

The Leader.

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

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VOL. IV. No. 162.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 1853.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

WITH one or two exceptions Ministers have been singularly successful over their opponents this week. They have beaten Lord Derby and the Opposition of the House of Commons at every turn, and the proportion of the divisions would appear to indicate that they can command, on most occasions, a majority in the proportion of 3 to 2, or a still larger one. Nay, the conduct of the Opposition appears to imply something more than a failure of organization there. The party seems to be broken up, at all events for any useful purpose. One of its leaders has been very prominent and conspicuous in failure; the other has avoided failure by abstaining from the more damaging conflicts of his party.

The first struggle came upon the question of extension of the Income-tax. It was reported, that in resisting this part of the Ministerial measure, Lord Derby's party would have the support of the Irish Members; but there has been some miscalculation. The debate on the first night was not only languid, but it was begun in a singular manner by an amendment from Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton; a strange person to put forward as the leader of the Derby Disraeli party on a question of finance. Sir Edward is an accomplished gentleman, a celebrated author, and an independent Member; but on an occasion of this kind, it might have been supposed, if the late Ministers had retained any part of their organization, they would have put forward either a financier, like Mr. Herries or Mr. Disraeli himself, or a representative of Ireland, like Mr. Napier. The choice of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton implies not certainly that they labour under any want in men of mark, but that they have broken up their quasi-official organization, which implies also that their hope of getting back to office is broken. A few Irish Members spoke in this first night of the debate, and a few Conservatives, who have before distinguished themselves in the debates of 1848-9, by supporting Major Blackall's proposition to substitute an Income-tax in Ireland for the rate in aid, and Sir Benjamin Hall's proposal to extend the Income-tax to Ireland. The debate drags heavily, and now stands for a fourth night.

The South Sea and other Annuities Commutation Bill has been pursued with a curious kind of resistance as it passed each stage; the opposition statesmen declared that they would have resisted if they had known that it was about to be brought forward at that moment, but that they were always too late, except on that last occasion. And

then, who was it that they put forward to represent them as the chosen antagonist of the Chancellor of the Exchequer? It was Sir Fitzroy Kelly, the late Solicitor-General of the party. This choice of a spokesman to overhaul the finance of the present Ministry has attracted notice, and it is a confirmation of our view that the ex-Ministry has broken up on the strand of the Opposition benches. The choice was not warranted by any happiness in the results. Sir Fitzroy used the forms of the House, and various special pleadings, in the attempt either to delay the Bill, or by a side wind to cripple it against the proposed amount of conversion; and he failed in either attempt, his amendments negatived by decisive majorities. Thus, the Oppositionists have not been able to conceal the party character of their resistance, and yet they have displayed it only to be defeated. The Bill has passed the House of Commons, and it cannot be altered in the House of Lords; who will scarcely reject it.

It is understood that Lord Derby had counted upon success in a measure which might be more questionable to the view of many—the Bill to relinquish the Clergy Reserves in Canada. Our readers will remember that the lands reserved for the Established Churches of England and Scotland were given up in 1840, and the question now is, whether the proceeds from the sale of those lands shall be reserved for the benefit of the clergy in question, or whether the colonial legislature shall do as it pleases in that matter. Lord Derby came down to the House of Lords on Monday to propose an amendment, which was to scatter Ministers, and to settle the measure with a truly statesmanlike blow. His amendment amounted to this:—For himself he never would have given up the principle of regarding these Reserves as inviolable; but the question has been altered by the concession of previous Ministries; and he now proposed to fix for ever the amount of the proceeds already accruing, while he would give up both the remainder of the lands with their proceeds, and also the existing incumbrances. Lord Derby made a speech remarkably the reverse of clear; he involved himself in a quarrel with the Bishop of Oxford, and used a quotation against that polished censor, telling him that "a man might smile and smile and be a villain," so as to draw upon himself an indignant rebuke from the Earl of Clarendon, at which the House cheered. Those who were in the House observed that Lord Derby levelled his quotation at the Bishop with a glare of eye that lent peculiar point to the words. At all events it is well understood that he expected success, and

that he was totally dismayed when the division showed an adverse majority of 117 to 77. The blow to the power and influence of the ex-Ministers is understood to be very severe.

They have made another attempt in the House of Commons to damage the national system of education in Ireland. It will be remembered that the Earl of Derby, when Lord Stanley, took a prominent part in establishing that system, which has since proved eminently successful. We have several times stated the excellent education which a large proportion of the children in Ireland received. Notwithstanding the emigration, the number in the schools continue to increase; while the population has diminished by 2,000,000, the number in the schools has advanced from about 490,000 to 520,000. Mr. G. A. Hamilton was charged with the duty of trying to subvert the system before the late ministry came into power. When Lord Derby, as Premier, was first questioned upon the subject in the House of Lords, he let out his own inclination to grant a hostile inquiry, but afterwards he was obliged to confess that the system could not be meddled with. During Lord Derby's occupancy of office, Mr. Hamilton abstained from bringing forward his motion; Lord Derby is now out of office, and Mr. Hamilton thinks that if he can destroy the system of education in Ireland, party will have gained a victory, and the Protestant and Roman Catholic sectaries will be free to carry on a warfare of educational competition—of what sort we may guess. He professed, indeed, only to ask for inquiry, but as the facts stated on the other side were not disputed, and as the motive of the inquiry was perfectly known, the House of Commons rejected his motion by a majority of 70. Ministers, therefore failed on that ground.

The defeat on the Jew Bill in the House of Lords, last night, is not of first-rate importance: the principal opponent of the bill avowedly regarded the Jews as politically too weak "to be propitiated," the people as too apathetic to be feared; and the Peers have thus remained free in postponing justice to bigotry for a brief space longer.

The chief ground on which Ministers have not maintained their success has been that of foreign policy. When they were questioned by Lord Clanricard and Lord Beaumont about their position in Turkey,—that province whose independence is in jeopardy, with a large amount of English trade,—they could only reply with vague assurances, and with an intimation that they are on the best footing with the States that are trying to compass the destruction of Turkey—Austria and Russia. The assurance is not very re-assuring.

But their failure has been still more signal nearer home. They have put Mr. Hale, the inventor of the rockets, in prison, on the strength of an effete Act of Parliament; but now that they have got him there, what will they do with him? Mr. Hale is the inventor of warlike missiles; there never was any secret about that. He is personally acquainted with Kossuth,—an acquaintanceship which has been sought by others than Mr. Hale, even by persons in the Upper House of Parliament, and, if we mistake not, high in statesmanship. There never was any secret about the knowledge of Kossuth and Mr. Hale. Kossuth is beset by Hungarian refugees of various kinds, some no doubt of the Von Beck order. He has placed several of his countrymen at work, in trades suited to their knowledge and capacities, by his influence with English employers. Certain artillerymen remained on hand, but he found them cognate employment under his friend, Mr. Hale, as journeymen workmen. They did not satisfy their employer, and they were discharged. After their discharge, they gave information in "the proper quarter," that Mr. Hale was making the rockets for the purpose of an Hungarian war. The evidence, however, was so bad, that Ministers could not proceed upon the ground of the original information, and were obliged to get hold of Mr. Hale by a circuitous process. At first, the pretence was, that he had exceeded the allowance of gunpowder which a private person might keep. Then a forgotten Act of Parliament was discovered, which makes it illegal to keep fireworks in and about London, so that Mr. Hale is sent to prison for infringing the law which would put down Vauxhall, and Cremorne, and Guy Fawkes every November. This unmanly expedient shows the weakness of the Government case. The discharged Hungarian workmen were brought forward to give their evidence, and Mr. Hale has been sent to prison for making such materials as are used at Cremorne, because a vindictive informer says that Kossuth intended to buy the rockets for an Hungarian war. If such ultimate intentions should be proved in Kossuth, how would that establish the case against Mr. Hale on the anti-Cremorne ground? In this case, Ministers have succeeded in being unjust; they have not succeeded in warranting their injustice.

The announcement of a Prussian paper, that Attorney-General Nörner and Police Lieutenant Goldheim have returned from London, after having succeeded in the detection of Kossuth's operations at Mr. Hale's, shows under what influence our Government has been acting; right or wrong, it is the coadjutor of the Continental Police. Lord Palmerston avows that he causes suspected persons, whether foreign or English, to be watched. But, thank God, there are still some Englishmen in the House of Commons, and they succeeded, notwithstanding Lord Palmerston's doublings and evasions, in forcing him to confess that he had no case against Kossuth, either for imputation or prosecution.

The select committee on the appointments and promotions of the Admiralty, has at last got the complete story out of Sir Baldwin Walker, Sir Hyde Parker, and Mr. Stafford: it is now undeniable that the late Secretary to the Admiralty systematically used his authority to promote workmen in the Dockyards with reference, not to their efficiency, but to their votes as parliamentary electors; further explanation imparts to his evasive replies a character usually deemed inconsistent with personal honour; and although it may mollify indignation against himself, the case is only rendered worse by his avowal, that he acted under such pressure from Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, that he could not help himself. It is unfortunate for the influence of the party attached to Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, that while they cut so poor a figure in Opposition, their shabby corruptions in office should be again brought to light by this inquiry.

France is rather unsettled just now by reports

that there is not to be a little emperor for the present, by the railway mania, which is a sort of commercial ergic, not without its prospective remorse and headache, and by a wages movement far less healthy than our own. The men are moved to it by the dearth of provisions and lodgings, and it is much to be doubted whether the affairs of the masters are in so solid a state as to make them very confident in enlarging their expenditure. But the Government is superior to the laws of commerce, and in Paris, where it wants the favour of the people, it is interfering to make the masters yield. In the provinces, where it is more independent, the Government drives the workmen by arrest and imprisonment to unconditional submission. What can be the state of commerce under such an administration?

The latest accounts from China foreshadow an extraordinary change in the political state of the empire. The genuine Chinese, amongst whom a rebellion has existed for three years, are making such progress that they talk of expelling the Mantchoo Tartars and setting a Chinese upon the throne. There is no doubt that commercial notions have made considerable progress amongst the Celestial nation whom we associate with our cups and saucers; and that such ideas would have made even more progress, if they had not been kept down by the special edicts with which the Tartar potentate at Pekin has kept his three hundred millions in the nursery. When once revolution has set in thus steadily and forcibly, there is no knowing where it may stop: Conservatism trembles to think that the Chinese may break up their time-honoured institutions and leave off breaking their women's toes; a practice which experience has sanctified to that judicious people as the true safeguard of female honour and delicacy.

THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT.

OUR summary of Parliament concluded last week with the record of two defeats suffered by Lord Derby's party. The noble leader and his diminished band have fared little better this week. There have been two more defeats; the first, very serious indeed, was sustained on Monday on

THE CANADA CLERGY RESERVES.

The House went into committee on the bill, and Lord DERBY, who had not ventured to divide against its principle on the second reading, now came forward with an amendment, the effect of which would be to grant to the Canadian legislature all that the bill proposed to grant with regard to all the appropriations of the clergy reserves not hitherto appropriated or allotted, and not hitherto set apart for the specific benefit of the clergy of the two Churches of England and Scotland. Limiting, however, the powers which the bill gave to the Colonial Legislature to the case of those prospective appropriations, with regard to those endowments that were confirmed by the grant of the Crown, and sanctioned by the legislature, and by the nomination of trustees for their administration, he begged to call upon their lordships to say that they consisted of a description of property that they had neither the power nor the right to alienate, and if they did alienate them they would strike at the very root of the security of all the settled property of the country. The noble earl, having entered at some length into a vindication of his consistency upon this question, concluded by entreating their lordships not to confer on the Canadian Legislature a right which the Imperial Parliament itself did not possess.

The Duke of NEWCASTLE made a spirited reply. Sarcastically styling Lord Derby a great tactician as well as a great artist, he told him he should have made that speech on Friday night, and criticised the position he and his party had assumed on this question.

Although they were told that the principle of the bill was vicious and sacrilegious, yet the noble earl and his adherents were so conservative of the Church of England that, to secure a chance party triumph, they refused to divide against the principle of the bill. The noble earl was studious to conceal that the same objections which he urged against the bill itself were of equal force against his amendment. He admitted that he was ready, as an act of conciliation, to permit the legislature of the colony to "confiscate" the whole of the land appropriated to the clergy reserves, but now unsold, amounting to one million and a half of acres; but he says, "That part of the property which has been sold, that which has been invested in the funds must be held sacred." He brought forward this proposition in the teeth of the declaration made by the late Lord Chancellor the other night, that respect for pro-

perty, if good for anything, must be universal. The principle of the measure before the House was not based upon any question whether the act of 1840 was right or not, but whether they had a right to dictate upon this question to the Canadian Legislature. Why would not the noble lord take warning, and why, he would ask, did the act of 1840 fail? Because it was not made with the consent, the approbation, and the approval of the Canadian Parliament of that day.

Keeping up the ball of debate on either side, Lord WICKLOW, Lord DESART, the Bishop of LONDON, and Lord St. LEONARDS, appeared as supporters of Lord Derby's views, arguing as he argued, that the reserves were the property of the Churches of England and Scotland, and that, at all events, the rights of existing incumbents should be secured. On the other side were Lord WHARNCLIFFE, the Bishop of St. DAVID'S, the Duke of ARGYLL, and Earl GREY, standing up for the right of local self-government inherent in the colony, and rejecting the amendment as based on no principle, but, as a compromise, sacrificing the principle of the bill, and the principle of the nobler opposition.

The Bishop of OXFORD then delivered a most striking speech on behalf of the bill. He showed that the reserve fund was not on the same footing with the endowments of the Churches of England and Scotland, the gift of private persons, or granted to specific parishes, but a fund under the control of Parliament for the maintenance of the Protestant clergy. He claimed for the Canadian Legislature, not a legal right, which laws may enforce, but a far higher right, "that basis of moral right which the written law should embody," that was the right of dealing with their own concerns which he claimed for the Canadian Legislature. He then referred to a matter which caused a scene later in the evening.

"The right reverend prelate has quoted the beautiful description by Burke of the imperial power of Parliament—its grandeur, and the singleness and nobleness of its aims; but my right reverend friend went but a little way in that speech, and he had a convenient memory when he stopped where he did. (Hear, hear.) It happened that within a week before, I had been reading this very speech myself, and the matter was fresh in my mind, and I ask your lordships to let me read three or four sentences to show you that the opinions of Edmund Burke were different after all from what you would infer from that quotation of my right reverend friend. (Hear, hear.) That noble man spoke in this way:—'An ardent love of freedom is the predominating feature of your American colonies, and as ardent and generous an affection. Your colonies become auspicious, restive, and intractable when they see the least attempt to wrest from them by force'—(he seemed almost to have foreseen what occurred on Friday night, and, if your lordships will allow me, I will put in on Friday evening)—(laughter)—or to shuffle from them by chicanery, what they think the only advantage worth living for. There is a spirit of liberty stronger in the English colonies than in other people of the earth, because they are the descendants of Englishmen.' (Hear, hear.) My lords, I do declare that, if I may venture to believe that if the faintest echoes of our voices shall approach those still and calm shades where I rejoice to think the spirit of that mighty patriot rests, he would be moved almost to indignation at hearing that his name was quoted, not to assert for those American colonies the right to manage their own affairs, but was quoted because we so distrust them that we will not give them the power of dealing with the question of the endowment of their clergy."

The Bishop of EXETER simply said, that the words he had abstained from quoting had no bearing whatever on the great principle Burke was laying down, that in all cases the Imperial Parliament sat as it were on a throne, to direct all local Legislatures.

But Lord DERBY took up the quotation in another spirit. He declared it personally offensive to him; he denied that he was either guilty of shuffling or chicanery; and he thought the Bishop would feel called upon to offer him an apology. The right reverend prelate had said, that when he looked at the non-rejection of the bill upon its second reading, and at the well-weighed amendment which was subsequently brought forward, he felt how appropriate were the words of Mr. Burke, that "it was indifferent whether the rights of a country were wrested from them by violence on a Friday night, or shuffled away by chicanery on a Monday." Now, Lord Derby entirely disclaimed the offensive imputations contained in those words.

The Bishop of OXFORD: I must entreat your lordships' indulgence while I briefly refer to one point in the noble Earl's speech. I think your lordships must have remarked that when I made the quotation to which he has referred, I did so with a smile, and not with the intention of imputing anything to noble lords opposite. I have many friends amongst them, and nothing could be further from me than the intention to say anything offensive to them. All that I meant to say was, that you (the Opposition) would have been defeated in a division on the second reading of the bill on Friday evening, and that thinking you could secure the same effect as would have attended upon success then, by a judicious amendment in committee, you took that course.

The Earl of Derby rose, amidst considerable confusion, and said: I accept, of course, at once the explanation made by the right reverend prelate; but when he tells me

it was impossible he could mean anything offensive because it was said with a smiling face, I hope he will excuse me for reminding him of another quotation, which appears to me to be at least as applicable as that which he used—

"A man may smile and smile, and be a villain." (Confusion, and cries of "Oh!") I am at a loss to know to whom this can be offensive—who says "Oh?"

The Earl of CLARENDON, advancing to the table, and exclaiming, with vehemence, "It was to me!—it was to me!" We have a right to feel offended by that expression. (Cheers.) We are not accustomed, my lords, to hear such expressions in this House—(renewed cheers.) Never in this House, not even in the language of poetry, are we accustomed to hear such a word as "villain"—("hear, hear," and confusion.)

The Earl of DERBY: I must say, that the warmth of the noble Earl was quite uncalled for, and the manner in which he gave expression to it unbecoming the position which he at present holds. ("Oh!" and renewed confusion.) He must have heard me say, before I used the expression alluded to, that I was making a quotation in which I was quite certain that the right reverend prelate would feel I was not applying to him the expression it contained, and that I meant no personal application of the words, any more than I believe, after the explanation he has given, that he had intended anything personally offensive to me. It is bootless to vent indignation when none is needed. I can assure him I had not the slightest intention of doing so, and I cannot think the feeling of the House at all joins in the somewhat singular demonstration of wasted wrath he has made.

Strangers were then ordered to withdraw, and the House divided. The numbers were:—

Content (for the amendment)	78
Non-Content (against it)	117
Majority for the Government	—39

The amendment having thus been lost, the clause was agreed to, as were the remaining clauses, and the House immediately afterwards adjourned, at a quarter before one o'clock.

Of course, further opposition was hopeless.

On the motion for the third reading of the Canada Clergy Reserves Bill, on Thursday, the Duke of NEWCASTLE, in reply to questions from the Earl of WICKLOW and Lord REDSDALE, explained that the guarantee would have the same effect as before the passing of the present bill, should the fund fall below the specified amount, the clergy reserves remaining on the same footing under any circumstances, with this exception, that the authority over them would be given to the Canadian legislature. According to the law officers of the Crown, if the reserves were secularized, the guarantee would fall with the condition on which it rested, and this country would not, in that event, be answerable, as had been anticipated.

The bill was then read a third time.

The other defeat of the Derbyites—not quite so utter, but still sufficiently stinging—was on

IRISH NATIONAL EDUCATION.

Mr. HAMILTON moved for a select committee to inquire into the working of the national system of education in Ireland, with a view of ascertaining how far the instructions in Mr. Stanley's letter of 1830 had been followed or departed from by the Commissioners, or in the practical operation of the system, and whether and to what extent a united or combined education had been attained; and also to inquire whether, by any further extension of the Commissioners' rules, or otherwise, the conscientious objections of many of the Irish people to the present system could be removed, so as to render it more extensive and national. In a long speech, supported by statistics, he urged that an issue of fact existed between the parties interested, as to whether the existing system were—first, united; secondly, scriptural; and thirdly, neutral, which latter he contended it was not, but Roman-catholic; adding, that the model schools were not models, and that the reports were unsatisfactory. He said, that he had brought forward the motion in no hostile spirit, but it was time the unhappy controversy should cease, and he thought that the committee might devise some mode of settlement, for which there was a strong wish in Ireland. But he could not conclude without a bitter attack on Lord Aberdeen—

The Earl of Aberdeen was reported to have stated "elsewhere" that he could scarcely repress the indignation he felt at seeing the most hopeful effort that had been made for many years to improve the permanent condition of the people of Ireland thwarted. It might be that that noble Earl was not in a position now to render the acknowledgment he otherwise might to men who, amid great difficulties and inducements to act otherwise, had adhered to opinions conscientiously entertained. It might be that that noble Earl would be glad to see extended to matters of a religious character, as well as to political matters, the kind of indifferentism (cries of "Oh, oh!") which characterized that which bore the designation of Radical Conservatism and Conservative Radicalism. ("Oh, oh!") But the noble Earl would find that the people of Ireland would not take his view upon that subject. That people, Roman-catholics as well as Protestants, were as deeply affected by religious considerations as any people upon the face of the earth.

Mr. WIGGAM seconded the motion.

Sir JOHN YOUNG asserted the promptness with which Lord Aberdeen paid respect to the religious opinions of others, and said that he himself approached this subject in no spirit of indifferentism. The main and only object of the promoters of this motion was the subversion of the national system. There was nothing, he said, in the original instructions to make scriptural extracts part of the secular system of education in the national schools. If any complaint were made against any individual school, or any number of schools, it should occasion the most rigid inquiry. The system was opposed by the majority of the clergy of the Established Church, and by a diminishing number of the gentry belonging to it; and he would speak of their scruples with all respect, but could not admit that they made a claim for toleration, but rather the reverse. The Roman Catholics had a conscientious objection to the use of the Scriptures, without note or comment, by young persons. The people of Ireland were exceedingly alive to the advantages of education, and would make any sacrifice to give it to their children. He enlarged upon the various influences under which the poor Irish might be induced to send their children to schools of which they disapproved, and he argued that the Protestant who demanded the right of private judgment should be ready to give it to others. He sketched the working of the system, which had been twenty-one years in existence. He said that out of the immense numbers of children that had attended the schools not one proved case of proselytism had taken place, and from statistics he sought to show that the Roman Catholics had not had an undue share of advantages. In generally answering the arguments on the other side, Sir J. Young said that it would be most advantageous if more money were laid out upon these schools; and he bore a high tribute to their excellent teachers, and especially commended the school-books, which had become a national literature, and from one of which he read an extract which he described as imbued with morality and true religious feeling. He dwelt feelingly upon the admirable results of the schools, which had attained their main object; and he expressed an earnest hope that the House would persevere in upholding a system which tended to elevate the whole of the humbler portion of the Irish nation.

Mr. NAPIER reiterated that the Protestants were excluded from the advantage of these schools, and he complained that the principle for which they contended in vain was conceded to every religious denomination in England. Lord MONCK admitted the conscientiousness, but denied the rationality of the objections to the national system. Mr. LUCAS said that Government had two opinions on education—one for England and one for Ireland; the former of which he considered sound, the other the reverse. The Irish system was one thing in name and another in fact, and he denied that it produced any real amalgamation. He should be prepared to support a measure for the establishment of separate systems of education for different Churches.

He agreed in a great deal that had been said by the supporters of this motion, but he had great difficulty in voting for it, because he was unable to satisfy himself that the objects which they had in view were in accordance with the spirit and terms of the motion itself. If he thought they were, he should have no difficulty in voting for it. He confessed that what before had been a certainty with him, had that evening, owing to the temperate tone which had been adopted, been converted into a doubt, and he should like to have that doubt converted into a certainty the other way by obtaining a categorical answer from the hon. mover of this resolution as to what his intentions really were. Ay or no, did he wish to have the funds distributed in a fair proportion among the different sects according to their numbers? In the debates of 1848 and 1849, the hon. gentleman and the right hon. gentleman the member for Midhurst, and others, clearly enough stated that they wished to have the grants made to the Church Education Society. Did they now want to establish, not a separate system, but a "united Scriptural education," in which were to be brought together 120,000 children under the tuition of the bishops and clergy of the established church, 44,000 of those children being Roman Catholics? If that were the system which they wished to establish by means of a public grant, then he said avow it at once; let there be no mistake that it was the old system of the Kildare-street Schools which they wished to promote, and in that case they would receive from him and those who thought with him the strongest and bitterest opposition. (Hear.) If these schools were established on the basis laid down in these speeches, then they came to this—that grants were wanted to establish schools into which the children of Catholics were to be allowed for purposes of proselytism. If such were their intention, let it be avowed plainly to the House.

Lord NAAS gave a cordial support to the motion, on the ground that the time had come when inquiry ought to be made how far the objects of the founders of the system had been carried out. He denied that at present it could fairly be called a combined system of education.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM, in resisting the motion, stated his inability to consider it as anything but an attack upon the national system, which, he contended, and was

prepared to prove, had met with as much success as could have been anticipated by its originators. He asserted, in answer to the promoters of the motion, that the national system was one of mixed education; and argued at some length that the difficulties which embarrassed the schools were mixed up with political bitterness—

"The object of the present motion is to establish a system with separate grants; and what will be the consequence? The claim of the Roman-catholics will then be irresistible. Your grants must then bear reference to the respective numbers of the different sects, and the Roman-catholics being by far the most numerous, the largest proportion of the grants must be given to them, and much the smallest portion to the church of England. The flame of religious discord would then indeed be spread throughout the country, a proselytizing spirit would be added to the evils and sorrows of that country; and, instead of a scheme of peace and concord, you will have a great aggravation of all the ills and misfortunes which now afflict Ireland. Something has been said by the hon. member for Dublin University, about the opinion of Dr. Chalmers with respect to mixed education. Now, is it true that Dr. Chalmers thought that secular education, without religious teaching, is incompatible with the good of a community? I have here the opinion of Dr. Chalmers, which was recorded within a short period of his lamented death. Dr. Chalmers's biographer says:—

"During the last few months of his life, the subject of national education was much upon his mind. The following was written about a week before his death, and comes to us sealed with the impressive character of being the last formal expression of his truly enlightened judgment on any great public question. Dr. Chalmers says on this subject, 'I would suffer parents to select what part of education they wanted for their children, and would not force arithmetic upon them, if all they wanted was writing and reading; and as little would I force any part of religious instruction that was given in the school, if all they wanted was secular education.'"

"But I have a higher authority than even that of Dr. Chalmers. I have here the opinion of Archbishop Usher on this very point. Archbishop Usher, referring to the state of Ireland in his day, says:—

"The danger of this ignorance being, by the confession of the most judicious divines on both sides, acknowledged to be so great, the woful state of the poor country wherein I live is much to be lamented, where the people generally are suffered to perish for want of knowledge—the vulgar superstitions of popery not doing them half that hurt that the ignorance of those common principles of the faith doth, which all true Christians are bound to learn. The consideration whereof hath sometimes drawn me to treat with those of the opposite party, and to move them that, howsoever in other things we did differ one from another, yet we should join together in teaching those main points, the knowledge whereof was so necessary unto salvation, and of the truth whereof there was no controversy betwixt us."

"And I am satisfied that if Archbishop Usher were now alive, he, the Primate, would be the patron of the national school in the city of Armagh. That is my firm conviction. Amid all these symptoms of religious difference, it is impossible to conceal from ourselves that there lurks a degree of political bitterness. Something has been said of the examination of witnesses before the select committee of 1837. I was a member of that committee. Here are answers to the questions 7687 and 7688, with reference to the alleged denial of the use of the Bible:—

"As soon as the system was announced, meetings were got up in almost every town in Ulster. The great meeting of Rathfriland, at which Lord Roden presided, was the first. The people were led to believe that the Government were about to send round the police to take possession of their Bibles. To this meeting they carried their Bibles, and flourished them over their heads, expressing their determination to die in defence of them. After this meeting, gun-clubs were established, for the purpose of furnishing the peasantry with guns to protect their Bibles."

"A pamphlet has been published upon the system of the Church Education Society, by the Rev. Mr. Trench, and a most able one it is. I think I can show, from a fact mentioned by Mr. Trench, that there lurks, under the semblance of religious differences, a bitter character of political animosity. In one town in Ireland, in which there is a National school and a Church Education school, Mr. Trench says,—

"In company with the landlord of the town, I visited, first, the National school, and afterwards the Church Education school. In the National school, we found the Scripture extracts were read. On our entering the Church Education school, the landlord, not being well acquainted with the principles of the Church Education school, asked the master whether the Scripture extracts were read in his school? His reply was, 'Oh, no, Sir; we are all Tories here!'"

"I say that this House will act most unwisely if they consent to this inquiry, invited as they are, with an intention which honourable gentlemen opposite have hardly dissembled to avow this evening, to overthrow a system which has existed for twenty-two years, and which has, in my opinion, wrought infinite good in Ireland. And is this good stationary? The population of Ireland has been diminished by nearly 2,000,000. Do the numbers of the children attending these schools diminish in the same proportion? On the contrary, the numbers of the children attending the schools have progressed and increased during all the period of Ireland's greatest misfortune; and last year, when the emigration was the greatest, the number of children in these schools was larger than was ever before known—exceeding, as it did, 520,000. I hope that Parliament will not, at the moment when its success is the greatest and most promising—when Lord Derby, the

author of the system, who has just had the opportunity of controlling its operation and correcting its defects, has told you that he cannot contemplate any change which shall not be injurious to the system—when you have had the example and experience of twenty-two years—when no reason can be given for this inquiry upon which any reliance can be placed, except that supplied by the language of the honourable member, when he says that the time has come for abandoning the phantom of mixed education—that phantom being the reality which I have described—when you can have nothing more successful than a system embracing in its sphere a larger relative number of youths than are receiving the same education in any other country in Europe,—I hope you will agree with me that it is highly inexpedient to agree to the motion that has been made to-night. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. WHITESIDE observed, that the answer just given to the motion amounted to this—that the national system of education in Ireland was endangered by it; yet that the system was so admirable, that the more it was inquired into the more its merits would be discovered. The question was not about a majority or a minority, but of reason and right. The clergy of the Church of England had a right to read the Scriptures in the Church schools, yet they dared not do it if they had a grant from the National Board. The motion came commended by its fairness and its justice.

Lord J. RUSSELL, with great spirit said, that Mr. Whiteside had sufficiently disclosed the object of the motion when he said the clergy of the Church of England claimed the right to read the Scriptures to all the children in the schools. If this should be conceded, the Roman-Catholic priests would claim a similar power, and the whole system would be destroyed. It was a question, therefore, of maintaining the system or abandoning it.

After an attempt to adjourn the debate, which was negatived by a large majority, the House divided upon the original motion, which was rejected by 179 to 109.

The great subject of the week, however, has been the debate on the resolution in the Budget, respecting

THE INCOME TAX.

But Monday night, when it began, was not remarkable for more than an almost barren skirmish.

The House having resolved itself into a Committee of Ways and Means, on the first resolution, granting a tax upon incomes until April, 1860, Sir E. B. LYTON moved, in lieu of the resolution, that the continuance of the Income-tax for seven years, and its extension to classes hitherto exempted from its operation, without any mitigation of the inequalities of the assessment, are alike unjust and impolitic. He admitted that there was much in the Budget worthy of the high reputation of Mr. Gladstone, and of the approbation of the country; but he insisted that the prolongation of the tax for seven years was unnecessary, and that, if it were otherwise, the tax ought not to be continued without those reforms which were called for by the general sense of the country. Among other objections to the scheme of the tax, he alleged the manner in which it had been laid generally upon Ireland, in exchange for a debt due from certain classes; while the landed interest in England, without enjoying any special relief, were to be burdened with a new tax of 2,000,000*l.* a-year; and that, believing that the remissions of taxation would not be reproductive, there was no guarantee that the Income-tax would cease in 1860.

Mr. EVELYN DENISON opposed this amendment. Looking at the various compensations contained in the Budget, he was anxious, he said, to express his contentment with the whole scheme, to which, regarding it as a whole, he gave his entire and cordial support.

Mr. BOOKER, representing at once an agricultural constituency and commerce in his own person, felt the greatest dismay at the plan propounded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which offered no relief to owners or occupiers of land, while the tax upon successions would tend "to break up the great landed aristocracy of the country."

Mr. HUME expatiated upon the inequalities of the present scheme of the tax, the defects of the system of assessment, and the abuses existing in the collection, and eulogized the merits of what is termed the 'Actuaries' plan.' He must, however, he said, look at the financial measures as a whole, and he found in the other parts, especially the legacy duty, which was their great charm, a full equivalent for the defects of the Income-tax.

Colonel SIBTHORP had always opposed the Income-tax, and, retaining his objection to an impost which, however good in a time of war, was unwarrantable in a period of peace, he should oppose the resolution.

Mr. FAGAN, admitting that the superstructure of the Ministerial plan was great and statesmanlike, resisted that part of it which subjected Ireland to the Income-tax, as an equivalent for the abandonment of the Consolidated Annuities. He protested against the introduction of these annuities into the plan, insisting

that the labour-rate, forming part of the charge, had been misapplied; and entered into details to show that Ireland had derived but slender advantages from the remission of taxation for which the Income-tax was imposed. He further contended that the imposition of this tax would be inconsistent with the Act of Union, which stipulated that Ireland should contribute to the general taxation only in a certain proportion, which had been already exceeded; and he urged the cruelty of taking advantage of a breathing-time, which Ireland seemed now to enjoy, to oppress her with an Income-tax.

