

The Leader.

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

Contents:

NEWS OF THE WEEK—	PAGE
The Week in Parliament	578
Letters from Paris	582
Continental Notes	583
The Camp	583
India and China	584
American Notes	584
The National Society and the Church	
Catechism	584
"Young Ireland" in London	584
Schoolboys once again	585

Hints on Law Reform	585
Wages	585
The Rotherhithe "Conspiracy"	585
Collegiate Authorities	586
English Society	586
Miscellaneous	586
Health of London during the Week	587
Births, Marriages, and Deaths	587
PUBLIC AFFAIRS—	
The On-Coming of Russia	587

Confessions of Parliament about India	588
Ballot and Extended Suffrage	589
Revival of the Wages Movement	589
Molesworth to Russell: a Prophetic Sermon	590
The Present State of the Turkish Empire—IV.	590
"A Stranger" in Parliament	591
LITERATURE—	
Books on our Table	595

The Frontiers of Christian and Turk	595
Rev. C. Beecher on Spirit Rappings	595
THE ARTS—	
Lady Tartufe	596
Sardanapalus	597
A German's Idea of Time	597
COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS—	
City Intelligence, Markets, Advertisements, &c.	597-600

VOL. IV. No. 169.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 18, 1853.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

WAR advances with slow and uninterrupted strides in the East; daily there is some report of a new turn to the dispute between Russia and Turkey, but each of these flying rumours is refuted by the next. Yesterday evening, by no means for the first time, it was reported that Russia had accepted the mediation of Austria—a rumour which the news of this morning does nothing to confirm, and which has been many times contradicted during the past week.

These incessant fluctuations are a consequence of our improved machinery for transmitting news, and they will not distract a very moderate degree of attention. Practically the position is this. Russia has made her preparations to march in and take possession of the principalities on the left bank of the Danube, as a means of coercing Turkey without actual warfare. But it is an act of war, and the latest accounts leave the French and English ships ready to advance in support of the Sultan, who is fully armed, and is said to be sustained heartily by his Greek population. The 16th was the day on which, according to calculation, the Emperor's notice would expire, and the rejection of his ultimatum would be the signal for that new stage of the affair upon which all speculation would be idle, and we must even wait patiently for real intelligence.

Amongst the reports in which we put little faith, is one to which our Tory contemporary, the *Press*, appears to have lent the impulse of its young and vigorous promulgation. It is, that the Russian Minister in London some months since intimated to our Foreign Office the intentions of the Russian Emperor, and that Lord Aberdeen induced Lord Clarendon to express acquiescence in those intentions; an acquiescence which the two Ministers were afterwards obliged to retract under the compulsion of remonstrances from their colleagues and the manifestation of public opinion. The *Times* explicitly denies this story: the approval conveyed by Lord John Russell, for he was the then responsible person, related to what Russia demanded in the matter of the Holy Places; and that question was closed before Russia raised the other one, of her protectorate of the Greek Christians in Turkey. The story indeed obtained no credit, even before this denial came forth; it was only regarded as a proof of the readiness with which a reckless party can bring accusations against the Ministers, merely because they are the Ministers,

and of the tact with which Russia can employ her agencies to sow divisions even in countries where her effect is scarcely recognised. Russia, however, if we may believe appearances, is not at present enjoying her wonted success in these delusions.

In Parliament, the general progress has been favourable to public business. The new Spirit Duties, the Soap Duties, the Succession Tax, are all proceeding smoothly, and almost without debate. The Succession Tax, indeed, has been the subject of a more serious contest, which served to show the weakness of the Opposition. The second reading had been suffered to go by default. Sir John Pakington made a valorous stand on the motion to go into committee, which he proposed to do on Monday six months; and he advanced a number of objections against the Bill. He complained that timber would be taxed "at every succession;" that the charges for life interests would be equal on healthy men and sickly men; that Corporations sole would be exempt, and he had a special fling at the Bishops, who had given a vote in favour of the tax. Sir John did not explain why timber should be exempt from taxation at each succession any more than other property, the soil for example, or a leasehold. He did not explain why health or sickness should make a difference under the Succession Tax any more than under the Income Tax, or any other tax. If that plea were allowed, we might have many an honourable Bullcalf putting forth a valetudinarian plea for exemption. But Sir John's grand point was that attack on the Bishops; he was for raising the country against so unjust a tax; and he wanted to know what right the Corporations sole had to pronounce a judgment upon the matter? Sir John Trollope put this last question more explicitly, as if he had an eye to revenge the vote of the Bishops by moving their exclusion from the House of Lords! Lord John Russell made the most of this revolutionary language, and the House of Commons declined by 268 to 185 to support Sir John Pakington's anti-episcopal and anti-fiscal obstruction.

One of the most telling speeches on the Ministerial plan for continuing the Indian Government, was delivered by Lord Ellenborough in the House of Lords on Tuesday, with a glance at a plan of his own, the chief feature of which was to have a Minister for India, "representing the English mind," and a council of notables for India, representing the Anglo-Indian mind. Lord Ellenborough is so thoroughly master of the whole subject, that however we may distrust the general political principles of one who is a Tory in the

best and worst sense of that word, we must confess that his principal disadvantage is, that he has nobody to give him a real opposition. Ministers take refuge in comparative ignorance. One of the Peers who most usefully discusses Indian subjects is Lord Albemarle; but the fact is, that the subject possesses no interest for the House of Lords. Lord Ellenborough spoke in the presence of six peers!

A principal subject of debate this week has been the ballot, raised by Mr. Henry Berkeley's annual motion for leave to bring in a bill. The arguments on either side received scarcely any variety. On the side opposed to the measure two principal arguments appear to be the old "English" one, and the one against concealing the exercise of the franchise so long as it is a trust. The arguments on the other side receive many illustrations from the late elections. Another might have been added to the list—the unseating of the Tory members for Clare on the ground of intimidation, and the unseating of Lord Adolphus Fane, member for Durham, on the score of bribery; while the doubt as to the expediency of issuing a writ for Harwich, shows how conscious even Lord John Russell is that the present system is intolerable. To these arguments we might add that one which Sir William Molesworth addressed to Lord John on his defeat for South Devon in 1835, a prophetic reproof, which we have reprinted in another column. The division, however, shows that the number in favour of the measure is growing.

In both Houses the ex-Ministers have been abetting Lord Westmeath in an attempt to blast the character of Mr. Keogh, as a means of injuring Ministers; Lord Derby, Lord Eglinton, and Sir John Pakington, taking a foremost part. In proof they allege seditious language in Lord Eglinton's time, which he had not prosecuted; while Lord Naas had used such language to Mr. Keogh as implied the hint of an offer to join Lord Derby's Government. The impotently malignant Tories make themselves a laughing-stock; and Mr. Disraeli will not be pillowed with them; he boldly declares his esteem for the man who is assailed in so cowardly a way.

The Duke of Genoa is succeeded at Court as chief guest by the King of Hanover and his Queen and their children; a family visit.

In presiding at the laying of the first stone of the Idiot Asylum, Prince Albert has graced a really noble work. The provision for that peculiar form of human ill which this building will aid, is still very deficient amongst us. **Modern**

medical science has proved that idiocy is not often that perfectly definite and hopeless malady which it used to be deemed, but that it is capable of considerable amelioration; yet none but the wealthy can secure the skilled care and well-arranged circumstances which may develop the cramped growth of the intellect. This, therefore, is the very case for combined aid.

