers.) I shall meet you again, and by the conduct of myself and of my colleagues I will be judged. I have not deceived you before, and I never will deceive you while I have breath in my body. You have been faithful, kind, and generous to me, and I should be the basest of mankind if I were not true to you. (Cheers.)"

Mr. Sturgeon had less anxiety since he had heard the address of Sir James. Reciprocating compliments, and proposing a vote of thanks to the Mayor, which his rival seconded, the meeting ended.

TIVERTON.

Lord Palmerston has really been ill. It is conjectured that he would not have personally interfered in his own election had he not been invoked on Sunday by his friends. He arrived late on that night; and the next day he appeared at the Guildhall, shaking hands on entering with "Rowcliffe," the unfortunate Chartist at whose expense he was so merry last July.

Having been proposed, seconded, and declared the duly elect of Tiverton, Lord Palmerston adjourned from the Guildhall to a room over the Bank, he begging permission to keep on his hat, addressed his constituents. His speech was brief, and lacked his usual gay audacity.

Without going into detail, he characteristically alluded to the situation:—

"The late Government being defeated on a question connected with the budget, thought it their duty to resign their offices. Her Majesty then confided to two distinguished noblemen—the Earl of Aberdeen and the Marquis of Lansdowne—the task of endeavouring to organize an Administration. Being applied to to join that Administration, and finding that it was likely to be composed of persons entitled in my opinion to the confidence of the country, I felt it my duty not to refuse my humble services, since they were thought desirable. (Cheers.) I consequently accepted that office which I was most desirous of filling, namely, that of Secretary of State for the Home Department, and that act having vacated my seat, it became my duty again to present myself to your choice."

Determined to be generous, he fell to saying a few words in praise of the late Ministry. He was not their "supporter," nor their "opponent;" he was an "impartial observer of their course." They did some good things. They dealt boldly with law reform; and they energetically set about national defence. Office had cured them of the "malignant fever" of Protection, and their declaration to that effect was honourable to them. He rather plumed himself on the adroit adaptation of the famous Free-trade resolution to the necessities of the situation. He got an "unexampled" majority—486 against 53—and had humbly done good service in being instrumental in bringing about that result. Then the budget—in principle, taking it piece by piece, it was not a bad budget. Only there was no necessity to reduce certain taxes and lay on others doubly oppressive; and he would have voted against it:—

The Government "staked their existence on the carrying of the double house-tax, and that proposal having been rejected they tendered the resignation of their offices. Now, gentlemen, that Government undoubtedly contained within itself men of distinguished ability, of splendid talents, and of highly established reputation as writers and as statesmen. But, taking the Government as a whole, it was not in the aggregate composed of such a number of men of administrative experience as the wants of the country in the present position of affairs seemed in public opinion to require; and therefore it is my opinion that if that Government had not resigned on the question of the budget, it could not reasonably have expected to survive the end of the session. Well, gentlemen, that Government having resigned, and a Government being about to be formed composed of men of liberal principles, of experience in office, of enlightened views, with many of whom I had long acted in public life, with others of whom I had lately been associated in the discharge of my Parliamentary functions, and it being thought that my assistance might tend to render that Government more useful, I felt that I should have been shrinking from the performance of a public duty if I had refused the solicitations which I received, not only from the present head of the Government, but from my most valued and esteemed friend the Marquis of Lansdowne, if I had declined to accept office in the present Administration. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I think it may be said, without improper boasting, that there has seldom, if ever, existed in this country an Administration which combined within itself more men who, by their talents, their experience, and their political principles, were entitled to the confidence of their countrymen. (Cheers.)"

The only glimpse of the true Palmerston was at the close. He had forgotten to make the usual thanks to the ladies; so after withdrawing from the window he popped his head out again and said:—

"In returning thanks, as your member, to the electors, it is my duty not to forget that that great question which has agitated the United States has not yet been carried in this country—I mean the woman's question. (Laughter.) In that country they maintain that the ladies ought to vote. Our progress has not yet reached that point, but nevertheless, having returned thanks to those who are entitled to vote, I perhaps may be permitted to thank those who influence those who have the right to vote (laughter), and to tender my humble thanks to the ladies of Tiverton as well as the electors for those kind good offices, which I am persuaded they have afforded, with their relations and friends. (Laughter.)"

MORPETH.

On Saturday, also, Sir George Grey was elected member for Morpeth. He walked over for the prize; in fact the borough is one of the pocket species; being snugly put away in the capacious feudal vestment of the Howards. In the main, Sir George Grey, like the rest of his party, concurred in the statements of Ministers. Reform of Parliament—of law—extension of Free-trade, and extension of education; "not merely intellectual training," but comprehending religion, "having at the same time due respect to the rights of conscience." With respect to Parliamentary reform he said, "I do not look with any dread or terror to any extension of popular rights." And he defined his object as being to establish something between "wild democracy" and "uncontrolled despotism." The whole affair went off at a jog-trot pace; suitable to the capabilities of a borough not open.

AYLESBURY.

Mr. Bethell was returned on Thursday for Aylesbury. There was no other candidate. Respecting the ballot, Mr. Bethell said—

"It was not within his power to indicate the character or the details of the reform measure which the new Cabinet would introduce; but, speaking his own convictions, he must say that its first element ought to be a large extension of the franchise (loud cheers); and, next, the concession of the ballot for the protection of the voters. (Three cheers for the ballot.) It had recently been argued that the tradesmen and farmers would not be protected by the ballot, because their silence about their votes would be interpreted as an opposing vote, and their trade or occupation be taken away from them; but he urged that such a proceeding would be so flagrant as easily to become punishable by law. What would they think of a person who said, 'O! I am a brave man; I have nothing to fear; I require no protection from the police; I can sleep upon my bed without apprehension, independent of the securities of law!' If they thought little of that argument, they must think little of those who opposed the ballot, for it was precisely similar. Why, did the law not protect the flesh and blood of a voter when he went to the poll? A man's body was protected from those who would crush it, and trample it down, and hinder the voter by this means from recording his vote. But was the man's mind and conscience, which really gave the vote, not to receive the protection of the law?" (Cheers.)

But Mr. Bethell chiefly claims to be a law reformer!

Wolverhampton, for the sixth time, elected Mr. Charles Villiers as its representative, on Tuesday. Approving of the Ministry, Mr. Villiers said they were about to act together for free-trade, religious equality, and the people's rights. As to the ballot, he had told Lord Aberdeen that he must vote for it, and Lord Aberdeen replied, "I shall respect an honourable consistency in those who may join my administration."

Sir Charles Wood was elected by a majority of 592 to 526, on Tuesday. Until twelve o'clock, Mr. Edwards maintained a fair lead; but after that his opponent went ahead, and won.

At Southampton, however, there has been a contest. Sir Alexander Cockburn was opposed by Mr. Baillie Cochrane, notorious for many things. In this instance he merely opposed that he might petition for the seat on the ground of bribery. Sir Alexander, however, is more than a match for him on the hustings; and the assembled throng present at the nomination on Wednesday, evidently had no great respect for the apologist of the King of Naples, and the admirer of the Austrian system in Italy. Of course the show of hands was in favour of Sir Alexander; and the poll on Thursday places the rival candidates as follows: Cockburn, 1097; Cochrane, 595.

The Gloucester election, after a sharp contest, and great disturbance in the town, Admiral Berkeley has defeated Mr. Hope by a majority of 761 to 670. Lord Alfred Paget succeeds in peace to the borough of Lichfield.

We observe that the Protectionists have brought out Mr. Grantley Berkeley in South Wilts to contest the re-election of Mr. Sidney Herbert.

The other elections have gone in favour of the Ministers. Mr. Cowper was returned, on Saturday, for Hertford; and the Earl of Mulgrave for Scarborough. Mr. Baines was elected, on Monday, for Leeds; and Mr. Strutt, for Nottingham. Mr. Cardwell, for Oxford; Mr. Moncrieff, for the Leith Burghs; Lord Alfred Hervey, for Brighton; and Lord Ernest Bruce, for Marlborough; on Tuesday: all unopposed.

THE REVENUE.

No. I.—An Abstract of the Net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain, in the Years and Quarters ended Jan. 5, 1852, and Jan. 5, 1853, showing the Increase or Decrease thereof.

Years ended January 5.

	1852. £	1853. £	Increase. £	Decrease. £
Customs	18,761,069	18,695,382	...	65,687
Excise	13,093,170	13,356,981	263,811	...
Stamps	5,933,549	6,287,261	353,712	...
Taxes	3,563,962	3,377,843	...	186,119
Property Tax	5,304,923	5,509,637	204,714	...
Post Office	1,064,000	1,022,000	...	42,000
Crown Lands	150,000	260,000	110,000	...
Miscellaneous	172,241	293,729	121,481	...
Total Ord. Rev.	48,042,914	48,802,833	1,053,725	293,806
Imprest and other Moneys	643,410	634,063	...	9,347
Repayments of Advances	802,943	1,031,297	228,354	...
Total income	49,489,267	50,468,193	1,282,079	303,153
Deduct Decrease			303,153	
Increase on the Year			978,926	

Quarters ended January 5.

	1852. £	1853. £	Increase. £	Decrease. £
Customs	4,559,512	4,541,384	...	18,128
Excise	3,552,970	3,539,646	...	13,324
Stamps	1,427,485	1,615,029	187,544	...
Taxes	1,185,922	1,419,873	233,951	...
Property Tax	367,956	468,238	100,282	...
Post Office	240,000	272,000	26 000	...
Crown Lands	40,000	80,000	40,000	...
Miscellaneous	30,574	32,008	1,434	...
Total Ord. Rev.	11,410,419	11,968,178	589,211	31,452
Imprest and other Moneys	117,545	142,939	25,393	...
Repayments of Advances	372,371	491,995	119,624	...
Total Income	11,900,335	12,603,111	734,228	31,452
Deduct Decrease			31,452	
Increase on the Quarter			702,776	

No. II.—The Income and Charge of the Consolidated Fund, in the Quarters ended Jan. 5, 1852 and 1853.

Quarters ended January 5.

INCOME.

	1852. £	1853. £
Customs	4,578,217	4,560,104
Excise	3,563,322	3,549,561
Stamps	1,427,485	1,615,029
Taxes	1,185,922	1,419,873
Property Tax	367,956	468,238
Post Office	240,000	272,000
Crown Lands	40,000	80,000
Miscellaneous	30,574	32,008
Imprest and other Moneys	38,841	31,072
Produce of the Sale of Old Stores	78,704	111,867
Repayments of Advances	372,371	491,995
	11,929,392	12,631,747

CHARGE.

	1852. £	1853. £
Permanent Debt	5,761,804	5,737,668
Terminable Annuities	569,558	576,226
Interest on Exchequer-bills, issued to meet the Charge on the Consolidated Fund	...	...
Sinking Fund	744,753	476,085
The Civil List	99,195	99,413
Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund	351,187	327,901
For Advances	313,643	499,376
Total Charge	7,840,140	7,716,669
The Surplus	4,159,915	4,915,078
	12,000,055	12,631,747

THE "AREA OF FREEDOM:" AMERICA, CUBA, AND FRANCE.

Some indications of the policy of General Pierce appear in the American journals. For instance, the *New York Herald* of the 21st prints the following:—

"There is an important movement on foot in Washington, in regard to our foreign relations and the recent movements of France in Hayti and Mexico. The present Congress intends to assume the initiative in supporting the new Administration in taking bold and high ground in its relations with the strong Powers of Europe, and in

the protection of the weaker nations of the earth. It would not at all surprise us to see an appropriation of five or ten millions of dollars, to be placed unreservedly in the hands of General Pierce, for the preservation of peace and the honour of the Republic in the approaching crisis. We are entering upon an eventful period in our history."

Confirmatory of this, and much more significant, is the following paragraph, from the letter of the New York correspondent of the *Times*, under date December 25th, four days after the above announcement:—

"Mr. Soulé, the senator from Louisiana, has introduced a resolution placing 5,000,000 in the hands of President Pierce, to be used by him at his discretion, after the present session expires, that he may be enabled to meet any exigency which the unsettled state of our foreign relations might render possible. If this resolution passes, it will show two things:—First, the confidence of the present Congress in the President elect; and, second, the alacrity of our National Legislature to spring to the rescue of the country whenever its interests are threatened. This proposal comes from the Committee on Foreign Relations, who have access at all times to the archives of the Goverment, particularly the unpublished despatches. There is thought to be more reason for apprehension in regard to the future than the public generally supposes."

As respects Sonora and Samana, we have some curious speculations. It would appear that the annexation policy of Count Boulbon did not arise from any sudden force of circumstances, but that some such step had previously been considered in France. For example, M. Dupasquier du Dommartin, who has travelled much in America, has published a work in France, in which he talks of checking what he calls the "omnivorous progress of the United States, which threatens the political and commercial supremacy of Europe," by preventing the construction of the Great Pacific Railroad; and that "this can be done effectually by planting vigorous French colonies in Sonora and Chihuahua!" The *New York Times* says that the French colony in Sonora was invited thither by the Mexican authorities, "with the active concurrence of the French Minister in Mexico, and for the avowed purpose of pre-occupying the only route by which a railroad can be constructed to connect the Mississippi with the Pacific." A letter has appeared in the *Courrier des Etats Unis*, written by a M. Farrance, who contends that the French occupation of Samana, and the conquest of Sonora, are the "initiatory steps by which Napoleon III., in the interests of the allied despotisms of Europe, intends to commence an active intervention on this continent against the further spread of democratic principles." The *Courrier* is the French organ in the United States.

Samana, in St. Domingo, is in the N.E. part of Hayti, between 19° and 20° North lat., and 69° and 70° West long. The position is commanding as relates to the West India seas and commerce. The United States is naturally jealous of such a step as taking possession of Samana.

The *Washington Union* (Democratic organ, and probably the *Moniteur* of President Pierce's Administration) has a long article in relation to the "French in Sonora and Dominica, and the Monroe Declaration." The writer states that these events have excited in this Republic "mingled doubt and astonishment;" the more especially so when viewed in connexion with the speculations of the French press, "respecting the propriety of encouraging European colonization in Mexico, to prevent its absorption by the United States." The *Union* then thinks that the French Government has not sanctioned the Sonora movement, and proceeds to express a belief that Sonora will, after all, be annexed to the United States. But it hints that "this Government will not permit Louis Napoleon to plant his foot on the confines of California." The writer then says, "that the French Government does entertain the purpose of extending its power on the American continent, is not a matter of doubt;" and he complains of the capture by France of the peninsula of Samana, as a naval depot, in the island of St. Domingo. Nay, he says that, from such a station, in the event of a war with the United States, "he might easily ravage our commerce and desolate our coasts." Again, the *Union* says, with regard to Samana, "Will the Government of the United States suffer France to effect a foothold on this continent, or establish a position in its waters, whence it may operate so imperiously on American affairs? Will not the Government remove the pretext under which France acts, by itself assuming the protectorate of Dominica?"

The article closes with a strong argument in favour of the Monroe doctrine, to prevent the interference of any European Powers with the American continent.

In the United States Senate, on the 23rd Dec., Mr. Mason, democratic member for Virginia, moved for copies of the official notes of the Ministers of France and England, proposing a tripartite treaty, disclaiming all present and future intentions to obtain possession of Cuba; and of the reply of the United States Government thereto. In support of his motion Mr. Mason said the island of Cuba lies in the gateway of the Gulf of Mexico, and all American statesmen have ever held that its political condition must be regarded with unrelaxing vigilance. The two great European powers knew beforehand that the proposal they made would be declined. It has been the established policy of the United States, made known in the most open, frank, and undisguised manner, that while Cuba remained a dependency of Spain we would never interfere with it, but that if ever any ambitious or grasping potentate should attempt either by rapine or treaty to take the island from Spain, it would become this country, cost what it might, to interfere and prevent it. Every country in Europe knows that. What means, then, this invitation on the part of England and France?

I should read its meaning thus:—France and England believe that the possession of Cuba by the United States would be fraught with consequences injurious to them, and therefore they give us to understand, by this form of communication, that they are in league to prevent it. Now, sir, treating it thus, I have this to say:—We have already indicated our policy to let Cuba alone, and sacredly to regard the rights of Spain. We know that in the fulness of time the fruit will ripen and fall from the parent stem. When that time shall come its political connexion with this continent is inevitable. Interference by other nations may hasten the event, but the combined powers of Europe cannot prevent it.

The acquisition of Cuba by the United States is a question of time only. As the proposition of the two great European powers,

"Let it have what meaning it may, whenever the hour comes when, in good faith and with due regard to national honour, we can incorporate Cuba as one of these United States, it will be done, and Europe may find it best then to hold her peace."

Mr. Cass, following on the same subject, deprecated the practice of turning the other cheek to the smiter in national affairs. Therefore it was that he had proposed last year to repudiate by a solemn act the interpolation made by the Emperor of Russia in the law of nations. The country had been frightened on that occasion out of its true duty and dignity; but it will come back to it. Already the return is begun, for the Whig Convention of New York has pronounced its adhesion to the true doctrine in the following resolution, every word of which he, Mr. Cass, heartily approves:

"3. As to Foreign Policy—Peace evermore, so far as is consistent with the due assertion of our rights; a careful avoidance of all entangling alliances with foreign Powers, but a solemn protest against any deliberate defiance of the laws of nations for the furtherance of the interest of despotism; and a generous and active sympathy with, and moral support to, all oppressed nations and races struggling to assert or retain their liberties."

And, he continued, we shall not only come up to this good work of participation of the public law of the world, but we shall also adopt the policy advocated by Mr. Monro and Mr. Polk, that no European nation shall be permitted to colonize, hereafter, any part of this continent. But there was no objection made to their maintaining existing colonies, as the English papers impudently and falsely asserted. Mr. Cass could not believe that France is endeavouring to obtain possession of any portion of the Mexican territories, but if she is, the effort should be met and resisted by the whole power of the United States. With regard to Cuba—

"So long as Spain retains Cuba, or should the island become independent—truly and honourably so—we have no right to interfere with it. And, for myself, I should be willing—desirous, indeed—at any time to purchase it of Spain, and at a liberal, even an extravagant price—but no transfer to another power, either by peace or war, and the resistance of such an attempt by all the means which God has given us. And I have never uttered a sentiment, here or elsewhere, inconsistent with these views, though I have often been charged with what is called 'fillibustering' projects, and that, too, by respectable journals, during the Presidential contest. No man, editor or reader, has the right to prefer such a charge against me. I believe in public as well as in personal morality, and I value the honour of my country at too high a price to barter it for any scheme of aggrandisement. And I embrace this opportunity to bear my testimony of approbation to the recent conduct of the Administration in relation to Cuba."

He could not but reprobate the repeated efforts to interfere in the concerns of another nation, and he had no charity for the motives of the leaders engaged in them. The rights of Spain should be respected, and she has even a claim to forbearance at the hands of the United States, considering her weakness, her remoteness, and the disturbed state of Cuba.

"I desire the possession of Cuba, principally as a military position, with a view to its vast importance as the true key to the Mississippi. But as a mere question of acquisition, the subject presents no terrors to me. I observed the President views it differently, and foresees strong objections to the measure—to the general principle, indeed, of the extension of our territory. As to the general subject of annexation, I have no new views to disclose. It is pretty well known that I have a capacious swallow for territory, though I am free to confess that I can wait awhile patiently, if necessary, and spend the time in digesting our last acquisitions. They sit lightly upon the stomach, and promise to promote the health of the body politic to a degree surpassing the sanguine expectations of those who expected most from the measure. We are often asked by the timid and the cautious, 'Where is annexation to stop?' That question will not be answered in my day, and I leave its solution to those upon whom may devolve the duty and the responsibility of deciding it. But I repeat, Sir, that I denounce any acquisition but an honest one."

After challenging a comparison with any other nation, as to the manner in which the United States had made acquisitions of foreign territory, and angrily reviewing the remarks of a portion of the London press, Mr. Cass concluded—

"Mr. President, since my earliest years, and where I could, I have rebuked the unworthy course of the British press and people towards this country; and for the expression of this natural feeling of indignation I have been often denounced for belligerent propensities, and for a wish to involve us in a war with England. Nothing could be more untrue or unjust than this charge. I never wanted a war with England; but I felt as an American ought to feel, though for many years there was a kind of infatuation upon this subject, a shrinking from English boasts and English taunts, which marked a portion of our people as though it were our duty to submit to them with silent acquiescence. For myself, the opinion of England is no more than the opinion of any other nation, and I deprecate that sensitiveness which would lead us to watch with jealous earnestness the indications elsewhere of the views entertained of this country, of its conduct, policy, and institutions."

After some other senators had spoken, the debate was adjourned to the 4th of January.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE AT LIVERPOOL.

AT a splendid banquet given at Liverpool on Monday last to the new American ambassador, Mr. J. R. Ingersoll, by the American Chamber of Commerce, fresh manifestations were given of that cordial sympathy which subsists between the people of Great Britain and of the United States, and which the best men on both sides of the Atlantic delight in promoting by word and deed.

Among the first toasts of the evening was the health of the President of the United States. Having briefly responded on behalf of the head of his Government, Mr. Ingersoll had next to return thanks for a similar compliment paid to himself. Beginning with an emphatic and grateful acknowledgment of the kindness and good-will towards his own country which had everywhere met him here, he proceeded with a happily-managed transition to extol the noble institutions of Liverpool, and the excellent spirit of her people. Liverpool is at present the largest seaport in the world for exporting commerce, but she does herself great injustice if she deems that her great characteristic—if she does not pride herself on her domestic and internal arrangements. The seaport is but the gate to a magnificent town—it is the opening to the hospitality and wealth and all the elegancies of polished life. But what he most insisted on was, that Liverpool possessed, and used, the best opportunity for cultivating that kindly feeling between two great kindred nations which may, perhaps, terminate in the same Anglo-Saxon feeling which one day in defence of constitutional liberty may call us shoulder to shoulder—(vehement applause)—in the defence of our common rights. In Liverpool, the stranger from America receives his first impressions and makes his first acquaintance here, and he renews and fixes them when he passes again through Liverpool on his homeward way, after paying his visit to this blissful and blessed land. (Cheers.) As practical exemplifications of the international effect of associations thus formed, Mr. Ingersoll mentioned the case of an American brig which ran aground in the river Congo, on the 19th of June last, and which was rescued by her Majesty's brig *Dolphin*, when beset by 3000 armed savages, who would certainly have massacred every soul on board but for such timely aid. This is one side of the picture; another is seen in the case of sixteen British sailors, found by the American mail steamer *Pacific* in a water-logged vessel, in danger of going to pieces every minute. The sea was so rough that no boat could be sent to her; but the Americans remained six hours in her neighbourhood, ready to sacrifice their lives in the attempt at succour. At last the *Pacific* succeeded in taking the sixteen Britons on board, carried them to New York, where all were delighted to assist them, and afterwards brought them in safety to Liverpool. (Cheers.) Such is the brotherly feeling between Englishmen and Americans; and commercial interests tend naturally to aid that feeling. It is within the recollection of some persons now living that the first parcel of cotton from America was brought into the port of Liverpool. That little parcel has since grown into three million bales a-year, of which England receives two-thirds. This is one bond of union. (Applause.) Another is, that the Americans have 19,000 vessels, amounting to about 3,000,000 of tonnage, engaged in the trade between the two countries. A bridge is almost built between the one and the other,

and we are as near as it is possible to be notwithstanding that the Atlantic rolls between us. (Renewed cheers.) Again, you are capitalists, said Mr. Ingersoll—we are men of enterprise; our enterprise seeks capital here; and the one and the other are thus a mutual assistance and advantage, and tend to foster the best of goodwill.

"These are some of the advantages which render friendship materially important between us; but there are other circumstances—more important ties—

'Which round the heart are wound,
And cannot, will not, be undone.'

Your daughters are married to our sons—our sons are married to your daughters. A constant communication between these countries—of affection, blood, and marriage—subsists; and thus the ties are rendered almost sacred. (Applause.) To break them would be like introducing commotion, disturbance, and civil war—the worst of wars—into the pale of either of our countries, on the one side or the other of the Atlantic. Now, with all these inducements and reasons for harmony and goodwill, is it possible that there should subsist anything but good feeling between us? We are derived from the same lineage, and speak the same language; our institutions are not precisely the same, but the individuals who established our form of Government, who framed the constitution of the United States, as it has stood from that hour to this, without alteration, were at one time British subjects, and became, only by the separation of two great countries, citizens of another empire. They gave to our constitution and laws a system, an order derived from Great Britain—which had grown up in Great Britain during the course of centuries, which had its force, and has now its permanence from the stability it acquired here. (Applause.) If there were advantages when a united Government, there came other advantages as independent Governments afterwards, in the connexion which subsists in trade, and the mutual improvements which we derive from each other; in even the occasional interpositions of forgotten language among you, which you considered obsolete, but we have preserved; and sometimes phrases which you thought extraordinary at first, but were afterwards kind enough to adopt even from your brethren across the Atlantic, and thus reciprocate kindnesses of all sorts. (Loud applause.)"

Mr. Ingersoll next adverted to the fishery question lately at issue between Great Britain and the United States, declaring that he knew of no issue that can be between those two countries, that can lead to other than the most pacific and honourable results. (Cheers.) What is the reason, when we are settling the matter of a mere fishery, a much broader view cannot be taken of the whole subject, than has been taken in England and America? Why should not a commercial treaty be founded upon it that should be beneficial to both countries, more immediately interested in regard to the fisheries? Those colonies have not in themselves the materials of manufactures, grain, breadstuffs, on the one hand; while they have the timber, the coal, and the fish, if you please, on the other; they would, therefore, be great gainers by a commercial intercourse which should lead to the interchange of these commodities. Reverting to the subject of Liverpool's glories, Mr. Ingersoll glanced at the literary fame of one of its sons—William Roscoe; and thence took occasion to insist on the closeness of that tie which a common language constituted between the two countries. In conclusion, he said—

"One undivided people I trust in sentiment and heart we shall continue to be to the end of time; and whenever circumstances shall render it necessary for one to come to the assistance and relief of the other, as we have done in those instances upon the ocean, at the savage banks of the river Congo, as we have seen them illustrated wherever occasion called them forth, shall see them illustrated to the end of time, when you, I, and all will rejoice in one flesh, one brotherhood, and one friendship between Great Britain and the United States of America. (Great cheering.)"