Mr. BUCK dwelt upon the sufferings of the farmers and producers of the country, and declared his intention to oppose every part of the Budget. Mr. BLACKETT, approving the Budget as a whole, noticed a few matters which, he thought, required alteration in it. His constituents felt the omission of the timber duties; and regretted that the Income-tax had been extended to incomes of 100*l.* a-year while the franchise was withheld. Mr. KNIGHTLEY, on the other hand, looking at the Budget as a whole, disapproved of it; agreeing with Mr. Gladstone's premises, he demurred to his conclusion. Mr. W. WILLIAMS justified the extension of the Income-tax to Ireland, disputing the arguments of Mr. Fagan, and approved of the Budget in its entirety. Mr. MAGUIRE, on the contrary, denied the justice of inflicting upon Ireland, in her present condition—which was worse than in 1842—an addition of taxation, not only unjust, but wanton and cruel. Mr. WARNER defended the Irish aspect of the Budget, of which he warmly approved as a whole. Mr. NEWDEGATE denied that, upon Mr. Gladstone's own showing, there was any necessity for continuing the Income-tax.

"Now, what was the remainder of that scheme? The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to remit the soap duty. This was another boon to Manchester; and when, he would like to know, were these boons to Manchester to end? ('Hear, hear,' from the Opposition benches, and laughter from the Ministerial side.) For the last eight years they had been doing nothing but legislating for Manchester—(cheers from the Opposition benches)—and, as Manchester had whispered a wish to have the duty on soap remitted, the Income-tax was to be continued for seven years in order that this boon might be granted. He considered that the measure of the Chancellor of the Exchequer involved another blow at the agricultural interest. (Laughter from the Ministerial benches.) The House had decided, by a majority of two to one, to maintain the duties upon butter and cheese; but what mattered the decision of the House? The Chancellor of the Exchequer came down and told them they must reverse their former decision, and remit the duties upon butter and cheese. (Cheers from the Opposition.)"

Mr. MONCKTON MILNES, though he regretted that the discrimination between fluctuating taxed incomes could not be obtained in renewing the Income-tax, would not on that account oppose one of the greatest experiments of financial revision ever proposed by a Minister of the Crown. Sir WILLIAM JOLIFFE remarked upon the various and incompatible views upon which the Budget had been supported, and upon its incongruity with the principles of free-trade. Mr. DRUMMOND denied that the legacy duty would, as Mr. Booker had suggested, break up the aristocracy; it was nothing more than a tax upon elder brothers; the aristocracy of France had been broken up by younger brothers in the National Convention. With regard to the Income-tax it was not fair to object to it as an unpopular impost; it was the *substratum* of a scheme for creating a machinery by which the national debt might be ultimately reduced. Mr. MUNTZ said it was with regret that he opposed the Budget, because it contained a great deal of which he approved; but he could not support so oppressive a tax as the present Income-tax—a foul blot upon the Budget, which he advised the Chancellor of the Exchequer to amend. Mr. STANHOPE argued against the inequalities of the Income-tax in its incidence upon land, and he protested against imposing a further tax upon land of 2,000,000*l.* a-year, without taking into consideration its peculiar burdens. Mr. J. BALL took a view different from that of Mr. Fagan, and approved of the budget as relating to Ireland. He protested against members considering the scheme solely with a view to its effect on their own constituencies. They were there to legislate for the empire. On the other hand, Mr. GROGAN objected to the Irish points of the Budget.

On the motion of Mr. COBDEN the debate was adjourned; and by arrangement it was resumed on Thursday.

Mr. COBDEN resumed, on Thursday, the debate, adjourned on Monday night, by complaints of the mode in which the revenue surplus had been disposed of, remarking that since 1851 there had been an addition to our military and naval establishments to the amount of 1,870,000*l.* He alluded to the affected terror of an invasion, observing that not only did nobody now fear invasion, but nobody would admit that he ever did

fear it. For the extravagance in this respect, however, he admitted that the public was to blame. If, he said, Government, powerful as it was, hardly saw its way to a majority on the Budget, it was from the difficulty of finding a direct tax to supply the place of indirect taxation. No year could pass but must witness the reduction of the latter form of taxation. He described the reference to the Income-tax as the most declamatory and least satisfactory part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech, but argued that the Income-tax was not more objectionable than many indirect taxes which he mentioned. Approving the American system of income assessment by other than the taxed party, and of making the assessment public, he proceeded to contend that, as regarded the non-modification of the Income-tax, Government had not shown good cause for doing nothing. He said that the late Government had shown a right intention of dealing with the question. He next bore testimony to the bold and honest conduct of the present Government, who had grappled with a subject which had defied Mr. Pitt in the plenitude of his power. He would take their measures with both hands. He thought Government had acted wisely in extending the tax to incomes of 100*l.*, for he would lay it upon every income upon which it could be collected with profit. As regarded Ireland, he was an advocate of the utmost religious and fiscal equality, and he thought that there could be no safety for the proper working of the legislature if members sat for parts of the kingdom which paid less than other parts. Irish members at present took little interest in Imperial expenditure, unless it in some way affected their own country, and if it did, they made fight for the bauble of a lord-lieutenancy, or for Kilmainham. He was opposed to allowing people to help in taxing their neighbours on condition that themselves were not taxed. He advised the Irish to close with the proposed bargain, and dwelt upon the relief it afforded to the humble agriculturists of Ireland. That country had been stated to owe a debt to England of about 300 millions; at all events, he advised its representatives to let the inequality of taxation disappear. As regarded the tea and tobacco licences, he hoped the subject would be reconsidered, and he advised the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to make two bites of a cherry in the case of the advertisement duty, which he thought should be entirely taken off, and a charge made for postal advantages. With regard to some minor portions of the Budget, he expressed his approval, and alluding to that portion of it relating to the Legacy Duties, and the silence of the House of Lords on the subject, compared to its apparent unpopularity in the House of Commons, he quoted the *mot* of a French diplomatist, who told him that the reason was, that one house was the *Chambre des Pères* (Peers), and the other the *Chambre des Fils*. Apart from the objections which he had made, he hoped that the Budget would pass the House, as he believed it had been already accepted by the country.

Mr. Serjeant SHEE resented the imposition of the Income Tax upon Ireland as a breach of faith, and a gross wrong and injustice towards that country, which already contributed its share towards the revenue of the empire. He made a personal attack upon Mr. Cobden for being generally unjust to Ireland, and especially for his "ingratitude" towards the Irish members, without whom the corn laws would never have been repealed, and Mr. Cobden placed in his present position. He concluded with a vehement exposition of the "wrongs of Ireland;" a fierce attack upon all English governments; and an unqualified declaration of opposition to the Budget.

Mr. RICARDO, after pointing out some of the inconsistencies in the preceding speech, addressed himself to the subject of the Income Tax, and alluding to the complaints of its unequal assessment, declared his emphatic belief, after hearing all the evidence before the committee, that he had been in error in supposing that any re-adjustment was possible. He had arrived at the conviction that such a course was impossible and impracticable, without the infliction of a far greater amount of injustice than was now complained of. Upon this ground, and his general belief in direct rather than indirect taxation, he gave the Budget his unqualified support.

Mr. F. FRENCH attacked Mr. Cobden for giving up the point, in reference to the modification of the Income Tax, and with regard to the general question, showed various reasons why, in his belief, the tax should not be extended to Ireland, and why he should give his determined opposition to the entire Budget. Mr. BELLEW, as an Irish member, took an opposite view of the question. He believed that the proposal as regarded Ireland would be a great boon to the tenant-farmer of that country. He objected, however, to the

duty upon Irish whisky, but otherwise gave his support to the measure.

Mr. SANDARS criticised the Budget, objecting to those portions of it which related to the licensing and advertisement duties, which last should be swept away altogether; and agreeing otherwise with the views of Mr. Cobden.

Sir F. BARING went minutely through the various points of the Budget, giving considerable approval, and founding his main objection upon the increased area of the income-tax and its extension to Ireland, for which he considered was offered very inadequate compensation in the shape of a concession which that country might fairly have expected without any such imposition. He went through a variety of statistics in order to show that Ireland would not gain in an equal proportion with England by the general provisions of the Budget, and expressed his intention, if it came to a special vote, to oppose the resolution before the House. Lord LOVAINÉ gave a mild but determined opposition to the Budget, which he examined point by point, alluding particularly to that portion of it relating to the legacy duty, which he believed to be a step in the wrong direction, tending to the downfall of the aristocracy and of things in general. Mr. FORTESQUE (an Irish member) examined the "over-sensitive arguments" of Sir F. Baring with regard to Ireland, and urged the justice of extending the income-tax to that country.

The Marquis of GRANBY disputed the logic by which it was attempted to justify the imposition of a confessedly bad tax for seven years longer. Alluding to other portions of the Budget, he was particularly alarmed at that relating to the legacy duty, which he prophesied would result, among other calamities, in senatorial pauperism. He gave his opposition generally to the Budget.

Sir C. WOOD replied to the various speakers on the other side. He examined the two quarters from which opposition had been directed—the country gentlemen and the Irish members—and urged the incompatibility of the amendment of Sir E. B. Lytton with their opposing interests. Taking the case of the country gentlemen first, he taunted that party with not having followed the advice of his own, from the time when they were offered an 8s. duty on corn downwards to cases in which the landed interest had been benefited in spite of themselves. With regard to the income-tax, he pointed out the fact, that the proposal of the present Government was more favourable to land than that of the last, with the additional advantage that a period was fixed for its termination, and that though it was accompanied by the extension of the legacy duty, still that duty did not press so heavily upon land as was supposed; and could not, moreover—in a worse form perhaps—be long resisted under any circumstances. With regard to his second point—the extension of the income-tax to Ireland—after some defence of his own consistency, he argued that the measure, taken in conjunction with the remission of the Consolidated Annuities, would relieve the small occupier, and prove especially beneficial to the unions; and that, moreover, while the income-tax would last for only seven years, the compensating remission would cover forty. Sir Charles considered the objections of both parties unfounded, and concluded by recommending the Budget upon general grounds.

On the motion of Mr. MOORE, the debate was then adjourned.

Mr. MOORE renewed the adjourned debate in a spiteful speech against the Budget. The remainder of the debate occupied the whole evening; but it was extremely tame, and elicited neither new arguments nor a much different grouping of parties. Among the members who took their stand against the Budget, Lord Jocelyn is the most notable. We remark that Colonel HARCOURT spoke from the Opposition side, and advised the members around him to accept the Budget; and Mr. POLLARD URQUHART, an Irish member, gave it his support. Mr. CARDWELL and Mr. HENLEY were the chief official combatants as regards the present and the late Government. The debate stands adjourned till Monday.

THE NATIONAL DEBT BILL.

After a good deal of vexatious opposition, the South Sea and other Annuities Commutation Bill has been carried through the Commons.

On the motion for the third reading, on Wednesday, Sir F. KELLY moved two additional clauses, one to effect a limitation of the amount of stock to be created under the second alternative of the scheme, the Two-and-a-Half per Cent. Stock, to 10,000,000*l.*, the other to make certain provisions concerning the assent of persons beneficially interested in stock, where it stood in the names of trustees.

Mr. GLADSTONE explained that the Solicitor-General had prepared a clause for the latter purpose. Sir F. KELLY postponed the latter question, for the moment,

and argued in favour of the first clause he proposed. Mr. GLADSTONE opposed it, on the ground that, if introduced, the bill would contain clauses directly contradictory. He was pursuing the course invariably pursued in cases of conversion of stock. He defended, at considerable length, the course of the Government, and urged that the new stock ought to be created in such a way as to give a fair trial to the important experiment. Finally the clause was withdrawn.

Sir F. KELLY then moved the second-mentioned clause, which was resisted by the Solicitor-General; and after a prolonged discussion, in which Mr. Mitchell, Mr. S. Wortley, Mr. Mullings, Mr. Spooner, Sir J. Graham, Mr. Henley, Mr. Cardwell, and Mr. Newdegate, took part, the House divided, rejecting the proposed amendment by 128 to 61; majority, 67.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL then moved his own clause, which was opposed by Mr. Walpole and other members, and carried on division by 134 to 67; the Government majority being a second time 67.

After some further discussion the bill was passed.

JEW BILL LOST.

Last night, in the Lords, the Earl of ABERDEEN moved the second reading of the Jewish Disabilities Bill. He was opposed by Lord SHAFTESBURY, who moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months. In support of the second reading there were Lord ALBEMARLE, the Archbishop of DUBLIN, the Duke of ARGYLL, the Bishop of ST. DAVID, and Lord BROUGHAM; against it, the Bishop of SALISBURY, Lord WINCHILSEA, Lord HARROWBY, Lord DARNLEY, and Lord COLCHESTER.

The House divided, when the numbers were—

Contents—present . . .	69
Proxies . . .	46—115
Non-contents—present . . .	96
Proxies . . .	68—164

Majority against the Government . 49
The bill is therefore lost.

KOSSUTH AND THE ROTHERHITHE SEIZURE.

In reply to a question put by Mr. DUNCOMBE on this subject, Lord PALMERSTON said, he was misinformed in respect to the matter on which that part of his statement was made. The information he had received in that respect was erroneous. He was informed that there were found 500*lb.* of gunpowder, and a certain portion of rocket-composition. It appeared from the proceedings at Bow-street that the total that was discovered was 260*lb.* of that substance, with regard to which it was determined on Thursday next whether it was gunpowder or not. He would not venture to anticipate that decision, but he was wrong in saying there were 500*lb.* of gunpowder and a quantity of what was called rocket-composition.

Subsequently Lord DUDLEY STUART said, that the name of M. Kossuth having been mixed up with a recent seizure by the Government of certain combustibles at Rotherhithe, he begged to read to the House a letter he had received from that gentleman, disavowing any connexion with the matter:—

"Answer-road, St. John's-wood, April 15.
"My Lord,—In answer to your note, I have the honour to say, that all the accusations in the *Times* of today about a house in my occupation having been searched, a store of war materials belonging to me been discovered and seized, are entirely unfounded. Not only in no house in my occupation, but also nowhere else in England, could have been any store of war materials belonging to me discovered and seized, for the simple reason, that I have no store of war materials whatever in England. But while I give this plain and flat denial to the alleged charge, I desire explicitly to be understood that I do not disavow my hostility to the oppressors of my country, but rather avow openly my determination to free my country from them. To this, my aim, I shall and will devote my life, and all my activity, and to this activity I never will recognise any other limit but honour, morality, and the laws of that country where I happen to reside. And as it is not contrary to honour and morality to have stores of war materials, to be used when required in the service of my country, I declare that such I have, but I have them in such countries where it is lawful for me to have them, even with those intentions which I openly avow. But in England I have them not, because I have been told that some doubts may be entertained about the legality of such an act. With this explanation, I repeat, no store of any war materials of mine could have been seized, because I do not possess, either directly or indirectly, anything of the kind in this country.

"I remain, with high regards, and particular consideration, my lord, yours respectfully,
L. KOSSUTH.
"The Lord Dudley Stuart."

Last night questions were put to Lord Palmerston which afforded him means of showing his peculiar tact in not replying; but on this occasion he was closely pressed.

Sir JOSHUA WALMSLEY asked whether the legal investigation into the seizure of arms and warlike stores at Rotherhithe had resulted in substantiating the charges or insinuations that Louis Kossuth was con-

nected therewith; and whether the police had been employed to watch the residence of Louis Kossuth, or the houses of other political refugees? (Cheers.)

Viscount PALMERSTON.—Sir, the House is aware that one of the proceedings at the Bow-street office with regard to the seizure of gunpowder is closed, and that a decision has been given; but that with regard to the other proceeding upon the case of the rockets, the magistrate at Bow-street interrupted the case, and stated that it ought to proceed before another tribunal. The hon. gentleman has asked me what is the result of these latter proceedings as regards certain imputations which have been cast upon M. Kossuth? Now really I cannot do more than say that what has taken place is all before the public, and that every man can form his judgment upon that which has been stated in evidence. (Loud cheers.) When the further proceedings which have been pointed out by the magistrate shall have taken place, and the case shall have been determined, then the public will of course have better grounds upon which to come to a decision. (Renewed cheers and laughter.) With regard to the second question, it is the duty of the police, according to their general and according to their special instructions, to watch the proceedings of any persons, whether Englishmen or foreigners, who may be supposed, rightly or wrongly, to be contemplating any breach of the law; and neither the residence of M. Kossuth, nor the houses of the other political refugees in this country can be exempted from those ordinary precautions which are taken with regard to any individual—whether British subject or foreign—under such circumstances. (Cheers.)

Mr. BRIGHT also wished to ask a question:—

Whether the proceedings which had been taken by the police in this matter had not in the first instance been initiated, or had arisen from direct or indirect instructions proceeding from the department of which he was the chief? (Cheers.) Mr. Bright was not at all afraid to say why he put this question. The noble lord in his answer the other night, and in his answer now, had taken a course which was not becoming his position, or the Government of this country, with regard to Kossuth. They spoke in this and the other House as if they offered a refuge to the exile of foreign countries. They allowed him to live here; but it was stated broadly in the public press that either directly or indirectly the Government set spies upon his house—(cheers)—and upon all persons going into his house, or who were supposed to have any communications with him. Then certain warlike stores were seized by the police at Rotherhithe, and the newspaper which was the great organ of the Government published most defamatory charges with regard to M. Kossuth. The noble lord, who must know all the facts as much as any man in the kingdom, was asked, not to state all he knew, but he was asked distinctly, was there any evidence in his possession which could connect, or did connect, Kossuth with the proceedings at Rotherhithe? Then the noble lord rose, and spoke in an evasive manner. He said he did not cast any imputation either upon Kossuth or anybody else. No, of course not. But the noble lord—who was the man of all others who could do this if Kossuth had not been well treated, as Mr. Bright was inclined to believe—was asked to say whether there was a single particle of evidence that could bring home the charges against M. Kossuth, and he studiously avoided saying anything that could lead to the possible belief that there was no evidence against him. Mr. Bright did not think that this was the way in which we ought to treat foreigners in this country. His own opinion was that M. Kossuth intended honestly to obey all the laws of this country while he was in this country. They had, moreover, his own assurance as a man of honour—and his honour had never been challenged—(cheers)—that he had at no time been connected with these transactions. Well, then, while these charges were circulated, if there was no evidence connecting him with them, let the noble lord say so; and if such evidence was forthcoming let him be as amenable to the laws as any other man. As, however, these statements were intended to damage the character of Kossuth, Mr. Bright begged to ask the noble lord whether the Home-office had instigated these proceedings, and whether any evidence had been obtained to show any connexion between M. Kossuth and any infraction of the laws of this country? (Cheers.)

Lord PALMERSTON'S reply is instructive:

"Sir, I cannot but express my extreme surprise at the ignorance of the honourable gentleman—(loud cheers)—as to the constitutional principles which ought to govern not only a minister of the crown, but every member of this House. (Renewed cheers.) The hon. gentleman takes me to task because I did not choose to answer a question which no man had a right to put to me. (Great cheering.) The question which the hon. gentleman asked was, what is my opinion as to the effect of the probable or possible result of judicial proceedings which are now going on? (Cheers.) Sir, I say, that if I were to give an answer to that question, I should be departing from my duty; and I should be doing that which neither I nor any hon. gentleman has any right whatever to do. The investigations and proceedings before a court of justice are now going on. The results of those proceedings will explain themselves; and it is not for me or for any other man to say what will be the effect upon an individual of those proceedings, when they are completed. (Hear, hear.) So far for the constitutional knowledge of the hon. gentleman. (Cheers.) Sir, the hon. gentleman asked me whether the proceedings were authorized, initiated, or directed by me? They were. (Loud cheers.) I don't mean to shrink from the responsibility which may attach to any act I may think it my duty to do. (Cheers.) As to the refugees that are in this country, they are as free as the air they breathe, and as safe as the land they tread. (Cheers.) But on this condition—that they do not violate the laws, nor abuse the hospitality which this country throws over all men who may seek shelter from oppression within the limits of this country. (Hear, hear.) But I

hold it to be the duty of a Secretary of State, if he has reason to think that any person, whether he be a foreigner or a British subject, is contemplating the violation of the laws, or is likely to abuse that shelter which has been granted to him by the hospitality of this country, to take steps for obtaining information of the fact; and also to take steps for the punishment of any man—be he Englishman or other—if he violate the laws, and renders himself amenable to any of the tribunals of this country.” (Great cheering.)

Mr. BRIGHT very properly retorted, that Lord Palmerston assumed that he had asked him about transactions to which M. Kossuth was a party; but the charges that were pending were charges against Mr. Hale, and M. Kossuth was entirely outside. (Cheers.) M. Kossuth was nevertheless charged by a powerful Government organ with a gross crime, and therefore Mr. Bright thought he was quite justified in asking the question.

Mr. COBDEN here struck in with great effect:

“I have yet to learn, sir, that, according to the continual practice of the House, it is not competent for any honourable member of this House to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in his place, questions with regard to the conduct of the judicial or magisterial authorities of the country. (Hear, hear.) I know nobody responsible to this House for the proceedings of magistrates but the Secretary of State for the Home Department; and certainly I have never heard this plea of constitutional rule set up before. (Hear.) I have heard a question put to the noble lord with regard to an unfortunate female, and I heard from the noble lord a not very grave or fitting answer in reply, but it was not said by the Home Secretary that it was unnecessary to give explanations of the conduct of the magistrates in that case. And in this, if Commissioner Mayne sets spies before my house, instead of before M. Kossuth's—and he has as much right to set them before mine as before his—then surely there is nothing unconstitutional in an honourable member's rising—after giving notice, as did the honourable member for Leicester—to ask what such a proceeding meant. I think, therefore, that the answer given to my honourable friend the member for Manchester, and the noble lord's taunting him with ignorance of constitutional law, looks very much like an attempt to avoid the question. (Hear, hear.) But the noble lord has not, after all, been so cautious as is his wont, for he admits that the instructions went from the Home Office. (Cheers.) This, then, is no ordinary case. If the police have been set to work by him to watch the house of Kossuth, or indeed of any other individual, we may reasonably presume that the noble lord has information about the individual whom he orders to be watched, such as warrants his giving those instructions; and if the noble lord has such information, we have a right to ask him for it, and to demand to know on what grounds he takes these proceedings. (No, no, from the Opposition.) Do not let honourable gentlemen opposite unnecessarily approve such a course; do not let them put themselves in the position of supporting Austrian influence against an unfortunate refugee. If you (addressing the Opposition) are anxious for office, you will be quiet in this matter—(laughter and cheers)—you will gain no popularity in the country by this [hear]. What I want to know is this, are the boastings of this country that we are different from Austria, that we are not like the French, with or without foundation? Are they boastings, or are they realities? If they are realities, we do not expect that when an illustrious refugee comes for protection to our shores our own Government will set the police as spies before his doors [hear, hear]. What, I ask, has he done? What is the information which induces the noble lord to have those premises watched? And where did the noble lord get that information? [cheers.] The noble lord may be sure the matter will not rest here. He has said too much to let it rest where it is; and if he will not answer now, he may be sure he will be asked again on what information he has given his instructions to the police, whether that information turned out to be well founded, according to the subsequent inquiries, and whether he now feels justified in the proceedings he has adopted.” [Cheers.]

Mr. PHINN urged the same considerations. Thus pressed, Lord PALMERSTON again spoke.

“I am sorry to trespass on the attention of the House again, but I think those gentlemen who have spoken, especially the hon. member for the West Riding, have entirely lost sight of the question which was put to me. I did not shrink from answering any question put to me with regard to my own conduct, and the question put to me on that subject I answered plainly and positively. But I was asked, in addition, what, in my opinion, would be the result with respect to one person of certain proceedings instituted against another. (No, no, and hear.) I declined answering that, but I said, ‘Wait till this is over, and then the investigation will answer itself.’ With regard to what was said by the honourable gentleman who last spoke, and by the member for the West Riding, as to the proceedings instituted against Mr. Hale, I have only to say that those proceedings, in reference to the manufacture of rockets, are pending and will be continued. No proceedings have been instituted against M. Kossuth. I have brought no charge against M. Kossuth. (Cheers.) I have never mentioned his name in this matter. I was asked questions for the purpose of inducing me to mention his name, but I did not. I have brought no charge against M. Kossuth, and am not responsible for anything that may appear in any of the newspapers.”

After an energetic attack upon the spy system by Lord DUDLEY STUART, the matter dropped.

TURKISH INDEPENDENCE.

Replying to a request for information, preferred by Lord CLANRICARDE, Lord CLARENDON made the fol-

lowing statement respecting recent events at Constantinople:—

It was from no want of a cordial understanding between her Majesty's Government and other Governments of Europe that he must decline giving his noble friend all the information he required, but because some of the negotiations to which he had alluded were still pending, and although a portion might be said to be concluded, they had so intimate a bearing and relation to those which were not brought to a conclusion that it would be premature to give publicity to them. There was one point, however, with respect to which he could relieve his noble friend from some of the apprehensions which he seemed to entertain. He could assure his noble friend of the entire concurrence of her Majesty's Government in the views which he had expressed as to the necessity of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman empire. Indeed, it was the opinion of her Majesty's Government that there could occur no greater calamity—none more likely to lead to general European war by dislocating the ties which connected the great powers—than the dismemberment of the Turkish empire. (Hear, hear.) The British Government felt itself bound, not only by the interests of sound policy, but by the principles of international law, to uphold that empire; and he was happy to be able to inform their lordships, that in consequence of recent communications had with different Governments, we had received from them the most cordial and unreserved assurances that their views and policy on this subject were in perfect harmony with ours. (Cheers.) Under these circumstances, he thought that Turkey had nothing to fear from external aggression; and the danger which threatened from internal weakness, great though it might be, was not of a nature to menace the destruction of the empire, if the Sultan's councils should be guided by ordinary prudence, and a more humane policy be adopted towards his Christian subjects. With a view to these objects, Lord Stratford had been instructed to return to his post in Constantinople in a special character, and it was thought that, in consequence of his great authority and long experience in Turkish affairs, there was no man who stood in so favourable a position for offering advice to the Sultan, and none from whom advice was as likely to be favourably received. As regarded Montenegro, it was well known, as stated by his noble friend, that extensive warlike operations had been carried on by Turkey in that territory. These operations were thought inadvisable by Her Majesty's late Government, and that opinion was shared by Her Majesty's present Government. Her Majesty's Charge d'Affaires at Constantinople was instructed by Lord Derby's Government to represent to the Porte that the expedition to Montenegro was likely to prove prejudicial to the State by draining its resources. Those instructions were repeated by Lord J. Russell, but nevertheless the expedition was sent; and the arrival of so large a military force in Montenegro, caused alarm to the Austrian Government. The Austrian Government fully admitted the dependence of Montenegro on Turkey, although it had been in the undisturbed and almost unquestioned enjoyment of independence for nearly a century. The presence of a large Turkish force in her neighbourhood excited alarm in Austria, and rendered it necessary for her to concentrate an army on the frontiers to prevent refugees from passing, and to guard against the excesses which might be expected to arise from a religious and fanatical war between Mussulmans and Christians. In consequence of the existence of this state of things, the Austrian Government sent Prince Leiningen to Constantinople. Lord John Russell thereupon addressed a communication to the Austrian Government, deprecating the use of threatening language, or the adoption of any course calculated to lead to hostilities between the two States. This communication was responded to in the most friendly spirit by the Austrian Government, which declared that it had no desire to interrupt the relations of amity existing between it and Turkey. His noble friend referred to what he conceived to be other causes of complaint against the Austrian Government with reference to refugees; but, having fully inquired into all these subjects, he (the Earl of Clarendon) must say, it did not appear to him that Austria had infringed any principle of international law, or done anything inconsistent with what was due from one friendly government to another. His noble friend had inverted the actual course of events, when he said, that after the Montenegrin question was settled, a fresh question arose in connexion with the French Government. The fact was, that the latter question occurred first in order of time. The Turkish Government having no immediate concern in the matter, and being desirous of pleasing two parties, had—as often happened in such cases—succeeded in satisfying neither. The Porte made certain concessions respecting the holy shrines, which the Emperor of Russia thought inconsistent with concessions previously made to him, and, knowing the great interest which the members of the Greek church in the East took in this question, and regarding his own position in reference to that church, determined to send Prince Menschikoff on a special mission to the Porte, with a view to placing the question of the holy shrines on a permanent footing. It was not for him to say that the Emperor of Russia was to blame for not making his intentions known to all the world, or not publishing accounts of the progress of his envoy's negotiations. Certainly considerable naval and military preparations were going on at the time Prince Menschikoff went to Constantinople, but they were greatly exaggerated by public rumour. The Emperor of Russia had practised no disguise whatever as to his intentions, and he (the Earl of Clarendon) was prepared to answer any question on the subject that could prudently be proposed. Her Majesty's Government felt precisely the same confidence which his noble friend professed to entertain in the honour and integrity of the Emperor of Russia, and when that Sovereign gave his word as to what he was going to do, and what he was not going to do, he believed that the people of this country, as well as their Government, would place full reliance on it. It was perfectly true that, after Prince

Menschikoff's arrival at Constantinople, Colonel Rose thought it right to advise Admiral Dundas to proceed with his fleet to the Dardanelles. Admiral Dundas, however, did not think it right to comply with this suggestion, and her Majesty's Government thought that, in this respect, he exercised a sound discretion. On the other hand, it was not unnatural that Colonel Rose, not being cognizant of the information possessed by her Majesty's Government, should participate in the alarm which was, in the first instance, caused by Prince Menschikoff's arrival. Colonel Rose, also, had reason to believe that Admiral Dundas was actually on the point of sailing towards the East, and therefore thought that in hastening that result he was only fulfilling the intentions of his Government. The French Government on that occasion thought it right to send their fleet towards the east, but he could assure their lordships that that proceeding neither originated in nor had led to any misunderstanding between the French Government and her Majesty's Government, but that both Governments were acting in entire concurrence as regarded Eastern affairs. Some exaggerated reports of passing events had been circulated within the last few days which were calculated to excite alarm; but their lordships would be pleased to hear that the Government received a despatch from Lord Stratford, dated the day after his arrival at Constantinople, stating that he had every reason to expect that the pending questions would be brought to a satisfactory conclusion; and another despatch was received yesterday, stating that on the 14th inst. all was quiet at Constantinople. Having now given all the information which he thought it would be prudent to communicate, he would conclude by assuring their lordships that, as regarded Turkey, there was no danger of the peace of Europe being disturbed, nor any prospect of the unanimity which prevailed between this country and the other great powers of Europe, as to the necessity of maintaining the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire, being interrupted.”

AN AMERICAN PLAN FOR IMPROVING THE ART OF NAVIGATION.

Lord WROTTESELEY called the attention of the House to a correspondence between the United States Government, her Majesty's Government, and the Royal Society, in reference to a comprehensive scheme for improving the art of navigation, in which the United States Government have requested the co-operation of her Majesty's Government. The proposal, if adopted, would increase our stock of scientific data, especially in the subjects of meteorology and hydrography, to an extent which could hardly be over-estimated. The Government of the United States were desirous of procuring the co-operation of the principal maritime nations in carrying it into practice, and particularly this country. The proposition having been made to this country, it was submitted to the Royal Society to report upon its merits, and that learned body spoke of the scheme in the highest terms, and earnestly recommended its adoption. It had also received the sanction and approval of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. He then described the plan.

Lieutenant Maury, the conductor of the Observatory at Washington, first conceived the idea of requiring all masters of American vessels to enter in their log-books, in addition to the ordinary subjects, records of all phenomena observed at sea, which could be rendered available for the improvement of hydrography and navigation, and generally for the advancement of science. The plan was that the log-books containing those records should all be sent to the Observatory at Washington, and that the data so furnished should be collected and reduced, and employed in the construction of new and improved charts at the expense of the Government, and supplied to masters of vessels gratuitously in return for the materials so furnished. In that way Lieutenant Maury had, in 1848, from a number of old naval books, been enabled to devise a new and improved route to Rio from the United States, by which the distance between the two had been shortened to the extent of 700 miles. There were now more than a thousand masters of American ships engaged in collecting data of the kind he had mentioned. The latest facts had been published up to November, 1851.

He explained the new route to Rio, and the manner in which the distance was saved. It appeared that the old practice was for vessels to go as far east as 19 degrees of west longitude, in order to avoid an unfavourable current which set in on a part of the coast of South America. That current was really of no importance, and it had been found that instead of crossing the line in the 19th degree of west longitude it was possible to cross in the 31st degree of west longitude, by which 700 miles were saved. When the observations were multiplied the chances of success were greater, and Lieutenant Maury was anxious to obtain a hundred observations per month for each square of the ocean. A separate compass was constructed for every month on each particular square of the ocean, and when the charts of twelve months were constructed they were all combined in one chart, specimens of which he had brought down for inspection. It was considered that a hundred observations per month for each square were necessary, and that they ought not to be satisfied with less. Between the two Capes—the southern point of Africa and the southern point of America—there is a part of the ocean that is scarcely ever frequented by ships, because there is a highway on the ocean as well as on the land, and the part to which he had referred was scarcely ever frequented except by vessels that were sent there for surveying purposes. He must confess that he thought those blanks were a reproach to the present state of civilization; it was their bounden duty to make themselves acquainted with every part of the globe they inhabited, and he believed it was only right that the maritime nations should

share the labour as well as the glory of making those places more generally known.