There is one annual meeting which always occasions great anxiety to the Bishop of London and other quietists. It is the meeting of the National School Society—a corporation with a peculiar charter, and a peculiar position just at present. By the charter the management of the schools is vested in the committee, the subscribers having no control. The society, therefore, meets every year to hear what the committee has been pleased to do, with no choice but that of submission for the subscribers. This was all very well while the society had a smooth course as the chief patron of general education amongst the poor, on behalf of the church; but ecclesiastical divisions have widened amongst us of late years; the church has become unconcealedly an aggregation of sects, differing more from each other than many of them do from sects without the pale of the church; and the practice of the Committee has undergone a serious modification. We learn from what passed this week, that not only are unbaptized children admitted to the schools, but that the learning of the catechism is not always enforced. In short, the church abstains from asserting itself very positively in its own schools, lest it should frighten away the Dissenters whom it hopes to catch with the salt of schooling, and perhaps to convert by sandwiching a dogma between two rules of arithmetic. Now within the National Society there is a party which resents this compromise of church standards, and would absolutely enforce them. Not only does this party think so, but it feels itself under the duty of declaring its conviction. Open speaking is felt to be a frightful danger, a subversive risk to the Church of England; and there is a vast combination of the pacific multitude to put down any Archdeacon Denison who may stand forth and declare his mind, or insist upon the standards of the church, and nothing else. The church, therefore, has abandoned its old practice of ignoring Dissent, and consents that its children shall sit and learn by the side of the heterodox.

From the church to the camp is a common step. Chobham is in military possession, and its broken ground is now animated by groups in the varied uniform of the British army. Its duties have begun with something like rigour. Arriving on the ground, the men had only time to pitch their tents, before it began to rain; and some young officers learned, perhaps for the first time, the smell of wet canvass, to say nothing of other perfumes not greatly resembling the phials at Isidore's. Next day there was a surprise, and the troops were called to arms; the enemy, however, which they had to confront, appeared in the mild form of Prince Albert, and the troops had to undergo nothing more terrible than to be looked at. The fine appearance of the men, their smartness in manœuvre, their cheerful discipline, were the object of immediate remark. There is unquestionably plenty of good soldierly stuff on Chobham-common, with officers who have seen real service, and can put their men through their camp exercise as if it were real. There are also some, we suspect, whose manner of growing inured to camp life will rather amuse hardened veterans, at least so we judge from some items of the *impedimenta* which have gone down to Chobham. We have heard, for example, of charming beds, not only convenient to pack up, but luxurious to lie upon. "Al campo!" sings Tancredi,—“to the camp!”—meaning to a glass of sherry and a biscuit in the green-room; and such appears to be the new camp life entertained by some of our heroes. Another item in the baggage described by prying eyes, is an ingenious closed dish, for conveying

dinners hot and hot from some neighbouring kitchen; a contrivance so ingenious, and of such price, that it is rated at 24l. It is understood that the common soldier cannot boast of such an item in his kit. No! it is the soldier of Belgravia, we suppose, who is to put this dish through its exercises. But it is reported the veterans have plans to neutralize these Sybaritic softening of the soldier's life. The slumbers of the downy couch will be disturbed by the horrid bugle, and dinner parties round the 24l. dish will be routed by orders to move the encampment of the regiment. There are defeats, therefore, in store at Chobham, as well as victories; and it will be well for some if those whose red cloth is of fine quality should prove as cheerful under the trials as the men with worsted shoulder-knots.

THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT.

TURKEY: THE ALLIED FLEETS.

THE paragraph in the *Moniteur*, stating the despatch of the French and British fleets for the Dardanelles, was alluded to in both Houses on Monday evening; Lord CLANRICARDE and Mr. LAYARD asking, was the statement correct? Lord CLARENDON and Lord JOHN RUSSELL made, substantially, the same reply. The statement in the *Moniteur* was accurate; but the movement of the fleets did not preclude the pacific solution of the dispute. Speaking from memory, Lord John Russell added, that the despatches to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (giving him power, under certain limitations, to call up the British fleet) were sent on the 31st May—and the directions to the Admiral at Malta, to proceed to Besika Bay, were sent on the 1st or 2nd of June.

THE "OFFER OF OFFICE" TO MR. KEOGH.

The "facts" relating to this affair were stated by Mr. Keogh and by Lord Naas on Thursday.

Mr. KEOGH said, that upon the formation of Lord Derby's Government Lord Naas sought him with eagerness; pursued him from street to street, and house to house; inquired for him from several friends, and at the Reform Club; and finally requested him to come to meet him at Lord Naas's house. (Mr. F. Scully and Mr. R. Osborne were witnesses of the inquiries.) Mr. Keogh saw Lord Naas.

"The noble lord asked me about his prospects for the County of Kildare, and whether I, or any of my friends, would give him an active opposition. I said, as far as I was personally concerned, I would not give him any opposition, nor would any of my friends do so; for I confess that I sympathised with the noble lord, and did not wish to see the noble lord's ambition baffled for want of a seat."

Lord Naas, then changing the subject, said that he had been directed to ask would he, Mr. Keogh, accept office under Lord Derby. Mr. Keogh jestingly asked if they intended to make him Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Naas replied that he had asked a serious question, and expected a serious answer. Mr. Keogh then asked by whose authority the question was put, and Lord Naas answered that it was at Major Beresford's desire, and that Major Beresford was in communication with Lord Derby. "I then said that it was impossible for me to accept office under Lord Derby." This conversation occurred before all the Government appointments were made. Mr. Keogh immediately reported the conversation to Mr. Osborne. (By a letter read by Mr. Keogh Mr. Osborne confirms this statement.) Lord Naas himself said to Mr. Edward O'Flaherty that he had had this conversation. (Mr. E. O'Flaherty by a letter confirms this statement.) Subsequently Major Beresford addressed Mr. Keogh in the lobby of the House, and "whiningly" remonstrated with him for his attacks on Mr. Disraeli, adding, "we expected better things from you, seeing that Lord Derby asked you to take office." Major Beresford also asked Mr. Keogh had he received from him a friendly message sent through Lord Naas. Mr. Keogh immediately reported this conversation to Sergeant Murphy. These facts of his immediate publication of the two conversations were mentioned to show that Mr. Keogh had not circulated the rumour merely to meet Lord Eglinton's accusation.

Mr. Keogh then condemned Lord Naas's conduct in delaying to reply to recent letters of Mr. Keogh, asking had these conversations occurred; to his lordship's denial by letter that neither "directly nor indirectly" had he offered Mr. Keogh office; and to his silence when he saw the Irish press falsely stating that there was a corrupt compact between him and Mr. Keogh respecting the election for Kildare. In conclusion Mr. Keogh said:—

"I never asserted that the noble lord offered me office, but I always asserted, and now assert, and shall always assert, that the noble lord asked me if I would accept office. But we know what that means. Is there any

politician in this House so young as to doubt the meaning of the inquiry when put by the Chief Secretary for Ireland. I am asked, 'If you were offered office under Lord Derby's Government, would you accept it?' Remember, I was asked that question before Lord Derby's Government was completed. And I ask any member of the House what they think was the meaning of these words? It is just as if a man were to go to a lady and say, 'If I were to ask you to marry me, what would be your answer?' It would be an insult to the understanding of the House to think they would come to any other conclusion than I have stated."

Lord NAAS (objecting to "the betrayal of private conversations and the distortion of words used in confidence") stated his version of the case. Mr. Keogh and himself were in Opposition together. A very friendly feeling existed between them, and unreserved communications were natural and frequent, especially when Lord Naas brought forward his motion relative to Lord Clarendon, Mr. Keogh being fully conversant with the facts of the case.