The health of Earl Sefton, lord-lieutenant of the county, having been proposed and acknowledged by the noble earl, the chairman proposed the health of the Earl of Derby. (Loud cheers.)

The Earl Derby, in returning thanks, begged to say a few words with respect to that body with which the proposer of the toast had identified him. The House of Lords was a most important and essential part of the monarchical institutions of this country. Such a body would be highly incongruous with the institutions of the United States. Yet the great and illustrious founders of the constitution of that immense republic (and greater and wiser men have seldom appeared upon the public stage of history) found it incumbent, even in the first flush of the triumph of popular feeling, to interpose some barrier between immediate legislation and the direct reflection of the popular will; a barrier founded upon the elective principle, wisely adapted to their own institutions. It is singular enough that the two great countries, "now, I may say, almost the only homes and refuge of liberty throughout the world," (great cheering) should have formed their constitutions starting from precisely opposite points of view. We had begun with almost unlimited monarchical, aristocratic, and feudal power, which we have slowly reduced and deprived of all offensive force. In the United States, injustice led to resistance, to revolution, and to the full enjoyment of popular rights. But the far-seeing statesmen of those days saw the necessity of establishing a check and counterpoise to the predominance of a purely popular influence, and they founded an institution analogous to the House of Lords. After some further remarks in the way of apology for the principle of hereditary legislation, his lordship continued thus:—

"Gentlemen, I trust you will forgive me for having said these few words upon the subject of that house; but, before I sit down, I hope you will allow me, upon my own part, upon the part of the Government to which I have lately had the honour of belonging, and also, I will venture to say, upon the part of the present Government, and of every Government which can exist in this country, to express how strongly I feel, and how strongly I am sure they will all feel, satisfaction at that friendly feeling which upon this, and upon every occasion, has been manifested and proved to exist between this great country and that hardly less country, the residence of our brethren of the United States. (Hear, hear, and loud applause.) Sir, it affords me particular pleasure to have this opportunity of testifying under the presidency of one to whom the commerce of Liverpool is greatly indebted for the efforts he has made to increase its accommodation and facilities—(hear, hear)—to meet upon this occasion the distinguished representative from the United States (applause), with the representative of that great country with whom we have so many ties, of laws, of language, and of liberty; with which it is of the utmost importance to the interests of the whole world, that we should maintain the friendly relations which happily subsist at this moment, and to have an opportunity of assuring him that, whatever Ministry may hold the reins of Government, they, unless wholly blind to the interest of their own country, as well as the world at large, can have no other object than cultivating the friendship of the United States. (Loud applause.) My hon. friend, if I may so be allowed to call him, the Minister near me, has adverted to some differences which have arisen between us, and some points which have led to controversy and remark. I will not, of course, upon such an occasion as this, enter upon a discussion of the merits of that question; but of this I feel convinced, that the best mode of settling the differences which may arise between this country and the United States, or any other country, is a frank and open communication of moderate views and moderate claims, temperately put forward, and steadily enforced, upon the part of the representatives of those nations. (Cheers.) And I am sure of this, that while a tame concession of any important rights never affords real satisfaction to either of the parties, even that to whom it is made or that which makes it, so, on the other hand the friendship of nations is best maintained by a calm and temperate assertion of that which they believe to be their rights, and on the other hand by a moderate and liberal view of those which are the rights and privileges of others. (Hear, hear.) And let me mention, more especially with regard to the United States, there is on their part all that plain, straightforward habit, honesty, and fair dealing—derived, I will venture to say, from their English ancestors—which will never induce them to think the worse of a British minister who steadily maintains that which he conceives to be the interest of his country, and at the same time does not desire to push those interests beyond the limits of friendship and good feeling between the two countries. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I have no fear of any differences arising between the United States and this country. We have too many ties to bind us together. We have the ties of common language—the ties of common laws in many respects—we have the ties of common liberty—we have the ties of rapidly extending and increasing commerce—we have also ties, I am sure, of personal and mutual good feeling to bind us together; and my firm belief is, that if questions arise on which differences of opinion may exist, friendly communication will not only remove those difficulties, but will also tend to make the fact of those differences having arisen extend into a system of reciprocal advantage and the great extension of commercial intercourse between the two countries. (Applause.) And I am satisfied of this, that we can have no representative more fitting to maintain these views and keep up that friendly communication which was carried on, I am happy to say, by his immediate predecessor, than one who will unite with the frank, liberal, and cordial spirit which actuated him, a firm devotion to the interests of his country, at the same time that he respects the rights and claims of those who, on the part of this country can put forward matter to him; and I am quite certain we can have no one more fitting to discharge those duties than he whom you have honoured, and who has honoured us as your guest this evening. (Great cheering.)" His lordship again acknowledged the toast, and resumed his seat amid enthusiastic applause.

The health of the Mayor of Liverpool, the Chairman, and the Members for the County and Borough, having been proposed and acknowledged, the guests rose shortly before midnight.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER LIV.

Paris, January 4, 1853.

The circle in which Bonaparte moves seems to narrow daily. I told you that *en desespoir de cause*, as a last resource, and in default of Legitimists and Republicans, who repelled his advances, he was trying to fall back upon the Orleanists, his most mortal enemies. The first attempt has not been very fortunate. M. Dupin is the man upon whom the first seductions have fallen. For a moment success was expected in that direction. M. Dupin was offered his old post of Procureur General of the Court of Cassation, and his nomination had actually been sent to the *Moniteur*: nay, it was even "composed," when M. Dupin declared that he could only accept it on certain conditions. He demanded the insertion in the same number of the *Moniteur* of a letter in which he declared that "he remained attached in heart to the cause which claimed all his regrets and all his sympathies." You may imagine that the Government recoiled from the publication of such an enormity, and all was broken off. Then M. Dupin was assailed with countless congratulations. The man who has already turned his coat I don't know how many times, became on a sudden the very model of fidelity. All Paris has been hastening to leave cards upon him. All the magistrates and bar paid him a visit on New Year's Day, to congratulate him on the courageous act he had accomplished. This kind of triumph cannot fail to be emulated by the rest of the Orleanists. Bonaparte will find his proposals received with an ill grace.

Bonaparte, in fact, has not even been able to rally the whole of the imperial noblesse created by the Emperor Napoleon. The Berthiers, the Oudinots, the Lannes, the Caulaincourts, positively decline to form part of the imperial household. Bonaparte will not have the satisfaction of hearing the pompous titles of all those gentlemen buzzing about his ears—Prince de Berg, Duc de Reggio, Duc de Montebello, Duc de Vicenze, will be missed. He has been forced in very spite to take refuge in the mere circle of his most intimate hangers-on. He has made the two generals he bought in December, '51, his grand equerry and master of the hunt, at the enormous salaries of 100,000 francs. That is the secret of appointments which would have astounded France, if France could now be surprised at anything. These high functionaries know well that such a regime cannot last, and they are resolved to make the most of it, and turn it into cash, while it *does* last. So we find St. Arnaud with salaries to the tune of 300,000 francs, net, per annum; viz., 130,000 francs as Minister of War, 100,000 as Grand Equerry, 40,000 as Marshal of France, 30,000 as Senator. Magnan, for his part, makes a purse of 210,000 francs; viz., Commander in Chief of the Army of Paris, 40,000 francs; Master of the Hunt, 100,000 francs; Marshal of France, 40,000; Senator, 30,000. The rest of the tribe of flunkeys follow their example. All these shoeless, hungry tatterdemalions (*tous ces affamés, toutes ces bottes éculées, tous ces souliers troués, comme les appelle Victor Hugo*) have swooped upon the other appointments, and heap place on place as fast as they can. Edgar Ney, who has given himself the office of *Premier Veneur*, (First Huntsman,) has for this sinecure 50,000 francs salary; as Colonel, 12,000 francs, and as Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor, 15,000 francs. The same with Colonel Béville. Marshal Vaillant, appointed Grand Marshal of the Palace, receives, in virtue of that title, 100,000 francs; as Marshal of France, 40,000 francs; as Senator, 30,000 francs. Cambacères, who has obtained the place of Grand Master of the Ceremonies, has 100,000 francs in that capacity, besides being Senator: total, 130,000 francs. Colonel Fleury, who is now Chief Equerry, (*premier ecuyer*,) takes 50,000 francs as such, in addition to 15,000 francs as Aide-de-Camp to Bonaparte, and 12,000 francs as Colonel. The Duc de Bassano, a very equivocal personage in many respects, enjoys as Grand Chamberlain a salary of 100,000 francs, with 30,000 francs as Senator.

All these nominations took place on the last day of December. They constitute the Imperial household (*la haute domesticité*) of Bonaparte. They are divided into two sorts of functionaries: the "grand dignitaries" (*les grands dignitaires*), at salaries of 100,000 francs each: and the "first dignitaries" (*les premiers dignitaires*) at a salary of 50,000 francs each. A host of other nominations of the small fry to secondary posts will ensue. There will be, as in 1812, twelve acting chamberlains, and twelve honorary chamberlains; besides forty-eight pages, belonging (or rather supposed to belong) to great families. What retards these latter nominations is the annoying circumstance, that up to this moment not a single family of note has been found willing to supply pages to the Imperial Court. Bonaparte was desirous of enjoying the pomp of his new household on New Year's day. He paraded through the Tuileries, followed by all his domestics, including St. Arnaud, Magnan, &c.

The diplomatic reception was cold and *triste*: England and the Pope—*voilà à peu pres tout le potage*—Russia, Austria, Prussia, Germany, did not figure in the ceremony. Bonaparte had prepared a new speech for the occasion, in which he once more assured Europe of his pacific intentions; but as there was nobody to speak to, he left that part out, and contented himself with saying to the Papal Nuncio, that "he aspired with the divine protection to be able to develop the prosperity of France, and to assure the peace of Europe." He

pronounced these words in a hard dry tone of voice, like a man out of humour. Indeed, he has had small reason to be in good temper. The northern powers, in order not to have to congratulate him on New Year's Day, deferred their recognition of the Emperor, under the title of Napoleon III., till this day.

There have been great negotiations opened on this subject. The northern powers require that Bonaparte shall recognise the treaties of 1815. They have the intention of remitting a note, in which they "take note" of the declaration on the part of Bonaparte of his "*solidarity*" with preceding Governments, and in which the consequences of such "*solidarity*" are specially enumerated. The formal recognition of the treaties of 1815 is there nominatively insisted upon. Bonaparte is reported to have hesitated in accepting these conditions. And well he may! The day he accepts them he ceases to have any ground of existence, or *raison d'être*, in France: he ceases to be a living protest of France against the treaties which were imposed on her in 1815: he belies his mission, he abjures his mandate. He is no longer the *principle* called Napoleon: he is nothing but a mere police agent of the holy alliance. And yet he will accept; for in him there is but the histrio, there is nothing of the man. He has not the sentiment of personal dignity: how then can he have that of the *national dignity?*

Several deputies sent in their resignation in consequence of the Senatûs-Consulte of December 23rd, which almost deprives the Legislative Corps of the right of voting the Budget. Among others, M. Monnier de la Sigeranne is mentioned, M. Billault, the President of the Legislative Corps, having sent to him last Friday evening to invite him to join his colleagues in going to the Tuileries on the following day. "No," replied the deputy, rather wittily, "my deputy's coat was so badly torn on the 23rd of December, that I have not been able to get it mended yet." ("*Mon habit de député a reçu un trop fort accroc le 23 Décembre pour qu'il me soit possible de le remettre de sitôt.*")

A new organic decree has just modified the attributions of the Senate, the Legislative Corps, and the Council of State. With regard to the Senate, the dotation of 30,000 francs, which was not mentioned in the old decree, is positively specified in the new one. The Legislative Corps, you may remember, had refused to allow this dotation to figure in the chapter of the public debt; the new decree determines that it shall figure there henceforth. Before the Empire, the necessity of modifying the Republican Constitution had rendered it necessary to vest in the Senate full powers for that modification. Now that all is accomplished, and the Empire is proclaimed, Bonaparte almost strips the Senate of the right of proposing any fresh modifications in the Constitution. He establishes for that purpose a host of formalities, which render the exercise of that right illusory, not to say impossible. It is only another piece of machinery which Bonaparte, no longer wanting, breaks. As to what concerns the Legislative Corps, the new decree takes more away than it gives. On all puerile questions, of etiquette, of ceremonial, it makes concessions—on all essential points, on the contrary, such as the question of publicity of debates, for instance, it reduces the legislative body to utter mutism. According to the old regulation, the committees of the Legislative Corps used to be constituted for the whole session, each bureau was presided over by the senior in age, and the youngest member filled the office of secretary; according to the new order, the bureaux are to be reconstituted every month by lot, and they will have to elect their presidents and secretaries. The commissioners to be named by the bureaux for the examination of Bills (*projets de loi*) may consist, according to the nature of such Bills, of from fourteen members to seven. The legislative corps used to have the right of rejecting any article of the budget, and in that case, of replacing it by such amendments as might be adopted. Now, however, that it has no longer the power of voting the budget by clauses, nor even by chapters, but only by ministries, it is forbidden to propose any amendments at all, and it must either vote or reject altogether the one or two hundred millions (of francs) to each ministry, without reserve. The speeches of the orators are to be no longer published in any form. At least, so great are the obstacles thrown in the way of their publication, that it certainly becomes impossible. The report (*compte rendu*) of the sittings will contain nothing but a bald summary of the opinions advanced by the speakers; and even the names of the speakers will be withheld. To this shadow has the national representation of France shrunk under Napoleon III.

The order of Advocates of Paris has recently presented the Emperor with a New-year's gift, after a fashion. The *Moniteur* had received orders to delude France by an announcement that the different corporations and constituted bodies of the State had been to pay their homage to the Emperor on New-year's day, and in the list was made to figure the order of the Advocates of Paris. In consequence of this announcement, M. Berryer, bâtonnier of the order, addressed the following contradiction to the *Moniteur*:—

"MR. EDITOR,—The *Moniteur* of this day, in placing the council of the order of Advocates among the number of constituted bodies who were received yesterday at the Tuileries, has committed an error, which I beg you to be so kind as to rectify. The order of Advocates is neither a corps of public functionaries, nor a company of ministerial officers, which it could not be called to join, and in which no rank could possibly be assigned it. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) "BERRYER, Bâtonnier of the order of Advocates of Paris."

Every day Bonaparte receives similar affronts. Everybody delights in making these salutations to his Majesty. It is an incessant war of quolibets, of lampoons, of puns, of bon-mots; it is a war *à coups d'epingle*—you may say; but a *coup d'epingle* for a cock-chafer is as good as a sabre-thrust on the body of a man.

S.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

THE Austrian and Prussian ambassadors in Paris have at length received their letters of credence to the Emperor. A supplement of the *Moniteur* on Wednesday announced that the Russian ambassador had presented his credentials. It is understood, however, that the recognition of the Empire is not made by the three great Powers without reserve or condition. They are said to refuse to acknowledge him as the third monarch of his race, and insist on the observance of the treaties of 1815.

The German Diet has officially recognised the French Empire. The Ministers of the United States, Wurtemburg, Bavaria, Tuscany, Hanover, Baden, and Saxony have received their credentials.

The *Moniteur* says:—"The ratifications of the commercial convention between France and Belgium of the 9th ult. were exchanged on the 31st, at Brussels. It is known that this convention again places in vigour the former treaty."

Accounts have been received of Abd-el-Kader having quitted Messina for Syra, on board the French steam frigate *Labrador*.

The *Constitutionnel* of Wednesday has a long article on the restoration of the Church of St. Genévieve to the purposes of religious worship. The writer declares that the restitution of the Church to holy uses is not only a religious event, but a political one of the highest importance. The victory of Doctrine over infidelity is identified with the triumph of order and authority over anarchical principles. But in the excess of its new religious zeal, this estimable journal oversteps the bounds of prudence, and forgets the trifling virtue of veracity. After celebrating, in one paragraph, the restoration of the ashes of the Saint from Notre Dame to the Cathedral, it asserts that those same ashes were scattered to the winds in the troubled days of the First Revolution.

M. Druey, the Federal Minister of Justice, has addressed a note to the police authorities of Berne, calling on them to put a stop to the dissemination of works by Victor Hugo and Eugene Sue.

The Danish Government having repudiated its engagement to pension the invalid and discharged officers of the Schleswig-Holstein army, on the plea that no favour can be shown to participators in a revolutionary war, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha has presented a memorial to the Frankfort Diet on behalf of these officers. It will be seen that the reproach of the Danish crown applies equally with Schleswig-Holstein to the German states and princes who took part in the war.

The new Belgian Press Law came into operation on the 1st instant. The *Indépendance* states that on that day the booksellers of Brussels removed from their windows all such books and pictures as might subject them to penalties under the new system of restriction.

Letters from Vienna say that numerous arrests of workmen are taking place daily. The new English Ministry is not much relished in official Austrian circles.

The *Post Gazette* of Frankfort informs us that the immense military magazines at Coblenz are receiving provisions and munitions of all kinds, in quantities which suggest an expectation of extraordinary events.

The *Breslau Gazette* states that the Austrian Government has resolved, on the recommendation of a military commission, to surround the capital with a continuous wall of fortification, the extent of which will be five German miles (about twenty-two English miles).

The municipal elections at Leipsic have gone entirely against the Conservative party. Not one of their candidates has been chosen. This result has occasioned great excitement in Dresden.

Several Austrian vessels, stationed at Trieste and at Pola, have been ordered, with all despatch, to the Bocca di Cattaro, to watch the expected movements of the Turkish flotilla. The Czar, it is said, has advised Prince Daniel to give up the fort of Zabljak, and to withdraw into the mountains. The forces of Montenegro are too small to cope with Turkey in the open plains, while it would be equally disadvantageous for the Turks to pursue them into the mountains. Moreover, in the independence of Montenegro, Russia gains her point, and the aggrandisement of the principality may very well be postponed. The port of Cattaro is overhung by the "black mountains;" a Russian transaction with Austria, for securing this to Montenegro as to an independent state, would be to the Czar, in his permanent relations to the Petrowitch family, in all respects equivalent to the acquisition of a Russian port in the Adriatic.

Later accounts state that Prince Daniel had fortified every point of strategetic importance in the neighbourhood of Zabljak, that several skirmishes have taken place, and that the Turks had been repulsed, and 600 killed, at a promontory, called Kerba, on the Lake Scutari. The loss of the Montenegrins was also considerable.

Letters from Posen and Warsaw, in the Frankfort *Post Gazette*, state that the movement of troops towards the western frontier of Russian Poland is going on very slowly, and on some points has been suspended. The provisioning of the magazines, however, proceeds with undiminished vigour.

The Emperor of Russia has given orders that in future strictly scientific works shall come under the standing prohibition, which has hitherto forbidden newspapers to make any application of legislative, financial, or commercial principles to the actual state of things in the imperial dominions.

New imprisonments of citizens have taken place at Rome, at the instance of General Gemeau. The correspondent of the *Augsburg Gazette* states that the portrait of the new French Emperor has suddenly disappeared from the windows, and the faces of Louis Philippe and the Comte de Chambord once more see the day.

A grand-ducal decree at Florence forbids the wearing of masks or any disguises during the next carnival.

The *Corriere Mercantile* of Genoa, of the 30th ult., quotes letters from Naples, stating that the King of the Two Sicilies continues to display much goodwill towards France, and has despatched conciliatory offers to Paris respecting the indemnity claimed by Prince Lucien Murat, for the capital and interest representing the furniture and jewels belonging to King Joachim Murat, which the Bourbon family found after his flight, and never returned. The amount of these claims is stated at twelve millions. The King of Naples, it is stated, offers to reimburse the original sum without the thirty-five years' interest, but as yet no answer to this offer has been received at Naples.

From Madrid we hear that the royal decree, modifying the new law on the press, was expected shortly to appear in the *Gazette*.

On the 29th ult., M. Martinez de la Roza had a long conference with M. Llorente, the Minister of the Interior. It is understood that the Government consents to restore the honourable gentleman to his post of President of the Royal Council, and to support his candidature for Madrid.

On the same day the moderate electoral committee held a sitting, which is described as very stormy. Its members separated without coming to any agreement.

Marshal Haynau has been residing at Florence, where he has been received with great distinction by certain Austrianized aristocratic Italian houses, especially the Orsini.

The reduction of the whole funded debt of Portugal to a three per cent. stock has been most unfavourably received. The promulgation of other dictatorial decrees, on the eve of the meeting of the Cortes, is considered an intentional aggression upon representative government.

ABSTRACT OF THE BOMBAY ASSOCIATION'S PETITION TO PARLIAMENT.

[Petitions to Parliament, of which the following is an abstract, have been signed by several thousands of native British subjects in Bombay, praying for important alterations in the Government of India. Those documents not having arrived in time to be presented to Parliament, during its session just closed, this abstract of them is submitted with the view of drawing timely attention to the suggestions of petitioners so deeply interested in the subject. The petition itself will be duly circulated hereafter, in accordance with the usages of Parliament, and with the attention which will no doubt be given to the representations of a large body of the natives of India, who now avail themselves, it is believed for the first time, of their constitutional right of submitting to Parliament their views of the improvements required in the government of their native land.

J. CHAPMAN.

2 x, Westbourne-park-road, Paddington,
Dec. 28, 1852.]

The first paragraph adverts to Parliament having the "nature, constitution, and practical working of the Indian Government under its consideration," and submits the views of the petitioners "with respect to the existing system of Government, and some of the improvements of which it is susceptible."

2nd par.—The petitioners attribute the many blessings enjoyed under British rule to the British character, rather than to the plan of Government, which plan, they say, is "the result of circumstances rather than of design," and it is consequently "little suited to the present state of the country, and to the fair demands of the people of India."

3rd par.—Here they say that the last Charter Act "was confessedly a concession of principles" for terminating the Company's right of property in the country, and "certain exclusive rights of trading," and states, on the evidence contained in the 17th vol. of the "Papers" printed in 1833, by order of the Court of Directors, that it was understood by both the Government and the East India Company, that "the nature of the arrangements for the future government of India should remain an open question."

4th par.—All "antecedent difficulties" to the introduction of "a good system of government for the millions of peaceful and loyal British Indian subjects," thus being now, "for the first time," removed, the petitioners think the Honourable Houses will find it easy to "devise a Constitution for India, which, while it shall contain all the good elements of the existing system, shall be less cumbersome, less exclusive, less secret, less despotic, more directly responsible, and infinitely more efficient and more acceptable to the governed."

Pars. 5 to 7 are occupied in explaining "the inutility and inefficiency of two such clashing authorities as the Court of Directors and the Board of Control," and in their illustrations the petitioners quote the recent evidence of Lord Ellenborough, Mr. Courtenay's evidence in 1832, and the reasoning of Mill the

historian. Notice is not taken of Mr. Melville's evidence given last session.

Pars. 8 to 10 suggest the formation of an "Indian Council," partly, at least, elective; directly responsible to Parliament; a Minister of the Crown to be President; members to be well paid, so that the services of "the most able men of the day may be secured:" excepting for that of President, a previous residence in India to be an indispensable qualification for office, and the body to elect these members for the Indian Council to be "composed of persons having a real and substantial interest in the good government of the country."

Par. 11 says of the "Local Governments," that "they are conducted under the existing system with a despotism and a secrecy which, however justifiable and necessary in the early days of the British rule, are not at all called for in the present day; and, on the contrary, are most injurious to the character and best interests of the Government itself, and most unsatisfactory to the governed."

In par. 12 the petitioners complain of the efficiency of the local Governments of Madras and Bombay being very much impaired, and business being considerably retarded by the necessity, under the present law, of submitting questions for the decision of the Supreme Government—a power "with no local knowledge to guide its decisions."

In par. 13 they quote the petition of the East India Company, presented during the discussions regarding the present Charter, against placing "an excessive power in the hands of the Governor-General" calculated to "prejudicially diminish the power and influence of the Governments of Madras and Bombay, a prediction,"—which, say the petitioners, "the experience of the last eighteen years has completely verified."

Par. 14 is directed against the unnecessarily heavy "cost of administration in India," which might be greatly reduced "by abolishing sinecure offices, and retrenching the exorbitant salaries of many highly-paid offices," the duties of which entail "so little labour or responsibility, that they might with advantage be amalgamated with other offices," or be paid for at a rate "commensurate with the nature of the duties to be performed."—One case is given, in par. 26, in partial support of these views.

Par. 15 relates to the claims of natives to "a much larger share than they have hitherto had in the administration of the affairs of their country," and to the admission of respectable and intelligent men from among them into the Councils of the local governments, so that their experience may be brought to bear in the discussion of matters of general interest to the country.

Par. 16 quotes from Lord Glenelg's letter of 6th March, 1832, in favour of the selection of Natives for the offices of Justices of the Peace and Grand Jurors; also, from Sir Erskine Perry's speech of 9th February last, in favour of Native Judicial Officers in the interior, and upon this testimony, as well as upon the satisfactory conduct of two natives at Calcutta, one as a Judge in the Small Cause Court, the other as a Stipendiary Magistrate, the petitioners rest the claims put forward in their fifteenth paragraph.

Par. 17 draws attention to the 87th Clause of the Charter Act, which declares that no native of India, or natural-born subject therein, shall be disqualified for office by reason only of religion, place of birth, descent, or colour, and solicits from Parliament "due provision for the more extensive employment of Natives of India, suitably qualified for the Government service, and for their elevation to the highest offices of the State."