In addition to the information contained in those charts with reference to the winds, there was also information with respect to other matters of almost equal importance, and the matters, perhaps, of the first-rate importance, after the winds, were the currents. There are three kinds of currents that are specially remarkable. There are some that are remarkable for their physical peculiarities; others that are remarkable for the vast extent of ocean which they seem to affect; and others that are remarkable for their juxtaposition with others that are flowing in a contrary direction. Some of the most remarkable, and presenting one of the most extraordinary phenomena of the ocean, were in the Gulf of Florida. With respect to that stream, he read an anecdote in which there might be some exaggeration, but it would serve as an illustration on the subject, and he should make no apology for relating it. It served to show that by Dr. Franklin teaching the navigator to dip the thermometer into the ocean the trade of Charleston, in Carolina, was injuriously affected, and New York was made a flourishing city. Some time before the declaration of independence, when Dr. Franklin was in this country, the merchants of Providence, Rhode Island, petitioned the Lords of the Treasury that the packets that were in the habit of sailing to Boston should sail in future from London to Providence. The voyage was fourteen days shorter from London to Providence than by the other route; and Dr. Franklin, who always attended to anything that affected the interests of his country, being surprised at this, sent for an old New England whaler, who happened to be in London, and asked him to explain the phenomenon; and he said the ships from London to Providence were navigated by New England seamen, who knew something of the gulf stream, and the other ships were navigated by seamen who knew nothing about it. The temperature of the gulf stream was twenty-eight degrees higher than the surrounding ocean, and by putting the thermometer into the ocean the temperature of the gulf stream was ascertained. The effect was this: their lordships would remember that these were the days before the lunar chronometer was known, and the old and clumsy practice then prevailed of running down the latitude because the captains could not find their longitude; but by obtaining the new charts which Dr. Franklin constructed two purposes were answered—they were enabled to ascertain when they reached the gulf stream, and they were also enabled to ascertain their longitude, and from that time they crossed from England to New York, and Charleston being left out, it lost its trade. At that time the scale of commercial advantages between the Northern and Southern States was on the turn, and a very little thing could change the scale from one side to another, and this anecdote showed what wonderful effects could be produced in affairs of this kind by the application of scientific knowledge. The Americans had made a variety of very accurate observations on their side of the stream, and they were very anxious that this country should co-operate with them; and, of course, their co-operation would be part of this scheme. Their lordships were aware that at one time it was thought that those wonderful currents were generated by the Mississippi; but a great geographer was of opinion that such was not the case, and that they were caused by the trade winds blowing the Atlantic Ocean into the gulf stream. It should be recollected that this stream received all the icebergs; and another remarkable circumstance connected with it was, that for no less than 1200 miles there was a peculiar weed to be found on its surface. He would say, on the authority of one who was acquainted with the subject, that nothing but a great system of observation of every kind, and made in every season, embracing all the varieties of cases, and consisting of the most vigilant inquiries, would enable them to master the whole question. That could be the work of a Government only, and individual exertion could produce little more than unconnected facts. Another remarkable current was caused by the indraught of the Mediterranean affecting the surface of the water to the extent of 400 miles semi-circle, of which the Straits of Gibraltar formed the centre, and which was felt as far as Cape Finisterre to the north, and the Canaries to the south. It produced more wrecks than any other cause, and to it might be ascribed the wreck of the *Medusa*. There was a curious case of juxtaposition on the coast of Guinea, where two currents were side by side, one west and the other east. Let them imagine the case of a condemned slaver with its crew bound for a port for adjudication. Let them fancy the consequences when that vessel got into a wrong current. They were not aware whether at the larboard or starboard side they would have a favourable current, and the unhappy people might be sacrificed from an ignorance of the facts. For collecting together all the phenomena with accuracy, no scheme was more likely to lead to a desirable end than that proposed by Lieutenant Maury. Taking the temperature of the sea-water did not form part of the ordinary duty of the seaman, but in the neighbourhood of ice islands it was necessary to do so, because they affected the temperature of the water to the distance of twenty miles. (Hear, hear.) At least in the neighbourhood of ice islands it was a course of observation that ought to be diligently pursued. Such observations ought to form part of the business of a ship, and the chief expense would be caused by providing thermometers for the purpose. There was another story recorded, which he had also read with very great pleasure, and which also illustrated the use of this class of observations. It appeared that a species of dust, called red dust, or African dust, was often observed at sea on the coasts of Africa and of the Mediterranean. A great quantity of this red dust fell in the year 1846 at Lyons, and there were certain speculations as to the course of the trade winds in connection with this red dust. On being analyzed, it was supposed to consist of microscopic animalcules from the banks of the Orinoco and Amazon rivers, in South America; and there were grounds, it was thought, for believing that the

course of the south-east trade-winds might be thus determined. When they made statements respecting discoveries, it was natural that they should refer to the discoveries that had been actually made by the Royal Society. The results had proved of very great importance to the interests of navigation, and the routes to different parts of the globe had been materially shortened. One word on the subject of meteorology. Of late years very great progress had been made in obtaining information with respect to the weather. That was principally due to two causes, the invention of a self-registering instrument, and the beautiful application of electricity to the registration of meteorological observations, and the establishment of a great number of observatories in different parts of the world for the purpose of making meteorological observations. He asked their lordships to consider what the further effect would be of having meteorological observations all over the ocean, where things were in a normal state, where there were no mountains, and nothing except the gulf stream and icebergs that could interfere with the observations.

He could not conclude his remarks without paying a tribute to the Americans, not only for having originated this scheme, but for the characteristic vigour and energy they had shown in the cause of science within the last few years. A few years ago there was no such thing as an observatory in America, now there were several, two of which were furnished with very valuable instruments, and in one of which very important discoveries had been made—amongst others, the dark ring of Saturn. The application of electricity to meteorological observations was an American invention; but he could inform their lordships that most of the difficulties which had prevented its application hitherto were smoothed down by the ingenuity of their countrymen.

Their lordships would perceive that this scheme combined two distinct benefits; in the first place, it would be of great importance in the improvement of the art of navigation, from which commercial advantages might very speedily result; and, in the next place, it would be an addition to their stock of meteorological data. The full effect of its adoption might not be experienced for many ages; centuries often elapsed between the seed time and the gathering in of the harvest, and many persons were ready to undervalue the commercial value of labours when a long time elapsed before the objects were realized. It was the interest of a country which like this had risen to a state of unexampled prosperity by the application of science to art, to hold out to science a protecting and fostering hand. (Cheers.)

LORD GRANVILLE stated that Lord Clarendon had given instructions to the Treasury to carry these plans into effect; but the Treasury was not just now an idle department; and besides, there were many things to be considered.

INDIA.—LORD J. RUSSELL stated that the day for the introduction of the Government measure on India would not be fixed until the Budget resolutions had been disposed of, but that some day between the 20th and 30th of May, Sir Charles Wood would state when he would bring in the Government measure.

IRISH STEAMERS.—On the motion of Mr. H. HERBERT, a select committee was agreed to for inquiring into the present state of communication between England and Ireland, as regarded the transit of mails, troops, Irish members, and the public.

NATIONAL POLICE.—MR. RICE moved for a select committee to consider the expediency of adopting a more uniform system of police in England and Wales, and at some length dwelt upon the necessity of a more efficient system than at present exists for the protection of life and property. MR. HUME seconded the motion. SIR J. PAKINGTON said, that the present system was bad, and that the question was one which ought to be dealt with by the Executive, all necessary information being already obtained. LORD PALMERSTON admitted that it was a subject Government might properly take up, but as he thought that the proposed inquiry would contribute much useful information, he would support the motion. LORD DUDLEY STUART said, various gentlemen had praised the metropolitan force, and spoken of it as the most popular in the world. He did not wish to deduct from their praise, neither did he think this comparative popularity should be considered surprising, inasmuch as the police in other parts of Europe were objects of execration, owing to the system of espionage and oppression of which they were the tools. Our police force certainly deserved to be more popular so long as they were kept to their constitutional duties, and not trained to be the instruments of continental systems. Scotland was included in the inquiry, [and the motion was agreed to.]

TRANSPORTATION.—In answer to a question from EARL GREY, the EARL OF ABERDEEN stated that it was impossible to carry out literally the expectations which had been held to convicts with tickets of leave, but he thought good faith might be kept with them by a system of a diminution of punishment.

ELECTION COMMITTEES.—The Berwick committee have decided that Mr. Matthew Forster and Mr. John Stapleton were not duly elected, and that Mr. Stapleton was, by his agents, guilty of bribery.

In the case of Knarborough, where there was a double return, the committee struck out a vote in favour of Mr. Woodd, who was declared duly elected.

INQUIRY INTO THE DOINGS OF THE LATE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

The inquiry before the committee appointed to investigate, especially, the jobbing in the dockyards under Lord Derby's Administration, met on Thursday. The members of the committee were:—Lord Seymour, chairman; Lord Hotham, Sir B. Hall, Sir Ferguson Davies,

and Mr. Beckett. Although not generally expected that the inquiry would be open to the public, the room was crowded during the day by officers and others of the Admiralty and dockyards, and members of the House interested in the inquiry. Mr. Stafford sat at the table usually occupied by counsel, and was engaged throughout the day in taking voluminous notes of the evidence.

Sir Baldwin Walker, Surveyor of the Navy, was the first witness examined. He gave a minute account of what took place on the entry of Lord Derby into power.

So early as the 30th of March Mr. Grant, Mr. Stafford's private secretary, waited on Sir Baldwin, and requested that he would cease to recommend men for promotion, as Mr. Stafford's political friends were dissatisfied. Sir Baldwin's reply is characteristic:—He felt annoyed at receiving such a message, and requested Mr. Grant to inform Mr. Stafford that witness had been upwards of four years in the department; that he had not allowed political notions to influence his submissions to the board with respect to promotions in the dockyard; and that he was not going to commence jobbing for Mr. Stafford or anybody else, and witness requested that such a proposition should never again be named to him. Mr. Eden, of witness's department, entered the room during the conversation, and heard what witness said to Mr. Grant. [Mr. Eden subsequently corroborated this statement.] On the 3rd April Mr. Stafford wrote to Sir Baldwin jocularly, preferring the same request; and on the 5th they had a warm argument, when Sir Baldwin still refusing to lend himself to the designs of Mr. Stafford, the latter said he had no alternative but to cancel the circular of 1849; and on witness pointing out the evil that would arise from such a step, Mr. Stafford said, "There's no use blinking the question, I am so pressed by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli I cannot help myself;" adding, that he was ready to take all the responsibility on his own shoulders. He did cancel the circular without the knowledge of the board. Whereupon Sir Baldwin tendered his resignation in a letter which he handed to the senior naval lord, Admiral Hyde Parker, who promised to bring it before the Board. Admiral Parker showed it to the Duke of Northumberland; and the result was, that Mr. Stafford met Sir Baldwin and agreed to write a public letter clearing him of all imputation. This was done. But Sir Baldwin had no idea that his letter of resignation had not been officially brought forward, nor was he aware when he wrote to the Board on the 25th of November, 1852, that it had been destroyed, for he never authorised its destruction or withdrawal, and considered it had been before the Board, and was on record. Witness wrote the letter of the 21st of April, 1852, in consequence of an imputation having been cast upon his character, which the Board circular of April 25, 1852, had cleared up; but, finding that unjust promotions were being made in the dockyards, and that the circular of February, 1847, was not adhered to, he felt that he had a duty to perform to the public, and this induced him to write the letter of May 10, 1852, to the First Lord of the Admiralty. He had never received a reply to that letter. On the 22nd of November, 1852, witness received a note from Mr. Stafford, inclosing Admiral Berkeley's intended notice to the House respecting the correspondence between the Admiralty and the Surveyor. Mr. Stafford wished to know what it meant, as he was not aware of any: to which witness replied that he could not at that time find any of the copies, being at his residence, but that he had no doubt his letters were at Whitehall. On the following day, 23rd of November, Mr. Stafford replied to Admiral Berkeley and Sir George Pechell that there was no correspondence with the Surveyor of the Navy on the subject of promotions in the dockyards, and also that the Surveyor of the Navy had not tendered his resignation. On the 25th November in consequence of the answer given by the Secretary of the Admiralty in the House of Commons, witness wrote a letter to the Board, calling their attention to the letters of 21st April and 10th May, 1852. On witness going to the Admiralty on that day, the 25th, he was told that Mr. Stafford wished to speak to him, and Mr. Stafford commenced the conversation by naming witness's letter, and stating the answer he had given in the House of Commons. Witness then asked him, "What could have induced him to give such answers?" Mr. Stafford replied, "What would you have me say?" Witness answered, "Anything but what you did say, for you know that I tendered my resignation, and that some days after I wrote a letter to the First Lord of the Admiralty." Mr. Stafford stated that was a private one, pointing at the same time to what appeared to witness to be a copy of his letter to the Duke of Northumberland on Mr. Stafford's table. On the 26th he was requested by the Board to transmit copies of his two letters. He had them made accordingly, and wrote a letter inclosing the copies. Witness took it to Whitehall, but when he got there it was late, and the member had left, it being Saturday. Witness took the letter home, intending to send it on Monday morning. On Sunday, 28th, witness received a note from Mr. Stafford, requesting that witness would meet him at the Admiralty on Monday morning, between nine and eleven o'clock. Witness went there soon after nine o'clock, and saw Mr. Stafford, who told witness that he had hit on a plan of settling the affair if witness would meet his wishes, and that if they again differed, the fault would be witness's, and not Mr. Stafford's. "I," continued witness, "asked him what it was?" He said, "Do not send the copies of the letters called for." I told him that I must, for I had got an official letter to do so. He pressed me hard to agree to his proposal, but I did not consent, stating that I could not with any propriety do so. Witness then left Mr. Stafford, and went to Admiral Parker, and told him that he was going to send in copies of the letters (and he had them in his hand at the time), one to the Duke of Northumberland, and the other tendering his re-

signation, which he must recollect he had brought forward. Admiral Parker stated that he did, and advised witness, before he sent them in, to see the First Lord, which he did, and, much to his surprise, his grace told him that he had never seen or heard of witness's letter tendering his resignation; and his grace stated, with much warmth, that, had it been given to him, he should have at once taken it to Lord Derby. Witness reminded his grace that he had spoken to witness on the subject of that letter; and on the duke again repeating what he had said, witness told his grace that he held in his hand a copy of that letter, which he was at perfect liberty to make what use he thought proper of. About this time Admiral Parker entered the room, and witness expressed his surprise at hearing his grace state that he had not seen or heard of the letter tendering his resignation, upon which Admiral Parker reminded the duke that he had put the letter into his grace's hand. The admiral then informed witness that he had been thinking the matter over since he had left him, and that he did not think witness's letter had been brought before the Board, and that he had an impression that it had been destroyed. Witness immediately left the Admiralty, and went to Somerset-house, taking the letter and copies back with him, and feeling much hurt and annoyed. Witness had not been there long, before Captain Milne came to him from Mr. Stafford, with a request that he would not send in copies of the letters. This point witness did not give in, but wrote another letter, stating, that since his letter of 26th November, he had been informed that his letter of 21st April, 1852, which was delivered to Admiral Parker, had not been brought before the Board, and that witness's letter of 10th May, 1852, was addressed to the First Lord of the Admiralty, and that he begged to enclose copies, agreeably to their lordships' order of the 26th inst. The letter, with the enclosures, witness took to the Admiralty, and placed in the hands of Mr. Stafford, who, on opening it, expressed his surprise at witness having enclosed copies of the letters, as Captain Milne had led him to believe that witness had promised to withhold them. Witness assured him that he had not made such a promise; and Mr. Stafford further stated, that it was of no use sending them in to be placed in the record office, to be read by all the clerks; and he begged witness to again see Captain Milne on the subject, which he did, and witness was induced to give in the point, at that officer's urgent request, who stated that there was no use raking up an affair that had passed over, and from witness feeling that Mr. Stafford had committed himself in having given the answer he did in the House of Commons."

Having finished this part of the case, Sir Baldwin was interrogated as to the acts of improper patronage performed by the Admiralty; and he proved several cases of gross injustice in the promotion of persons who voted for Government candidates over the heads of long serving and deserving men without votes. All the documents referring to the cases of the ill-used men were not to be found at the Admiralty. He read two racy letters from Admiral Hyde Parker to himself, containing the following passages:—

"Windleston, Ferryhill, Oct. 8, 1852.

"MY DEAR WALKER,—I have written to the Duke of Northumberland about Mr. Stafford having appointed the master smith from Chatham to Portsmouth, quite contrary to my opinion, and also of yours, stating how injurious it is to the public service, and contrary to what he (Mr. Stafford) had signed. *It is really too bad that everything is to be made subservient to party purposes.*"

"Wellbourne Hall, near Harch, Oct. 12, 1852.

"MY DEAR WALKER,—I have written very strongly twice to the Duke, respecting the master smith being removed from Portsmouth by Mr. Stafford. The second letter he has not answered. You ought, I think, on these occasions, to write strongly and publicly to the Board, that it may remain as a record. I have been much amazed on the whole subject, and have told the Duke that if I am to be held responsible for the speedy equipment of the fleet, it is quite impossible for me to do so, if the appointments are made without any regard for the public service, but by private favour. So it is; and it is really quite disgusting. But you must not give way on a single point, or we shall not carry it through."

Admiral Hyde Parker confirmed the statements of Sir Baldwin; and most distinctly asserted that the circular of 1849 was cancelled without the knowledge of the Board, by a course wholly unprecedented and irregular. He explained that he had destroyed Sir Baldwin's letter of resignation, because he thought peace was made.

Mr. Houghton and Mr. Pennel, clerks at the Admiralty, were then called to prove from the minute books of the Board of Admiralty that there were no minutes with reference to the circular of cancellation, and that search had been made at the Admiralty for the various missing documents, but that as yet they had not been found.

The Chairman then inquired whether it would be desirable, in order to give time for consideration of the evidence, to adjourn proceedings to Saturday. Perhaps Mr. Stafford would tell the committee what his feelings were on the subject.

Mr. Stafford: I think we had better go on to-morrow.

The Chairman: The committee will adjourn to eleven o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. Stafford: And I will be the first witness.

The committee then adjourned, having sat from eleven until four o'clock.

The proceedings were renewed yesterday; but Mr.

Stafford was not the first witness. Captain Milne confirmed the evidence of Sir Baldwin Walker, so far as he was concerned. The case of Wells was investigated. At the close, Mr. Stafford wished to be examined relative to the missing document on this case. He exonerated everybody connected with the Admiralty; and admitted that he had received it. He will give evidence on Monday.

MR. GLADSTONE'S DEFENCE OF HIS BUDGET.

MR. GLADSTONE has taken the somewhat unusual course of writing a defence of his budget, in reply to a private letter of remonstrance, and of giving permission to the person who wrote to him to use his reply if he thought fit. Here are the two letters.

Birmingham, April 20, 1853.

SIR,—I am a clerk whose salary is just above 100*l.* a year, and will therefore come under the operation of your measure on the income-tax.

Now, your proposition will come to this. I shall have to pay 2*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* hard cash to the tax-gatherer; and I shall be glad if you will point out where I shall be relieved—on house rent? on clothes? on meat? on flour? on coals, which last during the past six months increased 75 per cent.; on education of children? on medical attendance? on borough or parochial rates? Mark, sir, these items, after all, are the great items in house-keeping.

It has been said that our class will be more relieved than others by the remission on 238 articles. But these, if I rightly understand, will be only as a drop in the bucket. The repeal of the corn-laws was a *bond fide* relief, for which all are most thankful. I hope, sir, you will therefore pause before committing so great an injustice.—I remain, your most obedient servant,

JOSEPH LLOYD PHELPS.

Downing-street, April 21, 1853.

SIR,—The reasonable tone in which you write to complain of the proposal to extend a modified rate of income-tax from incomes of 150*l.* downwards to those of 100*l.*, leads me, though my time is very much occupied, to address you on the subject.

You observe that you will have to pay 2*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* to the tax-collector, but will have nothing in return on the most important items of expenditure.

Let us look into this matter more particularly.

The tax-collector, should Parliament adopt the proposition of the Government, will, about the month of January next, call upon you for the half-yearly payment of 1*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*, which will be repeated in July, and this for seven years; when, unless Parliament, in consideration of other public benefits or necessities not yet foreseen, should prolong the tax, it will drop altogether.

Is this a hardship?

If you and your family do not form a strange exception to the general rule, you have since 1842 been deriving great additional command over articles of use and subsistence from the changes that have been brought about in our fiscal system.

I think I do not overstate the actual savings upon incomes of 100*l.* per annum, which have directly flowed from legislation since 1842, if I put them at 5*l.* per annum.

In what manner has Parliament been enabled to give you the benefit of these savings?

By the imposition of an income-tax at sevenpence in the pound upon all incomes of 150*l.* and upwards.

Have the owners of those incomes who have borne the exclusive burden derived from the accompanying changes in legislation a greater proportional benefit than those who own incomes of 100*l.*?

On the contrary, it may easily be inferred from general considerations, and it is most plain to me from carefully collected facts, that the benefits of the income-tax have amounted to a much larger per centage on incomes below 150*l.* than on incomes above that sum. I do not anticipate that you will doubt this.

The question then arises, if the Income-tax is again to be imposed for a term of seven years on those who have heretofore paid it, with a view to another great scheme of remissions of indirect taxation for the benefit of the entire community, but especially of the incomes below 150*l.*, is it fair to those having 150*l.* and upwards, after the class next beneath them in wealth have come into actual possession of a great pecuniary advantage, free of any cost whatever to themselves, that the higher incomes should again be required to bear not only the main but the exclusive burden, in order again to confer the main benefit on the lower?

Put yourself in my position. Suppose the Government had not asked Parliament to go down, at all events, to incomes of 100*l.*; suppose that I had now been replying to some person with 150*l.* per annum, who had been complaining to me that I called upon him to pay a tax in which you did not share, in order to bring about benefits in which you were to have a greater share than he—do you think I should have had as good an answer to make to him as I can now make to you?

But let us look more closely at your case. I observe, first, that you are in enjoyment of certain money advantages, which have been obtained for you at the cost of others. But it is not on that account that I would call upon you to pay. I do not scruple to say, that if you have a family—and if you have not, your case must be regarded as an exception to the common state of men in society—you will realize savings from the changes we have proposed to Parliament greater than the cost at which we invite you to buy them.

You are asked to pay 2*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* per annum for seven years from January next. You will thus pay within about eight years from this time the sum of 14*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* in all. The present value of this payment, distributed as above, may be from 11*l.* to 12*l.*. What is it proposed you should gain on articles of common consumption in return for this 11*l.* to 12*l.*?

I have before me the household expenditure of a clerk in a country town with a wife and five children, and with an income of 100*l.* per annum.

I find that in 1852 his tea cost him 3*l.* 18*s.*. But the changes proposed to take effect within the next three years will reduce the price of tea by 30 per cent. Thus, then, he will gain three-tenths of 78*s.*, or 1*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* per annum on his tea.

I find that his soap cost him in the same year 26*s.*. From the 5th of next July, if the changes proposed by the Government are adopted, the duty of 1*d.* per lb. on soap will be repealed. I may take this duty at 40 per cent. on the price. But the repeal of the duty will lead to such improvements in the trade that I understand there will be a further saving on the short price of 30 per cent. I will, however, take the whole reduction of price no higher than 50 per cent., and this perhaps not until after a couple of years, when the trade shall have had time to expand in its state of freedom. The clerk, whose income is before me, will for the same quantity of soap then pay 13*s.* only instead of 26*s.*. He will have saved 13*s.* 6*d.* on his soap, and 13*s.* on his soap, together 1*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*. This annuity is perpetual; it is for himself, and for his children after him; he will have bought it for a sum equal to between 11*l.* and 12*l.*. Do you think he could buy a perpetual annuity—and I call it so because it is strictly true that money saved is money gained—of

11. 16*s.* 6*d.* for 11*l.* or 12*l.* down? No, nor for double nor treble that money.

I have certainly here the case of a man with a family larger than the average. But pray observe also that he is, therefore, poorer than the average of those who have 100*l.* per annum, and thus his case shows how our proposals will operate on the most needy among those whom they affect.

I have, however, another case before me, of a country tradesman with 120*l.* per annum, having a wife, but no children; and in this instance the figures would not be very materially different.

I might, however, have pushed my case much further. I might have taken credit for savings that a large portion of the population will realize from the reductions of duty on butter, cheese, and a multitude of other commodities, as also from reductions on stamps and other articles. But I will not enter into them.

I wish, however, to point out that these reductions operate in many ways not at first sight perceptible. A printed calico, which cost 22*s.* 6*d.* in 1830, including a duty of 5*s.* 8*d.*, may now, when the duty is off, be had for less than 11*s.*. Again, I think you are mistaken in supposing that the tax on soap does not enter into the cost of clothing. It is an important ingredient in the manufacture of printed calicoes, woollens, and worsteds. In some of these cases only half drawback is allowed; in all of them a worse and dearer article is used than would be employed if soap were free, and the cost of the clothing on our backs is enhanced in proportion.

Again, you say education is not cheapened. I beg your pardon. We shall propose this year an addition to the vote of 100,000*l.*. Every farthing of that money will go to cheapen and to improve the education of the children of persons with incomes less than 150*l.* per annum.

You say medical attendance is not cheapened. Surely, medical attendance has, since 1842, been virtually and really cheapened to you, if medical men (as has been the case) have been called upon, without any increase of their fees, to pay income-tax, in order to reduce the price of articles of which persons of 100*l.* a-year are, relatively to income, larger consumers than they themselves are who have paid the tax.

You may, perhaps, say all this tells in favour of carrying the tax below 100*l.*. I need not now enter upon that question; the labouring class, properly so called, presents a case to be considered apart; but I think there is no essential distinction, speaking generally, between incomes of 150*l.* and incomes of 100*l.*, which should exclude the latter from a moderate share of this tax; and I further think I have shown that the strictest considerations of justice not only warrant, but even may seem to require, the proposal which the Government has made. At any rate, I am certain of this, that had you been my constituent, and had a dissolution of Parliament been impending, I never should have presented myself to you with greater confidence, to render an account of my trust, and to ask for its renewal, than on the day after I had stated to Parliament the proposals which her Majesty's advisers have laid before it.

I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

Mr. J. Lloyd Phelps.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

You are at liberty to make any use of this letter you may think fit; although the figures I have used in it may have been somewhat roughly stated.

It is not every Chancellor of the Exchequer who can find time to publish such a supplement to his parliamentary speeches.

THE ROTHERHITHE SEIZURE.

PROCEEDINGS AT BOW-STREET.

CONTINUING our account of the dramatic proceedings of Government, in relation to the seizure of Mr. Hale's warlike property, at Rotherhithe, by the police, we find the curtain rises, on the next act, in the Bow-street Police Court, on Saturday, Mr. Henry as Rhadamanthus.

A charge was preferred against Mr. William Hale rocket-manufacturer, of Rotherhithe, and Robert Hale his son, for having upon their premises a larger quantity of gunpowder than is allowed by the statute. The Crown was represented by Mr. Bodkin, the barrister, and Mr. Greenwood, the solicitor to the Treasury; and Mr. Clarkson, the barrister, was in attendance on behalf of the accused.

Mr. Bodkin, before stating the circumstances of the seizure, said the Act 12 Geo. III. cap. 61, sec. 11, provided that any person who was a dealer in gunpowder could not legally have in his possession more than 200 lbs. weight of that article at any one time, or in any one place, or if he were not a dealer more than 50 lbs. weight, and that if in either case the quantity so fixed as the maximum were exceeded, the gunpowder should be forfeited, and a penalty of 2*s.* for every pound of the excess imposed. Section 23 of the same act gave power to seize the gunpowder under such circumstances, and other clauses provided the means of recovering the penalties. In the present case a warrant had been issued under that act—premises in the occupation of the defendants had been searched, and a large quantity of gunpowder (about 260 lbs. weight) had been found and seized. Whether the defendants were dealers or not was, therefore, immaterial as to the question of legality, seeing that the quantity in their possession was far beyond that of which in either case they could be legally possessed, and to this extent he was in a position to support the present information, which was for the recovery of penalties under the act he had referred to. It might be right, however, that he should state that there was another information to which the attention of the magistrates would hereafter be called, in regard to which circumstances would be elicited in evidence which would more clearly explain the character of this transaction. Towards the close of the last and beginning of this year, for reasons which, on the present occasion, he did not think it necessary to mention more particularly, the suspicions of the police were excited towards Mr. Hale's manufactory, which was situated at Rotherhithe, near the Surrey Canal. It appeared that

the manufacture of the rockets, which had been carried on for some time, was closed towards the end of the last year, but was again re-opened about the commencement of the present year. The works were then resumed, and were carried on under the constant superintendence of the defendants and a person named Boylan. When the seizure took place, as he understood, Boylan, who was there, in answer to the application of the officer to see that part of the factory which was usually called the magazine, refused, saying that he had not the key, and that as neither of the Mr. Hales was there, he could not allow him to see it. Ultimately, however, on the threat to break open the door, the key was brought forward, the place examined, and there was found the greater part of the gunpowder which was seized, and which formed the subject of this inquiry. Time was given to communicate with the defendants, but no notice was taken by them, and the gunpowder was removed, he believed, by water carriage, to the Royal Arsenal.

The various officials engaged in the seizure then gave their evidence, and several persons gave evidence on the part of the prosecution, with the view of showing that what was seized constituted "gunpowder" under the act. A police constable had fired a bullet with it through a board. Mr. Tozer, of the Woolwich laboratory, said that a composition such as had been seized was used by them for driving fuses to explode shells. After some discussion, Mr. Henry decided that there was no case against Mr. Hale, jun., as it had not been proved that he had any authority.

Mr. Clarkson addressed the magistrate on behalf of the elder defendant, confining himself to the only point which the magistrate would at present have to decide—"gunpowder or no gunpowder." To prove that the composition seized was gunpowder his learned friend had called three scientific gentlemen; the first of whom, Mr. Way, had admitted that he never saw gunpowder made in his life, and that, in fact, he knew nothing about its manufacture; the second, Dr. Hoffman, had confessed that he also was in the same situation in regard to practical knowledge; and the third, the Superintendent of the Government works at Woolwich, had sworn that he never saw any gunpowder that had not been granulated, though occasionally, and for particular purposes, powder was used at the arsenal which, having been granulated, was subsequently reduced from the granulated state. Among the other objects this act had in view was to prevent the keeping of improperly large quantities of gunpowder near large towns, to prevent the danger that would arise from explosion. But Mr. Hale's factory, where this composition was seized, was near no large town, but was in a thinly-populated district near the river, and on the banks of a canal; and, in looking at this case, he reminded the magistrate that this was a charge brought under a penal act of Parliament, which must be strictly construed. He did not doubt but that the decision would be just, but he intimated that if it should be against his client it would be carried to the ultimate source to which the law enabled him to appeal.

Mr. C. Curtis, of the firm of Curtis and Harvey, gunpowder-manufacturers, and Dr. Ure, Professor of Chemistry, then gave evidence to prove that the composition which had been seized was not gunpowder according as that term was understood in science and in the trade. Dr. Ure said: This material is not gunpowder, but composition. Composition differs in its explosiveness from gunpowder. It would "fizz" on being fired, and not explode. By the Magistrate: This composition would, of course, be much less dangerous on being fired than ordinary gunpowder.

Mr. Bodkin replied, observing that the only real defence that had been urged was that contained in the last answer of the witness, that it was somewhat less dangerous than gunpowder. The question, however, was—Was the composition to all intents and purposes the same explosive matter as gunpowder, and likely to endanger the lives of her Majesty's subjects? It could not be supposed that the Legislature would tolerate the keeping a substance of this dangerous character merely because it was not granulated, although it possessed all the explosive qualities of gunpowder. The evidence of Dr. Ure was, that this could not be called good gunpowder, and the whole question then was, whether it could be looked upon as gunpowder in the ordinary intent and meaning of the act of Parliament. The learned gentleman then pointed out the ingredients and proportions of the composition as it had been analyzed by competent persons, and submitted that there could be no doubt that the article was gunpowder, and that the defendant had rendered himself liable to the penalties under the act.

Mr. Henry said he would take time to consider his decision; and Thursday was appointed for the political act of the drama.

Accordingly, the proceedings were renewed on Thursday. The court was crowded to excess.