"My motion was made on Thursday—the division on the motion of the noble lord opposite (Lord Palmerston) took place on Friday—and on Saturday Lord Derby accepted from her Majesty the task of forming a ministry. Shortly after—I cannot recollect which day, but I think it was Tuesday—an intimation was made to me that it was very probable I should be offered office—dependent, of course, on the probability of my re-election. I thought I might safely refer to a member of an opposite party, and a political opponent, and ask him whether it was likely or not that I should be opposed at my election."

He therefore sought Mr. Keogh, as was described, and an interview resulted. "I was met with a most friendly feeling by the honourable and learned gentleman, and in a friendly way he did exert himself, without compromising his own opinions, to save me from a contest at that time."

The following is the account of the interview:—

"When the honourable gentleman came into my room, we discussed for some time different topics connected with various interests. Amongst them was the subject of the election, and I recollect distinctly what I said to the honourable and learned gentleman. When the House hears the question and the answer, I will allude to the circumstances under which that question was put and the answer was given, and I will tell the House the reason why I put that question. I asked the honourable and learned gentleman in perfect confidence—never thinking that the question would ever be made an engine of to endeavour to damage my character—I asked him this question—'If office had been offered to you under the new Government, would you or your friends have accepted it?' I fully admit that I asked that question; it may have been an imprudent question, but I can safely say it was not put with the intention which the hon. and learned gentleman has assumed. He made an answer, which I recollect as distinctly as the question. (Hear, hear.) His answer was this—'I think that, after all that has occurred—after the part that I and my friends have taken in the overthrow of the late Government—some such offer might have been made.' After that we proceeded to discuss the various topics connected with the prospects of party at that time, and the hon. and learned gentleman in the course of that conversation asked me a question which I thought was rather peculiar. He asked me whether any person in authority authorized me to ask that question. I said—'As you ask me the question, I can tell you that Mr. Beresford knew of my asking this question.' The reason I gave that answer was, that I had a communication a few hours before with my right hon. friend (Mr. Beresford). I was walking in St. James's-square, and met my right hon. friend. I stopped him, and asked the news, and commenced a conversation. I said to him most distinctly, 'I wonder what position in the new Parliament the Irish party are likely to take with regard to the Government?' He said he did not know. I said—'I am on friendly and intimate terms with an hon. member of that party'—alluding to the hon. and learned gentleman opposite, who makes this attack. 'I can have no hesitation in asking the question—and I will ask him the question—for I had intended to ask him the question as a matter of information for myself, whether he would have accepted office, or was disappointed in not getting it.' The right hon. gentleman then made this statement to me:—'You may say at the same time, from me, that the Government have no unfriendly feeling whatever towards them.' That is the reason why, when the hon. gentleman asked me that question, I was bound in honour to say that Mr. Beresford knew of my asking him the question I put to him. But I do say this—that the right honourable gentleman never authorized me to make an offer of office to the honourable and learned gentleman. I had so great an objection to making what are called 'authorized communications' of any kind, that I did not give the message of my right hon. friend to the hon. and learned gentleman; and, in further proof of my statement, I may say that I never did, until the day before yesterday, mention the result of that interview to any one single living man. When the hon. and learned gentleman left the room, after our interview, the impression left on my mind was this, that in the answer he gave to me, and in the subsequent conversation we had, we discussed it in that spirit, and I thought he left the room with the impression that no offer of office was likely to be made to him or to his party. I will do him the justice to say, that my impression was, that if the offer had been made to him it would have been refused. Let me now call the attention of the House to the day on which the alleged offer of office was made. It was stated to have been made on Thursday, and every office under the Government was filled up then. The authorized list of the new appointments had appeared that morning in the newspapers, and it is quite impossible that the hon.

and learned gentleman, looking to that fact, can pretend to say, by any construction he could put upon the words, that any offer of office was then intended."

When Lord Naas had concluded, Major BERESFORD made some remarks. He said:—

"No man whatever authorized me to offer or hint at office to the honourable and learned gentleman; and I, not being so authorized, never, directly or indirectly suggested to my noble friend (Lord Naas) to offer or hint at office to the honourable and learned gentleman."

Respecting the interview between Mr. Keogh and himself, Major Beresford said:—

"I happened to meet the honourable and learned gentleman, and I did—not in the parliamentary language he has made use of to-night, but confidentially and quietly—state to him, that I was astonished at the virulence and malignity of that attack (an attack on Mr. Disraeli); and after that I did, in the course of conversation, not as a fact, but as a matter of inquiry, ask whether he had not received, through my noble friend (Lord Naas), a kindly and friendly communication from myself. I was simply desirous of ascertaining whether he had received that message or not; and that was the conversation on which the honourable and learned gentleman now rides off, and attempts to show that I authorized my noble friend to offer him office. As to the offer of office to the honourable and learned gentleman by Lord Derby, or any member of his Government, I fear that is an idea which exists only in the imagination of the honourable and learned gentleman, brilliant and Hibernian as it is; but if he now means to say that the offer of the Solicitor-Generalship of Ireland was then made to him, I can only say, 'the wish was father to the thought.'"

After some unimportant explanations from Mr. NAPIER and Mr. ISAAC BUTT,

Mr. DISRAELI expressed his opinion. Referring to Mr. Keogh's career, commenced as a Conservative, and praising his ability, he avowed that he would have been neither astonished nor displeased if Lord Derby had offered him office. As to the question before the House, he thought the statements of Lord Naas and Mr. Keogh were "reconcilable."

"What was more natural (relations of intimacy existing between both at the time, the new Government having been formed, and therefore there being no possibility of any immediate misunderstanding) than that my noble friend, especially as he had had a recent conversation with my right honourable friend the member for Essex, should have sounded the honourable and learned gentleman whether there was a prospect of the honourable and learned gentleman and his friends assuming an attitude of considerable opposition to the new Government? That I take to be the state of the case as regards my noble friend. Well, then, take the position of the honourable and learned gentleman. He finds himself in confidential communication with one who had become a Minister of the Crown; from most friendly feelings he is absolutely assisting my noble friend, and my noble friend endeavours to ascertain what might be the future conduct of the honourable and learned gentleman and his friends by asking him in this way, 'Now, what would you have done if Lord Derby had offered you office?' It is not remarkable that the honourable and learned gentleman should have considered as that something more than what I sincerely believe it was intended to convey, and that he should have fancied that it referred to certain results more important than the nature of the circumstances rendered practicable."

Mr. Disraeli added:—

"I warn the House not to subject every expression that may fall on either side to that keen scrutiny which we apply to public documents and public conduct. We should be rendering intercourse between man and man and gentleman and gentleman more difficult and disagreeable every day, if we put always the most uncharitable construction on their observations, or subjected every passage in their lives with too much keenness to criticism. (Cheers.) I think the honourable and learned gentleman and my noble friend were entirely influenced in their original conduct by kind and genial feelings. Circumstances have since occurred on which I will give no opinion as regards the conduct of the honourable and learned gentleman until they are fairly brought under our notice; but, as far as the present matter is concerned, I shall consider that he has done nothing, as a gentleman and officer of the Crown, deserving condemnation."