Pars. 18 and 19 advert to nearly all important posts in the civil administrations of India being exclusively in the hands of the "Covenanted Civil Service of the East India Company," the members of which, both the competent and the incompetent educated at Hayleybury, have equally the parliamentary right "to supply the vacancies in the civil establishments in India."

Par. 20 urges that while the education given at Hayleybury is manifestly insufficient to enable a young man to administer the law, civil and criminal, Hindoo and Mahomedan, to a whole district, yet no other provision is made to confer competency for judicial duties on civil officers, nor are they required to qualify themselves.

Par 21 states that in this service the members rise by seniority, are often transferred from revenue, financial, or political duties, to those of the judicial kind, and are practically irresponsible; they further say that the local governments are debarred from availing themselves of the services of more competent persons, who happen not to be of the privileged order.

Par 22 avers that, through this exclusive system of employ, the Courts of Justice are handed over to those least qualified to collect the revenue; and that, in consequence, decisions are unsatisfactory, appeals numerous, proceedings costly, and the final result very long delayed.

Par. 23, accordingly, prays that if the exclusive service be continued, each of its members should be confined to one of its departments, that promotion by seniority be abolished, and that "a high standard of qualification should be exacted from all who are appointed to judicial offices in India."

Pars 24 and 25 complain of the cost of the Indian Civil Service, the salaries averaging £1750 per annum each, and they refer to recent evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons as to the able services of Native Uncovenanted Servants, "at a mere fraction of the charge of Covenanted Servants," and the propriety, therefore, of using that agency more extensively.

Par. 26 points to the Post Office, as one of many which ought to be thrown open to the Uncovenanted Service, observing that, "within the last ten years, there have been eight different postmasters at this presidency, drawing between 2000*l.* and 3000*l.* a year, while the work has been chiefly performed by a deputy receiving 700*l.* per annum," and that, through want of proper training of those placed as heads of the department, "the Post Office, as a system, is believed to be infinitely below what it would have been had a qualified person been sent out from England to take permanent charge of it."

Par. 27.—Finally, upon the question of public servants, the petitioners recommend to the grave consideration of Parliament the petition of the East India Company to Parliament in 1833, wherein they pledge themselves as follows: "Throughout the correspondence which has passed with His Majesty's Ministers, your petitioners have declared upon this point, that the arrangement which shall most effectually provide the means of giving Government servants to the Indian Empire, is that which shall assuredly meet the views of the Court, whatever its effects may be on their patronage; and it is because your petitioners are deliberately convinced that efficiency will be more likely to be obtained in a general system of education, brought to the standard of a high test of examination, than in any exclusive system, that the Court confidently ask your Honourable House to abolish the College."

Pars. 28 and 29 are devoted to considering the deficient means of internal communication; "this want," say the petitioners, "discourages increase of production, by shutting out the producers from any remunerative market, and prevents, in periods of distress, the scarcity of one district being mitigated by the plenty in another. Instances are recorded wherein the supplies designed to relieve famine in a district were, in the course of transit, consumed before they reached their destination. Were this obstruction to the industry and resources of the country taken off, by the construction of railways, roads, piers, wharves, and other useful works, large tracts of land now lying waste, more particularly in the cotton districts, would be put under cultivation, and the supply of this most important article of export to Great Britain would be increased at least tenfold." In corroboration of these views, the petitioners take the following quotation from a memorial from the leading merchants and bankers of Bombay, in 1850, to the address of the present Governor-General, to wit:—"So miserably inadequate are the means of communication in the interior, that many valuable articles of produce are, for want of carriage and a market, often left to perish in the field, while the cost of those which do find their way to this port is enormously enhanced, to the extent, sometimes, of 200 per cent. Considerable quantities never reach their destination at all, and the quality of the remainder is almost universally deteriorated." They also refer to several able letters in the *London Times* in November and December, 1850, and September, 1851, "by a distinguished Engineer officer of the Bombay Army," which "clearly point out the deficiency of the present means of communication in the interior, and particularly in Gujerat." The petitioners "suggest that five per cent. of the amount of Land Revenue should be annually expended in the District whence it is levied, in making roads, bridges, tanks, and other works of similar utility." And they observe, further, that "all such expenditure would be speedily repaid in the increased revenue arising from the impulse given to production, by opening up new markets for the sale of produce." In fine, say they, "your petitioners observe that this most important recommendation has been made repeatedly to the Local and Supreme Governments here, by some of its eminent and most experienced officers, but they have learnt with deep regret that it has been as frequently set aside by the Home authorities."

Par. 30 shows that out of a net land revenue of 1,028,285*l.* the Government devotes only 12,500*l.*, or less than one and a quarter per cent., for educational purposes, and they conclude this subject in the following words:—"Your petitioners beg to draw the special attention of your Honourable House to this subject, and believe that all the reforms and all the improvements sought for, or in the power of your Honourable House to make, are but secondary in importance compared with the necessity of introducing a complete system of education for the masses of the people. That such expenditure would eventually increase the revenues of the country, both by teaching the people new and better modes of production, as well as habits of economy and prudence, cannot be doubted; and your petitioners would suggest the propriety of establishing in each Presidency an University, after Mr. Cameron's plan, for the purpose of qualifying persons to practise of the various professions, and rendering them eligible for Government employment."

Par. 31 closes the petition, and prays Parliament to embody in any measure of legislation, which may come before it for the future government of India, the principles hereinbefore set forth, and that those august bodies "will not rest content, but adjourn the final settlement of the plan of the Indian Government until all available information from trustworthy, competent, and disinterested sources," has been laid before it; and the petitioners venture to hope that Parliament "will limit the period of existence for any future Government of India to ten years, in order that the interests of so many millions of British subjects may be more frequently brought under its consideration."

HARD TIMES AT "MODERN TIMES."

[MANY will remember previous communications which we have inserted from the pen of an intelligent traveller in America, relating to the "Trial Village" of the new "Equitable Commerce" System—the very opposite pole of Communism. We are now enabled to add a further report of this experiment, which will help to keep the reader acquainted with *both sides* of the Industrial problem.]

Brooklyn, 1852.

MY DEAR ION,—Having, at length, some little leisure, I take up my pen to communicate to you what I saw and heard, and thought, on a recent visit to "Modern Times."

It was evident the moment I left the railway train at the station, some mile or so from the sturdy young village, that great progress had been made in twelvemonths. Houses of various sizes and styles of architecture, from the rude log cabin to the neat and almost elegant cottage residence, were dotted here and there where a year ago I left dismal stunted pines and tough oak brushwood—a stubborn foe to the clearer of land that I never saw till I came to this country. As I approached nearer I found gardens that seemed struggling into existence amid the piles of lumber, lime, sand, mortar, bricks, and all the materials and implements of the builder's art which were lying everywhere around.

After calling upon an old friend in the outskirts of the new village, I made the best of my way, past *a certain acre* devoted, as soon as the time shall come, to a *unitary residence*, to the college that is to be, and found a plain building of some extent, of which the foundations were being laid when I left last August, occupied for the present by the small village store, and some three or four families, as their temporary residence until their own houses can be built.

The store does little at present but illustrate to some extent the principles of Equitable Commerce. Instead of being, from early morning till late at night a sort of lounging-place for a lazy storekeeper, lying in wait for customers behind or before his counter, like a spider for the unwary fly, and a rendezvous for all the tippling loafers of the vicinity, the store is simply a store. It is open for one hour in the day only—that being the extent of the demand. All the goods in it are sold for what they cost; the time of the storekeeper being at present paid for in money at so much per minute for all the time taken up by the customer.

Among the residents in this building I found Mr. George Stearns, a gentleman from Lowell, the spindle-city of Massachusets, who emigrated thence last May, bringing with him an excellent little monthly paper, called *The Art of Living*, which had then reached its 17th number. It was worth a visit to Modern Times to be made acquainted with the proprietor.

I had not time to obtain any exact statistics, but I think the population of the village must now amount in all to some fifty or sixty souls. There will be a considerable addition before the summer is over.

Nearly all the men are engaged in building. The demand for houses by persons desirous of coming to swell this little band of social regenerators is very brisk. Six more have to be erected before winter, and this does not meet the demand.

I was struck by the great improvement in the style of building. One single-story cottage now being finished is a perfect little *bijou* of a village residence. The fact is, the first builders were but amateurs, the master builder and architect having been a cabinet maker by trade, and his most efficient assistant a machine maker (a valuable citizen at Modern Times), who being a Yankee of the pure breed, could of course turn his hand pretty efficiently to carpentering. Now, however, there is a regular carpenter, as well as a mason, a painter, and a tinman—the latter important here, where tin roofs are much in vogue, and deservedly so, as far as I can judge, for their cheapness, efficiency, and durability.

A glimpse of the working of the principles may be obtained from the operations of this troup of builders. If I were to apply to the master-builder to put up a house, supposing that in the exercise of his sovereignty as an individual he were inclined to undertake work for me, he would proceed to build according to order. For his own time and trouble in working and superintending the work of others, he would make a specific charge per hour, and would charge me with all that he paid others for labour, and the nett cost of the materials, but with no cent. of profit. Every one would work in his own way, and at his own price, for the individual is supreme, and Labour, not "Commerce," is king.

But now, if some one whose labour is in demand at Modern Times, as, for instance, a mechanic in any of the building trades, went there, he would be able to procure all the labour required for the erection of his house in return for his *labour notes*,—*i. e.*, on the credit of his future labour; and probably a house which would cost me 1000 dollars if I took only hard cash—glittering Californian or Australian gold—could be procured by him with less than half that amount of money. Very comfortable houses have been put up for people with only some 100 dollars in cash. Several houses are, I understand, now being erected thus.

Last winter was very severe, and some of the poorer of the first pioneers had a sharp trial of their zeal. "Modern Times" proved for them worthy of the nickname which a friend of mine, who does not like the movement, has bestowed upon it: "Hard Times." For, there being no association, the first leaders cherishing a horror of *Fraternity-Sentimentalism*, every one had to shift for himself as he best could. In the coming winter, they will be at least better provided with habitations. Work will perhaps run short when building operations can be no longer carried on; but they have more chances now. The tinman is a stove-maker also, and may push his trade; the carpenter may find in-door work for other hands than his own in preparing doors and windows for the houses to be built next spring; and if arrangements could be made to do the work, a considerable quantity of stereotyping would be put in their way by an ardent social reformer of my acquaintance; so that I hope to have only good news to tell you of this movement, which certainly does inspire its votaries here, however few their numbers, with a confidence and zeal that cannot be surpassed, and have, perhaps, seldom been equalled.

H. E.

RAILWAY COLLISION: EIGHT KILLED!

THERE has been a fatal kind of jousting, *à l'outrance*, as they formerly said, on the North-western Railway, near Oxford. Eight persons were killed in the process; that is more than General Godwin has lost from the shot of the enemy in all the Burmese campaign; and if as many were killed in an encounter with the Kafirs we should consider it calamitous, perhaps dishonourable.

There is a line running out of Oxford northwards, called the Buckinghamshire Railway; it joins the North-western, and indeed belongs to that proprietary. For some time past, owing to a land slip in the Wolvercot tunnel, about a mile from Oxford, only one, the up-line, has been kept clear for the ordinary traffic, which has been worked between that place and Islip by means of signals. On Monday evening, a passenger train of three carriages—one third, another second, and the last first class—was prepared to start from Oxford at 5.30 on Monday evening. Mr. Blott, the station-master, appears to have given instructions to the driver of this train, named Tarry, the guard Kinch, and his fireman, that it was to await the arrival of a coal train, due at the station at 5.20, and which had been telegraphed as on its way from Islip, the next station. He then went to his office, and in the meantime a ballast train engine, without any train behind it, came on the down-line to the ticket platform, showing a white light on its buffer beam, and not a green light, as would have been the case with the coal train. As soon as the ballast engine arrived, without waiting to notice whether it was the coal-train or not, and totally disregarding the signals, the driver of the passenger-train started it, and we are told that he set off with unusual speed, contrary to the regulations of the company, which enjoin that he shall start with great care, observing that he has the whole of his train before he goes beyond the limits of the station. When he set off, Hayes, the ticket-collector, in vain called to Tarry to stop, and Mr. Blott, the station-master, and the servants of the company, ran along with the same object, but of course to no purpose. As they passed the ballast-engine, Kinch, the guard, observing that it was not the coal-train which was expected, and anticipating what would happen, put on the breaks hard, and displayed the usual flag-signal to stop, but no notice was taken of it

though it was the duty of the stoker to look back when leaving a station to see that all was right. The policeman at the bridge a little way out of Oxford, probably from habit, appears to have changed the red for the green, or "go on" signal. Thus the train proceeded, attaining fresh speed as it went along, the passengers being all second or third class in front, while the empty first-class carriage was behind. About a mile out of Oxford the expected coal-train came in sight from the opposite direction, drawn by two engines, but even then the infatuated driver is said never to have shut off the steam, and the result was a frightful collision.

The consequences were instant and horrible. Of the twenty-one passengers eight were killed, five of the railway servants, at once. Two boys only escaped with whole bones and without bruises. An eye-witness describes the scene as he saw it, a few moments after the catastrophe:—

"The most conspicuous object was the ragged outline of a carriage-end mounted high into the air, and clearly defined against the clear star-sprinkled sky. One engine I saw turned over into a watery ditch on the left side, and two others lay beyond it (for the coal-train had two engines); one of the tenders lay right across the down line, and the water was still pouring rapidly from its cistern. In the midst of these iron ruins one of the furnaces was still fiercely burning with livid blue flame. The first two carriages were literally shattered to pieces, and the top of one of them was lying on the down line of rails, and formed a platform on which the bodies of the wounded were placed, until they could be put into a first-class carriage, which yet remained nearly entire, and removed to Oxford again."

All around were floods. The driver who was saved jumped into the water. After the fatal smash, it is said Mr. Cardwell, who was waiting for his wife, hastened to the spot, and rendered the most effectual assistance in directing the exertions of those who ran to aid the sufferers.

The inquest was opened on Wednesday at the Star Hotel, Oxford. The coroner, Mr. William Brunner, said that it would be the best course to adjourn the inquiry for a few days, in order to collect evidence, on the part of the Company, particularly as to the rules by which their officers were governed, and the precise amount of responsibility imposed on each. The jury having viewed the body, James Smith, foreman over the engines and engine-men at the Oxford station, stated that he could identify the body at the infirmary as Samuel Wilcox, a fireman in the employ of the company, attached to No. 220 engine. That engine was on Monday last bringing a coal train from Rugby to Oxford. The driver was John Lee, who escaped. He identified as well the bodies of John Tarry, engine-driver of the passenger train; of Robert Bugden, the fireman, and of Joseph Kinch, the guard. He also knew the body of Thomas Landon, fireman to engine 124, the first attached to the coal train. The driver of that was Robert Law, whose body was at the Victoria Inn. It was his (Smith's) duty to see the engines were in working order, and the men fit to go with them. In his absence it was the duty of the station-master and the policemen to see that the men were in a fit state to do their work. Did not speak to Tarry when he saw him waiting with his train at Islip, but saw that he was fit for his duty. Tarry was a sober steady man. There had been only one line of rails at work between Oxford and Islip since the 15th or 16th of December. It was the up-line. The contractor had the other for the repairs of the tunnel at Wolvercote. Under the tunnel there was at this time only one line of rails. There was no one at Oxford in witness's absence who was responsible for seeing whether a driver was in a fit state; but if any one on the platform saw him the worse for drink, they would take notice of it. If witness had been at Oxford, he should have examined the engine; and if anything had been the matter with it, and he had not substituted another, he would have been responsible. Since the 16th December, it had been the practice for the half-past five train to remain in Oxford till the coal-train arrived. When he saw Tarry at Islip he was satisfied he was fit to proceed with the engine. A coal-train was due every night at twenty minutes after five.

John Lee, driver of engine 220, stated that he left Bletchley at ten minutes after three, and was about twenty minutes behind time. There were two engines on account of the heavy load, there being fifty-four waggons of coal and a break-waggon. His was second engine, the first being number 124, of which Landon was fireman. At Islip station he asked the policeman whether it was all right to go on, and the answer was "Yes." He stopped at Islip from seven to ten minutes, while changing lines, crossing from the down to the up line, in consequence of the works going on at Wolvercote Tunnel. It was on the printed bill that the coal-train should stop at Banbury-road if required. He did not inquire at Banbury-road if the way was clear, as he had a signal (green) that it was all right, but to go slowly. He went at about five to six miles an hour to the tunnel, and about four miles an hour in the tunnel. After he got through the tunnel the speed was increased to about seven or eight miles an hour. It is an incline from the tunnel to Oxford. There is a board as you come out of the tunnel on the Oxford side, on which were the words, "slacken speed." They were coming down the line, witness being on the second engine, and he saw the lights of a train coming up, about fifty yards from the wooden bridge going into Port Meadow. At first he was not sure it was a train, but on a second look he saw it was, and jumped off the engine. He was going about six miles an hour, slackening speed, before he saw the train coming. He called to the fireman that a train was coming, and he had better come off; he appeared to misunderstand him, and he (witness) set the whistle open. The fireman was Samuel Wilcox. Witness fell as he jumped off, and did not recover before the accident, although he got up as quickly as he could, and he was not stunned. There was a collision between the two trains. When the steam blew off, he found Wilcox on the foot-plate of his engine, alive and conscious, and he asked witness to take care of him, which he did. He had heard no signal at all from the passenger-train, no whistle, or anything. The down-line was used only by the contractor, he believed. He could not say at what rate the passenger-train was going. He did not hear the whistle of the leading engine of his train. The accident happened at about three-quarters of a mile from the Oxford station. Thought it strange that the passenger-train should have advanced on his train in face of the lights. The passenger-trains have white lights; the goods, or coal-trains, green. There was no time to stop the train. The steam was shut off, which was all that could be done. He did not think he could have seen the danger signal at the iron bridge in time, if it had been turned on, but might have seen the auxiliary signal, about two hundred yards further up the line, if the train had not hid it. The policeman at Islip, since there had been only one line of rail, had always given instructions whether to stop or go on.

William Hayes, foreman, porter, and ticket collector at the Oxford station, had to see the carriages marshalled in order for travelling, and it was his duty to be on the platform at the starting of every train. He and all the other servants had a printed book of instructions. There was a rule that the guard should give the signal to the driver to start, by whistling, and the guard took his instructions from the station-master, or from witness. He was on duty on the platform on Monday when the half-past five train should have started. He knew that the coal-train, due at twenty minutes past five, had not come in. He left the platform, according to a general order, to see from the swing-bridge whether the coal-train was free of the line, and while absent, a ballast-train came in, and ran into the sidings. Before he could get back to the platform, the passenger-train had started. He called to the driver to stop, but he was blowing off the steam so loud that he could not hear. Witness had a signal lamp, but it had no red glass, and was not, therefore, a proper signal lamp. He had no means of apprising the driver of his mistake than by calling out. He knew by telegraph that the coal-train had left Islip, but he had ascertained it had not got to the ticket platform. He ran up to the guard (Kinch) as the train passed, and told him it was the ballast-train, and not the coal-train, which had just come in, and he instantly put on his break. The guard was in the last carriage. The train went out very fast—faster than he had ever known it. It was about seven minutes after time. He saw the driver (Tarry) about twenty-eight minutes after five on his engine, and spoke to him. Tarry appeared sober. Witness told him he could not start till the coal-train had arrived. He said, "Can't we leave till it comes in?" and witness replied, "Certainly not." Witness left the train stationary when he went to examine. He had examined the passengers' tickets, and then told Kinch, the guard, the train had left Islip half-an-hour, and that he must not go on. He understood witness, for he said, "Would it not be better for the driver to open his whistle?" Witness said, "No," for the line would not be clear whilst the red signal was on the bridge. The red signal was on at the bridge facing Oxford. The opening of the whistle was used to call the attention of the policeman. Witness then left the platform, and went up the line, as he had stated. The red signal was on when the half-past five train started, and it certainly ought not to have started. The signal was plainly to be seen from the platform. When witness found the train leaving, he ran to the policeman, who was about forty yards off, and told him to show the red signal in his hand lamp, which he did, waving it violently. The red signal on the bridge was changed (witness did not know why) for a green signal, which means, "go on with caution." The red signal signifies "danger, and to stop"; and had it been kept no according to orders, the train would have been stopped. A man named Bonner had the charge of the signal. He was certain there would be a collision, as the station-master, Mr. Blott, had telegraphed the coal-train from Islip to come on, the line being clear. Witness left the platform four or five minutes. There would be no one to act in his place during absence. The guard had no whistle to communicate with the driver. There is no audible signal. The guard has a red lamp, and had the engine-man observed the 21st rule, to look back at the carriages, he would have seen the red signal.

APSLEY HOUSE—THE PRIVATE VIEW.

AN announcement has appeared in the daily papers that Apsley House will be opened to the public next week. A private view, to which members of the press were courteously invited, was given on Thursday. The rooms partially thrown open are—four drawing-rooms, the picture-gallery, (famous as the scene of many "Waterloo banquets,") the china-room, the secretary's room, the Duke's private room, and his bed-room. It is in the three last-named rooms that the most attaching interest is centred, and we are glad to be told that everything, table, desk, books, papers, even to the battered old wooden despatch-box that served through all his campaigns, remains exactly as the Duke left it. The chief paintings in the picture-gallery are the "Agony," by Correggio, formerly in the palace at Madrid; some remarkable heads by Velasquez; two or three Titians and Murillos; and a good many gems of the Dutch school, among which Teniers, Backhuysen, and Wouvermans are conspicuous. The modern pictures are numerous. Chief are Wilkie's "Chelsea Pensioners," and its companion, "Greenwich Pensioners," by Burnet; "Van Amburgh," by Landseer; the "Melton Hunt," by Grant; and the "Battle of Waterloo," by Allen. These, with the portraits, are principally distributed over the drawing-rooms. More than once we find a portrait or sketch of the present Duchess; a lovely and most refined head, touched with an exquisitely saddened grace: and in one corner is a portrait by Winterhalter, of Prince Arthur, the Duke's godson, playing with a little soldier-doll. This was the last birth-day present of the Queen. Of the bed-room and its austere simplicity enough has been said to mark the grand old soldier's rigorous fidelity to the recollections of the camp. The three apartments in which he more intimately lived, offer a strange contrast to the heaped magnificence of regal and civic gifts—the porphyry vases of Sweden, the malachites from the Emperor Alexander, the candelabra from Nicholas, the Sevrès from Louis XVIII., and the famous shield from the merchants of London.

The apartments will be opened to the public on Tuesday. Admission, by ticket, is to be obtained by written application to Mr. Mitchell, 33, Old Bond-street, who has been entrusted with all the arrangements.

COUNT FATHOM AT THE LAMBETH POLICE COURT.

"A person of military appearance"—that is, according to the police reports, a person with exuberant whiskers, and moustaches of a fiery tint—one Henry Goodshell Johnson by name, otherwise Captain Johnson, was taken before Mr. Elliott on Wednesday, charged with conspiring to defraud a too-confiding widow named Stewart, of railway shares to the amount of 1000*l*., and also with stealing two valuable gold seals, a diamond ring, and other property of that lady, from her house in Barnsbury-road, Islington. It seems that, last September, Mrs. Stewart had a bill in her parlour window of "Apartments to Let;" that the captain applied, and wished to take the rooms "for a twelvemonth certain;" that Mrs. Stewart was particular about references, and the Captain decided to "call again;" that he did call, rather later than the day he had named, for which he politely apologised, and referred Mrs. Stewart to the proprietor of an hotel in Air-street; that on going to the hotel, Mrs. Stewart was met by "a tall, stout female, who had all the appearance of a hostess," and who described the Captain as a most gentlemanly person, a giver of dinners, a nephew of Lord Palmerston, and the peculiar delight of "all the great in the land." The result of her enquiry being so favourable, and the Captain being conveniently at hand, an agreement was made on the spot. So Captain Johnson lost no time in moving from Air-street to Barnsbury-road, Islington, and for a few weeks all went well. The flattering accounts Mrs. Stewart had received of the Captain's regularity in his payments were soon contradicted by fact; but still he was "so gentlemanly and agreeable," and spoke so handsomely of Mrs. Stewart's brother-in-law, "whom he had met at Trinidad," that the lady did not press for payment of her weekly bills. On the contrary, she drew out from her bankers, for the Captain's occasional requirements, no less a sum than 180*l*., part of which was to assist him in joining a promising speculation "to work a slate quarry." He also showed her a note from "his uncle, Lord Palmerston," and "talked about marriage." He

persuaded her to withdraw her shares in three railway companies, amounting in value to 1000*l.*, from the hands of her broker, telling her he could place them where they would be much more beneficial to her, "besides being more within a focus." She unfortunately consented to his doing so, and the prisoner wrote a note to her broker, the purport of which was that he should deliver up the shares to him, he promising to place their proceeds, when sold, to Mrs. Stewart's account at the London and Westminster Bank. This note witness signed, and her sister accompanied the prisoner, who delivered up the shares, and the prisoner informed her that they were to be sold on the 18th of November. The prisoner also at the same time told her that he expected to be paid 2000*l.* himself, and this sum he should also pay into the London and Westminster Bank. For the night of the 19th of November the prisoner obtained three tickets for the dress boxes of the Lyceum Theatre, and pressed witness and her sister to accompany him there. They did so, and in the course of the performance, the prisoner, addressing them, hoped they would not think it rude his leaving them for a short time, adding that the atmosphere of the theatre was so oppressive as quite to overpower him, and then left the box, since which time, until given in charge at the station-house the night before, she had not seen him. A note which the Captain had considerately left on the table, informed Mrs. Stewart, on her return from the Lyceum, that he was "off for Brussels in the greatest hurry," and that, knowing how she always fretted at trifles, he had not told her of his intended trip. Fortunately Brussels only meant Camberwell, and there the Captain was discovered by 142 F, at a house which he had furnished in great style, and in which he maintained a dashing female, supposed to be his wife. A remand till next week closed the first act of this amusing drama.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen still remains at Windsor. She has again been engaged in receiving some of her newly-appointed household. Lord Aberdeen has been at the Castle to wait on her Majesty.