The summons was heard on Saturday last relative to the possession, by Messrs. Hale, of an excessive quantity of gunpowder. Mr. Henry now gave his decision upon the first summons, as follows:—

The defendants were summoned for having kept within three miles of the City of London, a greater quantity of gunpowder than is permitted by the provisions of the 12th George III., chap. 61. It was admitted that the premises where the seizure was made belong to the defendants, and that the quantity found exceeds what the law allows; but it was contended that the article seized was not gunpowder, and that is the question to be determined. It was proved by scientific witnesses who had analyzed the powder in question, that it was composed of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal, which are the same ingredients as are used for the manufacture of ordinary gunpowder; but the difference relied upon is that the seized powder had not undergone the process of granulation, and that the omission of that process contra-distinguishes it from gunpowder. Having taken time to consider that question, and having looked into the history of the manufacture of gunpowder, I am satisfied that the distinction relied upon is not well founded, and that the powder which was seized is gunpowder within the meaning of that word, whether taken in its ordinary, scientific, or legal acceptation. On referring to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, title "Gunnery," I find it stated that for some time after gunpowder was introduced, it was always manufactured and used without the process of granulation, and that that process is a comparatively modern improvement, previously to which the only powder in use was ungranulated, or what is in the trade termed "meal" powder. In the same work, under the title "Gunpowder," the definition of that word is thus given:—"A composition of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal, usually granulated," implying, therefore, that sometimes and for some purposes gunpowder is not granulated. I now proceed to consider whether the Act of Parliament was intended to apply to gunpowder generally, or only in a limited sense of that word; and I think it is manifest, from the title and preamble of the statute, that it was passed with a view to include within its provisions every species of gunpowder in all the stages of its manufacture. It is entitled "An Act to regulate the Making, Keeping, and Carriage of Gunpowder," and the preamble recites, "That whereas the manufacture, though necessary to be encouraged as an article of defence and commerce, yet ought to be regulated by law, in order to prevent the great mischiefs which may arise from explosions," &c. It then proceeds to enact that no person shall in any manner manufacture, or keep, or carry gunpowder, except as therein provided. The 11th section is the one under which the defendants were summoned, and it provides that no person shall have or keep at any one time, in any place within three miles of the cities of London or Westminster, or within one mile of any other city, borough, or market town, a greater quantity than 200lb. in weight, if he be a dealer in gunpowder, or than 50lbs. if not a dealer, on pain of forfeiting all above the allowed quantity, and also 2s. for every pound of the excess. I am of opinion that whether the powder be granulated or "meal" powder, or whether it be for gun, rocket, or mining use, it is equally gunpowder within the provisions of that section, and within the mischief which it was intended to guard against. It must be obvious to every one, and to no one more than the defendants themselves, that if a fire were unhappily to occur upon their premises, an explosion of such powder and materials as were found there could not fail to be very destructive in such a populous neighbourhood, and, if it were attended with a loss of life, they would be liable to a prosecution of a much more serious nature than the present. It only remains for me to adjudge that all the powder seized beyond the allowed quantity shall be forfeited, together with the barrels in which it was contained, and that the defendants shall pay 2s. for every pound beyond such allowed quantity, and I adjudge the excessive quantity of gunpowder to be 57 pounds in weight.

Mr. Burnaby (chief clerk).—The amount is 57. 14s.

Mr. Bodkin thought it had not been proved that the defendant (William Hale) was a dealer within the meaning of the Act, and, if not, the limit would be 50lbs.

Mr. Clarkson objected to this question being opened at the present stage of the proceedings; and, with respect to the barrels, he believed the powder was not kept in barrels.

Mr. Henry.—I must take the words of the Act.

William Hale, Robert Hale, and James Boylin then appeared at the side bar to answer the charge of having, at various intervals between the 13th of September, 1852, and the 13th of April inst., made, or caused to be made, divers large quantities of rockets, to wit, 1000 rockets, on certain premises near the Lower Deptford-road.

Mr. Bodkin, in opening the case, stated that these proceedings were taken under the 9th and 10th of William III., chap. 7, sec. 2, which prohibited the manufacture of any rockets, squibs, or other fireworks, or cases or moulds for the same, after the 25th of March, 1698, by any person whatever—a penalty of 5*l.* for each offence being provided by a subsequent section of the act.

He did not know whether it was the intention of the learned counsel for the defendants to contend that this act was not levelled against war rockets, as distinguished from the rockets commonly exhibited for amusement. But to show that the provisions were intended to comprehend every description of rocket liable to explosion, it was only necessary to refer to those clauses of the act which made a special exception in favour of certain parties therein named. By the 4th section her Majesty's Ordnance was empowered

to give orders or directions for the manufacture of rockets, &c., and the 5th clause also exempted the Artillery Company of the City of London, the Militia, or any other body in the lawful exercise of warlike arms, from the operation and penalties of the act. It was obvious, therefore, that no such distinction was intended by the framers of this act. With respect to the rockets now under consideration, their manufacture and destructive power would be described in evidence. He should show in evidence that the process of manufacture was going on for 40 or 50 days, within the cognizance of the witnesses, and he submitted that the defendants would be liable to the penalty for every separate day on which they were proved to be occupied in making them. The learned counsel then described a correspondence which took place between the elder defendant, William Hale, and the Board of Ordnance, in December, 1850, and in January, 1851. The defendant had described himself as the inventor of a new kind of rocket, and he applied to the board for an opportunity of testing its capacity. An opportunity was subsequently afforded, and the experiments were made at the expense of the board, but as they proved unsatisfactory, the defendant was informed that the Government declined to become either the patron or the purchaser of his rockets. A few months afterwards, in 1851, he further applied to the Government to purchase his rocket cases, and to test a machine for firing rockets: but the application was refused, and no further negotiation took place. The fact, however, of his having a great number of rocket cases at this time, which had been since, apparently, filled up and prepared for service, showed the active nature of the operations which had been going on at the factory since 1851. It became known, indeed, that from October last there were a great many workmen in employ there, some of whom were foreign refugees, and the whole of their proceedings were evidently carried on in the greatest possible secrecy. These were circumstances which it was obvious were calculated to excite the suspicions of Government, and whatever might be the result of these proceedings no living man could question the propriety of instituting some inquiry into the subject. It was for Mr. Hale to state what was the object of this extensive manufacture of war rockets. It had been stated that he was in the habit of exporting them through the Customs, and, in order that no effort should be spared to investigate the facts of the case, a search had been made through the shipping records at the Customs over a period of several years without their being able to discover the name of Mr. Hale as an exporter. Another circumstance he (Mr. Bodkin) could not help adverting to, although he did so with great reluctance, having no desire to give the defendant unnecessary pain. The cost of the rockets found on his premises was estimated at 1000*l.* or 2000*l.* Where did the money come from? Mr. Hale was only lately a bankrupt, and although the bankruptcy was superseded, it was done by the payment of 3*s.* in the pound, or some such trifling sum. In conclusion, the learned counsel stated, that although the accumulation of such stores was sufficiently dangerous in itself to justify interference, it was not pretended for a moment that the Government had been actuated by this consideration only; and with the view of satisfying the public mind, rather than that of his worship in a judicial point of view, certain witnesses would be called whose evidence would, he believed, lead every unprejudiced mind to the conclusion that the Government were perfectly justified in the course which they had thought proper to take.

Superintendent Evans repeated the evidence given last Saturday, proving the entry of the premises, and the seizure of 3629 shell heads, and 2489 tails, two instruments for firing rockets, and 79 boxes, about four feet long, and eight or nine in depth, filled with charged rockets. They were strong inch-deal packing cases, firmly screwed by 10 or 12 screws to each box.

He also said—I saw Mr. Hale, sen., the next morning, at Scotland-yard, and at his desire I showed him my authority to search his premises, upon which he said, "There was not a particle of gunpowder in the place, and those rockets I have had by me for two years. I export rockets through the Custom-house to Copenhagen, Hamburg, and other places, and shipped some by the *John Bull* steamer last August. I have offered them to Government, as Sir Thomas Hastings will tell you, and I wish they would buy them."

Cross-examined.—The nearest house to the factory is about 200 yards off, except a large building, which I think is a dwelling-house, at the rice mills. The neighbourhood is isolated rather—not thickly covered with houses.

John Saunders, a sergeant of the detective police, took possession of the property.

Ralph Field Thomas, 18, Thames division, on the 4th of April last, saw the younger Hale go into the factory, and Boylin let him in; saw them both inside at work with something in their hands; had previously had his attention drawn to the factory. Mr. Hale, sen., and another gentleman, called the same afternoon. Saw Robert Hale and Boylin there also on the 5th, and W. Hale in the afternoon. Saw Robert Hale and Boylin there on the 6th also, and heard the rapping going on, denoting that they were at work.

Cross-examined.—I had been employed to watch the place by my superintendent, and was about seventy yards off. I went each day in various disguises.

Augusto Usener.—I have been for 15 or 16 years an officer in the Prussian Artillery, and served in the Hungarian war as major of the staff. I was employed by the Messrs. Hale in making rockets at Rotherhithe about the close of September last year, and worked for them to the beginning of November. I knew nothing of the Hales before I went to be employed. I was introduced to them by M. Kossuth. I first saw M. Kossuth on the subject last summer, on his return from America. About the

middle of September I saw the elder Hale in the company of M. Kossuth, at the house of the latter. A Hungarian—the adjutant—was also there. M. Kossuth said to Mr. Hale, "This person was in the Hungarian service, and a late officer of the Prussian Artillery; and I can recommend him to your employ to assist in making 'our' rockets, or 'your' rockets"—I do not remember which was the word he said. M. Kossuth said my wages should be 18s. per week, and he recommended me to keep the affair quite secret. Mr. Hale, he said, would point out what I was to do. M. Kossuth spoke partly in the Hungarian and partly in the English language. I believe Mr. Hale does not understand the German language. The word "secret" was said to me in German. On the following Monday morning it was concerted that I should go to the factory. I went to Mr. Hale's first, and it was arranged that we should not go to the factory together. When I got to the factory at Rotherhithe there were two Englishmen and Robert Hale, and one of the Englishmen was boring rockets. I undressed, and was set to work in the last of the four compartments. I was engaged the first day in arranging the room, which was greatly out of order. The next day I set up a little machine and the rammers to fill the rockets. My chief employ afterwards was to bore and point the rockets and to fit on the heads. I was there every day (except Sunday) till November, receiving instructions from Mr. Robert Hale chiefly. The father officiated as first manager. I received my wages weekly from Mr. Robert Hale, and sometimes we had a little money in advance when we wanted it. I assisted in making 360 or 400 rockets. There was another German also at work. I was taken sick early in November, and went into the hospital. During the time I was at work at the factory (about the middle of October) I was sent to Pimlico, by Robert Hale, to see M. Kossuth. I saw M. Kossuth at Pickering-place. William Hale and another Hungarian were there. We went to try a firing machine. When we were all together the machine was set up, and a trial was made with the rockets. The conversation took place partly in English, and chiefly about the qualities of the rockets, machine, &c. We were there an hour and a half, and when it was all over M. Kossuth and Mr. Hale desired us to leave the house carefully, one by one, and Mr. Hale joined us at the corner of the street. On this occasion M. Kossuth repeatedly told us to keep his connexion with the rockets a secret. He spoke to me of this in German. On a subsequent occasion (about a fortnight later), I went to Mr. Hale by direction of his son, and the former desired me to go to M. Kossuth, who, he said, would tell me what was the matter. I went to M. Kossuth at his house at 11, Park-terrace, Kensington, and saw him in a room. M. Kossuth told me—

Mr. Clarkson objected to this conversation being given in evidence.

Mr. HENRY.—The question is, did he return with a message to either of the Hales?

Mr. Bodkin said he was proceeding as carefully as possible to satisfy the scruples of his friend. If it was an improper question, he should be very sorry to put it. (To witness)—Did you take back a message, at any time, to either of the defendants?

Witness.—I did not see Mr. Hale the next day, for that was the time when I was taken ill and went into the hospital. Before this I had some conversation with young Hale respecting M. Kossuth.

Mr. Clarkson raised an objection to this evidence, but it was overruled.

Witness.—The younger Hale said to me and my fellow-workman several times, while we were at work on his premises, "When you leave work you must not talk at the public-houses, or anywhere, about this factory, nor mention the name of Kossuth, nor even the word Hungarian, because this would be the occasion to betray our work."

Cross-examined.—I had applied frequently for charity before going to the factory. I had not tried to get employ at Manchester or Birmingham, nor on any railway. Before going to the factory I was in prison for theft, for five or six months, at Maidstone. I was perfectly destitute, and I took what was not my own. I was not in prison 10 months.

William Gerlach examined (through the interpreter).—I was employed at Mr. Hale's factory on the 20th of September last year, and continued there until a week before Christmas. I was recommended to Mr. Hale by M. Kossuth, but I never saw them in company together. I was employed in making rockets. There were, besides me, three Hungarians, named Freund, Doman, and Usener. There was an Englishman named Smith, and another Hungarian, who has since gone to America. I saw both the Messrs. Hale there daily. The son used to bore the rockets, and the father superintended the work as master. We were forbidden daily to say anything about the factory both by the Hales and Freund.

Cross-examined.—I lodged at Rotherhithe with the last witness. I was dismissed from the factory at Christmas, with the other Hungarians, except Usener, who went away sick.

Sir Thomas Hastings, the principal storekeeper of Her Majesty's Ordnance, was called by Mr. Bodkin to state that some correspondence had taken place with Mr. W. Hale, whose offers to submit rockets and a machine for firing them, were eventually declined. [The witness produced portions of the correspondence referred to, some extracts from which were read to show that the defendant William Hale, after the first trial and failure of his rockets, renewed his applications for further trials, on the ground that he had made additional improvements; and also for the trial of the machine for firing rockets above the level of the ground; all of which applications were refused.]

Colonel Chalmers, Inspector of Artillery at Woolwich, stated that he was secretary to the Select Committee of the Board of Ordnance at the time these experiments were made. Witness never saw any of the smaller rockets produced submitted to the Board.

Cross-examined.—I have known Mr. Hale, sen., since 1843, as a manufacturer of war rockets.

William Scanlan, acting Surveyor of the Customs, stated that he had searched the records of the Customs and shipping from the 5th of April, 1843, to the same date of the present year. During that time there are the names of 10 exporters of rockets recorded on the shipping notes, but Mr. Hale's name is not among them.

Cross-examined.—Rockets are often exported by brokers, but I am not aware of their being transmitted without the name of the principal being entered. There are three entries for 1849, in the name of M. Nottingham, but none in the name of "Dick, Moller, and Co." There were three separate sets of rocket cases exported in the same name in that year, worth about 200l. each. One set was exported to Copenhagen. If Mr. Nottingham was the broker of Mr. Hale, it was his duty to have given the name of his principal.

Mr. Bodkin.—That is the case for the Crown.

Mr. HENRY.—Before you reply, Mr. Clarkson, I think it is my duty to state what is my intention with respect to this case. The act under which these proceedings are taken, enables me to take either of two courses—to convict summarily in the penalty of 5l., or to send the case to the sessions. I do not consider that this is a case in which I should be justified in dealing with summarily, and therefore it is my intention to adopt the latter course.

Mr. Clarkson said, on behalf of his client, he was grateful to his worship for giving him an opportunity of submitting his case to a jury of his fellow countrymen. If Mr. Hale was liable at all under this act his learned friend knew perfectly well that his liability could have been established without the necessity of importing into the case the evidence of foreign refugees, and certainly without the testimony of a man fresh from the gaol of Maidstone. This had been done, however, they were informed, to satisfy the public, and regardless of the consequences which it might entail upon the defendants. But, as this matter must go before the public, he (Mr. Clarkson) would remind his worship of the position in which the distinguished foreigner referred to (M. Kossuth) was placed on his arrival in this country. He was instantly surrounded by a set of foreign paupers, who sought relief or employment, having been reduced by their good or bad deeds to a state of destitution. The evidence of Gerlach was illustrative of the sort of appeals made to M. Kossuth. He stated that he was recommended to Mr. Hale by M. Kossuth, but that he never saw them together. The recommendation, then, could not have been by word of mouth, it was clear. Then how was it. He believed that the Government had made a great mistake in this matter, and it would have been more creditable to them if, on discovering their error, they had abstained from taking that course with respect to the defendants, and with respect to an absent foreigner, which he was sure had not been advised by his learned friend. He should not say more at present, except that Mr. Hale was prepared very readily to abide the verdict of a jury.

Mr. HENRY said he would accept bail for each of the Hales—themselves in 80l. each, and two sureties of 40l. each. The personal recognizances of Boylin would be sufficient.

The prisoners were then directed to find the above sureties for their appearance to answer the charge at the next Surrey Sessions.

Mr. Hale declared that he would not ask any friend to be bail either for himself or his son, and having persisted in this determination to the last, the defendants were removed in the prison van to Horseferry-lane gaol.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER LXX.

Paris, Thursday, April 28, 1853.

THE great news of the day is the accident that has happened to the Empress. Reports have been flying about of a conjugal quarrel having caused the mishap, while others attribute it to the chagrin of disgust at the wearing etiquette of the Imperial palace. On Friday last the Empress ceased to appear in public. On Monday there was a ball at the Tuileries. More than 5000 persons were jammed to death in the salons, in the hope of hearing something about it, and they got nothing for their pains. The Empress did not make her appearance. Bonaparte himself was only visible for a few minutes, and retired almost immediately.

You will easily imagine all the comments that have been circulating in Paris on this misadventure. Some say that it is all a trick to cheat Bonaparte; others, that it is but too real: and so we choose our version of the story according to our wishes, or our opinions.

The translation of the ashes of the Great Napoleon to St. Denis is still in contemplation at the Tuileries. This measure, which appears to be almost decided upon, has set the whole *entourage* shouting with indignation. When the news was communicated to the Decembrists, there was almost an *émeute* among them. They assembled tumultuously under pretext of a banquet, at the Baths, near the Triumphant Arch de l'Etoile, and there they swore not to let the body of the great man go out; and if they were too late to prevent his abduction, they would tear him away by main force, and bring him back to Paris.

Few things would be more amusing than an *émeute* of that description. Indeed, no Bonapartist has heard of this proceeding with satisfaction. The Emperor,

too, has received another check in the matter. He had once before demanded of Austria the remains of the Duc de Reichstadt, and had been refused. He repeated his demand, and has just received a second refusal. It is to be feared that his St. Denis scheme will fare as ill as his hope of a dynasty. Yet it must be confessed that there was a certain kind of logic in the project, not unskillfully designed. The Emperors Napoleon I. and II. would have been at St. Denis; the Emperor Napoleon III. at the Tuileries. It would have been an improvised hereditary legitimacy (*une légitimité improvisée*). Not a weak contrivance, you see, for a *parvenu*.

En attendant, Bonaparte is heaping precautions on precautions, and fortifying himself more and more strongly in "his good City of Paris." A new fortification is to be added to the Hotel de Ville. All the houses that run behind the Municipal Palace, between the Church of St. Gervais and the Quay have been bought for the purpose of their demolition. In this space a second barrack is to be built, which will make a *pendant* to the one now in course of construction. A number of houses in the Rue St. Antoine have also been bought to be pulled down, so that the street may be completely swept to the *Place de la Bastille*, by the two fortresses of the Hotel de Ville.

St. Arnaud has returned from Marseilles, and resumed the direction of the Ministry of War. Extremely jealous of his authority, he could not wait to be quite cured to return to Paris: the uneasiness at finding himself supplanted by Bonaparte rendered him incapable of repose. No sooner arrived in Paris, than he ordered all the employés of his Ministry, great and small, to appear before him. He wanted to assure himself directly of all that had been going on in his absence, what schemes against his own position; and he took care to tell all his subordinates that they must look to him alone. Let St. Arnaud only persevere in this course, and sooner or later a quarrel must inevitably break out between him and Bonaparte.

St. Arnaud is determined to remain master of the army; that is his strength and safety; all the rest he leaves to Bonaparte. With the army he can make the Emperor do what he will, and send his "master" to Vincennes in case of insubordination.

The Corps Législatif has been occupied this week with the discussion of a law on the *Prudhommes*.* Some members, desirous of doing a little liberalism, demanded that the presidents of the councils of *Prudhommes* should be selected among the persons eligible for the office; but the Council of State, defender of the rights of authority, has pronounced in favour of the arbitrary will of Government. It was thought that some opposition might display itself in the Legislative body on this decision, but there were only ten votes against the measure. As to the commission on the budget it seems that the minority intended to protect the interests of the taxpayers, but were frustrated in their intention. Four members of the commission, ashamed at the ridiculous part they were made to play in the Legislative Chamber, proposed certain amendments, if only not to have the credit of voting the budget without discussion. These amendments were rejected. Moreover, the president of the first bureau had fixed on a certain day at one o'clock for the first sitting of his committee. The presidents of bureaux had up to this time been left in quiet possession of this incontestable right, but M. Billault, President of the Assembly, had the doors of the first bureau closed, pretending that he alone had the right to fix the hours of meeting. Not a single voice was raised in that bureau to protest against this insulting assumption.

Once more has the police come to the rescue of France and of civilization. It has just discovered a new infernal machine.† A French locksmith, who had been for some time established in business at Rio Janeiro, returned to France with his family and his stock in trade. His tools and various pieces of machinery were packed in two large cases on board the ship *L'Empereur du Brésil*. When the two cases passed the Custom House, one of the officers, seeing these pieces of machinery said, laughing, to one of his comrades, *There's an infernal machine, if you like. (Voilà au moins une machine infernale.)* A police agent who was present took the thing seriously, had the two cases seized, and the locksmith and his wife thrown into prison. He then drew up a superb re-

* The *Prudhommes* are a body composed half of skilled operatives, and half of masters, for deciding all questions of wages, &c. between the masters and the workmen.

† Really the contemporary histories of France and England seem disposed to run in couples. Have not Lord Palmerston and Sir Richard Mayne, by their magnificent seizure of war-rockets, come to the rescue of society and civilization. They have faithfully followed the process common to saviours of society—confiscation. But confiscation in London may not prove so easy and tolerable a matter as at Paris or Vienna.—Ed.

port to the Ministry of Police at Paris, whence was instantly despatched to Havre the chief of the detective police (*la police de sûreté*), by name Henry. This officer summoned the locksmith, who proceeded to put together the pieces of mechanism, and then was seen to take bodily shape and presence a majestic collection of turn-spits, and kitchen jacks, capstans, and other equally formidable engines of war. The police were dumbfounded with shame: the locksmith was released; but as the authorities can do no wrong, the poor man was sent off to Hamburg, and forbidden the French territory.

This regime of authority is not altogether, it seems, to the taste of M. Guizot. He has recently protested in the following language in favour of liberty:—

"Another principle of life and of moral order" (he said) "is wanting now in France: it is hope! Look around you, and perhaps within yourselves; the discouragement of minds and of hearts is general; so many disappointments in the past, so many clouds over the future. Doubt, discouragement, and that inquietude, at one time agitated, at another apathetic, but always sterile, which doubt engenders; this is the misfortune of our age, even among good people (*les honnêtes gens*). . . . The public peace is difficult to maintain in the midst of that grand extension of liberty, which is one of the principal characteristics of modern civilization. Liberty itself, all liberties, are sources of dissensions and of struggles, which easily become excesses, disorders, dangers. To suppress the effect, the cause has been destroyed; to re-establish peace, liberty is abolished. This is but a momentary remedy, and one which soon wears out—(*Remède momentané, et qui s'use bientôt.*) Liberty has become one of the permanent necessities of our society."

In the meanwhile the Governments are "making their fortunes." I mentioned to you that for the concession of the line from Bordeaux to Lyons, the Mastermans of Paris and London had given De Morny ten millions of francs (400,000*l.*) You understand, of course, that this sum is not given in hard cash, but in shares. They have now offered him to buy them back for a sum of six millions (240,000*l.*) down on the nail. Need I add, that he has declined the generous offer?

Unhappily, while the men of the palace and the public offices, the satellites and the parasites of power, are gorging themselves with wealth, basking in imperial favours, and swimming in floods of luxury, a great number of working men are without a home wherein to lay their heads. The exorbitant rise in rents has literally driven them out of doors, and forced them to sleep in the streets. Then again the extraordinary rise in the price of all articles of primary necessity has made it impossible for them to be content with their present wages. Hence they are daily threatening to strike work, one trade after another. At Paris, the government has ordered the masters to yield. In some trades the prudhommes, after consultation, have raised the wages twopence halfpenny (25 centimes) a day, where the workmen demanded fivepence. But in the provinces, where the government is under no apprehensions of the working men "descending into the streets," 200,000 men in arms, the reclamations of the operatives have been fruitless. Thus, at Rouen, out of 180 cabinet-makers, 130 were deserted by their workmen, who demanded fifty centimes (fivepence) a day increase of wages. They rested their demand on the rise in the price of all, the most strictly necessary, provisions, and in the better condition of their brother-workmen in the other great cities of France, and particularly at Havre. But the government did not mince matters with them. Several among them were arrested by the police; and only, after having been compelled to promise to keep quiet (*d'être bien sages*) were they released. A few of the more obstinate were summoned into court, and, on Saturday last, eight of these courageous citizens were condemned to ten days' imprisonment. The Republicans, who are suspected of plotting against the Government, are being daily confined to certain prescribed districts, (*internés*). In the *Courier de Gard*, I find the following paragraph on this subject:—"Ulysse Larrey, condemned to transportation to Algeria, had his punishment commuted to *internement* in the department of the Isère. On the pressing solicitation of his friends, he had subsequently obtained permission to fix his residence in the Gard. The Prefect of the Gard, having learnt that the presence of the said Larrey might be not without danger for the public tranquillity, has just ordered him to return to the spot where his settlement was first fixed.* The Government, fearing too large an agglomeration of working-men at Paris, has ordered that no passports shall be given to workmen, in the provinces, desirous of going to the metropolis. On this subject, the Prefect of the Rhine has addressed the following circular to the mayors of his department:—

* If Lord Palmerston, the Liberal Minister, remain long enough at the Home Office, we may hope to arrive at this state of things ourselves.—*Ed.*

"MONSIEUR LE MAIRE.—I am informed that a great number of working-men, in the departments, are disposed to go to Paris, attracted thither by the considerable works which were carried on in the metropolis last year. It is the duty of the Government to take care that the influx of operatives into the capital do not exceed the requirements of the public works, and that they do not become an embarrassment, which it were better to prevent, with a view to the maintenance of public order and security. Consequently, I beg to remind you of the instructions contained in a circular of my predecessor, which expressly recommended you to deliver no passports for Paris to working men, except to such as can satisfy you of their having a certainty of work in the capital, and at least a sum of 150 francs (6*l.*) to start with."

This is the way in which our working men are penned off in each department like flocks of sheep! S.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

The *Moniteur* of yesterday contains a decree for a levy of 80,000 recruits.

M. Dubois, the Imperial accoucheur, has passed three nights at the Palace. The Empress is reported to be "much better."

Unable to intimidate Switzerland into compliance with its demands on the Italian frontier, Austria has stirred up the smouldering faction of the ultramontane and absolutist priestly party in Switzerland to revolt and violence against the legal authorities of Fribourg. It appears that the partisans of the Sonderbund, defeated in 1847, now finding Switzerland menaced at once by Prussia and Austria, while France remained indifferent, if not hostile, thought the moment propitious for a *coup de main*. Accordingly, on the 22nd inst., they got up a serious *émeute* at Fribourg, which was not extinguished without bloodshed and some loss of life. Three or four hundred peasants, brutally priestridden and savagely superstitious, headed by priests with banners blasphemously dedicated to the "Blessed Virgin" and to "Holy Church," and imploring the aid of the Mother of God and of all the saints, got possession of the College. They were led by a Colonel Perrier, a species of buccaneering bravo not worthy to be called a soldier of fortune, who has been in the service of the Pacha of Egypt and of the King of Naples; and who now, after an attempt to worm himself into the good graces of the patriotic and national party, has sold himself to Austria and Papal intrigues.

At four in the morning of the day mentioned, this band of fanatical peasants, marshalled by monks, and led by a cut-purse adventurer, having secured the two upper gates of the town, occupied the Jesuit's college before a sufficient number of citizens could be aroused to offer any effectual resistance. The civic guard and the militia, however, responding to the first cry of alarm, were soon upon the scene, and at once assailed the avenues of the college. A sanguinary but brief conflict now ensued. M. Carrari fell in front of the college, pierced with several balls, and two of the militia were also killed. The bravery of the legal forces, however, prevailed. All the avenues of the building were carried at the point of the sword, and a large number of the insurgents were compelled to yield themselves prisoners. Amongst the more considerable of the latter were names which, as the *New Zurich Gazette* remarks, show how ably the affair had been calculated. Colonel Perrier himself, wounded slightly on his head, was captured. Some of the leaders escaped. By eight o'clock order was completely restored, although the excitement of the public, amounting to exasperation, was very great. M. Perrier has since been tried by court-martial. The civic guard, which lost several of its members, among others a father of nine children, demanded that he should be condemned, as he well deserved, to death, but clemency prevailed, and he was sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment in irons. This fratricidal attempt of the priestly party is the more criminal that the federal assembly, in a spirit of conciliation, recently absolved the cantons, which composed the late Sonderbund, from the debt towards the confederation incurred in the campaign of 1847.

Carrari, one of the leading insurgents, and one of the most bloodthirsty, was killed. He was only pardoned in 1850, when he swore never to take arms again against the Government.

On the 23rd, the town was completely restored to tranquillity, and martial law had ceased.

The Government of Freiburg has made a report of the affair to the federal executive, without, however, invoking its assistance—a sufficient answer to those writers who have asserted that the Cantonal Government ruled by other strength than that which it derives from the sympathies of the people.

The civic guard fought very well; they were placed in a very difficult position, having had, in order to reach the College, to ascend two flights of steps, and to pass through a narrow street. The carabinieri soon dislodged the peasants, who were stationed at the windows. A number took refuge in the church, where they were fired on with grape.

The *Univers* and the other ultramontane papers in France and Austria declaim furiously against the constituted authorities of Freiburg, and represent this *émeute* as if the civic guard were the authors of the riot and the bloodshed. The *Charivari* asks, with great point and force, how it is that the journals that so fiercely denounced the insurgents at Milan, who at least were engaged in a desperate effort to rid their country of foreign domination, as a horde of assassins, have nothing now but praise and pity for these bloodthirsty traitors, who in the early morning surprise a sleeping city, and murder their peaceful countrymen in the name of religion? This is a question we may put to certain of our own great journals, defenders of the faith in monarchy and European order, the balance of

power, and other consecrated enormities. Will the *Times* be so good as to compare the *émeute* at Freiburg and the insurrection at Milan. But we forget—the legal Government of Freiburg is "radical," revolutionary, based on universal suffrage, and therefore odious to *les honnêtes gens*. Such is the political morality of official Europe!

At the Paris Institute, on Monday week, Lord Brougham read a paper on optics and mathematics, accompanied by demonstrations and calculations on the board.

A new Ministry has been formed in Holland, and the Second Chamber has been dissolved. The Ministry has published its programme, which promises, in rather vague terms, fidelity to the constitution, independence of the Royal executive, concession to the (Protestant) feeling of the nation, liberty for all religious opinions under due supervision. Great excitement has prevailed in consequence of this Papal aggression.

The Count de Cavour, in presenting the bill for an indemnity to the naturalized Lombard refugees, characterized the conduct of the Austrian Government, in the matter of the sequestrations, in the most severe terms,—as not only violating the principles of international law that all civilized nations look upon as sacred, but also the conditions formally established by the treaties latterly concluded between Sardinia and Austria, which consecrate the inviolability of property possessed by the subjects of either power on the territory of the other. The bill was well received by the Chamber.

The Crown Prince of Sardinia has been elected Colonel of the National Guard of Turin.

The programme of the Spanish Ministry is, like all such documents, a mystification. It promises adherence to the "political system inaugurated by the fortunate accession of her Majesty to the throne"—a phrase which is interpreted by the Constitutionalists at Madrid as a bitter jest, considering that the constitution has been grossly perverted ever since her Majesty Isabella came to the throne.

The new Minister of the Interior, M. Egana, in a circular to the Provincial Governors, recommends a discretionary liberty to the press. In the meantime he has been seizing the independent journals at Madrid. The Government promises a great development of "public works"—in other words, wholesale jobbery—the recipe of all modern Absolutist Governments to corrupt and materialize their peoples.

A letter from Milan states, that the deputation to Vienna to present the address drawn up according to the intention of General Giulaye, was coldly and harshly received by the Archduke Charles and the Ministers. They did not see the Emperor.

"The distribution of medals (at Milan) to those who distinguished themselves on the 6th February, was done (continues this letter) in a manner ridiculously provocative. The troops were drawn out from the Piazza del Duomo, all along to the Porta Orientale, supported with numerous batteries of cannon. The windows were hung with tapestry, by order of the military commander, under menace of imprisonment and fine. But not a living being appeared at the windows, and none even of the people were seen about the streets. The military were greatly incensed at this, and I myself heard one of the officers say to his companion, 'These Italians are marvellously obstinate. The gibbet, impositions, menaces, imprisonments, and nevertheless they will not bow their heads.' He said truly, and this is our victory and our claim."

"Life becomes odious and insupportable, from being exposed to insults and provocations of every kind. Are we required to lodge the military? They insist upon occupying whatever room they choose; turn a carpeted salon into a kitchen, hang up their accoutrements on the more elegant pieces of furniture, break, spoil, destroy, and rob without restraint. The palace of Count Anonni was forced to be cleared out in three hours by its inmates, who were obliged to remove to Reichman's hotel, opposite. Are the military ordered into fresh quarters—they carry off the beds and other furniture that suits them, and if a refusal is attempted they send ten soldiers to enforce obedience."

Ridiculously false statements of Mazzini's whereabouts appear continually in the Austrian papers. At one time he is said to be at Malta, at another never to have left Sardinia. We have good reason to assert that both these statements are utterly devoid of truth.

The *Journal des Débats* has the following note, dated Berlin, April 21:—"Herr Noerner, an officer of the Crown, has left for London with several agents of our police, to collect evidence of the supposed connexion between the plot discovered here and the machinations of the political refugees living in London."

A Berlin journal states that the shells discovered lately by the police at Rostock are exactly similar to those discovered at Rotherhithe. (Granulated gunpowder in both, we suppose.)