Lord JOHN RUSSELL stated "the results of the discussion." An attack was made on Mr. Keogh by Lord EGLINTON, who stated that his appointment was the "least reputable" of the Government appointments:—

The noble lord opposite says, that when the late Government was formed he was in friendly communication with the right hon. and learned member, for the purpose of ascertaining what were his feelings with respect to the Government then about to be formed. A right hon. gentleman holding the office of Secretary at War, and who was in immediate communication with the members of the Cabinet, authorized the noble lord to state, that the feelings of the then Government towards the hon. and learned gentleman and his friends would be of a friendly description. The right hon. gentleman the member for Bucks has said, that the talents and abilities of the present Solicitor-General for Ireland, and the course which he had pursued in political life, would have led him to think it quite natural that an offer of office should be made to him, and that he, at least, would not have been surprised, nor would he have disapproved of such an offer had it been made. This, then, is the result of the discussion; and it is one which the honourable and learned gentleman may, in the first instance, be proud of obtaining from the discussion of a question involving imputations made upon his character by one who had held so high an office as

that of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. (Cheers). That accusation is now swept away. (Cheers). It is gone, and gone for ever. (Renewed cheers).

Lord John then blamed Lord Naas for not having immediately and promptly answered the appeal by letter of Mr. Keogh as to the correctness of Mr. Keogh's statement of what had occurred.

Such a want of fairness, candour, and of honourable consideration for the feelings and character of a person with whom the noble lord had been upon terms of friendship, it has seldom been my lot to witness. (Loud cheers.) All this, be it observed too, from a noble lord who, though he has said he was not much used to making speeches in that House, yet is one who is particularly nice with respect to public conduct, and who, not very long since, constituted himself a public accuser, and should therefore be remarkably careful in the conduct which he pursues towards those to whom he happens to be particularly opposed. (Loud cheers.) I do not think that as the result of this discussion there is any reason to doubt the veracity of either the hon. and learned gentleman the Solicitor-General, or of the noble lord opposite, but I think, by his own showing and that of the right hon. gentleman opposite, that there was every reason for the hon. and learned gentleman to suppose that the Government of the Earl of Derby would have been willing to offer office to him; but whether it were so or not, there is no reason to doubt the veracity of either of the hon. members of this House. But there is reason to regret that it should be necessary to state private communications and read private letters in order to meet the rash and reckless accusations which have been brought against the honourable and learned gentleman, and that the late Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland should have taken the opportunity, in the absence of the honourable and learned gentleman, to make an unfounded attack upon his character. (Loud cheers.)

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON objected to Lord John's tone of "triumph" and "censure." He agreed with Mr. Disraeli, that Lord Derby, when he took office, might reasonably have offered office to Mr. Keogh; he was an avowed Conservative. But since that time Mr. Keogh's language had not been reputable. He had "publicly and physically" trampled the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill under feet, and had made a solemn appeal to the Deity never to take office under any Government which did not make Sharman Crawford's bill a Cabinet question.

Mr. KEOGH said this was "a fresh issue," but it touched ground new and unsafe. To his knowledge, no meeting had occurred in Ireland on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill since the conversation with Lord Naas had taken place. (Cheers.) But as to his speeches, he was prepared to meet any charge respecting them at the proper time. He warmly thanked Mr. Disraeli for his "kind and most generous compliments."

Mr. WHITESIDE reiterated Lord Eglinton's condemnation of Mr. Keogh's appointment as "not reputable." It offered a premium on Irish agitation.

After a few words from Mr. BENTINCK and Mr. VANCE, the subject then dropped.

In the House of Lords last evening the matter was referred to again. Lord WESTMEATH moved for a select Committee, to inquire into Mr. Keogh's "seditious language;" referring to the "long dark nights of winter," and suggesting danger to the Tory voters. Lord Westmeath read affidavits from local magistrates, and others, affirming that Mr. Keogh had used the words.

The Duke of NEWCASTLE said, he was glad that he had no necessity for defending Mr. Keogh after the declaration of Mr. Disraeli, and the result of the debate in the Commons. Was it "fair," was it "English conduct," to bring forward these accusations, as had been done by Lord Westmeath, without giving Mr. Keogh such notice as would enable him to send to Ireland for evidence? The speech made by Mr. Keogh was an impromptu harangue at a town called Moate, which Mr. Keogh visited without premeditation. Mr. McNevin, a respectable solicitor of Dublin, testified that he heard this speech, and that Mr. Keogh "never used the improper language" attributed to him. Defending Mr. Keogh at some length, the Duke declared the Government quite ready to meet the polished and pointed darts of the noble earl opposite (Lord Derby), or the miserable rusty bolts that may come from the battered quiver of the noble marquis (Westmeath).

Lord EGLINTON re-echoed his assertion, that the appointment of Mr. Keogh was "not reputable," and read an affidavit testifying to the use of the words from "James Burke," also a letter from Mr. Browne, a magistrate, stating that twenty gentlemen of independence and station are prepared to prove the words—words used by a Solicitor-General, "distinctly recommending assassination."

The Earl of ABERDEEN pointed out that this affidavit was known to Lord Eglinton when in office, and yet no prosecution had then been instituted. The whole accusation was of the most trumpety description.

Lord BROUGHAM objected to the proposed inquiry, as interfering with the judicial functions of the House, who finally might have to try the case of "sedition."

The Earl of DERBY pointed out that the attack made was not on Mr. Keogh personally, but on the Government for appointing him Solicitor-General. Looking at Mr. Keogh's conduct in the course of the summer, the appointment was a discreditable one. Lord Derby himself never thought of offering office to Mr. Keogh. Inquiry into the matter was but natural, when affidavits from respectable persons affirmed the use of the words—denied only by Mr. Keogh himself and Mr. McNevin.

After some additional remarks from Lords CAMPBELL, CLANRICARDE, and Lord WESTMEATH, the motion was withdrawn.

THE BALLOT.

The debate on Tuesday on this subject was marked by the use of many old arguments, some fresh illustrations, and a few spirited speeches on both sides of the question.

The opening argument of the supporters of the ballot was the present state of our representative system. That system includes the respective preparations of Frail and Coppock, with all their men in masquerade of false wigs and dyed whiskers, the "pagan bacchanalia" of the election, the intimidation by landlords, employers, creditors, customers, and Roman Catholic priests, the murderous outrages, and cruel evictions used for intimidation and revenge in Ireland, the pollution of patronage through the dockyard voters, the general "blackguardism and brutality" of our contests, and then the "flocks of low attorneys rejoicing over the prospect of teeming election petitions, involving an outlay of some 200,000*l.*" Sixty-seven petitions had resulted from the last election; and the result of the inquiries already terminated were, that sixteen members had been unseated for bribery, four for treating only, seven for bribery combined, one for an illegal engagement to pay money to get a seat, and there had been two unseated for intimidation and riot. The general extent of intimidation was denied by Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT, who pointed to "the alteration that had been effected by the pressure of public opinion." There was now no Duke of Newcastle claiming a right over the consciences of people. (Mr. Bright afterwards, in reply, reminded the House of the Marquis of Londonderry's interference in Down, and of the conduct of other Irish landlords.) In Wiltshire his own tenants voted against Mr. Herbert, and public opinion would now restrain a man if he turned out a tenant for such cause. With the exception of this remark, the opponents of the ballot did not deny the general representation of the evils in the present system. The application of the ballot as a remedy for these evils was then discussed.