The additions to the Ministry, which we were unable to give last week, are as follows:—Lord Hardinge, Commander-in-chief; Lord Raglan, Master of the Ordnance; Sir Thomas Redington, Joint Secretary of the Board of Controul; Mr. James Wilson, Financial Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. G. Berkeley, Secretary of the Poor-law Board; Mr. Deas, Solicitor-general for Scotland; the Marquis of Breadalbane, Lord Chamberlain; the Duke of Norfolk, Master of the Horse; the Marquis of Westminster, Lord Steward; Earl of Bessborough, Master of the Buckhounds; Viscount Sydney, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard; Lord Foley, Captain of the Gentlemen-at-arms; Lord Alfred Paget, Clerk Marshall. We omitted to state that Captain Dundas is appointed the third Sea Lord of the Admiralty.

We are requested to state that the Coventry Labourer and Artisans' Society have not purchased either the land or the mill in their possession; they only rent them.

Mr. Baines, M.P. and President of the Poor Law Board, promised the Leeds guardians on Wednesday that he would give the late amended order of Sir John Trollope his best consideration, with a view to judging how far it is consistent with the evidence in possession of the Board.

The quarterly meeting of the Royal Dispensary for Diseases of the Ear was held on Wednesday last, at the Dispensary, Dean-street, Soho-square, Dr. Lankaster in the chair. The chairman took the opportunity of advocating in strong terms the claims of the institution on the public, in affording relief and assistance to the industrious poor, and alleviating a most distressing calamity, and affording opportunities for skilful treatment, which, if such an institution did not exist, it would be out of their power to procure without considerable cost. Mr. Harvey, surgeon to the institution, stated to the meeting, that during the last three months, the new admissions of Diseases of the Ear, complicated with affections of the head and throat, and some distressing cases of noises in the head, were 313; cured, 79; relieved, 53; the remainder under the treatment of Mr. Harvey. The financial statement was read, which was considered satisfactory. Votes of thanks were passed to the Chairman and to Mr. Harvey, the surgeon, and the meeting separated.

Lord Eglinton left Ireland on Wednesday morning; and in the afternoon the Lords Justices were sworn in to act until the arrival of Lord St. Germans.

The *Adelaide* sailed from Plymouth on Monday. Previously to her departure she made an experimental trip round the Eddystone Lighthouse, which was successful; her speed against a head wind and heavy swell reaching ten knots an hour.

Letters from Vienna of the 2nd, state that our able and fortunate countryman, Baron Ward, first minister of the Duke of Parma, was at that date dangerously ill, and had so been for several days.

According to the *Dover Chronicle* the sea is making great inroads on the beach; threatening the shingle and bathing-machines!

George Stephenson was the father of railways, and it must be admitted that no man of science ever had a finer progeny. Mr. Bailey is about to sculpture a colossal statue of him ten feet high, which will be erected in the great hall of the station at Euston-square.

Mr. Heald is not drowned: the report to that effect was untrue. He arrived safely at Cadiz in his yacht.

Lord Auckland was riding along beside a farmer on Tuesday last, when the farmer's horse suddenly plunged and kicked his lordship's leg, causing a compound fracture. He kept the saddle until he reached his carriage where his wife was. He is fast recovering.

Mr. Nasmyth has sent the *Times* an account of a new floating mortar and touch-and-go-off-shell of his invention, which on coming in contact with the side of a ship would tear a hole in her side as wide "as a church door." "The result to the enemy," he quaintly says, "I leave to imagination to picture." Meantime the crew of the vessel carrying the mortar is snug out of harm's way in a bomb-proof covering. They are told "it would be as well to reverse the engine" before contact, "so as to back off and leave the enemy to his well-merited fate."

British boatmen are generally forward in saving life. We thought the characteristic was universal, but it appears there are exceptions. Starcross is on the south coast of Devon. Last week a young man set out in a sailing-boat, for Exmouth, alone. Shortly after, cries for help were heard from the river. A good fellow, named Tanewell, a policeman, at once ran to rouse the boatmen. The first "had no boat," and would not move. The second two refused point blank. The third was "sitting in his boat," yet he would not stir. A gallant fellow, a carpenter, named Rabjohns, offered to go, if only one boatman would go with him. They would not, and so the man was drowned.

Tigers may be tamed, but caging them does not effect that result. Tell this to sight-seers and possibly nine out of ten will laugh at you. Yet the warning is not wholly unnecessary. The other day, for instance, at Huddersfield, in Batty's menagerie, a young woman stupidly sauntered close to the tiger's den, whereupon, true to its instinct, one of the beasts clutched her by the knot of her back hair; and, had it not been for the resolute exertions of a little woman, who clung to the waist of the girl, and pulled until the comb fell out and the hair unrolled itself, the girl would have been seriously injured. As it was, she escaped with the loss of a pawful of hair.

A Greek vessel was wrecked in Bannow Bar, Waterford, last week—hundreds looking on; not one able, though all were willing, to help in saving the crew. The wind blew awfully, and the sea dashed round the doomed ship in pyramids of foam. By twos and threes the crew tried to save themselves, but their boats swamped. Five were seen clinging to the foremast—the ship parted—the foremast fell. The men were swept into eternity.

On the North Western Railway the following Notice has been for some weeks prominently posted:—"The public is requested to take notice that the company do not undertake to guarantee that the trains shall start or arrive at the time specified in the bills; neither will they be accountable for any loss, inconvenience, or injury which may arise from delay or detention."

No fewer than twenty-eight ships, conveying 8,200 passengers, left Liverpool during the past month for Australia.

There was an enormous chimney near Warrington, containing 3,500,000 bricks, weighing 3500 tons, and erected at a cost of 7000*l.* It was 406 feet high; 46 feet in diameter at the base, and 17 at the top; and used in connexion with chemical works. The owners having no more use for it, resolved to bring it to the ground by the use of gunpowder; and accordingly charges were inserted under the base, and fired; at the tenth explosion the structure fell into a hill of bricks.

Some time ago we noticed the freaks of the Reverend R. Moseley, the vicar of Rotherham, on a late occasion, who condemned in the pulpit the annual ball about to be given at that place, and went so far as to read out the names of the patrons of the ball as objects of public reprobation. The matter was represented to the Archbishop of York, who disapproved of the proceeding, and the *Doncaster Gazette* informs us that "Mr. Moseley has judiciously adopted the recommendation of his primate, by candidly avowing that it was an error of judgment in reading the names of the patrons. But at the same time he solemnly declares that no change has taken place in his opinion on the inconsistency of such amusements with a spiritual and Christian life. As we have no wish to protract a discussion on this painful subject, we are heartily glad that the good sense of the vicar, through the intervention of the archbishop, ultimately prevailed, and that he has withdrawn the offensive part of his declamation. At a meeting of the ball committee, held on Wednesday evening, and after the vicar's letter had been read, it was unanimously resolved, —"That he be informed the ball committee accept his apology, relying upon the admonition which he has received from the Archbishop of York having the desired effect of preventing him from using the pulpit of our parish church on any future occasion in such an improper manner."

Some enterprising subjects of the Queen forced an entrance into Ravensworth Castle last week, and carried off jewellery, notes, and coin to the value of 400*l.* Newcastle is obtaining an unenviable distinction for superlative burglaries.

Mary Ann Oldham, late a nurse in the union workhouse at Greenwich, was charged with perpetrating an act of deliberate cruelty upon a child six years of age. The woman, it was stated, had compelled the child to hold a piece of live charcoal in its hand until it was cold. The muscular contraction which has taken place renders it doubtful whether the poor child will ever recover the use of its hand. The nurse has been tried before the Common Sergeant, and sentenced to *fourteen days' imprisonment!*

Sporting extraordinary is, it seems, carried on under the metropolis. Last Saturday, two men, named Gardiner and Hawkins, were brought up before Sir Chapman Marshall, at Guildhall, charged with being found unlawfully in the City sewers. Police-constable 137 said he saw the prisoners coming up through one of the sewers' gratings in Throgmorton-street, and, having questioned them as to their object in going into the sewers, he took them into custody, when he found upon them eighteen live rats, and a key with which they opened the gratings. Sir C. Marshall inquired how the prisoners got their living, when Gardiner, who undertook the office of spokesman, said he was a master rat-catcher, and that Jack was his assistant. He had been at that kind of work, catching rats for parties who supplied the sporting gentlemen at the West-end, for a good many years, but Jack had only been nine months in the profession; they were, nevertheless, very expert in their hunting expeditions underground, frequently succeeding in capturing as many as from fifty to sixty in an hour. When they got into the sewers, they kept on running and catching the rats as they ran up the walls, and put them into a bag all alive, and afterwards sold them at two shillings per dozen to the regular dealers, who retailed them at six shillings per dozen. They never injured the walls, and when they met the commissioners' men in their ratting excursions, they were never interfered with by them. On the present occasion, they entered the sewers at the Custom-house, and made their way all round Whitechapel, and back to Cornhill, when the officer met them coming out. In fact, they knew their way all through London underground. Sir C. Marshall said, as the Commissioners of Sewers or their men did not complain or interfere with the prisoners in their extraordinary occupation, he should not do so, and therefore discharged them.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

In the week that ended last Saturday 1308 deaths were registered in London. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1843–52 the average number was 1218, which, with a correction for increase of population, becomes 1340. The deaths returned for last week differ little therefore from the estimated amount.

At the end of a quarter, as has been shown on former occasions, the weekly account is swelled by more than the just proportion of Coroners' cases, a number of which occurred at prior dates, but were not formally registered till last week. These consist principally of death by poison, burns and scalds, hanging and suffocation, drowning, fractures and wounds; and in this class 155 cases are enumerated in the present return. *Sudden deaths* also, comprising cases in which persons have been "found dead," where Coroners' juries have been unable to ascertain the cause of death, or where it has been improperly omitted to be recorded, amount this week to 43.

There was an increase last week in the mortality both of epidemic diseases and of diseases of the respiratory organs. Fatal cases of scarlatina rose again to 67, and those of typhus to 51.

Last week the births of 987 boys and 924 girls, in all 1911 children, were registered in London. In the corresponding weeks of the eight years 1845–52 the average number was 1522.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean reading of the barometer on Friday was 30·027 in.; the mean of the week was 29·643 in. The mean temperature of the week was 47·5 degs., which is 10·1 degs. above the average of the same week in ten years. The mean daily temperature was above the average throughout the week, and this excess on Sunday was 11·2 degs., on Monday 12·5 degs., on Tuesday 5·7 degs., on Wednesday 8·1 degs., on Thursday 12 degs., on Friday 9·2 degs., and on Saturday 12·2 degs. The wind blew generally from the south-west. The mean difference between the dew point temperature and air temperature was 7·4 degrees.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 1st of December, at Damascus, the lady of Richard Wood, Esq., Her Britannic Majesty's Consul: a daughter.

On the 14th, at Gibraltar, the wife of Major Cuddy, H.M. Fifty-fifth Regiment: a son.

On the 29th, at the Rectory, Hertingfordbury, the wife of the Hon. and Rev. Godolphin Hastings: a daughter.

On the 31st, at Berne, the wife of Andrew Buchanan, Esq., Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the Swiss Confederation: a daughter.

On the 1st of January, at Edgehill, Liverpool, the wife of the Rev. J. S. Howson, Principal of the Collegiate Institution: a daughter.

On the 1st, at Forest-hill, the wife of Henry Vansittart, Esq., Bengal Civil Service: a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 16th of November, at Bombay, William Marwood Mules, Esq., First European Bombay Fusiliers, to Ellen, only daughter of Captain S.B. Haines, Political Agent at Aden.

On the 18th of December, at Copenhagen, Eliza, daughter of Joseph Owen, Esq., to Waldemar Bauditz, Esq., Groom of the Bedchamber, and late of the Royal Danish Engineers.

On the 28th, at High Wycombe, Bucks, the Rev. A. H. Wratislaw, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge, to Frances Gertude, second daughter of the late Rev. J. C. Helm, M.A., of Wadham College, Oxford.

On the 29th, at the parish church, Prestwich, the Rev. Charles Evans, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and one of the Masters of Rugby School, to Susannah Sarah, younger daughter of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Manchester.

On the 29th, at Bradpole, Dorset, the Rev. Charles John Down, second son of Rear Admiral Down, of Ilfracombe, Devon, to Alice Mary, youngest daughter of James Templer, Esq., of Bridport.

On the 1st of January, at St. Marylebone Church, James John Lonsdale, Esq., of Lincoln's-inn, barrister-at-law, to Jessica Matilda, daughter of the late Samuel James Arnold, Esq., and widow of the late Dr. Herbert Mayo, F.R.S.

DEATHS.

On the 11th of December, at Paris, William Smillie, Esq., Advocate-General of South Australia.

On the 24th, at Smallwood Parsonage, Cheshire, Charlotte, the wife of the Rev. F. C. Twemlow, and youngest daughter of Randle Wilbraham, of Rode-hall, Esq., in the same county.

On the 27th, in Cambridge-street, Hyde-park, Helen Eliza, relict of the late Thomas Reid Davidson, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, and late Resident at Nagpore, aged fifty.

On the 29th, at Leamington, aged twenty-two, Aline, the wife of Henry Hoghton, Esq., of Bold, Lancashire, and third daughter of Sir Henry Jervis White Jervis, Bart., of Bally Ellis, county of Wexford.

On the 30th, suddenly, Sir Charles Watson, Bart., Wrotting-park, Cambridgeshire, aged fifty-two.

On the 31st, at Peckham, Lieutenant Michael Fitton, R.N., one of the Lieutenants of Greenwich Hospital.

On the 1st of January, at Hastings, John Nesbitt, Esq., of 9, Oxford-square, London, and of Lismore-house, in the county of Cavan, a Deputy-Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace for that county.

On the 1st, at 8, New Cavendish-street, Portland-place, Sir Wathen Waller, Bart., G.C.H., in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, January 8.

MR. GLADSTONE regained yesterday the ground he had lost by the Carlton Club surprise. By half-past eleven he had a majority of 5, which increased every hour, and left the relative numbers thus at the end of the day:

Gladstone 468
Perceval 412

It is quite clear that the exposure of the shameful manœuvres of the opposition has weakened their cause. Mr. Gladstone has written a letter to Mr. Greswell and another to Sir W. Heathcote, in which he states his true position. He had been asked the questions referred to.

"The first, whether I conceive that the interests of the Church are as safe under the Administration of Lord Aberdeen as they were under that of Lord Derby. And the second, whether in accepting office under Lord Aberdeen I have compromised or changed the principles which I have hitherto held, and on the faith of which the University has twice returned me to Parliament. With respect to the first, my answer is as follows:—Unless I had had a full and clear conviction that the interests of the Church, whether as relates to the legislative functions of Parliament or the impartial and wise recommendation of fit persons to her Majesty for high ecclesiastical offices, were at least as safe in the hands of Lord Aberdeen as in those of Lord Derby (though I would on no account disparage Lord Derby's personal sentiments towards the Church), I should not have accepted office under Lord Aberdeen. As regards the second, if it be thought that during twenty years of public life, or that during the latter part of them, I have failed to give guarantees of attachment to the interests of the Church, to such as so think I can offer neither apology nor pledge. To those who think otherwise, I tender the assurance that I have not by my recent assumption of office made any change whatever in that particular, or in my principles relating to it."

Dr. Hook, of Leeds, has written an excellent reply to Archdeacon Denison, which he winds up as follows:—

"I do not myself agree with Mr. Gladstone in all his opinions. I disapproved of the course he took in regard to the Papal Aggression, and spoke my mind to him with freedom. But if I could convince you as clearly as I feel convinced myself, that he is a patriot devoted to the best interests of his country, a philanthropist desirous of promoting the welfare of the working classes, a Christian illustrating the principles of Christianity in an unblemished life, and a Churchman who loves the Church of England, and desires to maintain her in that *via media* in which she has providentially been placed, you will vote, as I have voted, heartily for Mr. Gladstone."

The *Record* draws by no means a flattering picture of Mr. Denison in his new character as a coalitionist. We expected that his Low Church friends would estimate his conversion at its proper value. In last Thursday's impression of the above-named journal, we find the following complimentary allusions to Mr. Denison:—

"Mr. Perceval suffers much by being afflicted with Archdeacon Denison's patronage. There are many clergymen, who dislike Mr. Gladstone, at this moment hesitating whether it can be worth while to go to Oxford merely to vote for a candidate recommended by the Venerable G. A. Denison."

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"It is a strange sight, on entering Mr. Perceval's committee-room, to see Mr. George Anthony Denison, formerly the most strenuous of Mr. Gladstone's committee, now taking the lead on the side of his opponent, and still more to hear him openly maintaining that he supports him on no-Popery grounds. It is most amusing to see him seated in the midst of the lowest of Low Churchmen, adopting towards them the most conciliatory language and demeanour. 'Think not,' he says, 'that we wish to drive you gentlemen out of the Church; we want to combine with you against the common enemy, Popery; when we come to be more thrown together, we shall be better friends.' I deem it right to mention this, with the view of apprising your readers of the ground on which the Archdeacon openly professes to support Mr. Perceval, as it is to be feared nothing will tend more to damp the ardour of the Protestant electors and deter them from coming forward. Hence, such a nomination as the Vicar of East Brent's. Let them remember that the question is 'now or never.' If they make a vigorous effort now, they will certainly oust Mr. Gladstone, and obtain in his stead a moderate High Churchman (it is true), but a Protestant, an anti-latitudinarian, and a member of the National Club."

The Queen gave yesterday the first of a series of dramatic representations, commencing with *King Henry IV.* (Part II.) Among the performers were Mr. Phelps, Mr. Alfred Wigan, Mr. Bartley, Mr. Henry Marston, Mr. Harley, Miss Kate Terry, and Mrs. W. Daly.

Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control for the affairs of India, transacted business yesterday, for the first time, at the Board of Control.

The Prussian Minister presented his credentials on Thursday.

Baron Prokesch Osten is appointed Minister Plenipotentiary and President of the Germanic Confederation.

Birmingham was the scene of a novel banquet on Thursday. The banquet originated in a combined movement on the part of the Society of Artists, the Fine Arts Prize Fund Association, and the Society of Arts and School of Design, together with what may be styled the floating literary and artistic element of the town of Birmingham, and accordingly it attracted a good deal of local interest. Before the convivial part of the proceedings began, a body of ladies and gentlemen waited on Mr. Charles Dickens, and presented him with a diamond ring and salver, of Birmingham manufacture, as a testimony of their appreciation of his writings. About two hundred guests sat down at Dee's Hotel. The chair was occupied by Mr. H. Hawkes, the Mayor of Birmingham, and the duties of vice-president were discharged by Mr. P. Hollins. Among the company present were Lord Lyttelton, Sir C. L. Eastlake, P.R.A., Mr. Charles Dickens, the Venerable Archdeacon Sandford, Mr. W. Scholefield, M.P., Mr. Muntz, M.P., Mr. Geach, M.P., Mr. George Dawson, Mr. Ward, the painter of "Charlotte Corday," the picture which has received the first prize of the exhibition at Birmingham; Mr. J. Forster, Mr. J. Pye, Mr. D. Roberts, R.A., Mr. Maclise, R.A., Mr. S. A. Hart, R.A., Mr. C. R. Cockerill, R.A., Mr. Willmore, R.A., Mr. Pickersgill, R.A., Mr. Creswick, R.A., Mr. J. Hollins, A.R.A., Mr. D. Cox, Mr. J. Leach, Mr. Kenney Meadows, Mr. S. C. Hall, the Rev. Chancellor Law, the Rev. E. H. Gifford, the Rev. A. Vaughan.

There were some good speeches by Sir Charles Eastlake, Mr. Dickens, Mr. Scholefield, M.P., and Lord Lyttelton. Their topics were the condition and the influences of the arts and of literature.

Earl St. Germans arrived at Dublin on Thursday. After the oaths of Chief Governor had been administered he took formal possession of his post, and held a Privy Council. He was to have left Dublin again yesterday or to-day.

THE CONVICT KIRWAN.

The facts in relation to the following paragraph, which appears in the *Evening Packet*, have been the subject (writes the *Times* correspondent at Cork) of general conversation for upwards of a week past; but it was understood to be the wish of the authorities that the press should take no notice of the affair until the informations were wholly completed, which it was expected would not be the case until Monday next:—

"Yesterday the magistrates of the Head-office of Police were engaged in the preliminary investigation of a charge of a most serious character against the convict Kirwan. We understand that it amounts to murder. An artist named Boyer, who had been on intimate terms with Kirwan, disappeared from Dublin in a most mysterious manner some years ago. His wife has tendered evidence calculated to criminate this wretched culprit in his disappearance."

The *Freeman's Journal* adds further particulars:—

"The above charge has been the subject of public rumour and gossip ever since the proceedings were taken on the part of the Crown to discover and seize the property of the convict after his sentence. The story in circulation, whatever be its accuracy, ran thus:—Mrs. Boyer, who had been receiving an annuity of 40*l.* per annum from Kirwan for some years, came forward and claimed the house in which he had been living, in Merrion-street, together with other houses, and a large portion of the furniture, pictures, and ornaments, on the ground that Kirwan, who had been a constant companion of her husband, whose property they were, had obtained possession of them from him; that her husband suddenly and mysteriously disappeared; and that Kirwan had a deed whereby, as he alleged, her husband had made over all his property to him, but that he agreed to pay to Mrs. Boyer the sum of 40*l.* per annum during her life. She, not being in a condition to contest the point, was obliged to accept the arrangement; but when his conviction at once stopped her annuity, and seized all that was his at the time to the use of the Crown, she threw herself upon the justice and mercy of the law-officers to regain possession of what was hers by right. The examination into the truth or falsehood of her strange story has led them step by step to the investigation which is now pending, and, if rumour speaks truly, there will be even further investigations into other mysterious matters connected with the career of the culprit."

The following is from the Dublin correspondent of the *Limerick and Clare Examiner*:—

"Now that there no longer exists a doubt of the commutation of the sentence of this man, there can be no injustice done him by the mention of a passage or two in his previous life, which would not be so appropriate if his position were unchanged:—Some four or five years ago Mr. Kirwan induced a young and interesting girl, of respectable connexions here, to abandon her home and accompany him to England, where they lived for some time together. After the eagerness of appetite passed, the unfortunate creature was abandoned in Liverpool. I have not learned what her fate was since he returned to Dublin. After his return he was met by the brother of his victim, who attacked him, and gave him a tremendous beating, by which he was prevented for a considerable time from appearing in public. So soon as he had recovered, however, he summoned his assailant before the magistrates, seeking informations for the assault. The provocation, however, transpired before the magistrates, who, after a no very complimentary comment on his conduct dismissed the charge."

The Leader.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 1853.

Public Affairs.

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

WHAT MINISTERS MIGHT DO ABROAD.

ON entering office, the new Ministry finds itself in possession of two favourable circumstances: every species of expectation has been stifled in the country, inasmuch that we are reduced to a forced contentment with what we can get, except that the great administrative and parliamentary resources within the Cabinet itself justify an expectation that it will exceed its promise in performance. The only difficulty before the Ministry, with a path so well cleared before it, consists in the necessity of doing justice to its own powers, and in two of the three grand departments of administration, allotted severally to her Majesty's Secretaries of State at home and in the colonies the first measures in which the policy of the Government should be adopted are plain and unmistakeable, and they are included within the programme of the Prime Minister. Extension of Law Reform, of Education, and of the Franchise, with a sensible adjustment of our finances, are the measures expected by the public and promised by the Ministers, and there is every reason to believe that Ministers will be able to fulfil their promise, in measures not so showy perhaps as some that have preceded them, as sensible and useful. In the colonies, the principal difficulties are so distinct and so definitely point to the proper remedies, that little question can arise there. The first department, therefore, which raises some doubt whether the new Cabinet sufficiently conceive either its duties or its opportunities is the foreign department.

We are led to doubt both the insight and the resolution of Ministers by their own statements. We might expect that the colleagues of Mr. Gladstone should have a just conception as to the duties of sympathy between nation and nation, and the further duty of standing up for the right wherever it is violated; but the champion of the injured Neapolitans is put in the department of finance, where his powers of reasoning and his generous sympathies can have little chance of development. Three of the other Ministers have uttered sentiments employing the very reverse of a just conception. Lord Aberdeen's idea, in brief, is, that for thirty years we have persisted in accepting every foreign Government, *de facto*, in abstaining from interference in the "internal concerns" of every foreign nation, and in seeking the amity of every foreign nation. It would be difficult to describe a grosser violation of history than in this statement of the Prime Minister; but a man who misconceives the past scarcely knows how to start for the future. Again, Sir James Graham describes the effect of ballot and universal suffrage in France as if the people had made a real decision on the famous 2nd of December, overlooking the carefully planned conspiracy through a standing army, and the fact of a surprise unprecedented in history. Sir James construes the example of France to indicate the policy of a limited franchise and no ballot in England; and if you drive his argument home, you might suppose him to be satisfied rather with the progress of absolute power by the instrumentality of standing armies, and pleased at the defeat of popular power. Lord John Russell somewhat follows Lord Aberdeen. Non-interference and amity form his motto, with the addition that English travellers, so long as they are not engaged in conspiracy against foreign Governments, must be protected.