A regular congress of sovereigns is announced to meet at Vienna in the forthcoming summer. The Emperor of Russia proceeds to Warsaw, thence to Berlin, and from Berlin, with the King of Prussia, to Vienna. The King of the Belgians visits Berlin and Vienna at the same time. The King of Bavaria is to be also one of the party. It is surely time for the people to employ spies as well as the kings. Louis Napoleon, the *parvenu*, is not invited. What the King of the Belgians has to do in this congress (*quo diable allait il faire*) we cannot say, unless it be to talk over the eventuality of French annexation. We may remember, however, that Leopold has served more than once as a convenient go-between to our constitutional throne, to make things pleasant for absolutism. And this is a service with which no ambassador could be so well trusted. There is no "solidarity," after all, like the "solidarity" of thrones!

The *Post Gazette* of Moscow officially announces the

outbreak of the cholera in that town. The number of cases was not precisely known. Eight hospitals had been appropriated to the treatment of cholera patients.

The Emperor has notified that no landowners are to leave Russia while their estates are to any extent mortgaged to the Imperial Bank.

The Turkish question seems to have become very quiet since the arrival of the French and English ambassadors at Constantinople. Prince Menschikoff looms less large. The Turkish armaments, however, still continue. Lord Stratford has assured the Sultan of English support. The insurrection at Broussa seems to have been much exaggerated by rumour.

Christianity is looking ugly enough just now where it ought to look best—in the Holy Land. The English missionaries at Jerusalem, those comfortable and prolific martyrs, having, it seems, been reproached by the Society in England for the slow progress of their evangelizing labours, recently outraged all decency and order by preaching in the open air at the very doors of the Great Synagogue. This flagrant insult to the descendants of Moses roused the ire of the Hebrew congregation to such a pitch, that they rose up and drove away the officious missionaries, not without loss of blood and many blows. The Great Rabbi appealed to the Consuls in vindication of his people. On Palm Sunday there was riot and bloodshed in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, between the Greeks and Armenians. The dispute arose about the "Sacred Lamp." It is said that the Latins stood aloof.

REVOLUTION IN CHINA.

THE Chinese mail of the 25th of February has brought important intelligence regarding the progress of events in the Celestial Empire. The rebels have now got so far north as to threaten Shanghai, and are stated to have a force of 50,000 men within a few marches of that port. Seu-Kwyng-Tsin, appointed by the Emperor to the chief military command of the combined attack which had been ordered on the rebels, has been worsted, and has fallen, according to some accounts, by his own hand, according to others by that of the enemy. Altogether, the affairs of the Tartar dynasty are considered to be in a most critical state, though the young Emperor is endeavouring to meet the emergency with a degree of energy and a disregard to antiquated Chinese maxims, which proves him to be far in advance of his predecessors. He has appealed to his people in an edict which, printed on yellow paper, is now posted up in every place of public resort in the empire. In this remarkable document he openly acknowledges that during the three years he has reigned, his utmost efforts have been unavailing "to restore to his people the blessings of peace;" that, though two years have elapsed "since he put his army in motion" against the rebels, he has been unable either to dislodge them from the provinces they originally seized or even to prevent their continually gaining ground, and he dwells much on his deep concern "for the indescribable sufferings" of his people, "the inhabitants of the ravaged provinces;" he remarks, "that partial victories as well as defeats are matters of common occurrence in military life;" but he attributes the frequency of their previous reverses to a slothful and trifling spirit on the part of the local officials, absence of discipline in the army, and a want of union, energy, and public spirit among all classes. He commands that all in authority should forthwith use their utmost endeavours to remedy these abuses, and to give effect to his plans for the safety of the empire; but he remarks that it is essential to the proper conduct of affairs that he should be *correctly* informed of all that occurs, "without heightening or lessening the importance of facts." "Above all (says the edict), it is necessary in reporting to us to state the truth without the least glossing over of facts." The Emperor details the military movements he has ordered for the annihilation of the rebels. Seu-Kwyng-Tsin was to lead the main body of the troops in person, detaching troops under his subordinate commanders to drive the enemy towards Woohung; three other generals were to ascend the Yang-tse-Kiang with troops, and a fourth, with 10,000 picked men, had been despatched to defend the southern border of Honan, and to relieve Hookwang. All these were to be reinforced as rapidly as possible by troops sent forward from other provinces. All "were to unite without regard to territorial distinctions, and advance straight to Hoopah, to make a combined and annihilating attack."

The militia were to be organized, each village or township forming its own band, the expense being defrayed by the gentry and head men, who were to have the management of the force, which was not to be employed in offensive operations, but simply for self-defence. The Emperor alludes to the heavy drain on his Treasury which the war has caused, but says he has this day directed the Treasury to send fresh assistance to the army, and that measures will be taken (by levying a tax on opium) for supplying ample means hereafter. Meanwhile, he promises unusual favours and rewards to those among his people who, from motives of patriotism, subscribe funds for the assistance of the army, but complains that the district officials have

hitherto traitorously misapplied a large portion of such contributions, and thereby discouraged their countenance. The edict concludes by enjoining all district officials "to circulate it generally throughout the land, that all the people looking up may realize our desire, and hasten to arouse a warlike spirit for the destruction of the vile herd."

Of the military movement sketched out in the above edict, the portion assigned to Seu and the main body of the army has already turned out a failure, and it is reported that the other generals have been equally unsuccessful. The provinces already overrun by the rebels are stated to have been completely ravaged, and to be at present in a state of anarchy, and any further successes of the rebels would, it is thought, very seriously affect the commercial interests of all the powers trading with China. Under such circumstances, it is urged that it would be for the interest of these powers to exert themselves in maintaining the present Emperor on the throne. The *Friend of China* expresses these views as follows:—

"A perusal of this extraordinary document (the Emperor's edict) is calculated to excite the sympathy of Western powers; and if, with united will, England, France, and America tendered to his Majesty assistance enough to secure to him his throne—stipulating that in return he should bring his country into the great family of nations, no doubt now their wishes would be complied with, and the cause of civilization become the gainer."

A powerful American squadron is on its way to the China Seas, and it is stated that a powerful Russian land force has been despatched thither to watch its proceedings. Under these circumstances, and in the present position of affairs in China, it is complained that our naval force in these seas is inadequate for the protection of British interests.

Whatever may be the immediate issue of the present struggle in China, it is evident the old exclusive system of that nation has received a shock which it is not likely to recover. Our successes in China destroyed the *prestige* of the empire, at least in the provinces on the coast, and the rapidly increasing communication with California and Australia, and the tens of thousands of Chinamen now annually returning from the former, with the savings and experiences of three or four years' residence in the most "go-ahead" country in the world, cannot fail to have a great effect in a country where printing is so cheap and education so general as in China. "Were," it is said, "the present dynasty subverted, and a state of anarchy to ensue, the preservation of quiet on her frontier would afford Russia plausible grounds for interference, if not for annexation. 40,000 Russian troops could probably hold China Proper more easily than the same number of English hold Hindostan. There is no class of military adventurers, as is the case in India, and the great extent of the internal canal and river navigation by which the country is traversed would greatly facilitate the occupation of any European power making use of steam."

THE BURMESE WAR.

News from Burmah contains but few facts. At Prome and Meaday all is quiet. Near Donabaw a combined attack was in progress on the stronghold of the robber chief Meatoon. Sir John Cheape, the Commodore, and Captain Tarleton, were each advancing by a different route, so as to surround him, all the creeks by which he could escape being guarded by gunboats; the result was not yet known. No Burmese envoys have yet arrived at Meaday, and, several divisions of the Burmese army being still *en route* to Ava, considerable uncertainty prevails regarding the issue of the struggle now going on at that capital between the war and peace parties. It is reported that the former has lately been gaining ground. It is rumoured that the Prince, at the head of the peace party, has written to General Godwin, expressing a hope that, as he has never quarrelled with the British, the conquered province may be restored to him. It is not probable that any move will be made during the little that remains of the hot season, but the commencement of the Burmese monsoon a month hence will open the high road to Ava to our large steamers, if anything then remains to be done. General Steel has reached Tonghoo, and opened communications with Prome and Meaday. His march has been performed with great rapidity, considering the country and time of year (the last ninety-three miles in eight days), yet without distressing his force. During the last few marches his cavalry came up with some of the baggage and stragglers of the retreating Burmese, and captured about a dozen elephants and a great number of ponies. At Tonghoo a rather extensive magazine, containing guns, muskets, and ammunition, was taken possession of.

PALMERSTON ON THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

A DEPUTATION of working-men, alleged to represent various metropolitan trades, accompanied by the Rev. S. T. Bayley, Secretary to the Lord's-day Observance

Society, waited upon Lord Palmerston, on Monday, at his residence, Carlton-gardens, for the purpose of presenting a memorial against the opening of the Crystal Palace on Sundays.

The deputation having stated their views, Lord Palmerston said he was exceedingly glad to have met the deputation on this occasion, and as they had been so fair and just with him, he would be on a par with them in cordially expressing his opinions on the question. For himself, he could not be brought to see how the opening of this pleasure-ground could be productive of the amount of evil which had been described. He could not see the harm of an individual, who devoted a portion of the seventh day to the worship of his God, going afterwards to view these pleasure-grounds; but he was only stating his private opinions. He would, however, give the matter his most serious consideration. He must confess that he had frequently taken a ferry across the river on Sundays, and had also taken a row himself, and had seen individuals lining the banks, taking a breath of fresh air. He should not object to a measure for closing public-houses and beershops on Sundays, but he thought opening the Crystal Palace would draw people away from such places. He certainly objected to the desecration of the Sabbath, but was not unfavourable to harmless and innocent recreation after divine service.

The deputation having thanked his lordship, then withdrew.

MISCELLANEOUS.

QUEEN VICTORIA is well again; she has been "churched," and apparently took her first walk in the gardens of the Palace on Thursday, after the churching.

We observe that the privileged political refugees—the Duchess of Orleans, the Duchess of Nemours, and the Duchess d'Aumale, have visited the Queen. Of course these ladies have a right to offer their friendly congratulations to the Queen of England. We simply remark that here are political refugees openly in communication with the Sovereign power in England; and we simply ask, do detectives, acting on Lord Palmerston's revival of the "Loi des Suspects," frequent Claremont? Has there been any "note" from Louis Napoleon on the subject?

Monday being the birthday of the Princess Alice, Prince Albert took the children to Madame Tussaud's and the Princess's Theatre. On Thursday, he visited the Royal Academy.

It is understood that the christening of the infant Prince will take place towards the end of June, when he will receive the names of "Leopold George Duncan Albert." His Majesty the King of Hanover, the Prince of Hohenlohe Langenbourg, and the Princess of Prussia, are expected to arrive in England to be present at the ceremony, at which, with her Royal Highness the Princess Mary of Cambridge, they will stand sponsors to the young Prince.

Wages still advance, and the movement has reached that useful class—the juvenile labourers. The boys employed on Mr. Laird's ship-yard at Birkenhead suddenly one morning met, cheered lustily, gallantly struck for an advance, and marched off the premises; but they returned to work the following morning. At Torquay and Leicester the building trades have got an advance. In Norfolk, the agricultural labourers, whose wages vary between 7s. and 9s., have struck. At Kidderminster, the carpet hands ask for an advance, a board of arbitration, and fixed hours.

A course of lectures, by Mr. Buckingham, on the affairs of India, is an opportunity for easily acquiring information on a great topic of the day, which should not be missed. Mr. Buckingham has lived in India; he had a great hand in obtaining for it a free press; he is a lucid and pleasant lecturer. No doubt his hearers will learn "all about it," while they are at about as much trouble as if they assisted at a morning concert.

Professor Aytoun, of Edinburgh, author of the "Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers," intends delivering in London, early in May, the course of lectures on Poetry and Dramatic Literature which he has just completed in Edinburgh.

Professor Wilson is, we fear, past hope of recovery. His lower limbs are paralyzed, and although his mind is still clear, he is but a wreck of his former self.—*North British Daily Mail*.

Mrs. Beecher Stowe has been pretty active in Scotland. On Thursday week she was at Aberdeen, and subsequently at Dundee, and back to Edinburgh. On Thursday she was to start for London.

Mr. Buchanan has been formally appointed Minister from the United States to England. He negotiated the Oregon treaty with Lord Ashburton.

The *Times* states that Government are about to appoint the Earl of Ellesmere, Sir Charles Lyall, and Mr. Wentworth Dilke, Commissioners to attend the American Exhibition at New York, and to report upon it. The *Leander* frigate and *Basilisk* steam-sloop will take out the Commissioners.

A demonstration in honour of the natal day of Shakspeare took place on Tuesday at Stratford-upon-Avon, and was



celebrated with all due honours befitting the occasion. An immense number of "pilgrims" to the shrine of the poet came into the town from Birmingham, Oxford, and the surrounding neighbourhood, and the reverence with which anything appertaining to the immortal bard is universally received in this town was never more strikingly manifested than on this occasion by the numerous strangers, who anxiously sought those places and objects of interest associated with his name. In the evening a dinner took place at the Town-hall, at which Mr. Benjamin Webster presided.

The Society of the Friends of-Foreigners in Distress dined together at the London Tavern on Saturday, Lord Carlisle presiding. Mr. Ingersoll and the Chevalier Bunsen were present. Among the subscribers are the following persons:—Her Majesty 100*l.*, Prince Albert 25*l.*, the King of Denmark 50*l.*, King of Spain 10*l.*, the Emperor of Austria 10*l.*, King of Belgium 10*l.*, and the Emperor of Russia 30*l.* What an odd mixture!

M. Alexandre Thomas, on Tuesday, delivered, at the Hanover-square rooms, the first or introductory lecture of a course, styled in the programme, *Conferences sur l'Histoire de France*; being a sketch of the manners and opinions of the French during the age of Louis XIV., principally drawn from the correspondence of Madame de Sevigne. M. Thomas delivered his lecture with great distinctness; and the extracts with which he illustrated it were appropriate and interesting. To all who wish to study the literature of France during the age of Louis XIV., or to improve their knowledge of the beauties and pronunciation of the French language, we can safely recommend these readings. The room was generally well attended; and, amongst the company present, we observed the following distinguished personages:—The Marchioness of Aylesbury, the Countess of Zetland, the Countess of Lichfield, and Lady Anne Charteris, Lady Anne Tufnell, Lady Moreton, Lady Buckley, Lady Harriet Vernon, Lady Romilly, the Earl of Carlisle, Le Chevalier and Madame Bunsen, Mr. Monckton Milnes, the Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, and Mr. Hallam.

Captain Bunbury has been elected, unopposed, for Carlisle, in the room of Colonel Bruen.

North Lincolnshire has formed a Liberal Association for the purpose of returning two liberal candidates at the next election.

Public meetings of the inhabitants of St. James's parish, and the borough of Southwark, have decided in favour of the Budget.

At a meeting of the leading grocers and dealers in Manchester, held on Thursday, apropos of the Budget, it was resolved—"That the proposed increase of duty on licenses is viewed with feelings of much surprise, being marked with great injustice, as pressing on a few trades while others are exempt; and that while there is no desire to shrink from bearing a fair share of public burdens, or to embarrass the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is resolved to memorialize him, with a view to obtain an abandonment of the proposed alterations." A committee was appointed to draw up and present the memorial.

The Dorset, Notts, and Lincolnshire militia have been ordered out for twenty-one days training during the month of May.

Captain Blackwood Price's field-battery, quartered at Shorncliff, have received orders to hold themselves in readiness to join the great camp to be formed on Chobham-common, near Windsor, in the beginning of June next. The battery is composed of 6 guns, 85 horses, and 138 non-commissioned officers and men. Captain F. A. Campbell's field-battery at Chatham, of similar strength, has also been ordered to join the camp at the same time. The 6th Dragoon Guards (carabineers), at present stationed at Canterbury, and the 13th Light Dragoons, at present stationed at Hounslow, will form a portion of the Cavalry Brigade.

A return to Parliament, printed on Wednesday, shows that in 1851 the declared value of the exports to Turkey was 2,581,230*l.*; to Russia, 1,289,704*l.*; and to Austria, 812,942*l.*; thus giving Turkey the advantage over both by upwards of 400,000*l.*

Mr. Samuel Woodburn, the well known amateur and dealer in pictures of old masters, early drawings, and prints, died, during the past week, at his house in Piccadilly, at the age of 73. He has helped, for the last fifty years, in forming the principal picture-galleries of Europe. The collections of the Duke of Hamilton, grandfather of the present Duke, and of Lord Fitzwilliam (now at Cambridge), were formed chiefly by him; as were also the Dimsdale, the Sykes, and the Lawrence collections.

Mr. Thomas Dax, Taxing Master of the Court of Exchequer, died suddenly on Monday evening. He was taxing costs on Monday, and afterwards went into the city. When near the Mansion-house he was seized with a fit, and expired from apoplexy. Mr. Dax had held the office for a great many years, and had been connected with the court for about half a century. The appointment is in the gift of the Chief Baron, and the salary is 1200*l.* a year. Mr. Dax had an additional 200*l.* a year for the abolition of an office he held before the court was thrown open to the public.

In the course of the last few days an electric telegraph station has been opened adjacent to the lobby, by the Electric Telegraph Company, for the use of members and parties engaged in Parliamentary proceedings, and direct telegraphic communication is thereby obtained with all parts of the country, and intelligence transmitted to the provinces of divisions and debates. Operations were on Monday commenced for placing an electric clock over the principal entrance to the lobby, and a general system has just been introduced of notifying to members in all parts of the House the precise moment of a division by the electrical ringing of thirty bells in various directions, the bells being set in motion by an apparatus in charge of one of the officers of the House at the lobby door. Wires are also being carried from the House to the Carlton, Reform,

and other clubs, for the intercommunication and information of members.

The Reverend Henry Nathan, rector of Jordanston, Pembroke, has been suspended for three years for drunkenness and swearing. He was also of a belligerent turn; having rushed upon a poor-rate collector with a knife, and declared he would shoot his successor.

Honora Gibbons and Bridget Gerratty, who were convicted at the last assizes at Chester, for the murder, by poison, of the child of the former, have had their capital sentences commuted to transportation for life. William Terrell and Charles Williams, who were left for execution at the late assizes for Lancashire, for murder, respectively, have had their capital sentences commuted to transportation for life, in consequence of the representations made to the Government on their behalf.

One of the most infamous police cases is recorded this week. It is that of a scoundrel named John Judd, who, under pretence of courting a young woman, took her into the Victoria Park at night, and brutally assaulted her: once she escaped, the second time he knocked her down, and was successful. She followed him, however, with great courage, and was the means of his apprehension.

Two fellows have been committed for picking pockets in St. Stephen's Church, Rochester-row, while the Bishop of London was holding a confirmation; and two others who accomplished similar feats in a church at Brixton, during the performance of the same ceremony.

While M. Lafont was playing the part of the Chevalier St. Georges, at St. James's Theatre, on Friday week, some thieves entered his apartments in Bury-street, St. James's, and completely stripped them. His entire wardrobe, comprising every article of wearing apparel, jewellery, including a gold snuffbox, and a valuable gold chain, presented to him by the French Ambassador, were carried off, leaving him literally nothing but the clothes he was wearing at the time.

Elizabeth Linnet, a barefooted Irish girl, was brought before Mr. Bingham, charged with the following artful and dirty mode of obtaining money:—Police-constable Martin said a gentleman saw the prisoner pick up pieces of orange-peel, chew them, and then throw the mess on the dress of any lady who passed. If the mess stuck to the dress, the prisoner would run up to the lady, and, with a curtsy, beg permission to clean off the dirt. She did this to several ladies, and was in most cases thanked and rewarded. Martin detected the prisoner after she had thrown the dirt on a lady's dress, and was about to receive sixpence from the lady for her services. Mr. Bingham said the artful trick and proceedings of the prisoner ought to be made public, as it would serve to put ladies on their guard against imposition, and perhaps to protect a valuable dress from injury. The practice must be checked by some means in order to prevent it spreading. The constable having also heard the prisoner begging, Mr. Bingham committed her to prison for one month.

At least our dogs are protected. It is well known that dogs are stolen for the purpose of obtaining the reward offered for their restoration. Certain persons make a trade of finding them, and a compound name for these people, "dog-negotiators," has actually been invented. Two of these go-betweeners, father and son, named Taylor, were arrested on Monday. The Taylors were returning from a stolen-dog depot behind Shoreditch, when a constable saw them on an omnibus. He stopped the omnibus, captured the prisoners with an Isle of Skye terrier, and took them to the station-house. On being again asked about it, the elder exclaimed, "Good God, I'm not obliged to tell you everything about it, am I?" but on finding the charge being taken, he then acknowledged that the dog had only been in his possession about two hours, and that it was the property of Sir Charles Harding, of 24, Montagu-square. This turned out to be correct. The constable hoped the magistrate would grant a summons to enforce the attendance of the owner. Elder prisoner—"Ah, he won't come; he's quite satisfied with my conduct in the affair. The fact is, that the dog belongs to Mr. Edwin Harding, who has been negotiating with me for about a month to get his dog restored; he was at my house yesterday with a friend, and gave me instructions to procure it. Well, I did so from a public-house behind Shoreditch Church, and was taking it home to Montagu-square, when I was apprehended by the policeman. I don't see anything wrong in my conduct, and only a short time ago I recovered a valuable dog for Mr. Henry, the magistrate of Bow-street, by the same means, and he was perfectly satisfied with what I had done." They were remanded; bail not forthcoming, sent to prison; and a summons for the owner was granted.

One of the giraffes which his Highness Ibrahim Pasha presented to the Zoological Society gave birth to a beautiful female fawn at their gardens in the Regent's park on Monday. This is the seventh which has been bred by the society since the importation of their original herd from Khordessan in 1836.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

THE mortality of London continues to decrease by slow degrees. In the three weeks of April the numbers of deaths returned have been 1340, 1243, and in the week that ended last Saturday, 1182. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1843-52, the average number of deaths was 944, which, if raised in proportion to increase of population since the deaths occurred, will give a mortality of 1038 for last week. Hence it appears that the 1182 deaths registered last week are in excess of the estimated amount by 144.

The decline in diseases of the respiratory organs during the last four weeks is shown by the following numbers: the deaths in this class (exclusive of phthisis and hooping-cough), were 420, 323, 251, and 242; from bronchitis, 231, 186, 128, and 126; from pneumonia, 122, 98, 89, and 80; from asthma, 38, 18, 11, and 16; from hooping-cough, 84,

80, 68, and 66; from phthisis (or consumption) 179, 165, 165, and 139. It will be seen that diseases of the organs of respiration are still much more fatal than is usual in the middle of April, for the deaths from this class, as above stated, were last week 242, while the corrected average in ten corresponding weeks was only 163.

Fever, which threatened to spread its ravages, has, so far as the mortality affords an indication, apparently subsided. Typhus was fatal in the last four weeks in 77, 49, 65, and 47 cases; scarlatina in 35, 37, 20, and 26. The mortality of small-pox, it is satisfactory to observe, continues low, only 3 cases, which occurred among children, having been recorded last week. Measles carried off 24 children. Three children died of ague, one of noma, 4 children and an adult of syphilis. Rheumatic fever was fatal in two cases. Ten women died after child-bearing, two of these from metritis (puerperal fever). Thirteen children died of laryngitis and laryngismus stridulus.

Last week the births of 812 boys and 768 girls, in all 1580 children, were registered in London. In the eight corresponding weeks of 1845-52 the average number was 1476.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.694 in. The reading of the barometer decreased from 29.96 in. at the beginning of the week to 29.67 in. by 9h. P.M. on the 19th; remained at this reading till 9h. P.M. on the 20th; decreased to 29.19 in. by 3h. P.M. on the 22nd; and increased to 29.74 in. by the end of the week. The mean temperature of the week was 45.9 degs., which is rather below the average of the same week in 38 years. The highest temperature in the week was 60.5 degs. on Monday, the lowest was 37.3 degs. on Saturday. The mean daily temperature was above the average only on the first three days. On Monday, when it was highest, it was 51.8 degs.; thereafter it continued to fall, till on Thursday it was 41.8 degs. The greatest difference between the dew point temperature and air temperature was 14.8 degs. on Wednesday; the least was 1.0 deg. on Thursday and Friday. The mean difference for the week was 6.4 degs. The wind was very variable.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 16th of April, at Nice, the Marchioness of Abercorn: a son, which only survived twelve hours.
On the 20th, at 18, Bryanstone-square, the Hon. Mrs. Augustus Byron: a daughter.
On the 20th, the Hon. Mrs. Edward Upton: a son and heir.
On the 21st, at 2, Upper Hamilton-terrace, St. John's-wood, the wife of the Rev. Anthony F. Thomson, Head-master of St. John's Foundation School: a son.
On the 23rd, at Bitterne, near Southampton, the wife of Robert Hesketh, Esq., late her Majesty's Consul at Rio de Janeiro: a son and a daughter.
On the 23rd, in Brook-street, the Hon. Mrs. Proctor Beauchamp: a son.
On the 24th, at 42, Brunswick-square, Brighton, the wife of Beaumont Hankey, Esq.: a daughter.
On the 24th, at No. 4, Hyde-park-gate South, Mrs. Balil Brett: a daughter.
On the 25th, the wife of the Rev. W. C. Izard, M.A., head-master of the Stepney Grammar School: twin sons.
On the 25th, the wife of E. Lankester, M.D., F.R.S., of Old Burlington-street: a daughter.
On the 26th, at Windlestone-hall, county of Durham, Lady Eden: a daughter.
On the 27th, at 18, Hertford-street, Mayfair, Lady Charlotte Neville, prematurely: a daughter.
On the 28th, at Lyndhurst-road, Peckham, the wife of Harrison Weir, Esq.: a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

On the 12th of April, at Boston, United States, Abbot Lawrence, jun., Esq., son of the Hon. Abbot Lawrence, late Minister to this Court (St. James's), to Harriette, only daughter of James W. Paige, Esq., niece of the late Hon. Daniel Webster, and grand niece of the Hon. Joseph Story, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.
On the 26th, at All Saints' Church, Maidstone, the Rev. G. W. Corker, M.A., perpetual curate of Weald, Sevenoaks, to the Lady Charlotte Marsham, sister of the Earl of Romney.
On the 21st, at St. Peter's Church, Eaton-square, J. H. Manners Sutton, Esq., M.P., of Kelham-hall, Notts, to Mary Jemima, eldest daughter of the Rev. Gustavus Burnaby, rector of St. Peter's, Bedford, and Canon of Middleham.
On the 25th, at St. Michael's Church, Chester-square, Gustavus T. Smith, Esq., of Goldcote, Worcestershire, to Lady Mordaunt, of Walton-court, Warwickshire.
On the 26th, at St. George's, Hanover-square, Charles Penruddocke, Esq., of Compton-park, Wilts, to Flora Henrietta, second daughter of Walter Long, Esq., M.P., of Rood Ashton, Wilts.

On the 26th, at Hove Church, Brighton, John, eldest son of John Round, Esq., of No. 15, Brunswick-terrace, Brighton, to Laura, youngest daughter of the late Horace Smith, Esq.
On the 27th, at Acton, Middlesex, Henry Perring Pellew Crease, Esq., of the Middle Temple, eldest son of Captain Crease, R.N., to Sarah, eldest daughter of Professor Lindsay, of Acton-green.
On the 27th, at Silchester, Hants, Captain Geoffrey Thomas Phipps Hornby, R.N., eldest son of Admiral Sir Phipps Hornby, K.C.B., to Emily Frances, only daughter of the Rev. John Coles, of Ditcham-park, and rector of Silchester.

DEATHS.

On the 28th of March, at Brighton, Hubert Patrick Milman, Esq., Lieutenant, R.N., fifth son of Lieutenant-General Milman, aged twenty-three.
On the 30th, at Munich, Henriette Clementine Mallet, wife of Baron Alfred von Lotzbeck von Weyhern, Peer of Bavaria, aged twenty-four.
On the 18th of April, very suddenly, at Bideford, Mary, the beloved wife of Admiral Glynn, aged seventy-six.
On the 19th, at Shewaldon, Ayrshire, in his twenty-first year, Henry Dundas Boyle, H.E.I.C.S., youngest son of the late Right Hon. David Boyle, of Shewaldon.
On the 20th, at his residence, 134, Piccadilly, Samuel Woodburn, of St. Martin's-lane, and Cogdewgan-hall, Radnorshire, Esq.
On the 20th, at Brighton, aged seventy-seven, Lieutenant-General Pereira, Madras Army.
On the 26th, at Dover, General Sir Thomas Gage Montresor, K.C.H., K.C., Colonel of the Second (the Queen's) Dragoon Guards.
On the 26th, regretted by his widow and friends, Mr. Charles Bloomfield, eldest son of the author of "The Farmer's Boy," in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

The Leader

SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 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.

AUSTRIAN AND RUSSIAN AGENCY IN ENGLISH PUBLIC OFFICES.

WE have no desire to impute motives of treachery to our Government, and yet a strong suspicion forces itself upon us that they are acting as traitors to the principles which they profess—to the vital principles of the British constitution, in a manner the most hazardous to its independence and its liberty. We now have before us some evidence on the case of Mr. Hale, some facts on the statement of Ministers themselves, and some avowals which they make on another ground, not at all disconnected with the subject of the late "seizure of arms." We invite the reader's close attention to the facts as they are now ascertained, and to the inevitable inference which accrues on putting those facts together.

Mr. William Hale has long been known as the inventor of a particularly destructive kind of rocket, intended for the purposes of war; he has offered to sell rockets of that kind to the British Government, and he has been engaged in that manufacture for customers who have applied to him. He has supplied more than one foreign Government—that of Denmark, amongst others, in the war with Schleswig Holstein. We may regret that a British subject should have served, even as a tradesman, on the side which appears to us *not* to be that of justice; but we may observe in passing, that if Mr. Hale was free to sell projectiles for the Government of Denmark, he ought to be in logic, in justice, and in the view of this country, as free to serve the patriots of Hungary.

We might push the argument a little further, and say, that he would be as free to serve the patriots of Hungary as Lord Castlereagh was to serve the patriots of Sicily, which that legitimist statesman did, while it answered his own purpose. But the constitutional politician will never lose sight of the fact, that the present royal Government in Hungary is a usurpation, and that the Hungarian patriots were *more* distinctly standing up for the constitution of their country than our Barons in the time of John, or our Whigs in the time of William.

Now, if any distinctions are made adverse to the dealings of Mr. Hale with any party abroad, it is from the bearings of those distinctions that we must learn the inclination of the Ministers who enforce them. Thus, if the British Government permits Mr. Hale to serve out ammunition for the King of Denmark, and forbids him to serve it out for the patriots of Hungary, we must suppose that the British Government sides with the King of Denmark, and sides against the patriots of Hungary. That is not impartial dealing, nor political justice.

But there is something considerably more important than the mere bearing of the case on Mr. Hale. Lord Palmerston made a statement in the House of Commons which was marked by inaccuracies—such as his doubling the quantity of rocket composition, and declaring that there was *also* gunpowder on the premises, distinct from this rocket composition, if not "arms." It now appears, from the evidence at the Police Court, that there was nothing there but the rocket composition, which has chemically a resemblance to gunpowder, but differs from it considerably. The "shells" which were on the premises are a constituent part of this destructive rocket. These inaccuracies in Lord Palmerston's statement, admitted by himself, are rather important, as circumstantial evidence, in being the same kind of inaccuracies which marked the first report put forth in the *Times*—not where news usually appears, but in the leading columns, and with the tone of an official announcement. It was there said that the seizure had been made at a dwelling-house of M. Kossuth; the journal

ridiculed the idea that arms could be amongst the "household" stores of "a private gentleman," and spoke of this discovery as justifying the police surveillance and search of M. Kossuth's residence. It would thus appear that the information given to the *Times* and to Lord Palmerston had a common source, since they both have exactly the same flaw. Now, on the ground where the rockets were seized, there was, in fact, no evidence whatever to connect the factory, the rockets, or the owner, with Kossuth; and we are at a loss to understand how Ministers and the *Times* could have arrived at any suggestions connecting the two. It might have been grossly illegal for Mr. Hale to cultivate rockets in that garden beyond the Isle of Dogs, but what was there in the crop to point to M. Kossuth as the eventual purchaser? Given the height of a blade of corn, and the rent of the acre, and you cannot tell the purchaser's name. Nor is conjecture enough. There are at present, markets for such a commodity as rockets, far more promising than Hungary. There are not many dealers, in this very week, who would be inclined to speculate in the chances of sale for such wares on a Hungarian demand. But there are other markets, such for example as South America or the Mexican Gulf. In that quarter there are places which will very probably witness a brisk dealing, and we need not wonder if rockets were rising. We only mention these circumstances to show, that the simple fact of discovering the rockets at Rotherhithe is not sufficient in itself to suggest the name of M. Kossuth to the most sagacious of politicians or policemen. The suggestion, therefore, must have been derived elsewhere.