It was asserted on one side that the ballot would check bribery. This was denied: bribery, under the ballot, would be rather aggravated, and made secret and certain. What prevents bribery at present? Perjury, fear of detection, and the uncertainty of success. When a man is calculating upon obtaining a seat by bribery, he thinks "I may spend my money, and gain nothing for it; I may bribe a great many, and yet be second on the poll." By the ballot the whole danger is removed, and that check is unavailable, for of course the candidate goes on the principle of "play or pay. If I win, so much a head; if I am beaten, nothing." At present, with a 5*l.* note, the candidate only buys an unwilling voter, but with the 5*l.* depending on the result of the election, the voter would canvass his friends, and become an agent or a partisan. In fact, towns would be bribed by wholesale. To this argument the Reformers retorted, that a bribe would not be given to a dishonest voter, as under the ballot he would not be trusted; that at least the ballot would "make the market uncertain;" and that they did not mean to have such little rotten boroughs as could be bought. Could Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, be bought wholesale? Throughout the debate, however, there seemed a tacit admission by the advocates for the ballot that, as a preventive of bribery, it would not be completely effective.

Its defeat of intimidation they put forward as its main merit.

"Nobody breaks a man's bones to persuade him to vote; nobody upsets a man in his carriage in order to propitiate him; nobody smashes a man's windows unless he knows how he is going to vote. The secrecy of the ballot in such a case forms the security of the man; and I hold it is the constitutional mode of securing purity of election. (Hear.) Then, in Ireland, the ballot would have averted the catastrophe at Six-mile bridge. (Hear.) In the first place, no landlords would pile up their tenantry on carts, like living bales of goods, and consign them to the next polling-booth guarded by military, if they had the ballot, because the men would only thank them for the conveyance, and then vote in their teeth; no mob would assemble either to rescue a voter from the power of a landlord, or to ill-use him if he was an opponent, seeing that it would be impossible to know which way he was going to vote."

Lord JOHN RUSSELL was eloquent in replying to this argument:—

"The spirit of liberty has grown in this country by the patriotism, by the boldness, and by the courage with which

men have stood forward and shown themselves ready to make sacrifices on behalf of their opinions, and of the Government which they wished to establish. From the day when Sir John Elliot allowed himself to be imprisoned—an imprisonment which resulted in his death—to the day when Sydney was willing to be condemned, and, with unquicken pulse, braved the verdict of an adverse and a packed jury, men were ready to sacrifice their lives, and were willing, at any cost, to establish the principles of liberty which they espoused."

But, it was answered, the present publicity of voting leads to the thralldom of the voter's conscience: and the ballot is the only remedy for intimidation. Take the case of the honest voter, the man who is pressed between ruin on the one side, and the discharge of a sacred duty on the other, would not the ballot be an advantage to him? It would not (it was urged in reply); for to maintain secrecy a man should not alone vote in secret, but, as Sidney Smith had said, he should "hurrah at the wrong speech, eat the wrong dinner, break the wrong heads." For the ballot alone would not be effective in concealment; a system of espionage would be introduced; a man's vote would be suspected; especially in Ireland, where, if you know a man's religion you know his politics, or where a man's associates indicate his views. Besides, neither the people of England nor Ireland are so taciturn as to be able to keep a secret. (The preservation of the Masonic secret was instanced as a proof to the contrary.) It was also objected that you should make secret voting compulsory in all places. "Why not?" answered Mr. BERKELEY. "Then" (asked Mr. HERBERT), "how are you to prevent a man who acts in the face of day, proud of his undeviating consistency, braving the frowns of wealth, and resisting the blandishments of power, going up to the ballot-box and declaring how he votes? It is not in the nature of the English character to skulk behind a mask, in doing that of which, far from being ashamed, he is justly proud, because it is his duty." Mr. COBDEN asked, "why not allow separate constituencies to try it, as an experiment, if they like?"

Another part of the argument against the Ballot was, that the franchise was one of the duties of the democracy, a trust exercised for the benefit of the public, and under the responsibility of public opinion. If it be not a trust, if it be not exercised for the benefit of the public, why not let the voter take it and dispose of it in the dearest market? But in fact it is a public trust, and public opinion in the present day sways many pure and honest voters. The non-electors have a right to know how the voter exercises his franchise, and any other practice would be contrary to the principle that prevails in all our institutions, and contrary also to the general principles of our constitution. In reply, it was admitted that the constituency had a right to know how their representatives voted, but it was quite a different question when a voter came to vote for a candidate. In such a case no earthly power had a right to come and ask the voter why he voted for one candidate rather than the other. The question of how a man was to give his vote was one between his conscience and himself, and he would discharge it the better the more perfectly he fulfilled his own conscientious convictions. And Mr. COBDEN sneered at the idea that it was "the duty of somebody to know how somebody else voted."

The opponents of the Ballot now took new ground. After arguing (1), that the Ballot was *not* secret voting; (2), that being secret voting, it destroyed the "public trust" principle of the franchise, they argued (3), that, being secret voting, it is immoral.

It goes to the root of our whole system, the tendency and the intention of which is to develop individual opinion, to give free action to every mind, to give free expression to every thought. *Il faut écraser l'individu* is not the English rule; and if you introduce this system, you introduce a retrograde system—you are introducing a system contrary to the real expression of free institutions, and contrary to all that we have inherited from those Saxon times which seem to have had a greater idea of liberty than even our own. "I say, too, that if ever you succeed in adapting the English character to this measure, so that the English people really avail themselves of it, and consent to exercise their rights or their duties under the veil of secrecy, you will have demoralized the English character, and done a great deal to sap the foundations on which our country stands. The English character hitherto has been manly, noble, and straightforward—a character well suited to the dignity of liberty. That character would be deteriorated by the operation of a measure the very essence of which was meanness and servility. If you say that men are to exercise secretly any of the public trusts of this country, and that they shall be safe and harmless whatever may be their conduct, you do that which endangers liberty, and you introduce a spirit directly opposite—a spirit of skulking and irresponsibility. Let us pause—let us feel that we have some sure foundation, and that this is an efficient remedy—and, in the meantime, let us retain a mode of voting which has been consistent and compatible with all that is noble, all that is manly, and all that is free in our institutions."

The reply of the Ballot advocates had much force. They exposed the present system of "boxing, beer, and bribery."

But intimidation is the grand evil. Its action is complex and its effects are manifold; its weapon is punishment; it works by that far-famed instrument, wholly and solely English in its invention, the election screw. The election screw, concisely and shortly, is a power which the elector cannot resist under ruin; it is discovered by an inquisition into his private affairs worthy of a Fouché or a Vidocq, and carried on by election agents with a view to twist from your free, independent, and manly Englishman a dishonest vote. It assails the elector at his fire-side, it turns him out of his farm or house, it ruins the tradesman, and puts the debtor in prison. When a right good agent of the Derby or the St. Alban's breed undertakes to return a candidate for any given borough, he first tries the efficacy of the screw, of bribery, and corruption; if these aids fail, he then, as a last resort, hires and disciplines a mob to thrash the electors going to and coming from the poll, to upset them in carriages, and to smash their windows. And there are certain men so far unmanly as to object to have voters beaten, and others so un-English as to object to have them upset in carriages; while there are some who are both so unmanly and so un-English as to think that an effusion of brickbats over a tea-table in the middle of a family party is an unwelcome event.

"And this," said Mr. BERKELEY, "is your glorious electoral system, of which you are so proud, and which is so manly and so English."

Examples of the use of the Ballot formed the next field of controversy. Its prevalence in clubs and several sporting societies was pointed out. Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT replied:—

"The object of the ballot in clubs is to enable you to act upon predilections and aversions which you cannot justify and dare not avow, and it rests upon the ground that everybody has a right to choose with whom he will associate. Beyond that there is no principle involved. It is the right you claim of selecting your associates and friends without giving any public reason, or without being able to give any reason or justification of the aversions and prejudices which you may entertain. That is exactly why the ballot is useful in clubs, and why you should prevent its use in the exercise of public functions. You want every man to feel the weight of responsibility which falls upon the exercise of public functions."