If Lord John Russell is prepared to carry out this last determination with spirit and firmness, it will be a good beginning; we are not sure that he perfectly understands how far it may lead him. If we rightly interpret the principle, it amounts to this, that every British subject travelling abroad should obey the laws of the State in which he happens to be, and that so

long as he obeys the laws, he must be protected against injury by the full power of his own State, which shall, through its ambassador, watch over the due observance of the laws in his behalf, and rescue him if the laws be infringed against him. There has been no recent instance of such protection. English subjects have been wronged, and the utmost exacted has been something in the form of a vain apology. An instance is now before the public, that of Mr. Henry R. Newton. It is evident here that the authorities have stated a falsehood to excuse themselves, and that the representatives of England have accepted that falsehood as truth. In other words, Mr. Newton is injured, and he is refused redress, under cover of a transparent falsehood; to which the English Government submits! This is not protecting English citizens, nor is it vindicating the honour of this country, violated in the person of its subject. If, indeed, breaking away from that pusillanimous policy, our Government were to insist upon full justice to every English subject, and were to enforce that with all its power, the name of England would again become a shield to justice, and every Englishman would be in his own person before the nations an example of freedom supported by strength.

The principle of non-intervention, even according to the newest interpretation, appears to us to violate a principle of humanity. If one individual see a weaker person injured by a stronger, his instincts prompt him to defend that weaker person, and to abide the consequences to himself, whatever they may be. If he should be injured or even destroyed, a great principle has been vindicated, and his life is well expended. It may cost a man or two occasionally to maintain that principle, but in the mean time the nations that possess such men are stronger and happier. The man that calculates the consequences to himself, and avoids an encounter for the defence of weakness against unjust strength, is a man of lower qualities than the other, and if he avoids material injury, he submits to a lower state of existence for himself. The same principle applies to nations. The nation which is generous, which is conscious of its strength, confident in its own principles, is prepared to sympathize with other States that reciprocate its sentiments, to share fortune with them side by side, as allies to maintain common battle against aggression, and to uphold the right. Such a determination may at times lead to conflict where unsettled questions meet; but conflict is not the worst fate for a nation—degeneracy is far worse, and a nation which is growing indifferent to the success of its own principles, to freedom, to honour, and to friendship, is gradually sinking to a lower state morally, and must, therefore, through failing powers, seek for itself a lower state materially. Nations cannot avoid the responsibilities of greatness, without avoiding greatness itself; and if England can see Protestant and Constitutional countries like Hungary, Belgium, and Sardinia fall a prey to absolutism, spiritual and temporal, she is herself losing her own instincts of freedom spiritual and temporal.

But if the principle of non-intervention is to be ours, it should be adopted thoroughly and explicitly: and even so, it may become negatively the instrument for restoring England to a more upright position, and for doing justice to those States which have too faithfully relied upon our failing alliance. It might be done without any too active or cumbersome operations on our part. Let us declare that we take *no* part in the internal concerns of any nation whatsoever, and let us erase all reference to the internal affairs of *any foreign state* from our statute-book. Let us wholly ignore their internal affairs, leaving them to enforce their own laws in their own way, upon British subjects as well as upon any others; only securing for British subjects that they shall be coerced by none but the known laws of a country. But if so, we ought to declare this new resolve. We ought to proclaim that we no longer sustain an interest in keeping the Pope upon his throne; that we no longer wish the maintenance of a Bavarian throne in Greece, or a Bourbon throne in Naples, or a Hapsburg throne in Vienna, or a Hohenzollern throne in Berlin. We ought to proclaim that we shall no longer enforce a law to prohibit enlistment in foreign service, which we ought to know nothing about. And to enforce the principle fully, we should prepare to form alliances on that basis—to establish an alliance with states pledged to prevent the intervention of state with state. Such an avowed abstraction of England from the effective resources of those great Powers which are constantly interfering with the internal concerns of foreign states, would in itself be a heavy blow and great discouragement to the power of Absolutism in Europe.

But, consistently carried out, the principle of non-intervention calls upon us for another great public act of duty. According to that principle, we should neither make nor meddle with the frontiers of any foreign state, but should cultivate relations of amity for ourselves, to each government *de facto;* arrogating to ourselves, within our own boundaries, the correlative right of doing as we please. According to this interpretation, the English flag should once more protect all under its shadow, so long as they observed the internal laws of our own country. In short, the principle of national independence and non-intervention should make us ignore all distinction between pursuers and refugees, and should make us restore to the fugitive the generous right of liberty under the British flag; once more extending to the political slave the hospitality which we now reserve exclusively for the Black.

One more duty remains. There is one great series of acts which wholly violate the principle of non-intervention, and belie Lord Aberdeen's historical account of English policy abroad. The treaties of 1815 were and are a universal violation of the principle that we are not to meddle with the internal concerns of any foreign state. England should cancel her signature to those treaties.

Such a course as we have indicated would be strictly accordant with the declarations of our new Ministers; it would be consistent in itself: it would not be an aggressive course, though it would restore to England a position of strength and dignity; and it would place her in a situation modestly but firmly to uphold within the limits of her own jurisdiction, the great principles of peace and liberty for the whole world.

HOW TO KEEP ENGLISH WORKING MEN AT HOME.

SINCE the summer, the English employer has found golden Australia introducing a new competition in that labour market where America had already appeared; and while the official emigration during the last seven years has increased from 93,500 to 366,000, there is every reason to believe that the attraction of labour for the most valuable of our colonies will continue throughout the coming year. The official emigration during the last eight years has carried 2,000,000 persons; by far the larger part, however, from Ireland. But that considerable abstraction from the labour of the country has now placed our industry in such condition, that their future draft will tell with a hundred-fold effect. That Ireland cannot readily spare much more of her labour, is shown by the increasing comfort of the people, which proves that production is now gaining in the ratio upon population. Ireland, therefore, is not likely to supply that constant surplus of labour which has operated so greatly in keeping down the value of English labour in the English market. On the other hand, the excessive increase of activity in every branch of industrial enterprise—cotton, cloth, and iron, coal, &c.—has already brought the demand of labour to that point at which any increase of orders on the side of the employer, or any further abstraction on the side of labour, must begin to exhibit an immediate result in an enhancement of price, or wages. Already concessions have been made to the colliers, and although we do not hear of considerable advances in any other trades, it is unquestionable that there is an upward tendency in manufactures, and that even in the agricultural districts, the first process towards an enhancement of wages has been seen in the absorption of able-bodied pauperism. There are manifestly two motives to emigration, which operate upon the large numbers hitherto transported from our shores—the desire to rise in the social scale, and the desire for the enjoyment of greater political rights; and both these motives operate most forcibly upon the very pick and flower of our working classes. Many a skilled artisan, well informed, prudent and conscientious in his work, feels that in this country the prospect of rising to a condition of independence is almost closed against him; soon he finds numbers who have already occupied a position in the scale of employers, descend in the scale of competition to his own level. At the same time he sees that, amidst the many reforms which cabinets offer from time to time, and of which instalments are promised every ten or twenty years, it will be long before his class in general can attain the possession of Parliamentary rights, and looking at his children, he foresees that their most likely chance is to remain among the unenfranchised, and he knows it is not so in America. There, strong-armed industry can soon secure a man at least an independent livelihood; and the boundless lands are open to his children. There, residence and the performance of the simplest duties obtain for him the full enjoyment of political rights, guaranteed by the old traditional English right of possessing arms. A very few pounds will carry him across the Atlantic. A comparatively easy effort will transfer him from a state of hopeless poverty and political disfranchisement, to one of hopeful activity and political manhood. While sheer distress has driven forth numbers of our best Englishmen, there is no official emigration to the United States. The very poorest *cannot* go, the least intelligent do not know how to find the way, and the consequence has been, that we have literally transferred the very best of our working classes to the United States. The full attraction of Australia has but recently existed. Until within a few months, the demand for labour by the colony has exceeded the demand for labourers in this country. Some time ago the length of the voyage was one deterrent, and the chief attraction offered consisted in the generally comfortable and peaceful condition of the colonies, with the offer of a passage partly, if not entirely gratuitous, conducted through a machinery specially adapted to select emigrants. Thus colonization also has drawn forth the pick of our people, though it has not, like America, appealed so decidedly to political motives. Within the last half year, however, the attraction of the gold has been added. Here was a guarantee for much more than the expenses of the voyage, and the official emigrant has now been accompanied by a great emigration of volunteers, at their own expense. These are drawn principally from the humbler ranks of the middle class, or the very best of the working classes. Those who emigrate are filled with the anticipation of realizing comparative wealth by exertion; and if they think of politics at all, it is with a conviction much justified, that the land to which they are going is in process of being filled by men who will have the means in their own hands of taking their own political privileges. For Australia, therefore, the attractions are, access to wealth through exertion, and political enfranchisement.

If English capital desires to keep a sufficiency of labour, and especially of intelligence, in its own service, it has now come to a point at which it must compete with America and Australia in both these attractions. It must offer social comfort to the working man, and political freedom. The subject is well worth the consideration of the employing class generally. It is assuming a real practical shape. Gentlemen of manufacturing dignity may think it undesirable to extend the franchise too far—to give men who are uneducated the trust of choosing a legislator—to grant any power whatever to those who have no stake in the country. But these nice refinements will soon cease to be available if the present transition of labour goes on, as the best authorities think it will. The gold attraction has but recently told, but it is increasing with the arriving accounts of every mail from Australia, and inasmuch as in its very nature it furnishes the guarantee for the expense of the outward voyage, the difficulty of finding the means avails but little to hinder the labour. If, therefore, the prosperity should put some check upon the emigration to America, it is not likely at present very materially to check the outlet to Australia, and that outlet, as we have seen, operates most powerfully upon the most valuable classes. Political incentives are thus become economical injuries. Nice theorists of a conservative-utilitarian school may think it prudent to postpone franchise extension until we have had education; or to make it gradual, with some property tax. But if they do, all we can say is, that they are likely enough to find the population going, and the capitalist class would find it a very hard business for them if they had nothing left in the labour market but the enfranchised constituency. If they want to keep the labourer at home, therefore, they had

better use all the diligence they can in providing him at home with those incentives that are drawing him abroad—political recognition and social comfort.

EUROPEAN POLICY IN AMERICA; AND AMERICAN POLICY IN EUROPE.

ON all hands, it is confessed that the United States are entering upon a new phase of their history, and European politicians seem disposed to aid in its development. Last summer it was reported that Lord Malmesbury had committed England to the defence of Cuba against the United States, in the event of a rupture. There was some ground for the report; although it turns out to have been very slight. The Foreign Minister did actually propose a tripartite convention to the Government of the United States for the protection of Cuba; but it must have been seen that the only danger to the Queen of the Antilles lay in the assumed aggressive spirit of the Transatlantic party to the treaty. The Whig statesmen in office, subservient as they were to European powers, instantly rejected this rather insulting offer; for no statesmen of America entertain the idea of seizing Cuba except in honourable war. Five years ago the views of the dreaded Democratic party had been expressed by General Cass; and they amount to this: We desire Cuba; its possession is for us a political necessity; we will buy it of Spain; should war arise we will take it from Spain if we can; should it become independent we will recognise its independence; should a European power attempt to obtain it we will oppose that power; but while Spain holds it, we will strictly respect the relation existing between us in every way. Then why ask us now to join a tripartite of defence? Thus was European intervention met by the statesmen of America. England, we believe, will not again engage in any such Quixotic intervention. But there are indications that France is disposed to try her fortunes, and dare the confederation. What will be the result? The reply concerns us in a twofold degree; as respects America and as respects our own safety.

It would be absurd even to imagine the possibility of war arising between France and the United States; were it not that the presiding genius of the former is characterised by an incalculable ambition, and that the new spirit of the latter has yet to show in its issues. We are compelled, under severe penalties, to scrutinise with anxious care, each symptom of the policy of Louis Napoleon; because by that means alone, can we learn his probable aims. We have seen enough of him to know that he can smile and stab; that his promises are hollow, and his words delusive; that, on his lips, professions of peace are more likely to mean intentions of war; and that, at all events, the more emphatic are his assertions, the more surely are they a blind to cover an ulterior and different purpose. And as words, symbols having a certain meaning with ordinary men and honest rulers, are utterly valueless when he employs them, so we are bound to look to facts; and we are further bound not to disregard the slightest or the most improbable in our estimate of his future. It is precisely at outlandish places that we may expect to discern indications of his objects; and overt acts are not all we can trust to.

When we read, therefore, that a French naval force has taken posession of the peninsula of Samana, on the island of St. Domingo, we have an indication of French interference in West Indian affairs. We find Samana is possessed of a secure and capacious harbour, at one of the most commanding points in the West Indies. We remember that St. Domingo was once an important French colony; and that the reigning sovereign, Soulouque, has been the most successful imitator of Napoleon III. Now, the citizens of the United States are extremely jealous of this covert intervention in the affairs of San Domingo. They are crying out against it; and, in the United States, Louis Napoleon has no spare popularity; and not many friends. In San Domingo there is a little republic, called Dominica; France proposed to be its protector; why should not the United States be the protector of Dominica? Why need France be called in; and a naval station be handed over to her, from which her fleets may issue and harass the commerce and the coasts of America? Is it likely that Jonathan will stand that? He is already somewhat excited at the bare report, and has begun to talk about the Monroe doctrine.

But the occupation of Samana may be as perfectly regular, in a diplomatic sense, as the occupation of Rome. Still Samana is by no means the sorest place in this business. Sonora, a large slice of Mexico, with a long coast on the Pacific, and only separated from California by the Gila, has been annexed, or declared annexed, to France, with the consent of the French consul. Well; that, if it were the consequence of a fortuitous concourse of Frenchmen, disgusted at Mexican bad faith and disorder, would not be a very wonderful fact. Stranger things happen. But the whole aspect of this event is altered when we find it preceded and heralded by the speculations of French writers. We are told by M. Daumartin that it is reserved for France to check the "omnivorous progress of the United States, which threatens the political and commercial supremacy of Europe." And how is that to be done? What, as another French writer phrases it, are "the initiatory steps by which Napoleon III. intends to commence an active intervention in the American continent against the further spread of democratic principles?" Why, nothing more nor less than what it is said Count Raousset Boulbon has done—"by planting vigorous French colonies in *Sonora* and Chihuahua," writes M. Daumartin.

France, then, has taken two initiatory steps. She has made one with a view of getting back Hayti and San Domingo; she has made another with the object of arresting the advance of Jonathan in the West.

Unluckily, however, for Louis Napoleon, the party virtually in power is the legitimate descendant of that whose mouthpiece, President Monroe, declared long ago against the settlement of colonies dependent on European Governments on the American continent. The party acceding to office is not inclined to truckle to old-fashioned diplomacy, or tolerate despotic ambition. General Pierce is not likely to take the "checks" of Napoleon III., without meeting them, and giving the drawer change in full. Congress, no doubt anticipating the views of the Democratic President, is, we are told, about to take high ground with respect to the recent movements of France in Hayti and Mexico. So that although the designs of the Emperor have hitherto been kept secret, once divulged, they are sure to be frustrated.

In fact, not only Louis Napoleon, but certain Northern prototypes of his, may be made to feel the weight of American influence in the world's politics. Non-intervention, spite of all the cry about the failure of Kossuth, is almost an exploded doctrine in the United States. The *New York Herald*, edited by a practical man, and not a partisan of intervention, tells us that a sum of money will be set apart to be used in aiding nations struggling with despotic powers; and now we are told that a motion in the Senate has been made to the same effect. Even should this be untrue, it shows the set of the current. General Cass, in his place in the Senate, insisted that America was one of the family of nations, and that she could not remain isolated, but must "keep on the line of political knowledge," share the general fortunes, protest against the defiance of the law of nations in the interest of despotism, and sympathize with, and morally assist, struggling nations. American policy in Europe will therefore be, as Mr. Ingersoll intimated at Liverpool, shoulder to shoulder with England in fighting the battle of constitutional liberty; if official England will be with America.

One more remark respecting the apparent policy of France in America. After all, these far-away movements may be a ruse to attract the attention of England from the channel and her coasts. Remember, the man imitates. Was not Napoleon's squadron to have made a feint on Jamaica, in order to draw Nelson off in pursuit, while the Emperor threw his thousands across the channel? Leave the Americans to deal with him in their own hemisphere; and let us be prepared to greet him warmly here; or, better still, knit together the two Anglo-Saxon peoples in a close alliance—the alliance of Freedom—and, if need be, defy the world.

EAST BRENT: THE FEAST OF ST. ERASTUS, A POLITICAL SAINT.

MR. ARCHDEACON DENISON is fond of dating his letters according to the saint's day on which he happens to write them. Thus, he places at the head of a letter with which he has kindly honoured us, "Feast of the Circumcision." Now in the Calendar of Saints one name is omitted; and as Mr. Denison would doubtless like to have his copy of the work as complete as possible, we beg to supply the omission; and to suggest that, when Lord Derby returns to power, or Mr. Dudley Perceval takes office, and Mr. Denison is made a bishop, he should date his announcement of the happy event to his new friends of the *Morning Herald*, and the National Club—"East Brent, The Feast of St. Erastus." And this will be the more appropriate, as the saint in question is a political saint, and as bishoprics are political appointments, and the religion of the Church of England—according to the doctrine of Lord Derby, the Archdeacon's modern Father of the Church—is a political religion; and her ritual, her creeds, her articles, are a compromise. Erastus, we should observe, is properly no saint, but we have thought proper to canonize him for Mr. Denison's behoof, as otherwise he might feel delicate in using his name. Erastus is henceforth the saint of the State-Churchmen, whose ranks Mr. Denison—forgetting that a "Churchman should have no politics"—has now joined. No doubt Mr. Colquhoun, and Major Beresford, and Lord Shaftesbury chuckle over their distinguished convert, and are ready to subscribe for a portrait or a bust of Saint Erastus, which might hang in the oratory at East Brent, where the image of One who broke the neck of Pagan State-Church-craft probably now hangs. And let there be added a portrait of Henry the Eighth, of George the First, and of Lord Derby.

Mr. Denison thinks that last week we did him injustice; and that our views of his conduct may be something clearer, he forwards us a striking proof of the justness of our criticism—namely, a copy of his address to the electors of the University of Oxford. This letter is, itself, an act of "political churchmanship." In it Mr. Denison avows that the Derbyites won him by promising to amend the management clauses; that is, Mr. Denison, accepting the pay, demurs to the control of the state over the teaching. He does not object, Erastus would not object, to accept state assistance in the matter of education; but he would limit the action of the state to that simple function of paying money to the church. Now state control is an inevitable consequence of state pay. People don't pay taxes in order that certain officials may humbly hand them over to the National Schools. The church at present is a political institution, and it must submit to the laws which govern such institutions.

But then the new cabinet, which a supporter of Lord Derby, without blushing, tells us has been formed by an act of "flagrant political immorality," will, it seems, bring latitudinarianism into the church, through latitudinarianism in the schools. Well, upon the principles of Lord Derby is that so inconsistent a thing? Compromise is only another name for latitudinarianism: and compromise, the modern Father says, is the basis of the church. So that, for a man, who accepts the *status quo*, to argue against its legitimate fruits, is not only illogical, it is ridiculous. Mr. Denison, be it remembered, eagerly connected himself with Derby and Disraeli; yet now he severs all political connexion with Mr. Gladstone, on account of his flagrant political immorality. This may be a political churchman's discriminating view of political morality; but it is not ours.

And what is most amazing in the conduct of the political State Churchman of East Brent is that the whole of his opposition to Mr. Gladstone, and the whole framework of his objection to the Cabinet, rests on suspicions. He suspects that Mr. Gladstone will do this, and not offer resistance to that. He suspects that the Cabinet will bring forward educational schemes, objectionable to himself. He suspects the whole Cabinet of dishonesty and insincerity. In the sweeping charge even Prince Albert is included, if we are correct in our reading of the following passage, which contains such a questionable pun:—

"Now latitudinarianism in the Cabinet in England, where the Church is closely bound up with the State, acts powerfully, and, so to speak, immediately upon the Church herself. Possibly certain unhappy influences, not exactly *germane* to this country, but which do, nevertheless, exist and flourish amongst us, and are taken, upon strong evidence, to be very favourable to latitudinarianism in the Church, may have had *something* to do with the construction of the latitudinarian Cabinet, as a powerful means and engine, and a step in that direction which they most affect."

Not our pen, but Mr. Denison's, underscored

the word which points the discreditable allusion.

It is impossible to read this Letter to the Electors, and not feel the melancholy position assumed by the writer. Are there many men, adherents of the High Church party, who believe, as he does, that any Cabinet, and not the Church herself, holds in its hands the destinies of the Church of England? Are there many gentlemen of High Church principles who have so "little faith?" Mr. Denison proves too much. What is the worth of his Church, what the importance of its claims upon the nation, if it be so slightly founded that a coalition Cabinet can shake it, and education undermine it to its fall? High and true Churchmen, whose case we are putting, would trust to their own energy and sincerity in the Church's behalf, not to the shifting forms of Cabinets, whether as high-principled as the present, or as low-principled as that of Lord Derby. If the Church can stand alone, no Cabinet can harm her. If she be rotting to her fall, no Cabinet can sustain her. Mr. Denison may depend upon it, that if the Church be in danger, it is not by political State Churchmen, like himself and his ally the *Morning Herald*, that she can be rescued. Her only chance lies in the spiritual simple-mindedness of her ministers, who, working apart from politics, each in his own sphere, heedless of the rise and fall of temporal powers, disdaining to be the tools of unprincipled ministers, shall carry out her principles fully and conscientiously, and accept the consequences. If that will not save her, she is, and ought to be, doomed to perdition.

REPUBLICANS IN STATE.

REPUBLICAN austerity cannot altogether repudiate the pageantry of State, a fact made visible to us in the reports of the American diplomatists to the department of State at Washington.

The reports, indeed, confirm the assertion of well-informed travellers, that living in the several capitals of Europe inclines to an equality. Mr. Rives explains how living in Paris is far more expensive than in the United States; Mr. Neal S. Brown explains how St. Petersburgh is emphatically, and in every respect, an artificial city—its taste and habits expensive, its house-rent, carriages, furniture, servants, living, and clothing, counting more than at either London or Paris; Mr. Folsom declares that the cost of living at the Hague is probably greater than in any other part of the Continent, and quite equal to that of London; Mr. Barringer pronounces Madrid unquestionably one of the dearest capitals in Europe; Mr. MacCurdy finds that as to the expense of living, there is not much difference between London or Paris and Vienna; Mr. Marsh believes "the necessary expenses of living are considerably greater in Constantinople than in any other European capital, with the possible exception of St. Petersburgh," about which he has no such detailed information as Mr. Neal S. Brown supplies. Every man seems to find his own place the dearest.

But Republican salaries have not been calculated with an eye to court examples, and the Ambassadors of America are abashed before their diplomatic coadjutors. Their straits are sometimes remarkable. With a striking *naiveté*, Mr. Rives proclaims that in Paris butcher's meat is fifteen cents. a pound, and twice that for "the delicate portions," fowls nine francs a pair, and ham thirty or forty cents; so that, "according to this scale of rigorous and unavoidable expense, the mere ordinary subsistence of a small household will not be short of 3000 dollars," besides house-rent, carriage-hire, fuel, and servants. Mr. Barnard cannot pay his way in Berlin, although he goes without a palace, such as most diplomatists have; and Mr. Marsh at Constantinople, proclaims the onerous prices of potatoes and asparagus. "The Dutch people," says Mr. Folsom, with touching particularity, "are great economists, and consume the least possible quantity of everything necessary for the maintenance of life. By this means they reduce the expenses of living to the limits of their incomes, which are generally small. But the effect is often seen in the unhealthy aspect of the people, and especially of the children."

How painful it would be if the little ambassadorial specimens of the Union, fed only up to the Dutch point of parsimony, were to walk, not Yankees, but Dutchmen, in the sight of Europe. Mr. Schank at Rio, finds 9000 dollars barely enough to support himself in the residence of a gentleman, although his family is absent. "No one knows," says Mr. Neal S. Brown, "the restraints which the present rate of pay imposes on the Minister, who is compelled to fall back on some subordinate rank of living." Twelve thousand dollars might do in Paris; 20,000, Mr. Lawrence thinks, in London; 100,000 francs, Mr. Barnard understands, is the salary of the Turkish Minister at Berlin; even the Sardinian Minister has 55,000 francs; and all speak as if the honour and interest of the American Union would be promoted by enabling its Ministers to cut a more respectable figure in palace, carriage, clothes, and hospitality.

"Courtly corruption!" the stern Locofoco exclaims. But we are inclined to think that the Republican diplomatists take a strictly matter-of-fact view of the subject. Even a Republic cannot do without the grosser symbols of State, nor is there any reason why it should; the maintenance of these gentlemen is not an individual, but a national affair, and it ought to be on a national scale. One quality of greatness is to be open-handed; and to be close-fisted is to be little. If the American Republic cannot enable its representative to put the delicate portions of beef before his guests, in Paris; if it begrudges a potatoe or an asparagus to its ambassador in Constantinople, there must be some point of weakness in its character which is open to attack, and which it would proclaim by its niggardliness. It is true that the intelligent brain, generous heart, and stout arm, make the good citizen, and that most men of her millions may typify the Union, but the Ambassador has to do more than typify his country; and if his children should not be starved to an unhandsome Dutch type, so his hospitality ought not to be below that even of the wandering Arab, who sets the best before the stranger. We need scarcely tell these things to our brethren in America, who are learning them so authentically through the official channels, and will so well know how to act upon that information; but the discussion has some interest for us in England, where a false economy, which thought it wise to bate and cheapen everything, did but so recently threaten to be in the ascendant.

MANSION-HOUSE JUSTICE.

FOR a lord mayor or an alderman, as an institution, we entertain the profoundest respect. We read books about his origin with interest, and we hear speeches made at dinners in proof of his utility with admiration. As a part of the city, a pillar of the constitution, an obsolete, but still venerable, usage of antiquity, he claims and is entitled to our regard; in one capacity only do we doubt his ability. As a magistrate he sometimes errs.