Now, we learn from M. Kossuth, that a letter had been transmitted from his house to Mr. Hale. Assuredly this is a connecting link; but how should Ministers learn anything about it? They might hear of it by two channels. M. Kossuth states, that police have been set to watch his household, and even to enter it as members of it. The journal that put forth information respecting M. Kossuth, which Lord Palmerston first paraphrased and now declares to have been false, throws ridicule on this idea. But we have more than once had declarations of Ministers that the refugees are watched, and we have ourselves reason to suspect that before now the Government has possessed the means of pursuing its search for information, which would enable it to penetrate much more intimately into M. Kossuth's most private arrangements than he himself might suspect. The use of police is not denied by Ministers, but there is another mode of getting at these things. If letters are opened at the post-office, the connecting link between M. Kossuth and Mr. Hale would have come before the eyes of the Home Secretary as a matter of course. We do not say that it was so, because we do not know. Perhaps Lord Palmerston would not deny the fact if he were asked it point blank. But at all events he declares that Ministers have a guilty knowledge respecting the confidential proceedings of the Hungarian refugees, and that they use that guilty knowledge for the purpose of frustrating the constitutional patriots of Hungary. Domestic espionage might be one means by which Ministers might learn that a letter had gone from Kossuth's house to Mr. Hale.

There is another channel by which the same fact would be learned; or, if a hint were given by the watchman, that letters had been transmitted, the second agency would be set to work in aid. The letter had to go through the post-office, but it never reached its destination. What has become of it? Is it in the Dead Letter office, or the Home office, or in the Austrian embassy? Was it expected at the post-office, and recognised externally; or is the practice of letter-opening revived? To a certain extent facts are known, but then the track is lost, and concealment always suggests suspicion. Mr. Duncombe should ask questions on these points; perhaps the answer might clear our Government.

In the Turkish debate, Lord Clarendon boasted that the Austrian Government had made communications to our own in "the most friendly spirit." Lord Clarendon vouches for the fact that the Emperor of Russia "had practised no disguise;" he declares that "her Majesty's Government feel precisely the same confidence which his noble friend professed to entertain, in the honour and integrity of the Emperor of Russia; and when that sovereign gave his word as to what he was going to do, and what he was not

going to do, he believed that the people of this country would place full reliance on it." No doubt this is said upon a specific subject, but we learn from it that our present Ministers are prepared to put the most liberal constructions upon the bare word of the Emperor of Russia, and that they have the most friendly relations with Austria—the two powers which suppressed the constitution of Hungary, while at the same time our Government is trying to thwart the patriotic exertions of Kossuth, and is employing against him police espionage. The hands are the hands of Englishmen, but the voice is the voice of Austria. Have we, then, an Austrian Government arranging our affairs? It is a question which concerns ourselves.

A GENDARMERIE FOR THE ENGLISH COUNTIES.

THE proceeding in the House of Commons on Tuesday night ought to have called forth from that assembly, as the representative of the people, an expression of much greater jealousy than it did. Mr. Rice, the member for Dover, and pertaining more or less closely to the Whig party, obtained a select committee to inquire into the police of the country districts of England and Scotland, with the professed view of establishing a "national police" throughout the country.

The effect of this proceeding must depend in a great degree upon the manner in which any measure founded upon it shall be carried out. We can imagine it possible to establish a national police with great benefit to public order, and with no danger to public liberty; but we can imagine such a force as would purchase public order by the total destruction of anything like real liberty in the body of the English people. The whole question is, whether the police is to be national, merely in the sense of being a body composed on a uniform plan, and extending over the whole country, or whether it is to be a force like the Irish constabulary and the English army, deriving its authority and its orders from headquarters. If it is the latter, it is nothing more than a section of the standing army, available for purposes much more insidious and oppressive than red-coated soldiers can be.

We have experience of a centralized force such as we speak of, but not in England. All the most striking examples of such a force are derived from countries in which the Government undertakes to regulate the people, not only abroad but in their houses; to follow the citizen into "his own castle," to tell him more than what to eat drink, and avoid; for it is employed to instruct him when to smoke or not to smoke—what hat to wear, or not to wear—what to read and not to read—what to say or not to say—what to think and not to think. In short, the police in such countries is used to regulate all the functions of vitality, in hands and head, brain, mouth, and stomach. Austria, France, and the more absolute countries of Germany, furnish the best types of this class of "national police."

We have also a uniform centralized police force in the English metropolis. Now, there is a great distinction between a metropolitan and a national force. In the first place, while the force is limited to the metropolis it is exceptional, and it is therefore deprived to a great extent of a national authority. In the second place, so many influences are centralized in the metropolis, including the national representation, that the Executive is kept in check. London is corrected by the provinces, and we all know that the country towns can speak out now with a life and freedom almost unknown to our unwieldy "wen." The police force introduced by Sir Robert Peel was a great improvement on the idle street-keepers and the superannuated old watchmen. The guardians of the street by day exercised their principal utility by keeping little boys in check; and the watchman by night served only two purposes—to awaken invalids by telling them what it was o'clock, and to be the sport of fast young gentlemen returning home late at night, and wandering in search of victims. A bundle of great coats with an old man in it, was a favourite toy with the spirited youth in those days. The new police, we say, was a great improvement; but some of the purposes to which it has been put lately, confirm the suspicion with which we view the greater extension of a centralized force. It is used most op-

pressively, to drive away the poorer classes of traders from the open markets of the streets; to convert cabmen into a species of badged slaves; to keep a spy upon the political action of the working classes wherever they may meet; and now we learn, that it is employed to collect information respecting the actions of Hungarian, Italian, and other refugees, in order to report those actions to the tyrannical Governments of Europe, and so to defeat the efforts of the peoples to regain their liberties. Some extension of this kind we stated to have been begun at the time of the Great Exhibition, and our statements, although they were known to the police, and were transmitted from the police to the Austrian Embassy, and to our own officials, were not contradicted. Lord Palmerston has lately been subjected to questions on the subject, and he has delayed his reply. While the metropolitan police is used for such purposes, we may well dislike the idea of extending it to the provinces.

It is time that the English people should stand up once more in defence of its ancient traditional rights. It is very proper that public order should be preserved. Honest folks are interested in that as well as legitimate Governments; but free citizens maintain order for themselves—free citizens appoint their own constables from their own body. That is the ancient usage of England; and if it be abandoned, England will abandon one source of her political freedom, almost as important as that of trial by jury; which is also threatened.

A standing army of police would redouble the danger of a standing army of soldiers. A free people ought to be its own army as well as its own constabulary. The only thing which could in any degree reconcile us to this new attempt, would be an extension of strength for the great body of the people. The militia is some slight step in that direction; but it is not enough. With a great standing army separated from the body of the citizens—an institution which even the high prerogative Blackstone denounces as dangerous to the liberties of the country—the people ought, at least, to have as a counterpoise practical recognition of its ancient right to the possession of arms. But the establishment of a centralized constabulary like that of the London police, which is subjected to a military drill, and can be furnished with arms at a moment's notice, increases the danger of keeping the people disarmed, and unaccustomed to its own defence at home as well as abroad.

It is from Sheffield that we see the first sign of a very rational movement—the forwarding of a petition to the House of Commons to repeal the Drilling Act of 1821. That act not only violates the Bill of Rights, which secures to every citizen the right of possessing arms for his own defence, but it is rendered doubly unconstitutional and destructive of liberty by the concentration of strength in a standing army; and now it is proposed to establish a still more centralized means of coercing the people.

There is, however, one danger still more terrible to contemplate—the apathy of the people. It is not these attempts to centralize power which are the most alarming; but it is the consentment with which the people gives up first one right and then the other. The present would seem the point at which the English people must make up its mind either to regain its ancient privileges or to abandon them; either once more to be English, or to become thoroughly Austrian. If Englishmen want an available manner of putting their action into a practicable shape, it might be to follow this Sheffield example, and to use the right of petition as a mode of loudly urging the claim to repeal the Drilling Act, which disarms the people in the face of a centralized force.

HOW TO RAISE PROFITS AND WAGES STILL HIGHER.

THE soundness of commerce is still unimpaired in any part, although the past week has been quieter than some which preceded it. The movement for an advance of wages continues, where the advance has not been already attained, as we see in Norfolk, Glasgow, Cornwall, Kidderminster, and elsewhere. But there are signs that the rise which has been observable, both in general commerce and in the returns of labour, has reached a point at which it must stand for a time. In places where the movement has not yet taken effect, the rise of wages will no doubt

be secured up to the present standard; but will wages advance beyond that? That they *ought* to do so we are convinced by many circumstances; and that they might do so under a proper government of this country we are equally convinced.

It has been said that no great country can remain stationary, and history justifies the maxim. We must either advance or recede. In the actual state of England, economically, it is particularly the case that we cannot be truly comfortable without an advance. With the steady increase of our population, following closely upon the heels of the emigration, we must provide for the subsistence of the people by an extensive trade.

Prices and trade are advancing in other countries—in Australia, for instance, and in America. At this moment, the prices in some trades, at New York, notwithstanding the immense immigration from the United Kingdom, would astonish artisans in our own country; and Melbourne prices are still a joke to the English labourer. The disturbance of the cotton trade at Liverpool, coupled with a sudden impulse to American speculation in the supply of goods for Australia, in the shape of "loafers," pistols, and republican ideas, suggests some doubt whether the demands on the English market will be quite so vigorous as they have been. The artificially preserved prosperity in France is already suffering from the protracted coldness of the season; and the state of commerce in that country is so precarious, that a trifle would bring on the crash, which must tell in our own community very severely whenever it comes. We are not using these words to discourage our readers, or to make our fellow-countrymen of the working classes pause in their claims for a just share of the trade which is still going forward; but at this soberer moment it is the time to consider the prominent causes why English commerce is not extended so far and so rapidly as it might be. Nor are we speaking of speculation; we are speaking of sound commerce.

Who are our best customers? They are the United States, which take and give to us a very large proportion of the foreign trade of either community. To no country do our exports equal those sent to America. In no country whatsoever does the population consume so much per head of British manufactures as in Australia. The reasons for this intercourse are not only a common origin, a common language, and common habits of living; for indeed diversities of climate very rapidly establish diversities of custom. In Australia, for example, beads and the use of native wine are growing common. And there is as marked a difference in the manners of Massachusetts and Florida as in the customs of Washington and Westminster. There is another reason for the extensive commercial intercourse with these countries; and we can understand it better in some degree by its opposite.

In Europe there are not fewer opportunities of exchange than with America and Australia. The Hungarian people, for instance, are not only for the most part an agricultural people, but while they are greatly in want of manufactures, they are in want also of markets for their produce. The Italian people are, to a very limited extent, manufacturing; but their agricultural produce is kept down in value by the limitation of the markets; there is a certain forced trade with Austria, but trade with England is depreciated by "protective" restrictions, which prevent them from taking the goods that we could give in return for theirs. The same principle applies to Germany, and if Austria is exclusive in extravagant protective duties on our goods, Prussia is prohibitory, as we have already mentioned.

It is true that in France the people entertain protectionist ideas to a great extent; but the mode in which those ideas are corrected by political freedom, is shown in the United States, where protection of native industry was the popular opinion. In each specific case, however, the producer of a commodity so strongly feels the benefit of exchange, that by that natural growth of opinion, the abstract desire for protection has died away in the United States, inasmuch that the most popular President of our own time, General Pierce, was elected as a free-trade candidate. There can be no doubt that if the French people were thoroughly free, the wine-growers of Bordeaux would be as anxious for free intercourse with England as the agricul-

turists of Italy or Hungary; and the example of Bordeaux would soon extend to every trade which could produce a given article better in France than it can be produced in England. Indeed, political freedom is the true key to commercial freedom; a truth which is inverted in the general idea, that commerce necessarily brings liberty with it.

Instead, however, of a prospect that the markets of Europe will be further opened to us, the reverse is the case. Our exports to Turkey are probably understated in a recent Parliamentary paper at 2,581,230*l.*; vast Russia takes 1,289,704*l.*; and Austria but 812,942*l.*; the two great empires being worth less to our trade by 478,000*l.* than Turkey. Turkey, which takes our manufactures on Free-trade principles, is threatened with being absorbed into Russia, which is prohibitory of our goods; and then trade with Turkey will be so denied to us, like Italy or Hungary. Belgium, which is also a commercial country, threatens to be absorbed by the anti-commercial Government of France. The "Party of Order," which by its intolerable tyranny renders revolution chronic throughout Europe, which maintains its authority only by a state of siege, is extending the anti-commercial rule.

And the Government of our own commercial country connives at that extension by its sufferance. Because, as we have shown over and over again, England could break up that Absolutist conspiracy by the simplest appeal to the constitutionalism and instinct of popular feeling in the peoples of Europe. Yes, by standing up for the principles of our own Constitution, the British Government would break up the conspiracy of Absolutism, as the light of day drives the robber, the smuggler, and the wild beast, to their hiding places. And what is it that makes our Government desist? Fear, and sympathy with that "party of order," with that anti-commercial party; for the birth-appointed rulers of our country do much more sympathize with the birth-appointed rulers of Absolutist countries than they do either with the traders of our own country, or with the great body of the people. Our Government—Liberal, Free-trader, and Protestant, is at this moment actually supporting the Pope, actually helping tyrant Austria, and cultivating alliance with prohibitory Russia. Thus it happens, that even on the soil of England the conspiracy against freedom is making its encroachments, and that on the field of Europe a market, otherwise readily available, is denied to the traders and working classes of England.

"CIVIS BRITANNICUS SUM."

LAST night's debate on the Kossuth revelations formed a fitting sequel to what yesterday's papers termed the "war-rocket" inquiry. It proved that the Government is, as it professes to be, "strong"—in the support of sympathizing Tories, and of magistrates eligible for promotion; and it showed the tendency of power to irresponsibility. That it will irreparably damage the character of the Ministry we have no doubt; to entertain any would be to distrust the instincts, the sympathies, and the virtue of the English people.

Let us take first, the police court, whither Mr. Hale is carried, that his trial may be made a vehicle for slanders upon M. Kossuth, and that the scandal sent from the Home Office to its organ, may, by the kind permission of the magistrate, receive some much needed confirmation.

Mr. Bodkin, counsel for our aggrieved Government, eloquently states the subject of complaint, dilating, with due severity, upon the recently discovered enormity of which he accuses the prisoner—making war-rockets in the vain, and, as it seems, unlawful expectation that the Ordnance would possibly purchase them. It would appear, however, that there have been Government inspections of these inventions, and that the existence of Mr. Hale's manufactory, so far from being up to the present time a secret to the authorities, has in fact, owing to the unwelcome importunity of that gentleman, been welcomed for years most unremittently on their attention. He has been desirous of affording her Majesty's Government an opportunity of applying his invention to the destruction of her enemies; but her officers have pronounced his experiments a failure; and the rockets with which, as we are now told, Kossuth was about to effect a revolution, Sir Thomas Hastings,

acting on behalf of England, and not, like Lord Palmerston, on behalf of Austria, declined as an innocuous, though ingenious novelty in the game of war. It was, therefore, impossible to maintain the sham any further, and accordingly, in the words of the report, "the learned counsel stated that although the accumulation of such stores was sufficiently dangerous in itself to justify interference, it was not pretended for a moment that the Government had been actuated by this consideration only." Then came the witnesses, detectives—whose duty it is to obtain evidence by means of falsehoods and disguises, and whose peculiarity it is that in subsequently detailing it they invariably forget their business habit of inveracity—and Hungarians, who, being under obligations to M. Kossuth, naturally abhorred him. Mr. Hale was of course forgotten, and the magistrate, for whom we anticipate a judgeship, was absorbed in the interesting but irrelevant details given by "an officer in the Prussian artillery," and others, with regard to that simple-minded refugee whom Austria unnecessarily hates, and who, if we are to put faith in our Ordnance Board, does not know a bad firework from an effective infernal machine. Kossuth, who was not present, was in effect put upon his trial; an ingrate, for whom in his indiscriminate, instinctive charity, the noble exile had obtained employment, did the work of the Home Office; and the statement of the *Times*, the accusation of Lord Palmerston, was supported by a recently emancipated convict. "The officer in the Prussian artillery" came fresh from Maidstone gaol *via* Carlton Gardens and the Treasury, to tender the Government his sympathies and his support; the magistrate who puts faith equally in Lord Palmerston, in a detective, and in a gentleman found guilty of theft, hastened to say that he—who might have dismissed the case, or might have convicted summarily—should not be doing his duty unless he sent it to the Sessions; and Mr. Hale, the scapegoat of M. Kossuth, was committed for trial in fact for knowing Kossuth, and ostensibly for making harmless, but illegal rockets.

Last night Sir Joshua Walmsley asked Lord Palmerston whether this magisterial investigation into the seizure of warlike stores at Rotherhithe, had resulted in substantiating the charge that Kossuth was connected therewith. The noble lord referred him to the newspapers.

Mr. Bright—all honour to him for it—rebuked the noble lord for his evasion, reminded the House that Kossuth had been slandered by the Government organ, and insisted upon knowing whether the proceedings against the Hales had been instigated by the Home Office.

Lord Palmerston was politely surprised at Mr. Bright's "ignorance;" assured that gentleman that it was the constitutional duty of the Home Secretary to "take steps to obtain information," if he "had reason to believe" that any man, foreign or otherwise, was contemplating a violation of the law, and stated that the proceedings against the Hales were authorized, initiated, and directed by him. But the noble lord, who is fond of generalities, said nothing about Kossuth.

Mr. Cobden came to Mr. Bright's assistance, perhaps believing, that three plain questions would elicit one straightforward answer. He asked on what information the noble lord had set spies to watch Kossuth, and whence that information came. Meanwhile the opposition shouted disapproval of these anti-Austrian inquiries, and became enthusiastic for the Home Secretary as they grew certain that his liberalism was of precisely the same shade as theirs.

Lord Palmerston responded, explaining the secret of his diplomacy, but, of course, not replying to the thrice repeated interrogation. He knew nothing about Kossuth whose name he had never mentioned, and he was not responsible for anything that might appear in any of the newspapers!

Mr. Phinn asked the noble lord whether it was intended to proceed against Kossuth.

Lord Palmerston (apparently mistaking the tense) said,—No proceedings *had been* taken against that distinguished refugee.

Lord Dudley Stuart then pointed the moral of the debate, and the House which finds honesty, like other excellent policies, very seldom adopted, passed on to another subject. But the public will pause at this.

Walmsley, and Cobden, and Bright will be recognised as something more than Manchester

men, and Lord Palmerston as something very considerably less.

ENGLISH INTEREST IN INDIAN REFORM.

ONE of the persons at the head of the deputation to Paris for the promotion of peace between England and France, and of railways between Paris, and some other towns, was Mr. John Masterman, son of a respectable gentleman, who is Member for the City of London, banker, and Director of the East India Company. It is to be supposed that John inherits the sentiments of his father, and one may therefore treat this proceeding of the younger gentleman, as if it were sanctioned by the Member, banker, and East India Director. One is surprised, however, that any person possessing the political and financial opportunities of the elder Masterman, should not have perceived how much more prudent and patriotic it would be, if English capital must go a begging, to bestow it upon purposes more likely to be safe for the capitalist and beneficial to the empire, than in adding to the resources of his Majesty Napoleon III.

If, for example, the younger Mr. Masterman could have been induced to bestow his investment upon that vast province which his father holds in co-partnership with twenty-three other gentlemen, it might have been more beneficial to the empire, and we truly believe safer for the persons making the investments than it is now. If France wants railways, India wants them more; if profit will accrue from French railroads, unquestionably the profit will be greater in India. The only condition to a certainty of return in India is reasonably good government: and Mr. John Masterman's papa could of course secure that.

In all countries where labour is cheap and production limited, not by the natural power of the soil, but by access to markets, roads are the true paths to wealth. Even in the wilds of North America a road proves to be, first a path for settlement into the wilderness, secondly a path for produce out of the wilderness into the market of the world. There is every reason to suppose that the same principle would apply to India. In that country a considerable proportion of the population stands idle, not because the land would not repay labour, but because produce cannot find its way to market, and chiefly for want of roads. The Mussulman system has not proved to be a road-building system; Pontifex Maximus, Big Bridge-maker, is still a title distinctive of Christianity as distinguished from the Saracenic rule. If Christian Missionaries have made little way in India, if development of Indian resources has also made little way, perhaps both shortcomings may be traced to the want of roads. Could we establish the means of transit, English ideas might traverse that empire with far greater effect, and Indian produce might penetrate more completely to this country.

It really is desirable that those who have material interests in the welfare of India should look about them; the proprietors for example—that mysterious body which is supposed to appoint the government of India; and which occasionally holds "courts" to wrangle on questions that are never settled. The relation of the proprietors to the Imperial Government is this. The sum of 12,000,000*l.* sterling is guaranteed to the holders of stock, with an annual charge of 630,000*l.*, payable as dividend out of the revenues of India; the capital not to be redeemed by the British Government until 1874. Now 12,000,000*l.* is "an arithmetical expression," as Prince Metternich would say: that is, it represents a measure without representing the quality, or intrinsic worth of the thing measured: 12,000,000*l.* of money now is worth more than 12,000,000*l.* of money is likely to be in 1874; and if the East India proprietors should be paid off in 1874, literally and according to the terms of the compact, they might in practice receive but half their value. Alive to that possibility, they may insist upon new terms,—upon a sort of special repeal for them of the act of 1819. But such a revision would entail consequences so vast in every direction, that no Minister would undertake it. If they wait to be paid in 1874, they must be glad to get ten shillings in the pound, under the name always of the full pound. But, as Sir Robert Peel said, "what is a pound?"

Now suppose they were to imitate Mr. Gladstone's policy, and mobilizing their debt, were to render it available for capital in improving the resources of the country with which they are

nominally connected? Their 12,000,000*l.* sterling is likely to possess only half the present value in '74; but by a parity of reasoning, property that would now cost 12,000,000*l.* sterling in money, would then be worth double that amount; that is the smallest calculation. Little England possesses railways that have cost between 200,000,000*l.* and 300,000,000*l.*; vast India might profitably employ as great an extension of line, though it does not follow that it would cost as much. The sum of 12,000,000*l.*, however, would make a good beginning; especially if a path to develop Indian resources were rendered open and secure by good government. But a body of Englishmen possessing any material hold upon the funds, and possessing workable property in India, would be in themselves a valuable guarantee for improved government, by establishing in this country a public opinion with a practical interest. In these suggestions we have but shadowed forth the outline of the plan suggested by Mr. John Chapman, the well-known publicist, who has a local and practical knowledge of the subject which he treats. If he has a bias in favour of railways as the grand paths to civilization, it is not only natural, but much may be said in support of it, especially for a country like India, which, in many respects, may be compared to America for the extent of territory and the space to be traversed by produce; with this difference, that the country is already peopled.

"A STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

THE great parliamentary fact of the week is, that Lord Palmerston and Messrs. Walmsley, Cobden, and Bright, have had a quarrel about Kossuth; that Mr. Bright was very pale while Lord Palmerston was getting up a laugh against his "constitutional knowledge;" and that two-thirds of the House of Commons—more particularly the Tory benches—cheered a Coalition Government, while it was rebuking Radicals for questioning the Great British propriety of introducing the continental police spy system into our glorious institutions. What it all means, nobody knows; and the cheering of the House shows that nobody cares; and, *ad interim*, waiting Lord Palmerston's explanations, sensible people will enjoy the spectacle of the presenters of the portrait of Lord Palmerston, assuring one another that the "Civis Britannicus sum" hero is an Austrian tool. And the enlightened country will appreciate a Coalition Government which does not even leave out Fouché.

But a Government which has got on so well lately can afford to be suspected a little; and we must keep in mind that with a large party the present Government has to sustain a character for *cher-Aberdeenism*, and that therefore the affectation of a little healthy political meanness may be necessary to the obtaining a power for usefulness. A little vice in a young Government, as in young men, is perhaps a good sign; and the juvenile Whig is just the man to sow a surplusage of wild oats. Besides, when we accept a Coalition Government, we must expect only average liberalism—a "mean" result, in fact—and it is our duty, consequently, to take the Cabinet policy, as we take the Budget, "as a whole." There is a good deal that is pleasant to balance against the police system of the perquisitioning Palmerston. We have to ask, "if under such and such circumstances Palmerston, who at least has pretensions to sustain, does so and so, what would Malmesbury have done?" Palmerston may have yielded slightly to the pressure from within—Malmesbury might have had Kossuth in Vienna by this time. We cannot compare the present Government with the possible coming men of an abstract model cabinet: we must calculate whether they are not generally preferable to the only contingent successors. Fortunately for the Coalition, it is no longer in the melancholy position painted by Lord Derby, when he retired from office, and when he observed, that as Lord Aberdeen and he generally agreed on most points, he could not understand what practicable change of policy there was going to be: Lord Derby having relieved his old friend from the difficulty by drawing a bold line between them—by presenting a tangible distinction for the use of a public who would otherwise have remained puzzled. But Lord Derby is notoriously chivalric and good-natured; and he has done wonders in serving those who turned him out. His brisk opposition to the Canada Clergy Reserves Bill was a complete and noble self-sacrifice; for it advanced the Government incalculably in the public estimation. Lord Derby came out as the intense, bigoted, irrational, hopeless Tory; and by very force of contrast, the Ministers whom he had opposed appeared next day to the public to be zealous and even rather reckless liberals—the Bishop of Exeter going so far as to suggest, with a shudder, that they

were Chartists—the Bishop using that sort of abuse, as Dickens' shrew accuses her friend of being a turned-up-nose peacock—the Bishop no more believing that Lord Aberdeen is in correspondence with Cuffy than the lady in question admitted the possibility of the ornithological phenomenon she referred to, but the Bishop, like the old lady, being determined to generalize effectively an objection. The suspicion that Ministers were not friends of the Church gratified them—the charge that they were Chartists flattered them—and Lord Granville took notes of the points, and doubtless made up his mind to make use of the accusations for the purpose of keeping Molesworth in order at the very next Council. In the same way, and for analogous reasons, we Radicals are doing the work of the Coalition by hinting our suspicions that they are rather Austrian in their tendencies: abuse in the House of Lords for their liberalism sets them up in the Commons; and abuse in the Commons for their Toryism keeps them a majority together in the Lords; so that Duncombe is played against Derby, and Walmsley against Malmesbury; and matters go on agreeably and safely in Downing Street. The results are surprising: the old Protectionist Opposition had been beaten up to last night (in pitched battles), and both in Lords and Commons, five times: in the Lords on Monday, on the Canada Clergy Reserves Bill—the fight being a regular rout; Rupert rushing as usual with his eyes shut into the midst of the enemy, and there being quietly cut down, finding that not a horseman had followed him, page Desart perhaps excepted: in the Commons this day week, Disraeli leading up the whole host in well-whipped array, on the commutation of the Debt resolutions: in the Commons again, on Tuesday, when Protestantism was challenged to persecution by Lord Derby's intimates—Mr. Napier, Mr. Hamilton, and Lord Naas: in the Commons a second time on Tuesday, when Sir John Pakington attempted to stop the way of the Debt resolutions; and in the Commons again on Wednesday, when Sir Fitzroy Kelly, again with a good whip, attempted to spoil the same set of resolutions or, as they now stand, clauses of a finance bill. The beating, observe, was not only triumphant for numbers; but because liberal principles, upheld by the Government, attacked by the Opposition, were involved: the Duke of Newcastle talking anti-State Churchism in the Lords against Lord Derby's small-minded feeble factiousness; and Sir James Graham, replying on Tuesday to the Napiers, and Hamiltons, and the dominant bigots who hold the Castle of Dublin against the people of Ireland, speaking a speech that might have been prepared by Mr. Keogh—its text the right of the Catholics of Ireland to the first consideration in all State questions about the education of Ireland. Lord Derby gave the opportunity for these two tentative appeals to public opinion; and Lord Derby so destroyed himself. Where are his "310" "undoubtedly the majority of the House of Commons" now? Where is his "unquestionable majority" in the House of Lords? His own position is the contemptible one of an ally of a Bishop of Exeter on a colonial question, and of a Napier and a Whiteside (crack representatives of the old race of malignant Orangemen, for whose sake so long Catholic Ireland was crushed by England) on the question of Ireland. And Mr. Disraeli's position is little better than that of a querulous ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer finding fidgetty fault with a financial scheme he cannot alter. And the party's general position is ludicrously uneasy, digesting the dirt eaten at Lord Derby's bidding, and trying to look easy while Mr. Mackenzie or Mr. Bateson assures it that Mr. Disraeli is up early and late looking out for a policy.

Taking that general view, I repeat, then, Ministers have got so much strength, that they can afford a little suspicion, and such an air of liberalism, that a little dash of the reactionary Tory, at the hands of Lord Palmerston, became indispensable to the equilibrium in the legislature which it is the function of a coalition to preserve. The leaven of Molesworth in colonial, and of Keogh in Irish policy, and of Osborne and Villiers in commercial policy, were becoming too traceable in the general mass of measures; and a week or two of "sound Conservatism" becomes decidedly advisable. Otherwise we might get Mr. Miall or Mr. Lucas rising to ask Lord John Russell "whether, as the Government is so strongly of opinion (teste Canada Clergy Reserves) that a church can have no corporate property, and that the majority of a people is entitled to decide on the endowments of a church, it is the intention of Her Majesty's Ministers to take the sense of Parliament on the present State establishment of the Anglican Church in England and Ireland; and if not, whether it is because Her Majesty's Ministers have not that confidence in the justice and considerateness of the people of Great Britain, which they profess to have in the people of Canada." The question would be logical; and the

House would laugh; and Ministers would look serious. They must avoid such dilemmas. They must not allow publicists to forget that this is a coalition age, and that a Coalition Government must appreciate the age. Liberalism to-day, then: Toryism to-morrow: Radicalism when the Queen gives up commanding Sir Wm. Molesworth to dine with her—for how can a man talk Benthamism, and then face a Queen who will read all the papers? Couldn't he done, Sir; and that's well understood in conscious tap-rooms in the Borough. The three nights discussion on the Budget has been not a debate, but a levee—a reception by Mr. Gladstone. About thirty or forty men have spoken, and not three have condemned. Member after member has gone up smiling to the august and complacent Chancellor of the Exchequer, oratorically kissed the hand which had gone so deep into the cornucopia which he keeps in his red box, and been rewarded with the nod which, when it comes from an official to an "independent" member, is proverbially sufficing. Lord John may not have liked all that homage to his right hand friend: however rejoicing that the Government had made a hit, he would have liked—jealous of his dignity as undepartmented leader—a man with a mission not addressed and lying in Downing-street "till called for"—that the acknowledgments should have been general to the Cabinet, and not so distinctly personal and grateful to an individual who, before his success, suspected that Lord John Russell, as amateur pilot, was *de trop* in a calm, among a crew coalesced on the comprehensive basis of administrative ability. Sir C. Wood may not have liked the overwhelming contrasts candidly thrust on his attention between this Budget and his beggars wallets. The Whigs, generally, are not pleased that the coup, on which all depended, should have been made by the Peelite portion of the Ministry, and that Mr. Gladstone himself should so prominently present the Cabinet as taking up the work of Sir Robert Peel,—a connexion, in following which the Whig element and interregnum between Peel in 1842, and Gladstone in 1853, are likely to be overlooked. But Mr. Gladstone is revelling in his own proper fame; talks exultingly;—he treated poor Pakington, on Tuesday, as Pakington would have treated, say Chisholm Anstey—Gladstone, dazzling and happily fresh from a ball, and ready to begin the day (half-past one o'clock in the morning, and Pakington having been there since four), forgot that he had been insulted in the Carlton and laughingly snubbed—actually snubbed;—the "steady keen hand" the Carlton (which has been reading Disraeli's cheap reissues and begins to sneer) is ready to swear by;—and, generally, is in such superb good humour, that he is half inclined to add a million or two of his private fortune to swell the surplus, and, at any rate, is supposed to be ready to get rid of all the grumbling by altering the licenses grievance, and by giving the Radicals what they want about the newspaper taxes. That is the least concession he could make for so much complimenting as he has been the recipient of since the beginning of this week; and he will increase the amount of the gift, by the good grace with which he will confess an error. Apelles consented to alter the shoe of the Venus. In such a beauty of a Budget, little defects may be allowed by a consummate artist. But a bad Budget gives good debates; a good Budget has entailed on a dull public unenlivening discussions. The monotonous admiration of the House has been like the invariable Oh—h—h's of the crowd, wondering at the Vauxhall pyrotechnic tableaux; and Burkes dittoing one another, make the strangers' galleries unexciting. The certain success of the Budget was so accurately foreseen, that a heavy debate was made still heavier, by the absence of the chances of a struggle; and, up to this moment, no man of great mark has spoken. Even among the small men, there was little competition for the maltreating of the Speaker's eye; and the House has consisted only of the said few small men, who would speak, and who were obliged to wait listening to one another, till their turns came round. This is an observable Parliamentary maxim—when a Government is safe, the smoking-room fills;—when a Budget has only to be pulled, its details are gone into over a cigar. The influence of the House of Commons' smoking-room upon British history, has never been sufficiently recognised, and must be discussed some day in this place. It is the green room of the Legislative stage; and this week, its attractiveness, as a mart for gossip, appears to have kept the House empty. (Constituents should look to this, in Mr. Barry's bills—the smoking-room is the most luxuriant in the whole building.) Sir Edward Lytton had an audience at the start of the debate,—getting a crowd for the very reasons which filled Drury-lane, to see Edmund Kean, as harlequin; for who is not curious to see the artistic novelist as the farmer's friend? Ernest Maltravers bringing himself down to the Sir John Tyrrel level—Pelham affecting the Henley? But

Sir Edward does it well; he is awfully dull, and prosed so well that one really believes he was mistaken in that estimate of himself which he gave in the preface to "Arthur." He makes some cad say to the broken-down *roué*, in the Cider-cellar's scene in "Pelham,"—"Well, it's an odd history; and I'd never have thought you'd been a gentleman." On Monday, nobody would have thought Sir Edward had come from the clever classes into the country gentlemen set; and you may, therefore, imagine his success. The Protectionists cheered him heartily, and began to wonder if he might not do nearly as well as Pakington for a leader. And, in its way, that was a House of Commons triumph, no doubt; and you would have thought it a great one, to see the air of Maltravers as he went up to the stenographers, anxiously hoping that they had heard him well! Yet there was something wanting in the triumph; for a good speech for a farmer's friend is hardly a good speech for the author of *England and the English*; and the only tolerable manner was, at any rate, spoiled by the intolerable manner. Sir Edward appears to have no musical ear, and his sentences rise and fall about in an unmodulated way, that teases and perplexes, all the more that he is so slow and straggling; and what chiefly does not please in him, is that it is so evident the eye is turned inwards—that he is not addressing the House, but speaking a prepared speech, which he thinks wonderfully profound, and desires to make impressive—a consideration which the collective House never appreciates. Listen to him they did, for they listen to most openers of a debate; and there was curiosity to see a clever man in a new position; but how dead the real failure was may be inferred from the fact that Sir Edward gave no text or tone to the debate, that he produced no impression out of doors, and that when his voice ceased his speech was dead, no reference of any consequence being made to it in the rest of the discussion, and certainly no one specifically answering it. Sir Edward, of course, can become a leading man in the House of Commons, if he likes; if he studies it, and consults its tastes and necessities—as he did not when there ten years ago, and as he has not done since returned last—he can command and control it equally with other clever men with a capacity to understand mankind; but the very freshest youth in the place has not more to learn, to fit himself for that assembly, than Sir Edward has to unlearn. First of all, the unreality of his point of view—talking talk which, however good, is not quite certain to tell; and in the next place, the utter artificiality of his manner. The House will not be spoken at: it will be talked to.