Mr. COBDEN, in answer, said that "Mr. Herbert did not very happily account for the motives which induced people to have recourse to it when he said that the motives were such as they dared not avow. But the fact was, that it would be inconvenient to vote openly, and therefore, to shield themselves from a slight inconvenience, they adopted a privilege which they would not allow others to enjoy." The use of the Ballot in France, Belgium, and America, where it procured tranquillity, was pointed out; but it was shown that the ballot in many parts of the States, Massachusetts, for instance, was not *secret* voting, as every elector gave in the name he voted for on an open slip of paper; and in those States, where the ballot had been really secret, corruption had advanced, and there were suspicions of the officials. As to the Continent, the ballot might be suited for despotic countries (it had established despotism in Venice), but was utterly repugnant to the spirit of popular representation. The rejoinder to this argument were two instances—one, where, by the ballot election of secretaries in the Chambers, despotism had been defeated in Spain; the other, a better story of an Italian club.

In Florence, the other day, Prince Lichtenstein proposed a member of the Windischgrätz family as a member of a club or *réunion* there. Now, as the Austrians are all hated in Italy, this young man, probably very amiable in himself, was black-balled. The consequence was that Prince Lichtenstein, like all military *sabreurs*, was furious; he called out the military, occupied all the posts, threatened to interfere with the popular amusements, and called a meeting of the club, to which he said—"The ballot is all nonsense, the ballot is not freedom, let us have publicity." Of course, with the sword hanging over their heads, the members of the club could not do otherwise than assent, and the result was that the candidate who was the day before black-balled was then unanimously elected.

The debate on the whole was interesting. Mr. HENRY BERKELEY was the mover of the "annual motion." His speech was very spirited, almost "sportsmanlike" in its gaiety and illustrations; and happy in putting the old arguments in new words. Sir JOHN VILLIERS seconded the motion in a rather dull speech. Mr. E. BALL spoke with his usual want of sense; being the only Oppositionist who spoke. He opposed the motion. Mr. PHILLIMORE was philosophical in its support. Mr. BRADY (the only Irish speaker) gave some Irish instances of intimidation. Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT next rose as the spokesman of the Ministry: his speech was clever and persuasive. Mr. COBDEN, in following him, hoped that Mr. Herbert would be compelled to change his mind on this as on the Corn-law question, and made an argumentative speech on the question, threatening a Ballot League, and pronouncing a Reform Bill without the ballot, imperious. Sir ROBERT PEEL, in an eccentric but not dull display, supported the motion in a very Radical speech: and diverged to attack Lord John Russell for his late Anti-Catholic speech. Mr. BRIGHT spoke, not with his usual ability; and Lord JOHN RUSSELL concluded the debate, putting forward some facts, and using some eloquent declamation.

THE SUCCESSION DUTY.

The Opposition, led by Sir John Pakington, made a smart resistance to this Bill at a late stage. On the order of the day (Monday) for going into committee, Sir JOHN PAKINGTON moved as an amendment, that they should go into committee this day six months, and then spoke against the Bill at some length and in a tone of unexpected warmth and indignation. Mr. Gladstone had said that the present law of legacy duties was anomalous and unfair; if so, it would be better to repeal the legacy duties altogether than to pass the proposed Bill. If the tax is unsound in principle, we should not extend it. It would oppress the landed interest, it would touch the younger children of the gentry of all classes—it was, as the late Lord Grey had said, a tax upon misfortune. Those who would suffer most from the tax were the small proprietors. The present legacy duty was called an anomaly, but was it not also an anomaly that rateable property was burdened with poor rates when personal property was not subject to them. Mr. Gladstone had admitted the "peculiar and exceptional burdens" which pressed upon rateable property. Its direct burdens he admitted to be 14,000,000*l.* or 15,000,000*l.*; they were really 17,500,000*l.* per annum, or 22 per cent. on the whole, while the burdens upon personal property were from 3,000,000*l.* to 4,000,000*l.* Its excessive inequality was an argument against the tax; a man twenty-one years of age, in the bloom of early manhood, and another in consumption, were taxed the same. It was a cruel burden. A man aged thirty-nine, succeeding his brother in a property worth 100*l.* per annum, would have to pay 45*l.* by the end of five years. Mr. Gladstone presumed on the weakness and selfishness of human nature, for the present holders of property would not have to pay the tax—it would devolve on their successors. Here Sir John made an attack on the bishops, evidently in revenge for the vote in favour of the tax which that "class of persons" had given "in another place."

"I see no reason why the property of corporations sole should be altogether exempt. (Loud cries of 'Hear, hear,' from the Opposition benches.) With regard to one portion of those corporations sole—I mean the bishops—(renewed cries of assent from the 'Conservative' Opposition)—they have already expressed their high approbation of the tax, and I do not see on what ground they should be released." (Loud cheering.)

The inquisitorial nature of the tax was another ground of objection to it. The moment a death occurred, those succeeding to the property were to give the collectors the fullest information, under severe penalties. Those penalties were necessary; the tax was so odious, that it should be enforced by tyrannical enactments. But would the people submit to this?

"If it should be enacted—though I would be the last man to counsel my countrymen to resist this law—still I will exercise every feeble influence I may possess to tell the country to resist by every legitimate and lawful means an impost so vexatious, by machinery so tyrannical and inquisitorial."

With regard to timber, the timber upon estates often stood from generation to generation, and yet it would be taxed every time a death took place. This was not taxation—it was plunder. The tax would be especially oppressive on the poor man. Fox and Grey had opposed a succession tax, Adam Smith had condemned it, and Sir Robert Peel had objected to it unless the present inequalities on rateable property were removed. Pitt's proposal was not like the present: it was a war tax. One cause of the present proposal was the peculiar constitution of a Government which had no party—which at one time had to apologise for a Protestant speech, and at other times to pander to the Radical prejudices of some of its supporters. As Mr. Disraeli had said, this war of classes should cease; but this measure would revive a sense of injury and injustice. The Government should not reckon on a permanent revenue from this tax; at no distant time it should be repealed, in obedience to the unanimous demand of an indignant nation. (Cheers.)

Mr. HEADLAM supported the tax. He pointed out that land was at present exempted from the probate duties, and gave instances of the tax. A man leaving 20,000*l.* consols to his son, that son would have to pay 2*l.* per cent. upon the capital, but if a person left an estate worth 20,000*l.* to his son, that son would have to pay no probate duty, but a legacy duty, which would be only on one half the value of the land.