Not to make statements which would only be credited in the sister country, where, as we have lately seen, proofs are politely waived as superfluous, we will mention an instance in which a signal injustice seems to us to have been committed in consequence mainly of an alderman's extreme sentimentality overpowering his stricter notions of right, and rendering him oblivious of what we conceive to be the ordinary course of law.

It will have been noticed probably by those of our readers who, from duty or inclination, scan from day to day the records of crime which every morning's broadsheet supplies, that certain gentlemen, termed in courtesy "worthy," have of late years undertaken to "put down" various offences against society—suicide amongst others—and that they have gained, not undeservedly, considerable popularity by these undertakings. One magistrate, it will have been observed, has devoted himself to this hobby; another to that; and—no doubt through the sagacity of the police, who never bring anybody up unless he is pretty sure to be convicted—it has almost invariably happened that if a particular class of charge came before a particular alderman the case was satisfactorily proved, a heavy penalty inflicted, and the intelligent citizens in the court with difficulty restrained from cheering. We do not for a moment suppose that injustice has under these circumstances ever been consciously done; but we do believe that there have been very many instances of groundless committals, and that those gentlemen whom we have so often seen hovering about the recorder—a city appointment—during the trials of the very prisoners whom they have committed, have felt, without knowing it, an undue anxiety to have their own judgments confirmed, and have been disappointed when, as now and then happens, the prosecution which they sanctioned has been successless. In the present case the facts speak for themselves. They are briefly as follows:—A young gentleman, aged 23, was agent to certain shipowners in Liverpool. Acting in that capacity, he received from various emigrants the amount of their passage money to Australia, giving them in return a certificate entitling them to berths on board the ship of his principals. The emigrants got to Liverpool, where they found that, from some misunderstanding between the broker to whom they had paid their money and the firm to whom they were sent with his certificate, they were liable to detention till such time as a correspondence could set the matter right. At this they were all naturally enough disgusted, and the more timid of them no doubt very excusably alarmed. But what were they to do? At an outlay of six and eightpence they would have been informed by any respectable attorney that the broker here had been guilty of a breach of contract, but advised that, as probably he had been so unintentionally, they should bring no action against him till they had afforded him an opportunity of removing the unforeseen difficulties which had arisen. But instead of consulting with a solicitor, or possibly so instructed by a knowing one, they rushed off in a body to the Mansion House, assured the city Solons that their case was very deplorable indeed, excited furious indignation in the breasts of those worthy men, and finally got the civil action, to which they had a legal right, converted into a criminal prosecution, to which they had none. Great glory accrued to the humane magistrates; very much, we understand, to their surprise; no benefit was received by the emigrants; and absolute ruin is the consequence to the young man.

On Tuesday the case was tried, and the jury summoned for the occasion were informed that the offence imputed to the prisoner was that of obtaining money from emigrants to a considerable amount by false pretences; that he was not, as he had represented himself, agent to the shipowners in Liverpool at all; and that, consequently, the persons who paid him in the belief that he was, had been defrauded. Evidence was of course called in support of these assertions; but as, on cross-examination by Sergeant Wilkins, the chief of the hostile witnesses gave testimony in support of the defence, the Recorder was at length compelled to interfere, and to tell the counsel for the prosecution that he hardly thought the jury could convict, inasmuch as there was no symptom of any false representation like that with which the prisoner was charged, and as the only question was whether he had made any such. Mr. Bodkin assented, and the unfortunate young man, whom every impartial spectator knew from the first to be innocent, was then pronounced not guilty, and allowed to go free, with all the chances that a man who, justly or unjustly, has ever stood in the dock, is allowed subsequently of making his fortune. Now, who, we should like to know, is to compensate him for the evil consequences, extending through his whole life, of this most unnecessary trial? Who even is to make good to him the expenses of his defence? We often see barristers applying for the costs of a prosecution, and obtaining them, where that prosecution was needed, but how is it that the court cannot allow the expenses of the prisoner, when, as in this case, he has been specially retaining the best counsel he can get, who proves incontestably that the charge was one which never ought to have been made, because, as its makers knew, it never could be supported? Perhaps the best plan under such circumstances would be to compel the committing magistrate to settle the prisoner's lawyers' bill. Let City gentlemen have their enjoyments, but let ruining a man be a luxury properly paid for.

THE UNPRINCIPLED OPPOSITION TO MR. GLADSTONE AT OXFORD.

THE University of Oxford is for the third time in six months disgracefully conspicuous. Resolved, it seems, upon suicide. In the summer we had the famous onslaught of a Bullock Marsham, decked in the "no Popery" colours, and announced with trumpets and shawms, by the *Herald* of Biblical Derbyism, and the *Standard*

of Protestant Protection. In September followed the scandals of the smuggled Chancellorship. In January an unholy alliance of discomfited Tories, disappointed converts to State-Churchmanship, Protestant bigots, and Protectionist Anglicans, with other even less respectable elements of obstruction, convulses Convocation, distracts the peace of parsonages, and puts professional and rural Masters of Arts to all sorts of trouble and expense—for what? To satisfy the impertinent dictation, to flatter the inordinate pretensions, and to assuage the acrid suspicions of Mr. Archdeacon Denison and his strange associates on the one hand, and to do the dirty work of the Carlton and flaunt the flag of religious intolerance on the other. And as if the University were not in a sufficiently compromised position and could afford to sink still lower in public estimation, as if commissions of inquiry were not suspended over her head, and Parliamentary committees threatened, her dignitaries are found dealing in the meanest tricks of the dirtiest borough constituency: resorting to fraudulent electioneering manœuvres, jockeying like Frails and Flewkers, bullying like Beresfords, and after forging fictitious candidates, adopting as the supplanter of Mr. Gladstone a crazy Chadband, quite as orthodox as insignificant.

So underhanded and pertinacious, however, has been the canvass by the opponents of Mr. Gladstone, that his seat is really in danger, and he bids fair to share the honourable repulse of his great friend and master, Peel.

It concerns all those to whom the good honour of the University is dear, to hasten at whatever inconvenience to the rescue. Whatever differences of opinion may exist about the temper or the consistency of Mr. Gladstone's political faith, it will not be denied that no representative more thoroughly identified with all that is best in Oxford, by genius, character, and education, (and at the same time, more liberal in sympathies, and generous in tendencies,) could be found to represent that University than William Gladstone. What can be said of his opponent, unless it be that he too fitly represents the motley crew who are making him the tool of their dishonesty, their folly, and their malevolence?

THE GIBBET AS A PULPIT.

SCIENCE has established the truth, that every living thing carries with it the seeds of its own destruction; and that these seeds are facilitated in their germination, by contact with objects with which they sympathize and assimilate. History furnishes abundant material to the investigator, and wherever we find this truth appreciated, there society is active in the work of preservation, by withholding food from the desolating parasite: hence the mission of the apostle of anti-pestilence, and of every grade of reformer; and the fervent utterance of hope that we may be led from temptation and delivered from evil, embodies the desire which philosophical research is teaching us how to realize. Yet, in the face of these facts, those whom we would wish to regard as the wisest and most learned in our land, have permitted a statute to remain upon the books, which orders that a public spectacle should be made of the execution of a murderer, by way of *example*, to deter others from crime; and, contrary to general experience, there are those who are, it would appear, so eager to be taught by example, that we are informed by a contemporary, "at a late hour at night a crowd of the *habitual attendants at executions* assembled at the Old Bailey," in the expectation of seeing the condemned convict, Horler, executed on the Monday morning following, "and, although told the execution would not take place before Monday next, many persons persisted in remaining during the night, and at an early hour in the morning additional numbers arrived, and many were the speculations that a reprieve had been sent from the Home Office, others insisting that the execution would take place. The gates of the prison having been opened shortly before eight o'clock, and several barriers brought out, the mob began to be certain that the execution would take place, but it soon turned out that the barriers were required for the city of London election, and the crowd at length wearily dispersed."

"Wearily dispersed." Did they come there to stand through the long night, to witness a harrowing scene on the morrow, by way of penance for their own sins? Did they converse with each other, and speculate upon the awful debt the murderer had to pay? or, Did not these "habitual attendants" come again, some of them to feed an idle curiosity, and others to gloat their imagination upon the legal slaughter? What example is it, then, when we find "habitual attendants," and those not counted in tens, but in thousands? Is it not an example rather for imitation than avoidance? The more hanging, the more crime, which the following figures from a Parliamentary paper will prove.

In the county of Middlesex alone, there were, from 1810 to 1826, 34 criminals convicted of murder and executed, notwithstanding 188 murders were committed. From 1836 to '42, out of 27 convictions only 17 were hanged, and but 90 persons committed for the crime. In England and Wales, all who were convicted of murder in 1815, '17, '18, and '29, were executed, and in the four years following, the crime increased to 12 per cent. In 1836, '38, '40, and '42, 31 were executed out of 83 condemned, and in the succeeding years the crime of murder increased 17 per cent.

Weak natures, in the throb of excitement, yield obedience to the powers of contamination sooner or later, and the elements destructive to healthy instinct, which are found in the "habitual attendant," thrive apace and receive continued supplies of food to satisfy their craving. The highwayman and burglar have manifold admirers, and the murderer who dies "game" is an *example* which, to the debasing and debased, leaves in their mind an image, not so much to be shuddered at, as to be contemplated and spoken of with a brutal zest. It is really worth while to act upon these well-known truths, *although* the subject has been discussed until it is threadbare. The work of improvement has been slowly going on, in the suppression of harmful theatrical representations. Why not then suppress the greatest and worst in the Theatre-Royal Old Bailey? We have improved our treatment of juvenile offenders: have we not at last learned that it is not necessary to exhibit vice to the child whom we would make virtuous?

AN EVENING WITH A PROPAGANDIST.*

ADDRESSED TO ANTI-SLAVERY LEADERS AT HOME AND ABROAD.

(*Concluding paper.*)

YEARS ago, I sat one night on a platform, at a large public meeting in the North, to hear a gentleman of great talking-power make an oration against certain indefinite industrial oppressors, who occupied villas outside the town. My friend was then a Member of Parliament, but some little service I had rendered him before he had dreamt of that elevation, had maintained a speaking acquaintance between us. Poor fellow! he is dead now; but he had an eloquent tongue.

My friend that night made one of his best speeches. Even now the melody of his noble voice resounds in my ear. No music moves me like oratory. I, who can read Walkingame at the Opera, cannot turn my eyes one moment from a Master of Assemblies while a single cadence sways the human forest before him.

This is an excellence which I could never imitate, nor even attain the point of endurable mediocrity; but as many passionately worship the faculty they least possess, and worship it the more ardently as it is more hopelessly beyond their reach, so the admiration here confessed to, arises perhaps from the despairing distance of the gift admired.

The condition of the white slave was my friend's subject, and his generous heart had a pulsation equal to the great theme, and he had a great opportunity that night. The English Planter was there, part of the audience, as well as the factory Negro. Attracted by the reputation of "Parliament men," they had come down "just to hear what had to be said;" and the orator determined that they should "come for something." And he kept his word.

"Havn't I given it them?" he said to me, as he sat down, amidst a storm of applause. "Yes, you Magnificent Blockhead," I answered; "and don't they thank you for it? Listen to that half-suppressed titter in the boxes—watch the curl of satisfaction and contempt now playing on the cotton-lords' lips. *There* read your triumph! They should have turned me twice on a gridiron before I would have done them the service of that speech. You have afforded them a pretext for buttoning up their pockets and keeping out of your franchise agitation for six years more."

"What the devil do you mean? Come and coffee with me, and talk it over."

"What I mean is this," I said, the moment we sat down in the smoking-room of his Hotel; "that you have made a very eloquent and a very useless speech. Had I your Atlantean shoulders, your imperial presence, your lungs of Mirabeau, I would have spoken like the voice of Nature to those men. My cadences should have had the ring of fate in their ears. It makes me mad to see you lay your Sampson's head on their Dalilah lap to be shorn at their discretion."

"Ah! is that what you mean, Coldblood?" he said, in provoking indifference to my impetuous reproof. Then thinking some justification necessary, he added, "Look at the enormity of the callousness of these men to the misery around them. Their plethoric brains repose on down. If they would but open their windows before they sleep, they might hear the dying scream of famished poverty in the bitter night air. Gentleness, 'Ion,' only pampers the evil. They overflow with indulgencies."

"For that very reason treat them tenderly. In a venal and ease-loving opulent middle-class effeminacy is strength. Only exaggerate their ninety-ninth vice, and their piteous cries will echo through all newspapers, and drown the next people's petition in St. Stephen's. Your brilliant outrage upon them will bring them new attentions. The town will forget their hundred sins of omission in its decorous sympathies for those who give dinners and vote places. The poor man's life may be one long series of aches and pains. Nobody thinks of that. It is his lot; he is *used* to it. But if a rose-leaf is crushed under the cheek of affluence, all Town Councils and Corporations agree to an instantaneous vote of condolence."

"For that very reason," said he, fiercely, "I would make them feel what wretches feel."

"That's just where you are wrong, my Greatheart. It is not worth your while making them feel what wretches feel. There's enough of suffering in the world already. Contrive to make wretches feel less. You can't force these men, except through blood, and that's a new and a worse mischief, not an amelioration."

"What better course can I take than telling them the truth?" he demanded, in a tone of acrid expostulation.

"Beware of the Truth, my dear friend. Truth, alarming as the paradox sounds, is the weak point of the propagandist. As common men rise in adversity and fall in prosperity, so the advocate will steer clear through shoals of Error and split at last upon the rock of Truth. He does this partly from a commendable reverence for truth, which he looks upon as a Deity, rather than as an Implement of warfare. None of us must deal in Falsehood—we are clear on that point: but Truth may be used at discretion. Out of all that we know to be true, we must take only so much as will accomplish the end in view. A man rises upon a platform. He says he will speak *plainly*. The audience applaud. No one asks whether the orator will speak *justly*. The liar speaks plainly, the ruffian speaks plainly, but we detest their perspicuity and their bluntness. A speaker rises on the platform. He says, he proposes to speak the *truth*. The multitude vociferate with ecstasy, "*He* will give it 'em." No one inquires whether the orator will speak his truth to some *purpose*. It seldom happens so; yet that is taken for granted by those who are so ill-informed as to believe that *all truth is relevant*. The size of a town, the length of the streets, the height of the houses, the colour of cabmen's gaiters, and the width of the vicar's brim, are all *truths*—and yet we would not take in that newspaper a second week that distended its leading articles with such inanities. Yet these truths answer all the requirements of the populace. The facts cannot be denied. All is perfectly true—and perfectly useless. Every fact is undeniable and unnecessary. Nobody can contradict them, and nobody cares for them. The *Times* newspaper was the first to make a household word of the phrase "a great fact." Before it so christened the Anti-corn-law League, thousands of persons in this country were unconscious that some facts were great and some small. And to this day there are orators on our platforms who do not know the distinction. And there are people who applaud them for their ignorance. If you interpose to correct this sublime folly, they cry out, 'O! you have no enthusiasm!' And thus enthusiastic men go on, with great noise, throwing pebbles, when the age wants cool-headed, steady-armed giants to remove mountains.

"Frost," said he, with one of those inimitable waves of the head, that my plebeian toil-stiffened neck would never accomplish—"Frost, there's a trifle of thaw in thee yet; but I don't see what you are driving at. Am I to take Cocker on the platform with me, and work a Rule of Three sum at every round of applause. Your theory would all run into calculation."

Speaking, my dear Orator, in this quiet manner to you, one may say confidentially, what would be called dreadfully egotistical if uttered in the ears of the

* *Vide* previous articles on the "Anti-Slavery Agitation," *Leader*, Nos. 130, 138.

modest, unassuming world: I say, then, that my theory would convert the hot-copper of some noble-hearted men into the molten gold of conviction. It would make their truth like unto a lodestar, attracting all eyes and ears unto it. I don't say that all men are to act as I would have them, because it would ruin some of the strongest even to try. You get deep utterances out of Maccall in his volcanic way. But you would hear his voice no more if you refused him the freedom of an occasional rant. The fiery heart of Kingsley, so eloquent with passion, would grow cold if you asked him to pause over his generous accents. The Purgatory of Suicides would collapse, if you abstracted the Chartist vehemence. I do not include Thomas Carlyle in this classification. He does more than stir men's blood, he stirs their brains. In him burns the furnace of genius, by which the mould of his thought, intensified, is cast into beauty and strength. The old rhetoricians were not like you. They defined rhetoric as the art of *persuading* the minds of men. You practice it as the art of *irritating* the minds of men. It is of very little use to have right upon our side, and you think it everything.

"Of very little use that we have right upon our side? My dear theorist, you are at sea. Why, what would you have upon our side?" he demanded vehemently.

"That also which would make the right *victorious*," I replied. "We ought to know, with the wise Jansenist, 'that when we seek to move the minds of the people, it is a small thing to have the right on our side, and it is a great evil to have only the right, and not to have also that which is necessary for making it relished.' You have never thought of this. Out of all that may in truth be said, you have no business to say anything but that which will diminish the evil you hate. You and I, as good soldiers of the people, should weigh every word as a weapon, and use none but such as thin the ranks of the enemy."

"Well, there's something in that, I allow," said my friend, lighting his second cigar. "Take a cup of coffee, Ion, and tell me," added he, "do you mean to say that the Kingsleys, the Coopers, and the Maccalls, are of no value to us?"

"I have never said so. They fill the world with a noble shout, but is there any reason why the shout should not also be a *power*? Is propagandism to be an accident or a design—an ebullition or an art? Your friend, Lloyd Garrison, does well with his Vesuvian lava floods; but the question is, could not he and his brave colleagues do *better*? What you have done to-night is better than doing nothing, but your inquiry ought to be, have you done all you should? The enthusiast is content with doing something—the propagandist aims at doing the *best* thing. Why is the artist-spirit, which charms all men on the stage, for ever absent from the platform? Why is not the propagandist an artist?"

"You will tell me," I said, stopping my propagandist friend as he was about to reply—"you will tell me that passion moves the world, and intellect only criticises it."

"Well, I should have told you so," he interposed; "but go on."

"Passion does nothing of the kind, it only inflames men—it does not save them. How is it that this Billingsgate talent of invective has crept into high advocacy? To denounce, to vituperate, to execrate, is the attribute of the mob. Indignation is brought to perfection at the corner of every alley. Passion is victorious in every stew. The fishfag can confidently compete with the Member of Parliament at that game any day. The hate of one another is the easiest, the idlest, the vulgarest, the most impotent of all arts. Yet no sooner does Indignation mount the rostrum than the applause of the mob lifts it into a profession; and when a dictionary of fruitless superlatives falls upon the head of an audience, and, worse than fruitless, disastrous invectives, which multiply the popular enemies, we hail the orator as a 'generous soul,' a 'noble nature,' a 'large-hearted man.'

"While this ready-made and unthinking eloquence is applauded to the echo, many a poor devil is toiling in silence and obscurity, in training himself or training others to do the real work. In the hour of conflict he holds back his strong heart as with a bridle, lest, like an impatient courser, it should start before the race is open. His iron valour is husbanded like the veteran's—not squandered like the raw recruit's. He searches for those words your friend Lowell describes, where he writes—

> Better far it is to speak
> One simple word, which now and then
> Shall waken their free nature in the weak
> And friendless sons of men;
>
> To write some earnest verse or line,
> Which, seeking not the praise of art,
> Shall make a clearer faith and manhood shine
> In the untutored heart.

He pauses for the hour when he may strike the blow from which tyranny will never recover. He lies in wait through weary years to do the work of the people. Like the soldier, he stands at his silent post, as faithfully at midnight as at noon day. Every effort of his patient life is steady gain to freedom. Here one is awakened, there one is taught, elsewhere another is won over from the enemy, and thus the ranks of oppression are thinned. But for this man we have no word of encouragement: we contemptuously dismiss him, as "cold," as "unimaginative," as "all calculation," if we do not honour him with imputations of which the disgrace recoils on ourselves. While, for the ready artificer of stale hate, the loud-mouthed retailer of denunciations that seal the doom of the oppressed for years to come, the newspaper awards its first praise. The shout of the blatant philanthropist rings the knell of hope to the wretched. He has gratified the "indignation of his soul," and placed deliverance farther from the captive than ever. At this hour, men are dragging out weary years in penal settlements who would have been liberated long since had it not been for the sympathy of "large-hearted" men at home. The same kind of advocacy has adjourned the day of popular redress all Europe over. There are shouts of applause at some public meetings which have a cry of Murder in them. Some of the most vaunted popularity of the day is dashed with blood. How far these orators are from appreciating the heroic declaration of Mazzini!—a declaration which none but natures of the highest generosity could make: "I have never in my life yielded to an impulse." Duty is higher than impulse."

It was now my friend's turn to talk. Exhausted by his own speech, and disgusted at my dubbing him a "Magnificent Blockhead," he had borne but a small part in the conversation up to this point, and I had, as the reader will think, snatched an unmerciful advantage from his taciturnity; but he took eloquent revenge upon me before we parted. Here ends my report. There are subjects which expose one to great misunderstanding. The public will discuss "national defences" to satiety, but the defence of truth, which, if properly managed, would in the end render our national defences less imperative than now, the public cannot tolerate. It is lawful to train soldiers for the Crown, but not advocates for the people. The discipline of a moral militia is a subject that few would pardon, if properly undertaken. But in those golden student-days, which pass away, alas! too soon for all of us, we debated all these topics for their own sakes. After the night here spoken of, we never met again; and I have no means of knowing whether this conversation was remembered by him the next time the intoxicating clamours of public applause greeted his appearance upon a platform. But that my friend was a real personage, they know well enough "down Massachusetts," and that is my reason for inscribing this conversation to the zealous and impetuous friends of the negro in those parts.

ION.

"DESERTERS" OF THE IRISH BRIGADE.

IN the Irish elections there is not only the public interest, arising from the delay in ascertaining how far public opinion in that country accepts the new Government, but there is—what always accompanies, and often overshadows the public interest in the sister country—the personal interest. Messrs. Keogh and Sadleir, the first the Solicitor-General for Ireland, and the second a Lord of the Treasury, were the leaders of that "Brigade" which originated in the ferment of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and which grew into the Parliamentary strength of from sixty to seventy men, out of the general election. This Brigade had one principle and one plan of action—opposition to every English Government which would not repeal the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and adopt Mr. Sharman Crawford's Tenant Right Bill. The sixty or seventy forming the Brigade acknowledged and boasted of this programme; were elected, in the counties, at enormous sacrifices on the part of the poor farmers, distinctly on these grounds; and at a series of banquets following the general election there were great congratulations at the new national prospects opened up by this creation of an "Irish party," which was to act together to ignore Imperial interests, and to look solely and singly to the chances proffered by the tactics and combinations of English parties, to coerce official England into the required concessions. In the enthusiasm of the period, Mr. Keogh, an impulsive man, made rash and foolish pledges—perhaps suspiciously protesting too much for permanent intention—undertaking that at no time, under no circumstances, would he form part of any Government which would not accept the Brigade formula of Irish policy. Mr. Sadleir made similar vows, which, like a keen man of the world, he subsequently saw the necessity of modifying and explaining away. But in the cases of both gentlemen, the *Nation* and the *Tablet* insist that they have not kept faith with the people; and that again Ireland has been "sold" by her patriots; that the "Brigade" is, after all, but a new shape of the old "Irish party"—braggarts at the hustings, seekers of place in Westminster. Naturally, Mr. Duffy and Mr. Lucas, who had faith in the possibility of coercing Parliament by Irish isolation, and who did not go into the House of Commons to take advantage of its party accidents, and, like other parties, to get the most they could of the measures they wanted, are indignant with Mr. Sadleir, and scornfully furious with Mr. Keogh. But why should the Irish ultra Liberals not look at this matter from the same point of view as the English Radicals? The question with Mr. Sadleir (whose political honesty we may assume for the present) was simply the question which would present itself at the same time to Mr. Osborne—would he serve his country and promote his party views by joining Lord Aberdeen? Perhaps Mr. Keogh's antecedent gratuitous declarations against place disqualified him from taking advantage of the sound general argument which justifies Sir W. Molesworth, Mr. Osborne, and Mr. Sadleir in adhering to a Government headed by a Conservative Earl, and to which the chief author of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill belongs; but these questions of "honour" and "consistency" in politics must be determined by practical results. Mr. Keogh, no doubt, in the presence of the new and utterly unexpected circumstances, with an opportunity before him of rendering direct benefit to his country, repented his premature repudiations of office at Carlow and Athlone Banquets, where priests, who knew little of the House of Commons, or of the complicated worldly ways of serving Ireland, were his auditors; and if he, like Mr. Sadleir, could answer in the affirmative the query which his conscience suggested, the really honest course to take was that which he did take. And if—as "a member of the Brigade" tells a newspaper—he only took office after submitting Lord Aberdeen's office to his friends of his party, and gaining their approval, what spot is really left upon his political honour? We should be sorry to see an able, eloquent man, as Mr. Keogh is, withheld from giving the surety which his presence in the Government is to Ireland that the policy of Ministers shall be a generous, equal policy to both countries. The pure and high-minded motives of Mr. Duffy in creating the Brigade, and in now denouncing this "desertion," are obvious: but he may rely upon it Parliament is not yet ripe for the "points" of the Brigade.

HOW JURIES CONVICT IN THE IRISH FASHION.

ABSURD verdicts, like misfortunes, never come alone. Mr. Kirwan's friends have now the consolation of knowing that we have a case on this side the channel, similar to his. *Ecce signum.* The trial took place on Monday last, at the Central Criminal Court, John Paxton and Augustus Wynn the prisoners.

"The jury, after deliberating for about half an hour returned a verdict of 'Guilty' against both the defendants, but recommended them to mercy.

"The Recorder inquired upon what ground.

"The jury said they were of opinion that more evidence might have been produced in support of the prosecution.