There are men, however, who are unable, whatever their practice, to get the House of Commons knack. Read the speech of Mr. Cobden, who re-opened the debate on Thursday, and you will see how admirable is its matter and its arrangement; one of those crystal-clear speeches which are peculiar to himself; and yet that speech did not tell on the House, and for the simple reason that it was not addressed to the House, but to the West Riding. Mr. Cobden is the agitator, even in presence of Mr. Speaker, and always looks and talks like a representative of the pressure from without—the thin end of the celebrated wedge *in bodily*. Mr. Cobden has spoken twenty times per session ever since 1841, and he has not yet a notion how to catch the ear of the audience best worth having of all the audiences in the world. Beyond the walls he sees and hears a middle-class meeting; and he talks at that with a great earnestness and a vast command of his subject, which get the intermediary attention—but with a carelessness for the opinions and feelings he is in presence of that makes him a decidedly unpopular man at Westminster. See how he insulted the Irish Liberal members on Thursday—an insult which Serjeant Stoeo forcibly retorted for them—upon no provocation whatever, and merely from a sensation that the "point" would have told capitally in a Free-trade hall in England. Take, as a further comfort for Sir Edward Bulwer, Mr. Moore's speech last night. Mr. Moore, also, will not consult House of Commons peculiarities, and gets no real position in consequence. A clever man, full of thought and very fluent, he will say what he thinks, in the way it came on to the paper with which he prepared himself; and the result is smart declamation in a harsh Mayo brogue, which can have no visible effect on men or parties—which is mere mental enjoyment of the orator's—and to which nobody pays any attention; certainly not the English members, who fancy Moore is doing what Cobden does, talking to out of doors; whereas G. H. Moore is earnestly, rapturously, and contentedly, talking to himself. Then there is a third instance worth noticing, that of Sir Francis Baring, who made a speech on Thursday which excited great talk, consisting for the most part of angry condemnation. Sir Francis, a Whig of established crotchettiness, was First Admiralty Lord under the late Government, was

Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Melbourne, and is supposed to possess "administrative ability," which may be defined as a habit of early rising, bringing you to your office at nine, agreeing with your clerks in everything, being in the House precisely at half-past four, P.M., being never well dressed, and always able to bully independent members when they happen to catch your clerks in a mess. Now, Sir Francis on Thursday was worse than Cobden, worse than Moore; he did not talk to meetings nor to Lady Baring, but he made a speech for the purpose of causing some malicious pleasure to about six personages, they being the statesmen left out of the coalition,—Earl Grey, Sir George Grey, Labouchere, Goulburn, and some few more, who don't agree with you that the coalition can get on, and who think that it is great nonsense to be praising the Budget in this way,—who allow that Gladstone is rather clever, but then he's copied my idea about, &c. &c.; and who were delighted at Sir Francis's moral courage (I notice that your crack honest and moral courage men have always had expressions in their face and ill-condition in their voices) in telling Gladstone that he had blundered about Ireland. The statesmen left out,—Sir George, and Labouchere, and Goulburn, present, did not cheer, but they were rewarded by Hayter's uneasiness, Lord John's gloom, and Mr. Gladstone's extra hilarity; and they thought more meanly than ever of the Irish members who cheered, and who, poor innocents, thought Sir Francis was trying to please them—as if Sir Francis cared one straw for Ireland. But, then, the House saw through all this, detected the spite of a disappointed man, and arranged to enjoy the next moral courage speaker who should tell the secret. Who was Mr. Cardwell? A gentleman never hesitating at ill-natured things, and not a Whig associate, and who insinuated a telling reply to the sneering assailant; adding an assault on Mr. Moore, which was less well taken; and, in fact, accepting what appeared an inevitable necessity, and turning the whole of the further talk for the night into an Irish debate—on the old question, under a new aspect, of justice to Ireland—under which infliction no opposition was made to the further adjournment of the division until Monday. Throughout the whole of last evening, though the attendance was fuller than before, the speaking was tame, the Protectionists launching no heavier orator than Mr. Henley; and Government loosing no more responsible talker than the Mr. Cardwell aforesaid—smart and accurate on facts before him, and useful to be thrown out in a debate as a Cabinet picquet; the Independent interest proffering no more important person than Mr. Cairns, a fluent Chancery barrister, who talked for an Irish constituency, and by personal allusions, rapid attacks on always-assailable Sir Charles Wood (who had spoken on the preceding day), point being given to flimsy material by the satisfied and easy air of the speaker:—this gentleman—who was elaborately got up, dressed for the occasion as a dandy orator, to produce an effect—this gentleman did manage to get up running cheers, and to sit down in a roar of Protectionist applause, completing a "hit" in the House. But this was at midnight, when seats were full, in readiness for the possibility of Disraeli and division. Up to the last half hour of Mr. Cairns, the House was thin, and teasingly inattentive; a promenade and a club lounge, rather than a legislative assembly; the fact being, that up to ten, members were as much in the Lords, watching the Jew Bill debate, as in their own place; and that from ten to eleven they could do nothing but buzz in and out their wonder and their comment upon the Government defeat. Looking down from the galleries at about ten, you could see there was some sensation outside, utterly disconnected from the orator inside, who was hammering away about differentiation, and lifting his voice over all the insulting hum and bustle to the reporters. There was news brought in by honourable newsmongers in hot haste, whispered about at the bar, and then radiated right and left, and up and down the House. Lord John and Mr. Disraeli had their eyes on the news at the one moment; they got at it at about the same moment. Lord John knew that his colleague, Rothschild, had been rejected again by the Peers; and Lord John drew his hat over his head, tightened his arms round his chest, and talked reservedly with Graham. Mr. Disraeli, then supposed to be about to rise at eleven, and, in his capacity as leader of the Country Gentlemen and Protestant Opposition—knew that his race and religion had received a new insult from the party which he was serving—simply because the conscientious House of Lords would not unchristianise the House of Commons. Was it a fancy? but Mr. Disraeli did not appear to catch Lord John's eye for the rest of the night.

In the hurry, it was concluded that Government was damaged by the defeat; but really, the Coalition had

got a victory, as on the Canada Clergy Reserves Bill, because new material was thus supplied to them for taking airs as civil and religious liberty champions. They would have preferred winning; but the next best thing was that Lord Derby should win, since he would win everything but honour. Personally, Lord Aberdeen cannot regret the debate. It was the first opportunity he had had of manifesting the later enlarged liberalism of his nature; and his bold declaration of regret for past intolerance was a noble thing in the old man, and pleasant hearing for the droves of Jew gentlemen who were packed in the strangers' gallery, staring at the peeresses, and admiring the disinterestedness of the Peers in charging nothing at the doors for admission. Ministers have also consolation in knowing that all the good speaking was on their side; and all rational men have reason to rejoice that Archbishop Whately so astounded the right reverend bench by meeting the charge, about unchristianising the Legislature with the direct, candid statement—which no one had yet made in any of these debates—"Your House of Commons is not Christian now—one half of them are Deists or Atheists." What was to be said after that? Nothing; and I believe that startling truth petrified at least a dozen intending Christian orators, and brought the debate to an abrupt and early close. Fancy Dr. Johnson an Archbishop, and in a debate, and saying that, and you can get an exact notion of how Dr. Whately looked and said it—rolling about in a bilious passion—and utterly indifferent to the horror he was raising behind him among the scrupulous shepherds, shocked at the license assumed by the huge and intellectual vulgarian who was staggering about the table and suggesting the most overwhelming logic, based on the most cruel admissions of constitutional shams. Such a saying as Dr. Whately's would have evoked a twenty minutes roar and cheers in the Commons: in the Lords there was solemn silence—they didn't know there how to manage an indiscretion of this sort. They had enjoyed previously the jolly and loosely-Christian suggestiveness of the wild Albemarle, who played round his subject, and cracked good jokes, and conciliated the Puritanical Peers, by admitting that he was in favour of the principle and all that sort of thing, but that he really was as averse as Falstaff to contiguity with the Ebrew Jew. This was talk the ladies liked—those ladies who always go to the Lords on no-Opera nights—who add the rustle of silk to the solemnity of politics; who chatter to one another, and nod and beck amusingly and knowingly to their lords in the den below, and who have that influence on the oratory which private boxes have on the acting at a theatre above half-price. Lord Shaftesbury, fanatically solemn, they said no doubt, was very impressive. The Bishop of Salisbury, inanely twaddling, they could not but regard as gentlemanly—the least a bishop could be—and Lord Darnley, who made a maiden speech, and broke down in his idiotic bigotry in a way to suggest that out of his earldom he would have a difficulty in earning his livelihood, except on the recommendation of Lord Shaftesbury to the communistic Blacking Brigade, they could not but conclude to be diffident; and Lord Albemarle, as mentioned, they giggled at in a way to delight and inspire into tedious stupidity that plethoric peer. All these lords had talked, not at their lordships, but, in the first place, at the bishops; and in the next place, at the ladies; going in at once for Christianity and fashion—a place in heaven and a pleasant reputation in Mayfair. But Lord Brougham, who not only talked to the ladies, but did not condescend to look at the lords, and who would as soon touch a bishop as a Manchester man,—what could the peeresses have thought of Lord Brougham? First, of his dress,—a sort of Cannes blouse, surmounted by a woman's bon; next, of his voice—a raucous yell; of his gesture, maniacal banging of the table? He was attempting to fascinate the side-galleries; he terrified them, so that the pink bonnets were thinned long before he had done. Lord Brougham has been seen in many places before; but so startling, so bewildering was he last night, that one began to think that the Lords were having their turn of a lunatic, even less manageable than O'Connor was—with a decidedly louder voice, and more method. What with Whately, Albemarle, and Brougham, against him, and on his own side nobody better than a Bishop of Salisbury and a founded young Earl, the debate may have appeared to Lord Derby, as well as to Lord Lyndhurst, both of whom had been calculated upon, too ludicrous, and too trivial, and too troublesome for their control. At any rate, they allowed the House to rush from Brougham to a division. Their silence in the debate, and the rumours current for the few days beforehand, to the effect that they intended changing their votes, and turning Liberals, suggest a conspiracy to entrap Ministers: and this is certain—that a Whig Minister said posi-

tively at eight o'clock, that the Government was safe to win. The vote that Lord Stanley gave for the bill in the Commons, implies that Lord Derby was not indisposed to a decent inconsistency; but it may be, that he felt the Government was getting on too well, and that a little check to them was necessary to restore his own temper. So Lord Derby passed the word for bigotry, and will attend St. James's Church to-morrow with a clear conscience. And he and Mr. Disraeli will dine together in the evening as usual; and will calculate what is best to be done with an enlightened country.

"A STRANGER."

Saturday Morning.

A HINT TO THE "FOREIGN BRANCH OF THE ENGLISH POLICE."

WE are glad to learn that science has been subdued to the aid of justice in the detection of criminals. That rather lugubrious newspaper, the *Hue and Cry*, jealous of the success of an eminent illustrated contemporary, now comes out with finished likenesses, obtained in the first instance by the daguerreotype, of escaped convicts and absconded rogues. It is a singular evidence of the humanization of criminal justice, that the daguerreotype should now have superseded the thumbscrew; and that the most ingenious instrument of modern torture should be nothing more than that noble discovery which brings the eye of Heaven to bear upon the face of guilt, and anticipates, by the finger of the sun, the pen of the recording angel.

We recommend this method of illustration to the attention of Englishmen who are indignant at the sully presence of foreign police spies on our shores, in the pay of our Government. The features of these agents of absolutism are well known to many of the refugees; let their portraits be taken, if not by daguerreotype, at least by some hand that can produce a good likeness. Let those portraits be exposed in shop windows throughout London, that the possessors of the features in question may, "when found, be made a note of," and treated with all the respect they deserve. Lynch-law is at least as good as Spy-law.

SPEEDY CHANGE OF OPINION.

THE Earl of Shaftesbury, in his place in the House of Lords, supported the Maynooth inquiry, which he thought necessary, because he believed the number of priests was increasing in an inverse ratio to the increase of population, and that if so, the condition of the grant was violated.

On the next day he took the chair at a meeting of the Committee of the Protestant Alliance, and helped to pass the following resolution:—

"This Committee would reiterate the expression of its opinion, already made public on many occasions, that *no further inquiry is needed* to enable the people of England to arrive at a just conclusion respecting the teaching imparted at the said College, the results of that teaching on the people of Ireland, or the wisdom and necessity of the immediate repeal of the Act of 1845. Hence the Committee feel it right to declare without delay, that any report which the proposed Commission of Inquiry may frame will not in the least preclude the Protestant Alliance from continuing to urge upon the people of Great Britain the propriety and necessity of maintaining their firm and unceasing demand for a total and immediate discontinuance of the national endowment of that Roman Catholic Establishment.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Owing to extreme pressure of Parliamentary and Political matter, a great number of important Articles and Communications are unavoidably omitted this week.

J. PARKER.—To have copied is sufficient.

J. HALL, Buckholmeside.—On a question of Scotch excise he had better apply to an Edinburgh office, or to the Secretary of the Glasgow Temperance Society.

Z. (C. W.).—Had not our correspondent, in conformity with our rule, authenticated the communication by his name and address, it would certainly not have appeared in our journal. But he will pardon us for adding, that all the names and addresses in the world would not convert us to an acceptance of these Spirit Manifestations; and we beg our correspondent to believe that were we disposed to sacrifice space to a heap of contradictory assertions, of more or less value, more or less irrelevance, we should have a cloud of witnesses ready to testify, with ourselves, to the flagrant and the folly of the imposture.

NOVELS AS A PART OF EDUCATION.—Sentiment is a portion in true reality; all without it is dross and a *caput mortuum*. Let not your child, say the would-be wise educationists, read works of fiction; they enervate, they unfit them for life's realities. You and I, Eusebius, deny it *in toto*. They fit them for everything; they feed the heart with noble sentiment; they show that there are things, ideal or not, worth all patience, all fortitude. They thus strengthen, not enervate, excepting by a base abuse; and a high responsibility is theirs who have the commanding gift and do abuse it. But it is a coward's part to argue from the abuse.—*Blackwood's Magazine* for January.

Literature.

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

THERE is one thing consolatory to the literary mind in this strange time of ours—viz., that if great books are rare, great prices are given for books not at all great. Literature never was so well paid. Sardonic observers might call to mind that when great works were written, large sums were not paid for them, and also that now, when the Stage is at its lowest ebb, the salaries of actors are yearly becoming more extravagant. But we leave the sardonic to their sneers. Although believing that great works are written from higher motives than large prices, and that no price can purchase them, we are happy to observe that since money is paid for Literature, the price is becoming more considerable. Even the eminent JONES will think well of Literature when it keeps its carriage; and although Literature may not be solicitous of JONES's esteem, yet since Literary Men mingle with the JONESSES, marry their daughters, eat of their dinners, and generally recognise their existence, the respect is not without its value.

Our readers have heard of AUERBACH, and read, probably, his pleasant tales descriptive of Life in the Black Forest; yet with the utmost wish to think well of these *Dorfgeschichten* (a third volume whereof has just appeared), one cannot regard them as any very considerable dowry bestowed upon the world. They are more remarkable in German literature than they would be in our own; and AUERBACH's reputation in Germany has reached such a height, that he has been enabled to sell a ten years' copyright of all his existing works for 16,000 *gulden*, (something like 1600*l*.) As the radical STOUT says in BULWER's comedy,—“I've a brother at home would do it for half the money!”

While touching on the subject of German Literature, we may mention that FANNY SEWALD has a new novel in the press; KARL GUTZKOW has just completed a play—*Antonio da Perez*—founded on the life of that splendid adventurer to whom MIGNET has recently devoted a very interesting volume. The play excites great admiration among GUTZKOW's Dresden friends. The PRINCESS of HOLSTEIN, as we hear, has also written another novel—*Frühling, Sommer, Herbst, Winter*. To say that we personally feel any interest in this novel, or in German *belles lettres* generally, would be to extend politeness into hypocrisy; but there may be among our readers those who will care to hear of such things.

The great problem of how the Inorganic passes into the Organic—a fact which the nourishment and growth of every vegetable illustrates—has long occupied speculative minds. Indeed, it is a problem which will force itself on the attention. While many are actively engaged in tracing out the transition phases between invertebrate and vertebrate animals, reducing the whole of organic life to one principle, named Unity of Composition by GEOFFROY ST. HILAIRE, others are as active *speculating* on the possible transition phases between what is called inorganic and organic matter. Crystals have naturally been supposed to conceal the first beginnings of the phase named *organic*, because in crystals we first meet with determinate form as a constituent element. The matter named *inorganic* has no determinate form; but a crystal is matter arranged in a particular and essential form. The differences, however, between the highest form of crystal and the lowest form of organic life known—a simple reproductive cell—are so manifold and striking, that the attempt to make crystals the bridge over which inorganic matter passes into the organic, is almost universally regarded as futile.

Speculation will not settle the matter. We need more data. We need something of the nature of those experiments which have led M. BRAME, of Tours, to the discovery of what he terms the *utricular* condition of minerals. A report of these has recently been submitted to the Academy of Sciences, and the discovery is adopted. We will endeavour in a few words to explain it. And first let it be recalled to mind, that the capital distinction between the mineral or crystal and the organic cell is this: the one grows only by accretion, by juxtaposition—the other by *reproduction*; the one is fixed in its unchangeable form—the other undergoes a series of transformations. Now, M. BRAME's discovery shows that previously to crystallization, certain bodies assume an *embryonic* cellular condition, the outgrowth and consequence of which is a crystal; and what is still more remarkable in this cellular condition, not only has the microscopic cell an enveloping membrane inclosing within it soft semitransparent matter containing vapour, which when condensed forms crystals, (thus furnishing both “cell-membrane” and “cell-contents,”) but these very cells assume an arrangement very analogous to that of organic tissues!

The discovery to which we make allusion is one of immense importance, but we concur with M. DUFRESNOY, the *rapporteur* to the Academy, in doubting whether it reveals the passage from the inorganic to the organic. The darkness there is as great as ever. All that M. BRAME's discovery enlightens is the nature of crystals. It leads us to regard the crystal not as an organic beginning, but as the *consequence* of an organic beginning; and organic life being incessant change, we may define crystallization to be *arrested life*!

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

- The Giants of Patagonia. Captain Bourne's Account of his Captivity amongst the Extraordinary Savages of Patagonia.* Ingram, Cooke, and Co.
The Universal Library. No. XIII. Ingram, Cooke, and Co.
A Visit to Mexico, by the West India Islands, Yucatan, and United States; with Observations and Adventures on the Way. By W. P. Robertson. 2 vols. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.
Cyrilla. A Tale. By the Baroness Tautphoeus. 3 vols. Richard Bentley.
Money. How to Get, how to Keep, and how to Use it. A Guide to Fortune. Ingram, Cooke, and Co.
The Elegies of Propertius, with English Notes. By F. A. Paley. J. W. Parker.
Money. How to Get, Save, Spend, Give, Lend, and Bequeath it; being a Practical Treatise on Business. By E. T. Frudley. Partridge and Oakley.
Recollections of a Three Years' Residence in China. By W. T. Power. R. Bentley.
Common-sense Tracts. Frank Vansittart; or, the Model Schoolboys. By Catherine Sinclair. R. Bentley.
The Christian Examiner. John Chapman.
Robert Owen's Rational Quarterly Review. J. Watson.
The Days of Battle: or, Quatre Bras and Waterloo. By an Englishwoman. H. G. Bohn.
Adventures of Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., Rajah of Sarawak. By G. Fogg. E. Wilson.
Debate in the House of Commons on the Gradual Extinction of the National Debt, and on the true Principles of a Property and Income-tax. James Ridgway.
The Parlour Library. Time, the Avenger. Simms and McIntyre.
The Temple of Education; being Results of the Strivings of a Teacher after the True Idea and Practice of Education. By T. E. Poynting. R. Theobald.
Diogenes. Part IV. Piper, Brothers.
Mazzini Judged by Himself and his Countrymen. By J. De Breval. Vizetelly and Co.
Life among the Giants; or, the Captive in Patagonia: a Personal Narrative. By B. F. Bourne. H. Vizetelly.
The Alps, Switzerland, Savoy, and Lombardy. By the Rev. C. Williams. J. Cassell.
Illustrated Magazine of Art. John Cassell.
The National Miscellany. No. I. J. H. Parker.
History of Scotland from the Revolution to the Extinction of the Last Jacobite Insurrection. By J. H. Burton. 2 vols. Longman and Co.
Biographical Magazine. Partridge and Oakley.
Tait's Edinburgh Magazine. Partridge and Oakley.
Peace or War—The Storm, the Flood, and the Whirlwind. A Letter to M.P. By Epsilon. Richard Cobden, Esq., Partridge and Oakley.
The Home Circle. W. S. Johnson.
The British Quarterly Review. Jackson and Walford.

PUBLICATIONS AND REPUBLICATIONS.

ONE may say of reviewing the multifarious productions of “the season,” what Dr. Johnson says of a woman's preaching, “Sir, it is like a dog walking on its hind legs; the thing cannot be done well, but you wonder that it is done at all.” And many indeed are the expressions of wonderment, “How we manage to get through the books.” The thing cannot be done well; all we can do is to select for purposes of doctrine or amusement, such works as we fancy will more especially interest our public, and in rapid summaries indicate the nature and the value of the rest, when indeed they are of sufficient importance to claim even so much. We beg readers and writers, therefore, to understand that no shadow of disrespect is thrown by this fact of briefer notice. It is simply impossible to review all, or even one third, of the new books; we, therefore, only select such as will serve some purpose of instruction, doctrine, or amusement, under the responsibility of estranging our readers if we select without discernment of their wants.

As an example take the first book on our list, Mr. Edward Miall's *Bases of Belief* (Arthur Hall and Co.), a work the excellence and importance of which would demand from us two or even three articles, had we not lately troubled the reader with so unusual an amount of theology as to make it a closed subject for some time to come. Mr. Miall's views are widely opposed to our own, and we could not in justice to him refrain from a lengthened examination, while in justice to our public we must refrain from a restatement of opinions already stated and illustrated over and over again in this journal. Let us, then, briefly mention that Mr. Miall has published such a book, in which he undertakes an “examination of Christianity as a divine revelation, by the light of recognised facts and principles.” It is written with the power and the piety every one will expect from its remarkable author, but, like *all* the orthodox works published of late, it evades the great and fundamental difficulty. It does not *meet* the sceptic, it only confirms the believer.

Again, what claim on our space can “another, yet another” of the *Uncle Tomitudes* have to the exclusion of works less known? Here is a gaudy, gilt, and crimson edition, published by Adam and Charles Black, with heaps of illustrations by Phiz, Gilbert, and M. W. Sears, which to those who want an illustrated edition may be of some interest, but the fact is all our readers can desire to know. Then *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Clarke, Beeton, and Co.) scarcely needs even recognition of its existence, so universally is it known.

The Diary and Hours of the Lady Adolie, a faithful Child, 1552. (Addey and Co.), would demand a fuller notice, were it not one of the many imitations of *Lady Willoughby's Diary*, which every season now brings forth. They are not literary food, but the jellies and whipped creams meant for evening parties. They lie on the drawing-room table, and excite the curiosity of young ladies, who believe the antique spelling is genuine antique. *Lady Adolie* is not a book to criticise. It is very handsomely got up in the antique style, and so far fulfils its office as a book for the drawing-room table.

Men of the Time, or Sketches of Living Notables (D. Bogue), might be a serviceable and agreeable volume, if compiled by a careful and competent hand; it is, however, a catchpenny affair, with the ambitious pretence of being a muster-roll of “the people who take the lead in doing the work of the world in literature, politics, in art, in science.” We have only dipped into its contents, and yet we noted examples of ignorance and carelessness enough to warn us from a closer intimacy. Thus the great American novelist Hawthorne has a few lines devoted to him, but his name is uniformly *mis-spelled* by the biographer. Alexandre Dumas, who has published fifteen volumes of autobiography, has an article devoted to him, in which there is not a date nor a fact given, but only a passage about him taken from *The British Quarterly Review*, even that source being concealed under the vague phrase, “a recent writer;” we are not even told when he was born, “about 1800” being the instructive remark which is made to answer all biographical purposes. Moreover, while many writers wholly obscure, and recognized as “leading in the work of the world” only in the small coteries to which they belong, are elevated to historical importance, the omissions are ludicrous, implying as they do the undisturbed ignorance of the compiler. Will it be credited that the names of such men as Whewell, Sedgewick, Sir William Hamil-

ton, John Stuart Mill, Dr. Vaughan, Professor Forbes, are altogether omitted, while such notables as A. Anderson, T. Corwin, Dr. Bird, Jabez Bunting, James Grant, Robert Hunt, Thomas Miller, John Timbs, Martin Farquhar Tupper, and a score of others, are chronicled? Among the artists he omits John Millais, and among the dramatists (while including those who have no pretension to the title) he omits such names as Bouricault and Marston. But the omissions one might pardon, were the articles inserted, reasonably executed!

Mr. Falck Lebahn, an active caterer to the large public desirous of studying German, has produced an edition of *Faust* (Longman & Co.), which we can seriously recommend, not only as a very useful and instructive book to the tyro, but as a volume acceptable even to the advanced student. There is no work so much studied as the *Faust*; deservedly so; there is no work in the language more difficult of accurate comprehension. Mr. Falck Lebahn first presents us with the whole text. He then gives an entire translation of this text, in separate sentences, which are classified according to the various grammatical rules they illustrate; references on the pages of the text and notes guiding the student through the labyrinth; and this is followed by another appendix of notes, mostly exegetical, wherein a large extent of reading is brought to bear upon the several points of this difficult poem.

The *Select Poems of Prior and Swift* (J. W. Parker and Son) is an agreeable republication, the editor having by judicious selection presented the best specimens of these verse writers—we must not call them poets—so as to ensure their introduction into families. The same publishers have reprinted, from *Fraser's Magazine*, the admirable story of *Digby Grand*, wherein we welcome a real addition to our stores of fiction. The author, Mr. Whyte Melville, writes with a freshness, dash, and vigour, which would carry even lighter materials to success; he has also an experience of life and a facility in depicting it, far above what we are accustomed to see in novels.

Here is another republication, and one of some interest—viz., the late Macvey Napier's essays on *Lord Bacon* and *Sir Walter Raleigh* (Macmillan and Co.) The essay on Bacon, published originally in the *Edinburgh Royal Society Transactions*, we have long desired to have in a more accessible shape. It is an erudite and careful investigation into the traces of Bacon's influence at home and abroad, wherein the writer shows that the common notion of Bacon's ideas having had little immediate influence, is a mistake. Probably this, as most other questions connected with our great thinker, will be finally set at rest by Mr. Spedding, when the long talked of *Life* appears; meanwhile the student will be grateful to Mr. Napier for his essay. The article on *Raleigh* is from the *Edinburgh Review*, where Mr. Napier inserted it on relinquishing his cherished plan of writing Raleigh's life. It is instructive, but heavy.

The new edition of *Walton and Cotton's Angler* (Ingram, Cook, & Co.) may be called a new work: the editor, *Ephemeris*, has brought that delightful work up to the present state of science, both as regards angling and natural history. Leaving the original text unaltered, he has, in the form of foot-notes and intercalated chapters, corrected, amplified, and modernized *Walton*, giving the *directions* *Walton* seldom gave, and the natural history *Walton* was not in a position to give. *Ephemeris* himself, however, is open to correction—not as an angling authority (at least by us), but as a naturalist: for example, he states that “no river fish ever watches its spawn or ova after deposition;” has he never heard of the round-headed hassar, a freshwater fish of Demerara, which, like the *gobius*, builds a nest for its young, and protects them as courageously as a hen protects her eggs?

The mention of a hen brings by natural transition the *Poultry Book* (W. S. Orr and Co.) before us. This is the first part of a new work by the Rev. W. Wingfield and G. W. Johnson, on the characteristics, management, breeding, and medical treatment of Poultry, with coloured representations admirably executed by Harrison Weir. It is really a very handsome and a very useful book. This part treats of the Shanghai Fowl, a breed which has become so much “the rage” among amateurs of poultry, that the sum of 100*l.* was actually paid the other day at Hammersmith for a single fowl! We need not say that this book is more adapted for the library of the country gentleman than for that of the man of letters; but for its public it is really a work of great promise.

From the poultry-yard we pass to *French Cookery adapted to English Families*. By Miss Crawford (Bentley). A subject upon which we cannot form a literary judgement, not being adepts in *la belle science*, which owns Brillat Savarin as its rhetorician; but we asked for a *practical* opinion, and received one not favourable to Miss Crawford's book.

After cookery comes Medical Aid! Mr. Jabez Hogg compiles for emigrants and cottagers *The Domestic Medical and Surgical Guide* (Ingram, Cook, & Co.), which will be found of great use, when surgeon and physician cannot be got for love or money; but in such matters it is terribly true that “a little learning is a dangerous thing;” and when we reflect that doctors never, save in extremity, prescribe for themselves, we may estimate the folly of aunts, mothers, and “experienced” friends who volunteer to dose the patient victim.

TRACTS AGAINST SUNDAY REFORM.

BATCH THE SECOND.

A SHORT time since, when we examined our first batch of Sabbatarian Tracts, we selected a lady and a bishop for special notice. Both were opponents whom it was a pleasure to encounter. The lady might, it is true, wander rather wildly from her subject into illimitable regions of general theology; and the bishop might not always be quite as accurate as we could have wished to find him in his method of reasoning; but, at any rate, the first writer was full of overflowing gentleness and affection, as authors of the fair sex always should be; and the last, however incorrectly he might argue, wrote with the frankness and moderation of tone which become a Christian and a gentleman. Have we any more writers to criticise, now that we are about to examine a second batch of tracts against Sunday Reform, who resemble in spirit the lady and the bishop? Certainly not, if we were to judge only by the first author on our present list. The redoubt-

able opponent who now stands forth and confronts us, is no other than the champion (theological) bruiser of the Protestant Prize-Ring; the great controversial pugilist who always “means fighting,” and nothing else; who is to be heard of any day, through his backers, at the Exeter Hall Arms; who lately tried to “make a match” with Wiseman (better known to the Theological Fancy as “The Cardinal”); and who heads the “harmonic meetings” at the Scottish National Church, in Crown-court, under the style and title of the Reverend Doctor Cumming.

The Doctor is a wary pamphleteer-pugilist. He begins to fight by making a series of clever feints; he appears at first to be sparring far more for our advantage than for his own—but we know him of old: he is only watching his opportunity to administer such a terrific Sabbatarian “upper-cut” on his adversary's head as shall win him the fight in the first round. But, speaking literally and not figuratively, what are the “feints,” and what the “upper-cut?” asks the reader. The feints are compliments to Sir Joseph Paxton, and eulogies on the Crystal Palace. The upper-cut is the Fourth Commandment.

Doctor Cumming's protest against opening the Crystal Palace on Sunday is conveyed in the form of a letter to Sir Joseph Paxton. The first eight pages of the tract thus addressed, breathe the most blandly liberal spirit, which expresses itself in a style that reminds us in places, by its absurdly incongruous imagery, of the very worst order of bad American poetry. The Doctor, for example, calls the Crystal Palace a “prophetic instalment,” and refers to present social difficulties as “broken and tangled strings of creation,” which want “retuning!” Having quoted these specimens of his style, let us now get on to a specimen of his “deeply-cherished convictions.”