It was urged by Mr. FRESHFIELD in reply, that a successor to a farm had to make repairs, and seldom found it unencumbered. Mr. R. J. PHILLIMORE, supporting the tax, objected to Lord Grey or Mr. Fox as authorities upon political economy. Mr. MULLINES (who claimed to speak as having "made as many wills as any man in the country") objected in every way to the tax. It was a tax upon all property, settled and unsettled; upon property settled by past, present, or future documents. Persons holding property under

settlements and purchases made without calculation of the tax, would be unfairly subjected to it. He had endeavoured to ascertain the probable amount of the tax. The annual value of British and Irish property, deducting leaseholds and copyholds, was 80,000,000*l.* Then taking the duration of life at twenty-one years, four months, this tax would produce 3,175,000*l.*, exclusive of 1,300,000*l.* now produced by means of the legacy tax. As to the machinery of the bill, he objected to it, because it was inquisitorial; and he particularly objected to the 47th clause. This clause provided that the commissioners, for the purpose of ascertaining the duty upon succession, might require any confidential party to afford them such information as they might deem necessary, to produce before them or their officers all such books or documents, extending even to title-deeds in their custody or under their control, as might be capable of affording every necessary information; and they might make extracts therefrom, and copies thereof for the purpose of the act. The inquisitions of old were nothing to this—parties were to produce their title deeds if required—it might be that they were defective, and by the aid of skilful lawyers parties might be deprived of their estates. What was the remedy for this? He protested against these inquisitorial powers, and feared they would produce the worst results. If we were to have a tax for the purpose of getting rid of indirect taxation, let us have it in the mode that had been proposed for the taxation of corporations, namely, 6*d.* in the pound upon all real and personal estate. This would produce more than the succession duty, for it would realize 6,000,000*l.* annually. Such a tax he would support, but as to the present bill, it was so unjust, and so inquisitorial, that he believed, in twenty years hence, the right honourable gentleman who proposed it would be held to be one of the most dangerous and mischievous Chancellors of the Exchequer that this country had ever seen.

Mr. WILLIAMS defended the tax. A person succeeding at the age of thirty-nine to a property worth 100*l.* a-year, would pay but 15*l.* in four years and a half, while the same amount of *personal* property would have to pay 30*l.*, and pay it in twenty-one days. He hoped the landed interest, for the sake of its credit, its morality, its position, would not go against a paltry tax like this, which only levied three-eighths per cent. upon their own estates, while a legacy left to one of their own domestic servants was taxed 12½ per cent.

Sir JOHN TROLLOPE condemned the tax for the inequality of its incidence. In one noble family he knew, there had been only one succession since 1756; but in the case of another noble family there had been seven successions within sixty-six years. Sir John then followed Sir John Pakington in attacking the bishops.

We have had an example of right reverend prelates voting, without a single exception, in favour of a measure from the operation of which their own order is to escape scot free. ("Hear, hear," from the Opposition.) I cannot understand why this should be allowed, especially as there are many of those same prelates who receive three or four times as much as it was ever contemplated by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners that they should receive. (Vehement cheering from the Opposition.) I confess that my feelings as to the propriety of allowing the right reverend prelates to vote away the property of others while their own property is exempted, have been considerably shaken by what has occurred.

Mr. APSLEY PELLATT pointed out that the probate and legacy duty on personal property, on mills and machinery, for instance, pressed twice as hard as the tax on successions. He supported the tax. Sir JOHN WALSH said, the measure was a boon to the Radical party, who wished by this tax to grind down the landed interest altogether. The legacy-tax was formerly proposed in time of war; but now, when the revenue was increasing, wages high, and trade active, why should the landed interest be called upon to make this cruel sacrifice? During the last thirty years, forty millions of taxation had been remitted, while only 10,500,000*l.* of new taxes had been imposed. The remissions were of taxes pressing on manufacturing industry, while the ten-and-a-half millions were imposed on property.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL rose to defend the Government measure. He praised the sober style of Sir John Walsh's speech, and blamed the causeless "warmth" evinced by Sir John Pakington. The scheme was part of a revision of taxation: when Mr. Disraeli laudably endeavoured towards the same end, he intimated his intention of proposing a tax on successions; and when Mr. Gladstone considered our taxation, he had also been struck with the irregularities of the present tax. For instance, it falls upon property under a lease of 999 years, which is considered personal property; and not upon an estate for life, which is considered real property. Mr. Pitt had wished to tax real as well as personal property; and Mr. Fox objected to both, because he objected to giving Mr. Pitt money to carry on the war. Had Parliament been then "reformed" the two taxes

would have been carried together. Sir John Pakington had objected to the unjust incidence of the tax, but he had never until now objected to those inequalities:—

"So long as they applied only to personal property—so long as persons inheriting personal property, or having it left them by legacy, were alone subject to this tax—all this injustice, all this violation of principle, passed unnoticed by the right honourable gentleman. It was but the other day that, in speaking to a person with respect to this tax, he told me that he himself, having acted as an executor, had had to pay this tax three times in two years for a person in a humble situation of life—a market gardener—who had left to a relation what, being chattel property, was liable to this impost. No doubt this, like many of our taxes, imposed very great hardships, and the right hon. gentleman said at once that we had better get rid of it altogether. That is very easy to say, but there are at present more than two millions derived from it; and the right honourable gentleman has not proposed to get rid of it otherwise than in his speech. Even with respect to that clause which so much excited the anger of the right honourable gentleman that, in a tempest of declamation, he called it 'plunder'—the clause as to timber—he would have found, if he had looked at the act of 1795, that when plate is left to a person who has no power to dispose of it, it should not be liable to legacy duty, but if left to a person with power to dispose of it, such a person should pay the tax on it as property. Now, exactly the same principle which is thus applied to plate is adopted by my right hon. friend in the case of timber, and in fact nearly the same words are used in both cases. But the right honourable gentleman, who could feel nothing when the tax was only applied to plate, is suddenly indignant when it is to be applied also to timber. That affects the land, and if you affect the land you will have a democratic revolution." (Hear, hear, and laughter.)

Lord John Russell then referred to the remarks on the bishops, made by Sir John Pakington and Sir John Trollope:—

"In complaining, not in ambiguous terms, of the other House, they had divided that House into two different parts, and while tolerably satisfied with the temporal peers, they made great complaints of the spiritual peers; and I confess that I feel somewhat alarmed lest that motion which I remember was brought forward a great many years ago, to relieve the bishops, as it was then called (a laugh) of their functions in that House, should be brought forward, having the eloquent support of the right honourable baronet the member for Droitwich (laughter), and should be carried in this House, to my great regret. (Renewed laughter.)"

After some remarks against the tax from Mr. E. DUNCOMBE and Sir E. DERING, the House divided, when there appeared, Ayes, 268, Noes, 185; Majority for the Government, 83.

The House went into Committee on Thursday. The clauses opposed were carried by large majorities.

Additional amendments were debated last night, with some opposition, and progress was again reported.

INDIA.

The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH spoke, on Monday, a complete criticism of the Government scheme for India. He said, firstly, that while he formerly thought delay necessary, yet now looking to the war in Ava, events in Eastern Europe, and the opinion of the Governor-General, he approved of immediate legislation. But the Government plan was temporary and experimental, and more likely to continue agitation than to allay it.

The experiment upon the Court of Directors was one of Oriental character—namely, mutilation, performed, not by the public executioner, but by the victims themselves; a provision of such jocular cruelty as has not been witnessed since the days of Louis XI. Each member of the Court of Directors must now regard every other member of the Court either as destined to be his political assassin or a political victim. Consider what a director loses when you take from him his seat at the Board. Not like one of Her Majesty's Ministers, who loses no social position by resignation, and to whom it is more natural to "go out" than to go in—the director loses great social influence and a valuable authority which he now holds for life. The delay of the completion of the nominated portion of the Court until three of the present directors die off, will induce the election of young and ignorant directors, instead of persons of knowledge and experience. The limitation to ten years' service of the qualifications for Indian servants selected as directors, ought to be extended to twenty years, as ten years' experience is not sufficient for such a knowledge of India as would enable a man to sit at the Board. He would propose that twenty years be requisite. Judges of the Supreme Court, the Commanders-in-Chief of the army and of either of the presidencies, or any person who has served as governor of the subordinate presidencies, should be excepted from this rule. But the proposed measure altogether is totally inefficient in the way of reform.