"The Recorder said, that this was rather the ground for an acquittal than a recommendation to mercy, and the jury had better reconsider the matter.

"The jury accordingly again deliberated in the box a short time, and eventually retired, and after being absent nearly an hour, they again came into court with a verdict of 'Guilty!'"

Is not this uncommonly like O'Connell's story of the Tipperary verdict—"Guilty, but recommended to mercy, on the ground that the jury are not sure?" By the way, a meeting, in reference to Kirwan's case, is to be held at Anderton's Hotel, Fleet-street, on Monday.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A RADICAL.—Instead of the "Deluge," we have the "Coalition." Is this worse or better than Lord Derby, and what else is open to us for the day? That is the whole question.

PHILALETHES.—Were not that topic closed we should have been happy to have inserted his communication.

THE VOICE FROM THE BETTER WORLD.—A portrait of my mother hung over the fireplace: my eyes turned towards it, and for the first time I came to a long pause. The picture had an influence that quieted me; but what influence I hardly knew. Perhaps, it led my spirit up to the spirit that had gone from us—perhaps, those secret voices from the unknown world, which only the soul can listen to, were loosed at that moment, and spoke within me. While I sat looking up at the portrait, I grew strangely and suddenly calm before it. My memory flew back to a long illness that I had suffered from, as a child, when my little cradle-couch was placed by my mother's bedside, and she used to sit by me in the dull evenings and hush me to sleep. The remembrance of this, brought with it a dread imagining that she might now be hushing my spirit, from her place among the angels of God. A stillness and awe crept over me; and I hid my face in my hands.—COLLINS'S *Basil.*

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.*

THIS is magazine week. *Bentley's Miscellany* takes a new start, and seems inclined to run the race with greater vigour, though with the same jockeys. ALBERT SMITH leads off at a hand-gallop. SHIRLEY BROOKS following with the opening chapters of a novel, which promises to be gay and sparkling—(What a graphic touch is that about the lawyer's clerk, who "wrote a beautiful hand, borrowed money from every new clerk, and was rather supposed to be an atheist because he never swore, and because he had been detected in reading Voltaire's *Charles XII.!*") Professor CREASY commences a mouthy work of historical declamation on the "Imperial Four," which, however, will find admirers, we have little doubt. There is also a remorseless contributor of more *Wellingtoniana;* and a portrait of ADA BYRON, Lady LOVELACE, which will excuse the "letter-press" accompanying it. While alluding to this engraving, let us not forget that LEECH'S unrivalled pencil is called in to lend its gaiety and observation to *Bentley's Miscellany*.

Fraser is excellent this month. Its charming articles on fishes—so learned, so racy, and so piquant—are continued by a curious account of the thunny, rightly named the "fish of many names," with its various titles—thunnus, thynnis, pelamys, sarda, auxis, xanthias, triton, thersites, chelidonias, melandrya, synodon, cybia, cete—not farther to extend this polyonymousness! Even the most unlearned reader will follow the writer through his etymologies; while for curious facts, take a sample here:—

"The roes deposited at the beginning of June, shortly afterwards become young fry, and at the end of the first month are about the size of gudgeons, and weigh between an ounce and a half and two ounces; by the end of the next month, their volume and weight are trebled; by the time October is out, these infants of four months old are twenty-fold their original bulk, and weigh above two pounds; greatly exceeding in this surprising power of development, not only all the inmates of lakes, rivers, and ponds, but those also which, in common with themselves, fatten upon the salt (?) of the sea. All, however, do not live to exhibit this sudden growth, but many come, instead, to a sudden end; by far the greater portion of the nascent brood never reach maturity, being hunted out and eaten up by the unnatural mother, as soon as the mass of roe is quickened into life: only a small fraction escape their infanticidal dam, whom, when a little older, and able to protect themselves from her jaws, they follow; and pay a first visit, under her escort, to the Mediterranean Sea. All that winter they do not change either name or condition, but the next spring, on again accompanying the thynnis on a new spawning expedition to the Euxine, they bury themselves in the fattening ooze, and come out *pelamyds;* so called, says one great authority (Aristotle), from this concealment in the mud: *παρὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ πήλῳ μύειν*; or merely, says another (Plutarch), from a habit of herding together: *διὰ τὸ πέλειν ἁμα*. After passing the anniversary of their first birthday, these pelamyds were considered to have attained maturity, and were dubbed thunnies in consequence. Aristotle does not say how long they enjoyed this majority, but as he limits the life of a *θυννος* to two years, it follows, by inference, that he is only a thunny for the space of one year. What, then, becomes of this large fish when two years have passed over his head? According to the above author, in his 'poetics,' not 'logic,' of natural history, he dies; not, however, in fact, but, like Boileau's *inamorato*, only in a metaphor—

'Toujours bien mangeant, qui meurt par métaphore,'

to come out some time after, a new fish with a new name—an *orcynus*, of unwieldy dimensions, or, as Atheneus informs us, a *cete*, or brevet whale. And here we are forced to stop, for at what precise period of this great scomber's career he rejoiced in the appellations of triton, cybia, melandrys, or xanthius, we know positively nothing. Pope, imitating Juvenal, speaks, in a well-known passage of the *Dunciad*, of the difficulty in naming a handful of obscure critics and libellers—

'Sons of a day! just buoyant on the flood,
Then numbered with the puppies in the mud;
Ask you their *names?* I could as soon disclose
The names of these blind puppies as of those.'"

There is also another natural history article—*Bison Hunting in India*, which few will leave unread. In curious contrast with these stands the interesting sketch given of *Conrad Gessner*, the great scholar and naturalist of the sixteenth century, whose learning would have amazed our pundits, whose ready writing would have appalled even our ready writers. There are several other papers in the number, among them, as may be expected, articles on MOORE, WEBSTER, and *Slavery*.

Blackwood also has its article on MOORE and on *Slavery*. The former descriptive rather than critical, with a good plea urged for literature. It also begins a new story, *Lady Lee's Widowhood;* and ends a very long one —*My Novel*, by Sir BULWER LYTTON. The *Letter to Eusebius on Many Things*, has all the pleasant thoughtfulness of its predecessors, and we shall draw upon it for our *Notes and Extracts*. Meanwhile, the following bit of genealogy, setting forth the title of LOUIS NAPOLEON to the English crown, will amuse the reader:—

"If Louis Buonaparte should be so absurd as to invade England, what will the non-resisting peace societies think of a new claim which he may set up, without any other *casus belli*—no less than a claim, by genealogy, to the Crown of England! Here let me pause a moment to admire the quaint wit of Lord St. Vincent, who used to say, in other days, when the invasion was talked of—"I don't say they can't come; I only say they can't come by sea." But to this genealogical claim. Spaniceti, an Italian, and Billerstein, a German, two authors who were paid large sums by Buonaparte (as we must call him) the First, pretended to prove as follows; That the Buonaparte family, before their emigration from Tuscany to Corsica, 400 years and more ago, were allied to the most ancient Tuscan families, even to that of the house of the Medici; and as this house has given two queens to France, the Buonapartes are, therefore, relatives of the Bourbons; and the *sceptre*, therefore, of the French empire is still, under Buonaparte the First, in the *same family*, though in a *more worthy branch*. Spaniceti received 1000 Louis-d'ors in gold, a pension of 6000 livres for life, and the place of Chef de Bureaux in the ministry of the home department of the kingdom of Italy, producing yearly 18,000 livres, or 750*l*. The Bourbons would surely use the proverb, "Call me cozen, but cozen me not." I wonder if *this* genealogy will flourish in the pageant on the crowning the Emperor. But here is the further claim, which he may, when he thinks fit, present with his compliments to Queen Victoria: for Billerstein, the Bavarian genealogist, proved the pedigree of the Buonapartes as far back as the first Crusades, and that the name of the friend of Richard Cœur-de-Lion was not Blondel, but Buonaparte; that he changed the latter for the former only to marry into the Plantagenet family, the last branch of which has since been extinguished by its intermarriage and incorporation with the house of Stuart; and that, therefore, Napoleon Buonaparte is not only related to most sovereign princes of Europe, but has more right to the throne of Great Britain than had George the Third, then reigning when this precious genealogy was composed, being descended from the male branch of the Stuarts, while George the Third was only descended from the female branch of the same royal house!! This is going it pretty strong, and is quite fit for emblazoning, by the sound of trumpets, on the coming day. Billerstein was presented with a snuff-box, with Buonaparte's portrait, set with diamonds, valued at 12,000 livres, and received 24,000 livres ready money, together with a pension of 9000 livres, or 375*l*. per annum, till he should be better provided for. He was, besides, nominated a Knight of the Legion of Honour. It cannot, therefore, be denied that Napoleon rewarded like an emperor—a great encouragement to genealogists to try the liberality of the nephew. By this genealogical arithmetic we may learn the relative value of the two crowns. Of that of England, there is scarcely a genealogist of any country, we should think, out of France, who would indorse the table with 'I wish he may get it.'"

Every one will look for an article on the *Defeat of the Ministry*, and sure enough there it is, confident, prophetic, regarding the defeat as perhaps, on the whole, a triumph, and looking forward to speedy re-accession to power!

The *British Journal* is certainly a liberal sixpennyworth, and opens the new year with a very good number. Among the articles will be distinguished the commencement of a novel by Mrs. HOOPER, entitled *The Pride of the Bridgenorths;* the *Habits of the Emperor Nicholas;* and Mr. ALFRED COLE'S account of *Bush-fighting in South Africa*.

RECENT POEMS

Empedocles on Etna and other Poems. By A. — B. Fellowes.

Poems. By B. R. Parkes. — John Chapman.

POETRY differs from Prose, as we constantly declare, in kind more than in degree; it differs from Prose as Song differs from Speech, and this not by reason of any rythmic melody of language so much as by a peculiar and inseparable melody in the thought itself. There may be perfect metre and unexceptionable diction without a pulse of that life we all recognise as poetry. In every Art there are countless Amateurs, of varying degrees of merit, but all stopping short of mastery. Wherein lies the secret of this mastery we cannot say, but the effect is distinguishable enough. Poetry, like every Art, has a few masters; men born poets, whether they practise at College or at the plough; it has also its countless aspirants, among them highly gifted natures, capable of producing verse that has every quality but that mysterious quality of Song; and there being no ready test a man can apply, to determine in his own case the difference between aspiration and inspiration, he is forced to ask the Public to answer the question for him. The public does answer it, emphatically—by silence. The readiness with which they welcome any man who has a spark of poetry in his soul may be seen in the reputations of several contemporaries.

Although it is quite true that Poems in the real sense of the word are rare, it is also true that very delightful verses are often written by men and women whom one cannot, strictly speaking, name poets. In prose Literature, genuine Books are rare; and yet an ever-teeming press incessantly issues volumes that have their merit, their purpose, and their charm. As critics then—*tasters for our Public*—we are bound to show that attention to the verses we show to the volumes, and, while maintaining the principles which make our praise chary, do justice when we can.

To notice all, or anything like all, the poems sent us would be tedious and idle; we select two volumes because they bear the traces of cultivation, sensibility, delicacy, and poetic feeling; although it is clear that neither of these poets would have expressed themselves in verse, had there not been numerous singers before them inciting them to emulation. In both we see the poetry of the Amateur. They have not laboured at the Art with the patience of a passion; they have been easily satisfied, not sensitively fastidious; they have taken the image that came first, and the epithet that was ready; they have mounted Pegasus not ridden him.

Empedocles on Etna and other Poems, is really a delightful volume, and issues from a highly-cultured, highly tempered mind. It bears this epigraph: *Σοφωτατον, χρονος· ἀνευρισκει γαρ παντα*, which may be Englished

A wonderful Sophist is Time, for nothing escapeth his vision,

and Time seems here to have taught a meditative mind many a sad and many a cheerful lesson; but Time has not taught *this* lesson in Art, that "he spares nothing done without his aid"—

Le temps n'épargne pas ce qu'on fait sans lui,

and the poet has himself to thank if his verse be less durable than he wishes.

The principal poem we regard as altogether a mistake. Empedocles, disheartened with the world, ascends Etna, and after a due amount of monologue precipitates himself into the crater. But what then? Wherefore the poem? It is not a poetic exposition of the philosopher's life, nor of his doctrines. It is but a slender thread upon which "A." may string stray thoughts and images. Moreover, the classicality

of the poem is intensely modern. The very scene-painting is modern, and occasionally in the best descriptive style, as this:—

"A thousand times have I been here alone
Or with the revellers from the mountain towns,
But never on so fair a morn:—the sun
Is shining on the brilliant mountain crests,
And on the highest pines: but further down
Here in the valley is in shade; the sward
Is dark, and on the stream the mist still hangs:
One sees one's foot-prints crush'd in the wet grass,
One's breath curls in the air; and on these pines
That climb from the stream's edge, the long grey tufts,
Which the goats love, are jewell'd thick with dew."

That species of versified meditation which Wordsworth has made fashionable, but which forgets that Poetry is Song, is well suited to minds like that of the present writer. Here is a sample taken from the monologue of Empedocles:—

"We mortals are no kings
For each of whom to sway
A new-made world up-springs
Meant merely for his play.
No, we are strangers here: the world is from of old.

In vain our pent wills fret
And would the world subdue
Limits we did not set
Condition all we do.
Born into life we are, and life must be our mould.

Born into life: who lists
May what is false maintain,
And for himself make mists
Through which to see less plain:
The world is what it is, for all our dust and din.

Born into life: in vain,
Opinions, those or these,
Unalter'd to retain
The obstinate mind decrees.
Experience, like a sea, soaks all-effacing in.

Born into life: 'tis we,
And not the world, are new.
Our cry for bliss, our plea,
Others have urg'd it too.
Our wants have all been felt, our errors made before.

No eye could be too sound
To observe a world so vast:
No patience too profound
To sort what's here amass'd.
How man may here best live no care too great to explore.

But we,—as some rude guest
Would change, where'er he roam,
The manners there profess'd
To those he brings from home;—
We mark not the world's ways, but would have *it* learn *ours*.

The world proclaims the terms
On which man wins content.
Reason its voice confirms.
We spurn them: and invent
False weakness in the world, and in ourselves false powers.

Riches we wish to get,
Yet remain spendthrifts still;
We would have health, and yet
Still use our bodies ill:
Bafflers of our own prayers from youth to life's last scenes.

We would have inward peace,
Yet will not look within:
We would have misery cease,
Yet will not cease from sin:
We want all pleasant ends, but will use no harsh means;

We do not what we ought;
What we ought not, we do;
And lean upon the thought
That Chance will bring us through.
But our own acts, for good or ill, are mightier powers.

Yet, even when man forsakes
All sin,—is just, is pure;
Abandons all that makes
His welfare insecure;
Other existences there are, which clash with ours.

Like us, the lightning fires
Love to have scope and play.
The stream, like us, desires
An unimpeded way.
Like us, the Libyan wind delights to roam at large.

Streams will not curb their pride
The just man not to entomb,
Nor lightnings go aside
To leave his virtues room,
Nor is the wind less rough that blows a good man's barge.

Nature, with equal mind,
Sees all her sons at play,
Sees man control the wind,
The wind sweep man away;
Allows the proudly-riding and the founder'd bark."

In a similar strain is the following; it is Wordsworthian in sentiment, and forgets, as Wordsworth always did, that man was made to live *as man*, and not as the stars or flowers:—

"SELF-DEPENDENCE.

"Weary of myself, and sick of asking
What I am, and what I ought to be,
At the vessel's prow I stand, which bears me
Forwards, forwards, o'er the star-lit sea.

And a look of passionate desire
O'er the sea and to the stars I send:
'Ye who from my childhood up have calm'd me,
Calm me, ah, compose me to the end.

'Ah, once more,' I cried, 'ye Stars, ye Waters,
On my heart your mighty charm renew:
Still, still let me, as I gaze upon you,
Feel my soul becoming vast like you.'

From the intense, clear, star-sown vault of heaven,
Over the lit sea's unquiet way,
In the rustling night-air came the answer—
'Wouldst ~~thou *be*~~ as these are? *Live* as they.

'Unaffrighted by the silence round them,
Undistracted by the sights they see,
These demand not that the things without them
Yield them love, amusement, sympathy.

'And with joy the stars perform their shining,
And the sea its long moon-silvered roll.
For alone they live, nor pine with noting
All the fever of some differing soul.

'Bounded by themselves, and unobservant
In what state God's other works may be,
In their own tasks all their powers pouring,
These attain the mighty life you see.'

O air-born Voice! long since, severely clear,
A cry like thine in my own heart I hear.
'Resolve to be thyself: and know, that he
Who finds himself, loses his misery.'"

From "A Summer Night" we take two extracts:—

"In the deserted moon-blanched street
How lonely rings the echo of my feet!
Those windows, which I gaze at, frown,
Silent and white, unopening down.
Repellent as the world:—but see!
A break between the housetops shows
The moon, and, lost behind her, fading dim
Into the dewy dark obscurity
Down at the far horizon's rim,
Doth a whole tract of heaven disclose.

And to my mind the thought
Is on a sudden brought
Of a past night, and a far different scene.
Headlands stood out into the moon-lit deep
As clearly as at noon;
The spring-tide's brimming flow
Heav'd dazzlingly between;
Houses with long white sweep
Girdled the glistening bay:
Behind, through the soft air,
The blue haze-cradled mountains spread away.
That night was far more fair;
But the same restless pacings to and fro,
And the same agitated heart was there,
And the same bright calm moon.

And the calm moonlight seems to say—
—'Hast thou then still the old unquiet breast
That neither deadens into rest
Nor ever feels the fiery glow
That whirls the spirit from itself away,
But fluctuates to and fro,
Never by passion quite possess'd,
And never quite benumb'd by the world's sway?'—
And I, I know not if to pray,
Still to be what I am, or yield, and be
Like all the other men I see.

* * * *

Plainness and clearness without shadow of stain,
Clearness divine!
Ye Heavens, whose pure dark regions have no sign
Of languor, though so calm, and though so great,
Are yet untroubled and unpassionate:
Who, though so noble, share in the world's toil,
And though so tasked, keep free from dust and soil
I will not say that your mild deeps retain
A tinge, it may be, of their silent pain,
Who have long'd deeply once, and long'd in vain;
But I will rather say that you remain
A world above man's head, to let him see
How boundless might his soul's horizons be,
How vast, yet of what clear transparency.
How it were good to sink there, and breathe free.
How high a lot to fill
Is left to each man still."

We might quote much more, but enough has been given to indicate the tone. The volume, we have already said, cannot be read without admiration; but, as poetry, it wants *individuality*, and that choice felicity of

phrase which follows individuality. Let a man speak or sing of what he has actually seen and felt, *as* he saw and felt it, and the right phrase is sure to come; but, in repeating what others have seen and felt, he repeats their language.

This also is the great fault to be found with Miss Parkes. Her *Poems* are graceful, thoughtful, but not individual. Her reading, not her heart, is here expressed. We turn over the leaves as over the portfolio of sketches which have filled the elegant leisures of an amateur. Talent there is, and beauty in those sketches; but we feel they have been leisure works, not works of passionate Art. Read this, and you will better see our meaning:—

"Broad level fields, and hedges thick with trees,
A calm still evening dropping fitful rain,
And hawthorns loaded with their perfum'd snow;
All Nature langorous, and yet alive
With humming insects and with bleating sheep;
A sky both grey and tender,—misty clouds
Floating therein, streak'd here and there with gold;
And golden flowers topping the tall June grass.
Ivy clothes all the ruins, sprouting weeds,
Lichen, and moss for richest tapestry;
While for festivity and regal pomp
Held in the olden time, is nothing now
But tune of children's voices, and the calm
Quiet evening, misty on the ruins. Far
Over the fields are farms and gardens gay;
And strong magnificent oaks, beneath whose boughs
Twilight sits brooding ere she walks abroad.
A soft moist summer eve,—'tis Nature grieving
For the depart of Spring; not yet the sun
Hath dried her thoughtful tears; or else it is
The death of the Last Fairy, and the flowers
Hang down their heavy heads in grief for her."

Or this:—

"THE ALPS. THUSIS.

"Out from the house I went when early dawn
As yet had hardly ting'd the peaks with gold,
And cottage-smoke in faint ascending wreaths
Stole from the inner depth of valleys old.
At length upon a sunny hill I sat,
Looking at meadows cattle-strown below,
And upwards where into the clear blue sky
Shot out the tapering peaks of pathless snow:
And many similes within my brain
Stirr'd, as if Nature spoke aloud to me,
And said, 'Oh child that watcheth ever, learn
That which I mean by my solemnity.
Even as these high peaks above thee rear,
So stand great souls above the ranks of men;
No summer warmth caresses year by year
Grand heads encircled by a glorious pain.
But if of verdure bare, thou must not doubt
Joys of their own to such great souls are given;
Lonely they are; but though forlorn of men,
They stand in the unchanging light of heaven.
Oh child! receive their teaching; even as here,
Below them, fir and flower are glistering bright,
Warmer, more beautiful, the dawn descends,
Till all the lowest vales are fill'd with light.'"

In the following lyric, we note two things: first, that the rhythm is one so inappropriate in its dancing play to the meaning of the words, that a poet would instinctively have avoided it; and, second, that the rhythm of the second stanza is false; which betrays carelessness, or that easiness of conscience no artist would tolerate:—

"REST.

"Deep heart and earnest eyes
Seeking for rest,
Finding a weight that lies
Cold on thy breast,
Musing on nearest ties
Mournfully riven,
In thy despair arise,
Turn thou to Heaven.

"Humanity, gifted
With patience and love,
Thereby should be lifted
Earth's sorrow above;
Should read with believing
The words of the bond;
While dull hearts are grieving,
Shouldst *thou* see beyond.

"Strong will and eager mind
Striving to mould
Deeds to remain behind
When thou art cold;
Choose thou the better part
Written in story,
Live in man's grateful heart,
And for God's glory."

PHILOSOPHY OF THE SENSES.

The Philosophy of the Senses; or, Man in Connexion with a Material World. By Robert S. Wyld. Illustrated by Forty-four Engravings on Wood. Oliver and Boyd.

WHAT Warburton said of the philosopher of Malmesbury, "that every young churchman militant must needs try his thundering on Hobbes's steel cap," may be repeated of the unknown author of *The Vestiges.* Every smatterer thinks it gives him a superior air to have his fling at the *Vestiges,* unconscious as he mostly is that the *Vestiges,* be it true or be it false, can only be *appreciated* by men who, to unusual knowledge of philosophic zoology, add a power of discerning the value of generalizations even when amid erroneous details; it is easy enough to read that book, easy to understand it, but to appreciate the force of its facts and reasonings the reader must bring with him something more than is brought by the ready scorners, who talk of development "familiarly, as maidens do of puppy dogs." Not but what men may, and do, bring the requisite knowledge, and yet *reject* the reasonings. We are not here arguing the cause of the *Vestiges;* we are simply rebuking that extremely foolish tendency of incompetent persons to speak loftily of a subject they cannot be allowed to have any opinion on. The author of the book before us is the latest offender under our cognizance. He goes out of his way to drag in a chapter which he innocently believes to be a "refutation," and which only shows that it is an inordinate presumption in him to pass any opinion whatever, beyond the purely personal one of saying that he had read the work, and was not convinced by it. He does not *understand* the theory he refutes; and if he understood it, he has not the requisite knowledge to form an opinion on its truth. It will amuse our philosophic readers if we quote an argument "of much force," which he has contributed to this subject; the superficial knowledge of "organization," and the confusion of terms which blinds him, will need no italicising from us:—

"Although the development theory, founded upon the assumption of a gradually ascending scale of complexity in the structure of animals of like formation, has been ably answered by direct appeal to geology, yet it occurs to us there is an indirect line of argument of much force, namely, not one having reference to mere structural complexity, but to mental as well as corporeal *function.* Thus the instincts of many animals comparatively low in the scale of organization are exceedingly curious, and seem to surpass those of more perfect animals. Again, whatever place may be assigned to *insects* in respect to the complexity of their organization, many of the instincts possessed by them excel those of the mammal, and even transcend human reason, and these apparently have no reference to their bodily organization, they are purely mental functions and of a high order. There are also some peculiar corporeal functions possessed by creatures very low in the scale, which surpass those of higher animals. Without taking time to seek for the best examples, there occurs to us that power of paralyzing its prey which the slender tentacula of some of the hydræ possess, and these animals are at the very foot of the scale of life. Then the corroding influence exerted by the Pholas and other molluscs of the class Lithofagidæ, by which they form cavities in even the hardest stone or in wood, and which cavities increase with the growth of the animal's shell. Then there is the power of the electrical eel: the power of poisoning possessed by the serpent tribe, and by various insects, may also be mentioned as somewhat similar. Why should these peculiar and valuable endowments be all lost in that higher progeny, which the development school suppose to have emanated from these animals? For the development theory to be consistent, valuable functions in constant exercise should never be lost; they should, according to the theory, be perpetuated in the succeeding races of higher animals. Why are such as we have mentioned confined to the humble polyp and mollusc, or to the eel, the wasp, and the spider?"

Although Mr. Wyld has here, and in other parts of his work, pronounced decided opinions on subjects with which he is very imperfectly acquainted, we have much pleasure in commending the work as an useful and suggestive compilation. He has a clearness of exposition very effective in treatises of this kind. He compiles, it is true, from very accessible sources, and does not acknowledge them with the distinctness one might demand; but he puts in no claim for learning nor originality, and says—"What we offer is merely the result of some little pleasant reading, and of some more pleasant reflection; and we have endeavoured, so far as in our power, to give it in a form calculated to interest and amuse." What he has aimed at he has accomplished; more especially in the physical portions. In the metaphysical he is less at home, as may be gathered from the fact, that he attempts a demonstration of this proposition—"The properties of matter are immaterial!"