He considers the Fourth Commandment to be strictly obligatory on all Christians at the present day. He understands the teaching of the Bible on this point to be “unequivocal.” He defines the “Christian Sabbath” to be “God's consecration of a seventh of man's time for the study and understanding of the truths, motives, duties, hopes of Christianity,” to be “a remedial revelation from God,” to be “a day for redemption studies, not for creation studies,” and so forth. Now, we have two plain questions to ask of Doctor Cumming in relation to these ideas of his. 1st. Where does he find any direct authority for them in the New Testament? 2nd. How does he himself keep the Fourth Commandment? That commandment, addressing itself to every member of a household, distinctly says of the seventh day—“*In it thou shalt not do any work.*” There is no subsequent clause, of exception; there are no reservations following these words. Doctor Cumming tells us that he accepts this commandment strictly and unequivocally—therefore he must practically accept it like a Jew—therefore he ought to keep it like a Jew. Does he do so? Does he forbid the housemaid to make the beds, and the cook to boil milk for his coffee on the Sabbath morning? If he does not, he is untrue to his own convictions. In his case no plea of “works of necessity” can be allowed; for that plea proceeds on a principle of free interpretation for which the Fourth Commandment itself gives no warrant—a principle which must from its nature expand perilously in all sorts of anti-Sabbatarian directions according to each man's ideas of applying it aright.

If, on the other hand, Doctor Cumming, who believes in the Sabbath like a Jew, does indeed honestly prove his belief, by keeping it like a Jew in his own house, how, in the name of all that is most audacious, can he have the effrontery to insinuate (as he does at page 9) that his Hebrew practices are sanctioned nationally at this moment by the English legislature? How can he talk of protecting the Sabbath from desecration, when it is already legally desecrated according to his own principles and his own habits in fifty different ways, in fifty different places, at fifty different times, from one end of England to the other. Does the Fourth Commandment allow chemists to serve behind counters on Sundays? pastrycooks to keep soup hot on Sundays? door-keepers to admit fine people to the Zoological Gardens on Sundays? cabmen to drive weakly ladies on rainy days to the Scottish National Church in Crown-court on Sundays? No! The Legislature allows it, but not the Fourth Commandment. And Doctor Cumming is, nevertheless, satisfied with the Legislature; but only as long as it stops where it is. If it impartially throw open the doors of the Crystal Palace on Sunday, along with other doors which are open already, then Doctor Cumming cries fie upon it as a desecrating Legislature; and shouts aloud, from his Synagogue in Crown-court, “Remember the Fourth Commandment!”

Absurd as he is so far, the Doctor becomes perfectly frantic a little further on. He admits that the working classes, under existing circumstances, can only hope to see the Crystal Palace on Sunday; and he proposes a remedy for this, which he terms, in his own bombastic way, “an invasion on the empire of Mammon;” blasphemously adding that this private “invasion” will prevent “a public invasion on the jurisdiction of God.” In plain English, his proposal is, to keep the Sydenham Palace shut, of course, on Sunday; but to make every Saturday, during six months in the year, “a monthly holiday in every establishment in London after twelve o'clock at noon; and in provincial towns to make at least one or two of these monthly Saturdays entire holidays. This,” he adds, “if practicable, and I am sure it is so (!), would meet the difficulty.”

“Practicable!” Oh, Doctor Cumming! who would ever have thought you such an innocent man? “Meet the difficulty!” Reverend Sir: do you know what the difficulty really is?

We will suppose your impossible project to be really carried out. We will suppose that the working classes have given, as you suggest, half an hour extra to each day's work during six months, for the sake of the Saturday half-holiday; we will suppose, where they may have refused to do this, that “Christian objectors” have subscribed to “cover the sacrifice of one day's wages,” and we will finally suppose that the artisans all go to the Crystal Palace on these free Saturdays of theirs. Very well, then—you say triumphantly—that meets the difficulty. It does nothing of the kind. The real difficulty—(oh, perverse generation of clergymen, when will you open your eyes and recognise it?)—the real difficulty is, how to occupy the leisure of the great bulk of the working classes innocently and usefully on Sunday—reverend gentlemen, like

Dr. Cumming, having, it must be remembered, failed to teach them how to employ it religiously. Does a project (would that it were less ridiculously impossible, for the sake of our over-worked industrial population!) which aspires to give labouring men a half-holiday in the Crystal Palace on Saturday, meet a difficulty of this kind, which occurs from the want of an open Crystal Palace on Sunday? Bold as the Doctor is, he will hardly venture to say "Yes" to that. Does he deny that the prohibitory religious system for which he is fighting so resolutely, and to support which he has hit on this notable plan of a Saturday compromise, has failed altogether to make the lower orders of the people spend their Sunday, in any sense, as they ought? Let him do what we believe neither he nor any other Sabbatarian agitator ever has done,—let him walk round any poor neighbourhood in London during the hours of Church service. Let him try his present fanatical theories by that plain, straightforward, and most terrible test, and his own eyes will tell him, if his conscience and his principles will only allow him to keep them open, that there is not merely an "excuse" (as he calls it), but an absolute necessity for opening the Crystal Palace, and other decent places like it, on Sunday.

The remaining arguments in the Doctor's "Letter" are identical with those advanced by the Bishop of Lincoln, and answered in our first article. We may therefore take leave of him here, with the conviction that his pamphlet will prove much more mischievous to the cause of true religion than to the cause of opening the Sydenham Palace on Sunday. The letter, from beginning to end, is an outrage on the common sense of any reader, high or low, who thinks for himself.

As to the next tract on our list—a Sabbatarian Sermon, by the Rev. John Weir—the author has the modesty to express himself at the outset as "sensible of its imperfections." In this respect, he cannot possibly be more "sensible" than we are. The plain fact is, Mr. Weir, you have written thirty pages of such prodigious nonsense, that we are afraid even so much as to refer to it remotely in the columns of this journal. You have reached, Sir, the lowest depth of the Theological Bathos, or Art of Sinking in Sermons; and there we propose to leave you undisturbed. You have plenty of companions, let us add, who are every way worthy of you—and the Rev. Capel Molyneux, B.A., is one of the number. This gentleman asks hazily on his title-page, (speaking out of the profoundest depths of Bathos,) "Is it Expedient?" If these words refer to the propriety of opening the Crystal Palace on Sunday, we can answer the pamphlet at once, in one word, by saying "Yes." If they allude also to the question of whether the tract be worth reviewing by us, or reading by any one, we reply unhesitatingly:—"Oh, Capel Molyneux, B.A.! It is Not Expedient either to criticise or to read your present contribution to the controversial literature of the English Press."

Here, for the present, we must come to a pause; not from lack of Sabbatarian pamphlets to review, (would that it were so!) but from lack of space.

The Arts.

NOTES DRAMATIC AND MUSICAL.

THE retreat of Vivian to the country, and the exigencies of other Arts, restrict our dramatic record of this week within the narrow limits of a mere passing mention—with one exception, and that will be forgiven, as it is the last word that can be spoken this year about one who has claims not only on the admiration, but also on the hospitality, of an English journal.

To begin with the Opera. Mario has re-appeared in the *Puritani*, and, as the *Athenæum* truly said of Grisi, "Time is Time," so we must say of Mario, "Meyerbeer is Meyerbeer." Robert Browning's very charming dramatic poem, *Colombe's Birthday*, the daintiest of legends, clad in delicatest language, has been dragged through the rude ordeal of a stage murder; all the noble feeling, the bright-piercing purity, the chivalrous tenderness, the subtle thought and gentle fancy of the poet, weighed in the balance of a Haymarket audience, and found wanting—in those qualities which a Haymarket audience naturally prefers. *Colombe's Birthday*, to be enjoyed as it deserves to be enjoyed, demands audience and actors the most cultivated and refined. On this occasion, with the exception of Mr. Howe, who played with good sense and judicious propriety, and of Miss Helen Faucit, who with all her fine sympathetic intelligence, cannot be said to have improved in her art, (she needs repose, gradation, harmony, a little less consciousness, and a little more continuity of expression,) the play was condemned by its interpreters.

Mr. Barry Sullivan, saving one or two better moments, altitudinized oppressively; and as to the four courtiers,—think of Mr. Braid emphasizing every trivial word of a very small part with a lugubrious and awful solemnity, as if the life of the play and the existence of the British drama depended on it. Perhaps this may come from imitating Charles Kean; his grimaces and contortions were those of a *Richard the Third*. Indeed, I think this Mr. Braid must be the celebrated provincial actor who, anxious to give a new reading to a celebrated passage, exclaimed,—

"Off with his head so much—

(Marking the exact line in the neck to be sliced.)

For Buckingham."

If Mr. Braid had only to say, How'd'ye do? he would say it as if it were a message charged with death. This is assassinating elocution with a vengeance!

Mr. Tilbury, too, must needs give himself a sort of *faux air de Polonais*, and look imbecile with a wand in his hand. Such is the Toryism of the British stage. The play, let me say, was mounted with some care, and certainly went off better than I had anticipated. But Mr. Buckstone will probably content himself with one success "of esteem."

Two rattling farces have renewed the playbill of the Lyceum: one in which Frank Matthews is enormous, and the other in which Charles

Mathews is impossible, each outvieing the other in outrageous improbability, and in convulsive fun.

At the Olympic a burlesque of *Macbeth*, suggested by Charles Kean's playbill, has been produced. I have not assisted at this the latest of those periodical assaults on the English language, which always send me home sick and savage; but I hear that this *Macbeth* is really (as indeed the name of the author would induce me to believe) something better than a vile decoction of that lowest wit—the wit of words, and that it betrays something like humour and invention. Also, that the Mr. Robson who is the *Macbeth* in question makes even a burlesque respectable.

But I hasten to the French Plays, where Madlle. Page, whose voice is a caress, and whose eyes are a subjugation, is taking her benefit, and appearing as one of the *Fées de Paris* in a piece by that name, to which I shall not further allude than to say that it is scarcely worthy of M. Bayard. I want you to listen to the opinion of a friend, whose experienced criticism I value far more than my own. Listen to what he says of the secret of Madlle. Page's success.

"It is easy to see the excellence of Page's acting, but extremely difficult to describe it. The great merit by which, as it appears to me, she is distinguished among all other actresses who perform in what are called sentimental parts, seems to lie in the admirable delicacy and facility with which she blends together, on the stage, the natural feminine charms of the woman, and the artificial refinements of the actress. The exotic graces of the footlights, and the native graces of the fireside are always more or less present in equal proportions in everything she does, and in everything she says. A little careful observation of other actresses—especially at the moments when they are submitted to the trying stage-ordeal of 'bye-play'—will suffice to show that the distinctive merit here claimed for Page is a much rarer accomplishment in her profession, and a much more important superiority to accord to her than might appear at first sight. There are plenty of women on the French stage who look well and act well; but in no other instance, that I can remember, are the woman and the actress so completely part and parcel of each other, so intimately and exquisitely connected together as in the instance of Page. This marking characteristic not only gives a peculiar charm, a sort of quiet, loveable eloquence to the slightest words she utters, but makes even her 'bye-play' delightful—an attraction and an excellence in itself. When the 'business' of the stage requires it, she can do the most difficult of all things in acting, to perfection—she can do *nothing*—she can sit down, or listen to others, or retire to the back of the stage, filling up as much of the scene exactly as the scene at that moment requires, and no more. Those who have acted—and those only—can appreciate the immense difficulty of properly performing this apparently easy duty. Those who watch certain actresses on our own stage in their bye-play, will see how the very best of them fail utterly in this respect by comparison with Page, who is never altogether acting, and never altogether not acting at such moments—the natural and the artificial balance each other exactly; and the result is, that the audience applaud her for what she *does*, as well as for what she *says*, to the echo. In *Les Extrêmes se touchent*, for instance, they clap their hands at the manner in which she silently takes the letter from Lafont, curtsies to him, and leaves the scene. There are some actresses who could do this with equal stage grace, and others who could do it with equal womanly delicacy; but no one actress I have seen has ever before combined the two qualities so exactly in herself—keeping the artificial and the natural perfectly equal in prominence throughout. In this, I think, lies the great secret of Page's success."

Next week comes Madeleine Brohan, and with her, Regnier. By the bye, I must here give you two interesting scraps of dramatic news from Paris, where they bring out fifty or a hundred original pieces to our one adaptation. Balzac's morbid, but very powerful story, *Le Lys dans la vallée* has been converted into a drame for the *Français*; and Frederick Lemaitre is about to make his *rentrée* on the scene of his early triumphs, the Porte St. Martin, in a *dumb part*, composed for him by those indefatigable dramaturges, MM. Dennery and Dumanoir.

CONCERTS.

The second meeting of the Quartett Association was on Thursday. The original piece was a sonata for piano and violin, by Herr Pauer: played by the composer, with Sainton. I can't honestly profess admiration of this sonata. It seemed to me to betray all the fatal facility of a practised hand, aided by a too faithful memory. It was clever, pleasing, elegant, but languid and deficient in vigour of conception and development. Now let us hear what the learned say. E. P.

ROYAL ACADEMY—PRIVATE VIEW.

To artists, picture lovers, and "sitters," who have been fortunate enough to get in among the portraits, Monday will be a great day—the exhibition of the Royal Academy opening to the public. At present, leaving criticism to follow, we can only mention the most striking works, marked in our catalogue, out of the thirteen hundred frames with their points of sight running away in all directions; which makes picture-seeing the most wearisome of all pleasures, by-the-bye, as we are constantly adapting our view to a fresh illusion, and following each painter's process of effect without being aware that we are doing so.

Four omissions are remarkable. Frith is absent, and so is Leslie. We hear the latter could not get his work finished in time. The name struck us once in the catalogue, and did indeed attract us to a picture, by a Mr. J. Leslie, till now unknown to us, but soon to become known to all. His picture, with this title, "Children—they have nailed him to a Cross," is a hostage to fame. Mulready is absent; and the fourth astounding blank is also in the M's, where we look vainly for Macleise. With one or two leading R.A.'s, however, this is a year of specimens. Lee has some half-dozen of the best landscapes he has ever painted, combining, in more than one instance, the familiar cattle of Thomas Sidney Cooper. Landseer has several fine passages of lower animal life. Two very large pictures of his tell one story, but the chief force is given to the concluding scene. The first shows a deadly conflict between two

stags, on the shore of a loch, by moonlight. There is a mist rising from the loch, and the moon is in her first quarter, so a favourite effect of Landseer's occurs; but he has failed to give it with such truth as in that famous portrait of a Scotch mist, with a Highlander in the background, two seasons ago; or as in a smaller picture exhibited by him this season, introducing a herd of deer. But the scene which gives the result of the night struggle is greatly superior in every respect. It is clear daylight, the sun breaking on the crags which shut in the lake, the combatants, with antlers interlaced, dead on the shore, while a fox creeps cautiously upon them, looking for sure signs that death has provided him a meal. Herbert gives an instalment of a picture. It is the "Head of a Scribe," very life-like and expressive. Cope paints "Othello relating his adventures," and enforcing a point with Macready's favourite gesture. Brabantio is a respectable personation of mild dignity, inclining to patronise; and Desdemona shows as much interest as, with regular features of no sort of expression, she could be required to show. Eastlake's "Ruth sleeping at the feet of Boaz," has the usual warmth of Eastlake's colouring, which is like the flare of gas on wax-work. A landscape, by Creswick, taken at the early budding of Spring—the trees yet bare, the sky cold, but everything fresh and smiling in genial anticipation of warmth—shames the real aspect without. Stanfield is great, especially in the picture of the *Victory*—Nelson's ship—towed into Gibraltar after the battle of Trafalgar. There has been a gale, and the anchorage is covered with ships. The *Victory*, with lowered flag indicating where lies "the dead Admiral, killed in Trafalgar's Bay," occupies the centre of the picture. The sweep of the sea across the foreground is just that kind of incident which best shows Stanfield's power. Roberts has several of his elaborate architectural displays, with their wonderful perspective. The best is the interior of the Cathedral of St. Stephen, Vienna. Webster clings to the "Dame School," and his picture is as great a success as the same subject now in the Vernon Gallery. Witherington's trees are quite equal in merit to those of other summers, and Redgrave's are even more refreshing to look upon, while the delicate *minutiae* of ferns and grasses round their rugged boles make a very noticeable point in Redgrave's new line of composition. E. M. Ward, first of the "Associates," exhibits two large and very striking pictures—"Josephine signing the Act of her Divorce," and the "Execution of Montrose," the last being much the most remarkable for action and interest. Anthony's "Monarch Oak," a study on a very unusual scale, is painted after a description taken from Wordsworth. The merit of Sir John Watson Gordon's portraits is a very prominent fact.

Wolf is a painter who has evidently studied animal life with careful

interest. Besides his chief picture, the "Proud Bird of the Mountain," a grand old eagle, perched high on a jutting rock, and half covered with a mantle of snow—he has two small paintings, well worth notice: the "Happy Mother"—a snipe with her young family; and the "Mourner," impersonated by a dejected ring-dove. Ansdell exhibits much the same feeling in his "Sick Lamb," stretched on the grass at the summit of a crag, while the ewe guards it from the meditated attack of a vulture.

The two pictures by Millais are quite apart from and far above all the rest. They are his own subjects. One is named the "Order of Release;" the other, the "Proscribed Royalist." In the first, we see a brave, true-hearted woman, who has undergone every hardship to procure the release of her husband, a prisoner of war; as she holds the paper, proudly, at arm's length towards the turnkey (her little child asleep the while on her other arm), the man falls weeping on her breast. He was probably taken prisoner at Culloden; and the sleeve of his frieze jacket now hangs loose, his arm being bound, and slung across his breast. A large dog leaping up, tries to lick his hand. The primroses, which have beguiled the boy on the road, have fallen from his grasp upon the prison floor. We turn to the second picture. The historical period may be the same. A lady is bringing food to her lover, a fugitive from the law, concealed in the hollow of a tree. There is a touching expression in the poor boy's face as he looks gratefully up, and kisses the hand of his mistress. You see that the constant recurrence of alarms has unsettled his mind, and bewilderment now enters into his very joy. As for her the beauty of her features is almost lost sight of in the exquisite grace of soul which the painter has indicated by points which when named may sound trivial. She is looking away from her lover, with an expression partly confident, as if she had striven to reassure herself as well as him, and partly apprehensive of observation. She is *feeling in her pocket*, and, until the picture is seen, no one can believe how far this little action goes to make up an expression. As a triumph of skill we may observe how in each of these two pictures the objects are made to stand out, by totally dissimilar means. In the prison scene the light is kept down, so that no outline of any object is defined. Yet the figures almost seem to be modelled in relief. The out-door scene, on the contrary, is placed in full sunlight, and the figure of the lady is cut out sharply as with scissors. And the effect of relief is the same! The simple picture by Collins, a childish *religieuse*, is tenderly designed and finished; and Hunt improves on his "Sleepst or wakest thou, jolly shepherd," of last year, by getting rid of the shepherds, and returning more forcibly to his muttons. There are many noticeable works which, even in a list we cannot find space to mention, but we have enumerated the most prominent. Q.

SERMONS TO FISHES.—The devout piscatory tribes listened to St. Anthony, when, commiserating their spiritual wants, he preached them a sermon; and whoever doubts the truth of the miracle, has only to journey to Padua, where he will see the fact immortalized in a beautiful painting over the high altar in the cathedral church.—From SPENCER'S *Tour through France and Italy*.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, April 29, 1853.

Our markets have been tolerably quiet throughout the week, pending the usual fortnightly settling, and the issue of the debate upon the Budget. The opinion amongst most men in the City is, that Ministers will have a respectable majority; and monied men, of every shade of politics, doubtless secretly wish for such a consummation. The still vexed question between Turkey and Russia has had no apparent effect upon the funds during the week, though there is every probability of a rise both in the funds and in shares, were this difference adjusted. On the French Bourse prices have fluctuated greatly, but the effect has not been corresponding here. There has been much inquiry after shares in the leading Californian mines, and there has been a consequent rise in the prices of these shares. A belief is current that the new methods adopted of crushing the quartz rock, and extracting the auriferous matter, will produce great results in California. Australian mines have been languid throughout the week; at the close there has been a demand for the North British Australian Land Company's shares. The well-known firm of John Taylor and Sons having become managers of this property, has probably given rise to increased confidence on the part of the public. Australian Agricultural, and their attendant shares, the "Peel River" have been flat all the week, notwithstanding the excellent reports communicated to the company from their agents in Australia.

In the other foreign mines, the once much-talked-of Nova Scotia's are reported to be copperless, and a dissolution of the company even rumoured. Jamaica Copper Mines command high premiums, and every belief in their genuineness is entertained. Money has been very easy and plentiful all through the week, and it is not improbable, if European politics intervene not, and the vote for Ministers on the Budget be in their favour, that we shall see a very great rise before Midsummer. In our railway market, heavy purchases have been made in North Westerns, Midlands, and Leeds; also in Caledonians.

In foreign lines, Strasburg, Northern, and Rouens, have been chiefly dealt in.

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

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	226½	227	226½	227½	227½	227½
3 per Cent. Red.	100	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½
Consols for Account	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½
3½ per Cent. An.	103½	103½	103½	103½	103½	103½
New 5 per Cents.						
Long Ans., 1860			615-16	515-16	515-16	6
India Stock	262	262	260½	262	262	
Ditto Bonds, £1000			35	35		35
Ditto, under £1000			35		39	30
Rx. Bills, £1000	4 p	4 p		4 p	7 p	7 p
Ditto, £500			8 p	4 p	7 p	
Ditto, Small	8 p	8 p	8 p	4 p	7 p	2 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Brazilian Bonds	100½	Peruvian 3 per Cent. Def.	68½
Ditto (Rothschild's)	100½	Portuguese 4 per Cents.	40
Brazilian New, 1829 & 39	102½	Russian, 1822	119½
Brazilian, Small	103½	Sardinian Bonds	97½
Ecuador	6	Spanish 3 p. Cts. New Def.	23½
Greek, red	11½	Spanish Com. Certif. of	
Greek, blue	9½	Coupon not funded	6½
Mexican 3 per Ct. Acct.		Swedish Loan	1½ dis.
May 17	27	Belgian 4½ per Cents.	100½
Peruvian Bonds 4½ p. Cts.	89	Dutch 2½ per Cents.	66

French Plays.

ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.

First Appearance of Mlle. MADELEINE BROHAN.

On Monday, May 2nd, will be produced a new Historical Comedy, entitled LES CONTES DE LA REINE DE NAVARRE; ou, La Revanche de Paris. Charlequin, M. St. Marie—Francois Ier., M. Lafont—Guatinnara, M. Langeval, Henri d'Albret, M. Leon—Babieca, M. Tourillon—Marguerite, Mlle. Brohan—Isabella de Portugal, Mlle. Bertin—Eleonore, Mlle. Edith.

M. REGNIER will have the honour of making his First Appearance this Season, on Friday Evening, May 6th, and will perform in a new Comedy, entitled LE BONHOMME JADIS. Le Bonhomme Jadis, by M. Regnier.

Boxes, Stalls, and Tickets may be obtained at Mr. Mitchell's 33, Old Bond Street; and at the Box Office of the Theatre.

MR. ALBERT SMITH'S MONT BLANC, EVERY EVENING, at Eight o'clock, except Saturday. Stalls, 3s. (which can be secured at the Box-office every day from Eleven to Four); area, 2s.; gallery 1s.

A Morning Performance every Tuesday and Saturday, at Three o'clock.

A View of the celebrated Mer de Glace, from Montanvers, has been added to the Illustrations.

Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly.

SATIRE AND SATIRISTS.—Mr. JAMES HANNAY, Author of "Singleton Fontenoy," &c. &c., proposes to deliver SIX LECTURES on SATIRICAL LITERATURE.—The Course will comprise Notices, Biographical and Literary, of Horace, and Juvenal, of Erasmus, Sir David Lyndsay, and George Buchanan, of Butler, Dryden, Swift, and Pope, of some writers of the last age, and of some contemporary writers and publications.

Further particulars will be duly announced.

POETRY and DRAMATIC LITERATURE.

Willis's Rooms.—A COURSE of SIX LECTURES on POETRY and DRAMATIC LITERATURE will be delivered at the above Rooms, by Professor AYTOUN, of Edinburgh (Author of "The Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers"); the first of which will take place on Friday Morning, May 6th, commencing at Half-past Three o'clock.—Tickets for the Course (the seats being numbered and reserved), 21s., to be obtained of Mr. Mitchell, Royal Library, 33, Old Bond Street.

ON SUNDAY MORNING, 1st MAY, at Eleven o'clock, a LECTURE will be delivered at the Oxford Rooms, 36, Castle Street, Oxford Street, on THE SEVENFOLD CHRIST. By WILLIAM MACCALL.

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LECTURES

on INDIA. The MORNING COURSE will commence on Monday, May 2 at 3 p.m., and the EVENING COURSE on Thursday, May 5, at half-past 8 o'clock, at the Hanover-square Rooms. Admission, 2s. 6d.; reserved seats, 3s. Course tickets at reduced rates are now ready for delivery to subscribers at the Rooms, where programmes of the lectures may be had, as well as at the principal music and booksellers', or by note addressed to J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Stanhope-lodge, St. John's-wood. Subscribers to the courses will have the privilege of introducing two friends each at the opening lecture free.

GALLERY of GERMAN PAINTINGS.

FIRST ANNUAL EXHIBITION of MODERN WORKS. The following celebrated masters have contributed to the above collection:—Lessing, Sohn, Achenbach, Hildebrandt, Leu, Shirmer, Weber, Tidemand, Gude Ritter, Burnier, Mucke, &c. &c. Opens to the public on Monday next, May 2nd. Admission 1s. Season Tickets, 7s. each. All communications to be addressed to the Secretary, at the Gallery, 168, New Bond-street.

THE COMMITTEE of the TESTIMONIAL

to Mr. G. J. HOLYOAKE will hold a Special Meeting in the Coffee Room of the Literary and Scientific Institution, John Street, Fitzroy Square, on Wednesday, 4th of May, to make final arrangements for the presentation of the Testimonial. Persons having Subscriptions to forward will please to do so forthwith.

W. TURLEY, Secretary.
Mr. YOUNG, Chairman.
J. WATSON, Treasurer.

WANTED by a BOOKSELLER and PUBLISHER, an Assistant who is well acquainted with his business, and who has had practical experience as a clerk.

AN OUT-DOOR APPRENTICE WANTED ALSO. Application in both cases (in the latter by letter only, in the youth's handwriting,) to be made to Mr. JOHN CHAPMAN, 142, Strand.

SHIRTS.—FORD'S EUREKA SHIRTS

are not sold by any hosiers or drapers, and can therefore be obtained only at 38, POULTRY. Gentlemen in the country or abroad, ordering through their agents, are requested to observe on the interior of the collar-band the stamp—

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RICHARD FORD, 38, POULTRY, LONDON.

TEA.—IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

Government having announced, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, their intention to reduce the duty upon Tea from 2s. 2½d. per lb. to 1s. 10d., with a further progressive reduction until it descends to ONE SHILLING ONLY:—

We have much pleasure to inform our friends and the public that the advantages arising from these proposed reductions will, immediately they come into operation, be given to our customers, and the prices of the whole of our Teas be regulated accordingly.

Should Parliament confirm the proposition of the Minister, which is confidently anticipated, the New Duties will probably be received at the Custom House on Tuesday next.

SIDNEY, WELLS, & CO., Tea Merchants and Dealers,
No. 8, LUDGATE HILL, LONDON.

THE LONDON CLOTH ESTABLISHMENT AND ITS AUXILIARIES.

1st.—EVERY YARD OF CLOTH SOLD AT THE LONDON CLOTH ESTABLISHMENT IS SOLD AT THE WHOLESALE PRICE.

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In which experienced, talented cutters, and the best Workmen to be found in the Metropolis, are employed to make up in a superior manner any materials purchased in the CLOTH ESTABLISHMENT, at the charge of only the WORKMEN'S WAGES. Here is provided

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In regard to the best and most fashionable West-end Clothing, with advantages never before realized by the public in the FINEST AND BEST DESCRIPTIONS OF DRESS. It includes not only choice from the large and superior Stock of Cloths, Trowserings, Vestings, &c. &c., of THE LONDON CLOTH ESTABLISHMENT, at the WHOLESALE PRICE, with making up in best style at

WORKMAN'S WAGES,

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The Proprietors, EDMUND DUDDEN AND COMPANY, announce their NEW STOCK FOR THE SEASON. It consists of Broad Cloths in every colour and quality, with a great variety of new Mixtures for Morning Coats, and such a splendid stock of Fancy Trowserings and Vestings as will sustain the established reputation of their firm for excellence in style and fashion.

AN ILLUSTRATION

Of the working of their auxiliary will be found in the following figures:—At the London Cloth Establishment, a good superfine Black Cloth may be purchased for 10s. per yard. The average quantity for a coat is $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards, the cost of which will be 17s. 6d., and if made up in the best style, with best work and trimmings, the cost will be 20s. to 22s., leaving the entire cost of the Coat, complete, 39s. 6d. In finer cloths the only difference will be in the cost of the cloth. The finest Tyrian Dye Black Cloth we can produce is 22s. per yard; the cost of $1\frac{1}{2}$ is 33s. 6d.; making and trimmings, 22s.; or £3 0s. 6d. for the best quality Dress Coat that can be produced by any house in London. Summer Angolas and Doeskins range from 2s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. per yard. The average quantity for Trowsers is $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards, at 2s. 6d. will be 6s. 3d.; making, with best trimmings, 8s.; leaving the cost of Trowsers, 14s. 3d. A fine West of England Doeskin at 5s., will be 12s. 6d. for the material, and 8s. for making up and trimmings, or 20s. 6d. entire cost. Very superior Summer Vestings, fast colour and the newest styles, are 4s. 4d. per yard, or 8s. 9d. for a Vest length; the charge for making and trimmings, 6s.; entire cost, 9s. 9d. A farther illustration of the economy of this system may be drawn from a reference to the Moire Antique Waistcoats, which were so fashionable last season. They were ticketed in the windows of the slop trade at 18s. and 20s. the Vest. We were at the same time selling the richest Antique at 8s. 9d. per yard, or 7s. 8d. the Vest length, which, with 6s. for making and trimmings, made the cost for the richest quality, on our system, only 13s. 8d. the Vest. We solicit an investigation of our system and tariff of prices, confident that they will command the support of all Economists in good Dress.

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MALTA and EGYPT.—On the 4th and 20th of every month from Southampton, and the 10th and 26th from Marseilles.

MALTA and CONSTANTINOPLE.—On the 27th of every month from Southampton.

SPAIN and PORTUGAL.—For Vigo, Oporto, Lisbon, Cadiz, and Gibraltar, from Southampton, on the 7th, 17th, and 27th of every month.

CALCUTTA and CHINA.—Vessels of the Company ply occasionally (generally once a month) between Calcutta, Penang, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Shanghai.

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CATALOGUE of BEDSTEADS, sent free by post, contains designs and prices of upwards of ONE HUNDRED different Bedsteads; also of every description of Bedding, Blankets, and Quilts. And their new warehouses contain an extensive assortment of Bed-room Furniture, Furniture Chintzes, Damasks, and Dimities, so as to render their Establishment complete for the general furnishing of Bedrooms.

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AWARDED A PRIZE MEDAL UNDER CLASS XIX.

TO THE CARPET TRADE.—ROYAL VICTORIA FELT CARPETING.—The PATENT WOOLLEN CLOTH COMPANY beg to inform the Trade that their NEW PATTERNS in Carpets and Table Covers for the present season are now out, and will be found far superior to any they have hitherto produced, both in style and variety. The public can be supplied at all respectable Carpet-houses in London and the country. The public deem it necessary to caution the public against parties who are selling an inferior description of goods as Felted Carpets, which will not bear comparison with their manufacture, either in style or durability; and that the genuineness of the goods can always be tested by purchasers, as the Company's Carpets are all stamped at both ends of the piece, "Royal Victoria Carpeting, London," with the royal arms in the centre.

The Company's Manufactories are at Elmwood Mills, Leeds; and Borough Road, London. Wholesale Warehouses at 8, LOVE LANE, WOOD STREET, CHANCERY.

TO EMIGRANTS.

THE following GUTTA PERCHA ARTICLES will be found of great value to Emigrants, especially such as are proceeding to the

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TO KEEP THE FEET DRY is of the utmost importance to the Emigrant. This may be secured by the use of Gutta Percha Soles, which are perfectly Waterproof, Cheaper and more Durable than Leather. They can be put on with ease by any one. This cannot be too extensively known amongst Australian Emigrants, as it is now difficult to find a Shoemaker in that country.

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N.B.—The Company's Illustrated Circulars, with Instructions for Joining Tubes, Lining Cisterns and Tanks, and for securely attaching Gutta Percha Soles, will be forwarded (post free) on receipt of four postage stamps.

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The increased and increasing use of gas in private houses has induced WILLIAM S. BURTON to collect from the various manufacturers all that is new and choice in Brackets, Pendants, and Chandeliers, adapted to offices, passages, and dwelling-rooms, as well as to have some designed expressly for him; these are now ON SHOW in one of his TEN LARGE ROOMS, and present, for novelty, variety, and purity of taste, an unequalled assortment. They are marked in plain figures, at prices proportionate with those which have tended to make his Ironmongery Establishment the largest and most remarkable in the kingdom—viz., from 12s. 6d. (two light) to Sixteen Guineas.

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