As a description of the general laws of light and sound, and of the established facts in the physiology of sight and hearing, it may be recommended: the exposition is clear and popular—the interest in the subject universal. Who, for example, has not puzzled himself with the fact, so puzzling to philosophers, that we have two eyes, and only one image of the same thing ordinarily seen by the two eyes? Let us hear Mr. Wyld on this question:—

"Physiological causes have also been assigned; and, first, anatomical examination has revealed certainly a curious fact, that the optic nerves from each eye approach or decussate, and interchange some of their fibrils before entering the brain; it has therefore been suggested, that at this point of union the two impressions become, as it were, fused into one. A hypothesis such as this evidently savours much more of the apothecary's shop than of logic; for even if we concede that the two physical impressions may be confounded or mixed up at this commissure of the optic nerves, yet, as these nerves are found again to separate before entering the brain, the impressions transmitted backward from the commissure ought and must be again separated, and the difficulty thus remains untouched. Another and sufficient objection to this hypothesis is presented in the fact, that careful examination has proved that the decussation of the optic nerves is only partial, that only a few of the nervous fibres are interchanged, and, consequently, that if such a thing as a fusion of impressions takes place, it can only be of a partial nature.

"The explanation now most generally received of the difficulty is one founded on physiological grounds of a different kind, the nature of which we shall explain. It is held, or supposed, that there are certain points on the retina of each eye, which are to be considered as *physiologically identical,* and that when any of these identical or corresponding points are simultaneously excited by the same object, the impression transmitted to the brain produces a sense of *single vision* of that object. These identical points are not points of the two retinæ, which correspond anatomically, but points which correspond, as it were, geographically, or in latitude and longitude. To explain our meaning:—An imaginary line entering the centre of the cornea, or prominent part of the eye, and passing direct through the *centre of the crystalline lens* back to the retina, is called the *axis of the eye,* or the *optic axis;* the point where this imaginary line meets the retina may be considered and

called the pole. It is in that region that the retina possesses greatest sensibility, and as we recede from that point, the sensibility and perceptive power of the membrane gradually decrease. In looking, therefore, at any single object, the optic axes are naturally directed by us to the object, by which means its image is thrown direct on the most sensitive portion of the retina, and when this is done by both eyes, vision is always single. The landscape lying around this central or direct object of vision forms an image on the less sensitive parts of the retina surrounding the polar or central point, and possesses a certain indistinctness to us, still not so much so as that we are not able to note the more prominent objects that lie near this centre of vision; and, accordingly, it is found, that not only is the object at which we *look directly*, perceived as single, but all other objects lying around, which are at equal distances from us, are also represented to us as single, though our perception of them is very indistinct. Those objects, however, which are either nearer or farther from us than the direct object of our vision, appear to us double. The physiological reason assigned for this we shall immediately state, and, in the meantime, we may mention, that those objects which, in the above instance, appear single, owing to the globular form of the eye, cast their image on points of the two retinæ which are held to be physiologically identical, while those that appear double cast their images on dissimilar points of the retinæ. The centres of the retinæ of each eye, lying in the optic axis, are the primary identical points, and all points in each eye equally distant to the left of these points are also held identical points. All points, also, to the right of the centres, or above or below them, are also identical or corresponding points, provided they are equally distant from the centres of the retinæ of each eye. Now these are just the points of the two retinæ on which, in accordance with the laws of optics, when the eyes are properly directed to an object, its images, and the images of adjacent equidistant objects, will fall. The following experiments will explain more distinctly our meaning, and it will be acknowledged, that they go far to establish the general correctness of the above solution of the phenomenon of single and double vision.

"Let us place ourselves some fifteen or twenty feet from a lighted candle, and direct our eyes steadily to it; the axes of the eyes are, in this instance, brought into the line of the object, and the image of the candle will fall on the central points of the retinæ, and the candle will appear single. Let us now hold up a finger at arm's length before us in the line of the candle, and let us look directly at it. So soon as the eyes are directed to this nearer object, two candles will immediately seem to start into existence where one was before, and we have thus double vision; the axes of the eyes, in turning from the candle to the finger, become shifted and converged to the nearer object, and the images of the candle then necessarily fall, as the annexed figure will show, not on *identical points* of the two retinæ, but on *opposite sides of the axis* of each eye."

We cannot pretend to clear up this mystery, which still baffles science; but we will suggest to philosophers, that they are not seeking in the right direction for an explanation. The mystery lies elsewhere. To prove that it does, we need only recal this strangely-overlooked fact: We have only one sensation of sound with two ears, only one of smell with two nostrils, just as we have only one image with two eyes! We can hear with one ear, smell with one nostril, see with one eye; yet with two organs, under ordinary circumstances we have only one sensation. Does not this show that the long-debated question of sight is not an anatomical but a psychial question?

We have no space to dwell on this, nor on the other questions mooted in Mr. Wyld's *Philosophy of the Senses*—a work the nature and contents of which we have sufficiently indicated in the foregoing remarks.

TWO NOVELS.

Agatha's Husband. A Novel, by the Author of "Olive," "The Head of the Family,' &c. 3 vols. Chapman and Hall.

The Lover's Stratagem; or, the Two Suitors. By Emilie F. Carlen. 2 vols. Bentley.

In *Agatha's Husband* we have an interesting story, told with considerable skill; but the authoress has fallen below her former efforts, both in the interest of her story, and in the art with which character is portrayed. The book betrays exhaustion. It was written because former works were successful, not because the authoress had anything to say or paint. In default of new experience, new character, and new story, it was absolutely necessary she should bestow great skill in the construction of her old materials, to make them have the effect of novelty. Skill she has; an eloquent style, an abiding power, and a certain enthusiasm which carry the reader onwards; and, besides these, a sharp feminine eye for details, and a vivid pencil in the rendering details visible: qualities which make her books very readable. But, in the present instance, the skill, though great, has not been great enough to disguise the age of the materials, nor to make acceptable the very questionable metaphysics of the passions upon which the whole story is based. We read with incredulity. What may be true is not true-seeming. The position of Nathaniel to his wife is one more possible than credible; while her ignorance of her own affairs is absolutely preposterous. As if any girl of nineteen, left solely with a guardian, would be unaware of the fact that she was rich! Then, again, there is an unexplained obscurity—we will not say mystery, about the Major and about Anne Valery, which ordinary art should have guarded against.

We are hinting at defects, more for the sake of the writer, than the reader; let us, however, also hint, though briefly, at the many capital touches of description and emotion which the book contains. There are details in the "misunderstanding" between Agatha and her husband which are admirable in their subtle truth, and make one for a moment forget the unreality of the basis. Duke Dugdale, and his frank, happy wife, form a charming picture of married love. The squire, also, is a type of the old school.

With this writer's command over passion, and clear insight into what is characteristic in character, one may expect novels from her very much above the average; but, before she again takes up her pen, let her seriously put this question to herself, "What am I going to write? Not simply three volumes of story; but, in that story, I am going to fuse my own personal experience and observation, to make it the vehicle for conveying them to the world. I have suffered such and such emotions under trying circumstances, and I have seen and studied certain characters until I know them—shall I use this material for my novel, or shall I content myself with the material other novels will give me?"

Emilie Carlen has acquired a name in Swedish literature second only to that of Frederika Bremer; upon what solid ground of merit is more than we can say, our admiration for Frederika Bremer being very limited, and our acquaintance with Emilie Carlen being very slight. This much, however, we are forced to say, that if *The Lover's Stratagem* had been written by an Englishwoman we should have dismissed it as a tiresome, commonplace, vulgar story, with no fidelity or force of characterization to make it interesting; but, being a Swedish novel, and setting before us the commonplaces and trivialities of Swedish life, it is not without a certain extrinsic interest. Major Sterner is of the stuff all novel heros are made of, and Augusta has only a dash of Northern sentimentality, to distinguish her from the thousand and one heroines we do *not* lose our hearts to; but the pastor Svallenius, the post-inspector Von Spalden, and various other minor characters, have that local colouring which renders them amusing to English readers. It is something to escape from the eternal types of English and French society, into Northern naïveté, vulgarity, stupidity, and *schwärmerei!* With this something let *The Lover's Stratagem* be credited; this, and only this.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

Liverpool a few Years Since. By An Old Stager. Whittaker and Co.

It would appear, though Liverpool was a hundred years ago only a fishing village—never up to that time having been the scene of a single historical incident—that few towns have more history. There has been recently published a very compendious huge volume of history proper by Mr. Thomas Baines, one of the Leeds family; and this *Liverpool a few Years Since*, by "An Old Stager," is only one of many publications of a similar kind constantly making their appearance, though most of them never advance from newspaper pages into a book. The fact, it seems, is, that the history of Liverpool for the last hundred years is the history of Lancashire, which is the history of English commerce with the United States: and while the laborious statistics which Mr. Baines gathers have imperial application and interest, the sketches, such as "An Old Stager" furnishes, of the exceptional, odd state of society existing in Liverpool among the "merchant princes," who then were very great savages, while the town was dashing out of insignificance into startling wealth, thanks to the slave trade and the war (the Liverpool privateersmen were what Baltimore privateersmen may be), have an immense value for the reading and inquiring people now on the banks of the Mersey, and who know little or nothing (for newspapers have destroyed tradition) of the past of the locality in which they have taken up their abode. "An Old Stager" does for Liverpool what Leigh Hnnt and Cunningham, supposing they combined, would do for London—given the Liverpoolians a sort of street guide, seasoned with anecdote and gossip of a gone state of society, and of dead merchant princes, who, however, still live, and are, consequently, subjects of local curiosity in the great mercantile houses they founded. Even to us strangers this is pleasant reading; and we can understand it being very delightful reading in Liverpool. The writer has scholarship and wit, and precisely the style which could alone redeem such reminiscences from mere gossip. On the whole, it is a very happy production, which we here acknowledge as justifying a notice, which could not under any ordinary circumstances be extended to a book appealing, in the first place, only to a locality. We should add, that "An Old Stager" first produced his now collected papers in the *Liverpool Albion*, a newspaper which ranks with the *Guardian* of Manchester, the *Mercury* of Leeds, the *Journal* of Birmingham, and the *Journal* of Liverpool, in the first class of the daily improving provincial press. The writer is the Rev. Mr. Aspinall, some years ago the favourite pulpit orator of intellectual Liverpool, and now well known as foremost in all wise, good, and liberal movements in the midland counties.

Portfolio.

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

The Works of the Old Painters:

THEIR RUIN AND RENOVATION.

BY HENRY MERRITT.

"Who, in contemplating one of Raphael's finest pictures, fresh from the master's hand, ever bestowed a thought on the wretched little worm which works its destruction?"
Maria Edgeworth.

INTRODUCTION.

THE scholar, the gentleman, and the connoisseur, are naturally interested in the picture art. They claim to understand whatever relates to it, and to appreciate the varied discussions and criticisms of which the great art of painting is the constant subject. At first sight it would seem that interest in this topic must be confined to these classes. But literature, which has penetrated to all orders of men, has made even the fine arts to have a definite relation to the humblest, to whom some of the noblest collections of pictures and sculptures have been opened for contemplation. Thousands now flock to witness and to wonder at productions of the pencil and the chisel, hitherto confined to favoured eyes. Statesmen and friends of education have borne witness to the refining influence of art on the multitude. It is thought that refinement can scarcely take place without a thorough understanding of the objects gazed upon and venerated, and some urge that the English people have not that constitutional aptness for the fine arts, peculiar to certain nations. But, if our people are not "driven impetuously by constitution or passion" to such pursuits, it is very manifest that they can be "directed regularly, by reason,

to the same ends." To the majority, who can never hope to possess a picture by a great master, we are convinced that the picture itself is a subject of curiosity.

Much real interest will arise with respect to the origin of the various master-works. How were they executed—how long will they last—by what means have they been preserved through so great a lapse of time?—these questions have seldom, if ever, been satisfactorily answered. It is said by some, no such answers can be given to the multitude. We are of a different opinion. We believe that the replies can be given, and that great good will result from giving them. Picture criticisms, by so many deemed matters of capricious taste, might become instructive, if definite rules once aided the judgment; for art is no exception to the law, that interest, appreciation, and refinement, come with the understanding. Compare the remarks of three or four bystanders on any given picture. If the observers are ignorant altogether of the theory and practice of painting, they will exhibit great and perplexing contradictions of opinion; but, in proportion as they happen to be informed of the means and method by which the picture was produced, and of the peculiarities of the master's school, the darkness clears up, principles begin to appear, criticism grows intelligent, and common agreements are manifested. Thus it is with all ordinary questions of science and art, and thus it will be with the art of painting, when the value of right rules and principles shall be properly regarded.

One very natural objection that will occur to the reader, unless he has paid some attention to this subject, will be founded in the supposition that any elaborate dissertation on the practical details of art must be unfitted for general perusal. This is one of those objections that have survived the period when they were true.

When education was altogether deficient, and the people were generally neglected, papers on practical art were of course unintelligible. But now matters are changed, and whilst we have economical and fiscal disquisitions, including all the practical details of statesmanship, as a necessary portion of newspaper information, architecture, painting, music, and sculpture are at last become questions of national taste and universal accomplishments.

These arts are capable of being made intelligible, and there can be no doubt that they will be found as interesting as rival theories and interminable controversies on matters social and political.

We are persuaded that every fact and experience relating to the works of great painters will be welcome and useful to all. A truly national care is beginning to be felt for those master-works which are collected in the large room in Trafalgar-square, and at Marlborough House. The means employed for the preservation of the national pictures have been very generally discussed. Controversies on this subject in 1846, and againin 1852, have occupied the attention of Parliament, the press, and the public. The fact is, people are really growing in earnest about works of art, and they are also growing anxious about their preservation. We have no hesitation in saying that the old painters and their works are great favourites with the intellectual portion of the English people. It will be remembered that the *Penny* and *Saturday Magazines* now and then presented woodcuts of the best pictures of the great Masters, accompanied by biographical and critical notices. These became to the artisan what rare and costly etchings are to the connoisseur. The proprietors of those useful periodicals were right in supposing that those pictures and particulars of their authors would greatly interest the working man. Publishers are pursuing the same course now. Among the mass of periodicals now issued weekly and monthly we are gratified to notice engravings, and notices of the old painters, forming one of the redeeming features of penny publications for the mechanic and labouring classes. Publishers find these subjects from the old painters answer the ends of trade, yielding fair returns; and this fact is a fair criterion by which to judge of the estimation in which the great originals are held.

CHAPTER I.

DURABILITY OF PICTURES IN OIL.

MANY of the old painters, by adhering to a very simple process of mixing and laying on the colours, ensured great durability in their pictures. It is no uncommon thing, on cleaning pictures which have been painted two, three, and even four hundred years, to discover the colouring, with trifling exceptions, fresh and beautiful as when they left the palette. Instances might be pointed out in pictures of the Flemish, Dutch, German, and Italian schools, now preserved in England. The flower pieces of John Van Huysum, Mignon, Seghers, and De Heem, yet vie with nature in brightness of tints. While penning this, the author has before him a work by Seghers, composed of a few white and red roses interwoven with an ivy wreath, side by side with some roses fresh from the garden, placed in a sunny window, so as to have the shadows of a dark grove, at a short distance beyond, for background; and such is the truthfulness, tenderness, and brightness of the flowers in the picture, so little are they injured by time, that art and nature live side by side, and art seems to derive advantage by the rivalry. Van Huysum's vase of flowers at Dulwich College (the one in which the blue tint predominates) could never have been more perfect in respect to its colours than at the present time. Tints of the utmost conceivable brightness and delicacy are yet perceptible to the naked eye, and are even enhanced when viewed through a magnifying lens of great power. There is a vase of flowers by Mignon at the Hague, in which the dewdrops have a diamond-like freshness, and reflect the delicate hues of a warm sunbeam which falls upon the flowers and displays a number of insects "clothed in rainbow and in fire."

One colour in the pictures of Mignon is commonly faded. It was (as we may guess from the natural hue of the flower) deep orange. The groups of flowers are much disfigured by the loss of this colour.

About the year 1848, a picture by Rubens, in the National Gallery in London, was cleared of the old varnish and dirt which had accumulated on its surface. Objections were made at the time, that it was cleaned too much. The colours, on the removal of the outer incrustation, shone forth with such extraordinary splendour and beauty, that for a long time many critics declared the picture utterly spoiled. The picture was painted by the most brilliant of colourists, in his gayest manner. It had been long neglected, and consequently those critics had become familiarized with it in its dingy and, as we crave leave to express it, dirt-harmonized state. The pictures which hung around it were still more dingy, and hence, suddenly beheld in its original fulness, richness, and variety of colours, it presented a contrast so great with its obscured state, that it is not surprising able connoisseurs were impressed with the idea that the picture in the cleaning had acquired a false brilliancy at the expense of harmony. To some extent this impression might have been founded in reason. The point to be noticed here, is the fact that the colours of the picture in question had retained their full freshness for a period of two centuries. The smaller and more delicate pictures of Rubens are also found in the same high state of preservation. The clear greys which he always blended with the warm flesh tints, remain unimpaired. These remarks apply equally well to the works of Vandyke, who adhered to the simple rules for mixing and laying on colours recommended by Rubens.

Pictures in oil, in fact, are not so often of that evanescent and perishable nature which some have described them to be. It could be shown that the decay (so much lamented) of the works of great painters has often been the consequence of the ignorance or inattention of those painters to the ordinary laws of chemistry, with which, by intuition, the house-painter is familiar, as we shall have occasion to explain.

A great proportion of the works of eminent painters, whose pictures have received reasonable treatment, have not undergone any material change for the worse. It is probable that, in many instances, colours acquire additional lustre in the process of drying. That juicy luscious look in the colours of Rubens and several other Flemish and Dutch masters, is not owing to the presence of liquid oil still in the colours, for in the process of drying, the oil in which the colours were ground, found its way to the surface, whence it has subsequently been removed, and its place supplied by varnish. Rubens, who knew the oil would rise to the surface in this way, left directions how it might be removed from some of his best pictures. Albert Durer's pictures are still remarkable for a certain juicy freshness in contradistinction to what is called the "brick tone," and it is evident this master's works are as hard and dry as enamel. The fact is, with respect to colours, when laid on in cool, tender tones, in perfect imitation of natural freshness, it is not, and it ought not to be, necessary to their permanent truthfulness, that they should always retain an actual moisture. For instance, a dew-drop by a Dutch painter will always look like a dew-drop however hard and dry the colours may become.

Look at the best preserved pictures of Jacob Ruysdael. Their calm, soft airiness, subdued sunlights, and quiet shades, still possess all we can conceive of intense beauty. The pictures of Ruysdael are as opposite, in their simple chasteness, to the splendid allegories of Rubens, as the mellow notes of a solitary flute to the outburst of an orchestra. Yet Ruysdael's representations of woods, lanes, villages, waterfalls, and scenes on the ocean, have not, as far as we can guess, been despoiled of a single charm. Again, look into the interiors of Adrian Ostade, you may almost guess the hour of the day with no other guide save the lights, reflections, and shadows. Thus you imagine in one picture it is three o'clock on a summer afternoon, and the Boor on the ale-house bench is dozing over his after dinner cup. Or, in another picture in which the painter has represented himself at work, that it is early morning, by the cheerful sunlight which steals so calmly into the apartment; you feel the desire to step across the room and look through the old-fashioned window into the garden. You feel sure there is a garden without, nay, that it is the month of June, and that the painter's roses are in full bloom. Such are the nice distinctions of light, shade, and tint yet preserved in the pictures of Adrian Van Ostade.

These instances of durability of colours in the works of the old painter are taken almost at random. The same quality would be found to exist in the greater proportion of pictures in any choice collection. The earliest specimens of Italian pictures in distemper are mostly very solid and pure in colour; that is, where a direct cause for their decay, such as gross exposure, has not existed. The pictures of Taddeo Gaddi, in the National Gallery, present an instance of colours which have survived the influence of time, through a period of nearly five hundred years. In the representation of "Saints in Glory," those early pictures display a great variety of colours, and frequently very striking and beautiful effects of sunlight. The blues and reds have often an enviable degree of purity, depth, variety, and force, even when compared with less ancient productions.

It is commonly observed that portions of old paintings are in good preservation, while other parts of the same pictures are almost obliterated, the obliterations having been occasioned either by accident, neglect, or wilful

bad treatment. The cartoons of Raphael, at Hampton Court, are a painful case in point. If the whole series of that work had been preserved, as, by chance, some favoured parts have been, it is clear that the whole would now be almost as perfect as when they left the master's pencil.

Eight pictures, forming part of the national collection in London, were cleaned during the past year, 1852. The result gave great dissatisfaction, and called forth severe censures from several eminent critics. With the alleged failure we, at this stage of our inquiry, have nothing to say. One fact is evident to the spectator, to wit; six of the eight pictures, in their renovated state, are wondrously brilliant in colour, The Claude landscapes are bright to a fault, inasmuch as the eye suffers in looking at them, which is more than the master intended. There is one cheering fact, however, made evident by the picture cleaning in question—the several paintings present striking instances in point of the durability of colours which have been laid on for nearly two centuries.

The Arts.

ONLY ONCE A YEAR!

THE Pantomime has claimed me once again;
Wherefore I lay my load of trouble down,
And follow with the childish laughing train.
My faith revives in Harlequin and Clown,
And my heart yearns towards my uncle Brown,
Who took me first to see the Christmas show.

The brightest jewels yet in Pleasure's crown
Are those which sparkled in it long ago!
I think, 'tis the best fooling, when all's done,
To laugh with children at our childhood's fun.

The fairy queen ascends her silver cloud,
Which rises with her at the prompter's call;
The nimble lovers thread the elfin crowd;
The rest pursue, with many a trip and fall.
Shrill laughter follows those misfortunes all,
And tiny hands applaud, with wondering glee,
When Harlequin leaps through the canvas wall
Or Columbine stands tip-toe on his knee.
Tricks, changes, motion, noise, bustle, and strife,
Keep one from thinking, as they do in life.

The play is done, and sooth it were to say,
How like a very prodigal I feel.
(If I should call on Uncle Brown some day,
I wonder would he welcome me with *veal?*)
The curtain falls upon the final reel,
Just as the crimson flame will rise no more;
The last spark flickers from the fiery wheel;
The fiddlers drop out through the little door.
Rest, rest to Harlequin's tee-totum head;
Peace be with antic Clown stretched on his garret bed.

Q.

PHILIP OF SPAIN'S FIRST PROGRESS.—On the Monday evening, they were to meet at Winchester; and the long summer's day would only be long enough for the slow magnificence of the procession, in which the bridegroom was to march thither from Southampton. He had brought with him a glorious retinue, decked out in all the splendours in which they had been wont to glitter up and down under the blue sky of Castile. The choicest chivalry of Europe were there in choicest holiday costume, with gold, and pearls, and silks, and velvets, and plumes of gorgeous birds of Paradise, from the forests of the new world. Southampton had never seen such a troop of cavaliers as on that July morning wound along her streets; and well might Southampton stand and gaze, and wonder at them, for never before or since were so many men worth marking seen together there. Alva was among them, and Count Egmont, and, greater than either, William Prince of Orange, and Count Horn, four men whose equals were not perhaps alive in Europe, or in the world. Poor England, and still more the English climate, which showed such weak perception of the honour done to it! The sun, at least, did not care to look at them, however the people did. Swithin lying there in his shrine at Winchester would not sacrifice one hour of his moist rites. Down fell the rain, as if the whole torrent of the forty days were streaming into one; down it fell, hopeless, cheerless, incorrigible. The gay feathers dangled in the bonnets; the drenched horses drooped their heads, trailing their gaudy caparisons as they waded through the chalk slush of the roads; but no horse might quicken its pace, and no outward composure be disturbed: on they paced, slow, solemn, and most miserable. We can fancy how the Hampshire peasants stood grinning under the dripping eaves of the cottage porches, and bare-legged urchins darted out with disrespectful capers, as the last horse went by. We can fancy the oaths which were muttered between Philip's yellow lips at all England, weather, marriage, queen, and the whole accursed connexion. And the rain was not the worst. To propitiate the god of his new subjects, he had drained in their honour, before starting, a huge tankard of "the wine of the country"—Hampshire ale—the flavour and the properties of which alike displeased his inexperienced stomach; and, within and without, he was drenched in wretchedness.—*Westminster Review* for January.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	*Mond.*	*Tues.*	*Wedn.*	*Thurs.*	*Frid.*
Bank Stock	223½	224½	.....	224½	223½	225
3 per Cent. Red.	101¼	101¼	101⅛	101⅛	101¼	100⅞
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	shut	shut	.....	.....	100⅜	100¼
Consols for Account	100⅝	.....	100½	.....	100⅜	.....
3½ per Cent. An.	104⅜	104⅜	104⅜	104⅜	104¼	104¼
New 5 per Cents.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Long Ans. 1860	.....	6 7-16	6 7-16	.....	6⅛	.....
India Stock	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ditto Bonds, £1000	83	83	.....	83	83	79
Ditto, under £1000	.....	83	80	.....	.....	82
Ex. Bills, £1000	72 p	72 p	69 p	72 p	73 p	69 p
Ditto, £500	72 p	.....	69 p	.....	73 p	.....
Ditto, Small	72 p	72 p	69 p	72 p	73 p	72 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Austrian 5 per Cents. ...	90½	Russian 4½ per Cents. ...	104⅜
Brazilian New 4½ per Cts.	98½	Sardinian Bonds	95⅝
Brazilian New, 1829 & 39	103	Spanish 3 p. Cents.	49
Danish 5 per Cents.	108	Spanish 3 p. Cts. New Def.	23½
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	67⅛	Spanish Com. Certif. of Coupon not funded ...	4½
Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	98⅞	Swedish Loan.....	1½ dis.
Peruvian 6 p. Cts., 1849	104½	Turkish Loan, 6 per Cent. 1852	⅜ pm.
Peruvian 3 per Cent. Def.	64¼		
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