Lord Ellenborough's own plan for the Government of India was then stated.

A Court or Council representative of the different presidencies of India should be constituted. It would supply the Indian Minister with information on all subjects. "We cannot give India a constitution in India, but let us give her a constitution here." The Council should be an Indian Council, containing persons who have resided at the native courts, persons who are acquainted with the revenue service, and persons representing the judicial service. Thus, give the Indian Minister a good council, and give him the power of over-ruling them, subject to the revision of Parliament. It is much better that the Indian Minister should advise with responsible governors than with irresponsible clerks. Some ask for English minds in

the administration of India, but the English mind will be the Indian Minister, and he will advise with his Indian council. No man wanting advice on India would go to his banker. Bankers are as unfit for Indian cabinets as they are for English cabinets, for they become cognisant of State matters touching their own personal interests. This system would remove the affairs of India from Parliament, which has a natural distaste for interference with India. In addition, the present constituency for the election of directors should be enlarged, by adding to the 1750 proprietors all retired officers in the civil or military services, all colonels at home on furlough—in all about 1250. These would not swamp the present constituency, but would materially affect the elections. As to patronage, of the twenty-eight parts into which it is divided at present, five parts should be given to sons of military servants, and one to sons of civil servants.

His objections in detail to the present system, and to the Government plan, were then stated.

The double government of India is one of complication, where you require simplicity; of delay, where you need despatch; of expense, where you desire economy. The Indian Minister has power over measures, but the directors have power over men. It is the same as if, in this country, the Government were to have authority, and the Opposition to have all the patronage. One change proposed will effect a social revolution. At present the civil servants are closely dependent on the directors for patronage for their sons, but under the system of admission by examination, the service will be dis severed from the directors. That may be beneficial, but it is a very great change. It is proposed to admit persons to the artillery, on examination. Now, at present the artillery in India is superior, not on account of the education or knowledge of the officers, but on account of the high tone of the service, in consequence of the officers being gentlemen. But it seems that persons are to obtain these appointments through merit. What is the merit of being crammed? In public life the most useless of men, and in society the most intolerable of men, is the over-educated man. The people of India look to character, and it is not education at school that makes the man. It is the constant competition of life that makes him fit to govern men. But what do you propose? When he arrives in India, there is to be no competition; he is to rise by seniority, irrespective of ability. It is in India, and not here, you ought to apply the test. This new rule will press hardly on Indian officers. They cannot afford to give their sons an education on the chance of admission to Haileybury; they will not receive appointments from the nominee directors, who will be mostly chosen from the civil service; and from the other members of the court, "mere nominees of London houses,"—they cannot expect patronage.

The Macaulay code was unsuitable for India: it proposed an universal system for persons of the most various habits, manners, and religions. The Legislative Council composed of officials was an improvement. The amalgamation of the Sudder and Supreme Court was judicious. Lord Ellenborough then made some minor propositions, tending to take the higher patronage from the Directors, and concluded by pointing out the position of the Governor-general. He was responsible for everything, and was consequently overworked, and has to meet peculiar difficulties. The public of India is not the people; the public are English officials. The press of India is European not Indian; and the opposition of the Indian public and press may be the surest sign that the Governor-general is doing his duty to the people. Therefore he should always receive the ostensible and cordial support of the authorities of England.

Lord GRANVILLE excused the present state of things in India, mainly on the ground that the government of the country was very difficult, and that there were things in England nearly as bad. Their law is incomplete and its administration is defective; but our own condition on both points has been and still is very defective. Mistakes have been made in Indian railways, but look at the quarrels between English railway companies, and the numerous accidents on our own railways. The old public works of India had been contrasted with ours; but great public works were not a sign of prosperity. When Westminster Abbey was built the people were not happier than now. India cannot be expected to have the trade of Anglo-Saxon colonies, which have agriculture and mines, while India is a poor manufacturing and exporting country. But Indian trade had increased: the whole imports had been increased by no less than 140 per cent., while the exports had increased no less than 112 per cent.; and a great deal had been recently done for public works. Lord Ellenborough had objected to the introduction of examinations as tests for the Civil Service; but it could be shown that some of the most eminent judges and statesmen of this country had distinguished themselves in University examinations.

Lord MONTEAGLE objected to the Government plan, on the grounds that it left open the question of the employment of the natives, the land revenues, and nearly every other question. The present Bill was inconsiderate, ill-advised, and premature legislation. It proposed to continue a body which had violated the Charter, and all the laws devised for the happiness of India—as to the employment of the natives, as to the selection of civil servants, as to improvement and irriga-

tion, and as to encouraging the settlement of the English in India.

The Duke of ARGYLL defended the Government proposition—with some spirit, but in general terms. Respecting the Court of Directors, there was nothing anomalous in giving the government of a country to those who had acquired it. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE objected to the Duke of Argyll's authoritative tone, and to the absence of argument in his speech. The present Government of India was too costly; the Home Government alone cost 200,000*l.* a-year. Lord ALBEMARLE also urged this consideration.

As the discussion proceeded, the "House," thin throughout, had dwindled down to very few. When the Duke of Argyll was speaking there were not half-a-dozen peers present; and when Lord Albemarle sat down, no one else rose, nothing else was done, and the five or six noble lords went home, a little after nine o'clock.

OATHS IN COURTS OF JUSTICE.

Lord BROUGHAM presented petitions from clergymen of the Scottish church, clergymen of Scottish dissenting congregations, and several laymen, in favour of the abolition of oaths. Lord Brougham then stated the case.

Various acts of Parliament had been passed, removing by degrees the disqualification—for it amounted to that—of certain sectaries to be examined in any case, in consequence of their conscientious scruples to taking oaths, so that at length, in respect of three sects, the Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists, not only were the members of those bodies enabled to give evidence upon affirmation in civil cases, but they were also permitted to appear as witnesses upon making affirmation in criminal cases. Subsequently an act—a most proper one—was passed, extending the same privileges to all persons who had formerly been members of those sects, and had ceased to belong to them, but who still retained a conscientious objection to taking an oath. These concessions were, however, confined to these three sects, and they alone enjoyed the privilege, if privilege it might be called, in assisting in the administration of justice as witnesses, and performing their duty to their country without doing violence to their conscientious religious scruples. But now, and ever since the last of those acts of Parliament was passed, assisting those three sects, all others who did not belong to them remained in the same predicament of not being able to give evidence, and in respect to them the country and the administration of justice was in the predicament of losing the benefit of their testimony, because they conscientiously refused to take an oath. The consequence of this was, as the petitioners stated, grievous to the administration of justice; and it so happened that, under present circumstances, a party might be taken up before a police magistrate for a serious offence, and the only evidence to convict him being that of one of those respectable and conscientious persons who were unable to take an oath, the guilty man might escape, and the innocent man might be committed for contempt of court, because he could not violate his conscience by swearing when his conscience told him not to do so. But it was to understate the case to say that an innocent and conscientious witness might suffer imprisonment while a guilty felon escaped; for not only might it happen, but it had happened, that an innocent man was convicted for want of evidence by which his acquittal could be insured. But Lord Brougham differed from the petitioners in the extent to which their opinion went, and he considered that a general abrogation of the necessity of swearing witnesses, and a general power of getting evidence on simple affirmation, would not be an expedient change to make in our law, civil or criminal. When Lord Denman's bill on this subject had been before the Lords in 1849, Lord Brougham had taken an active part in opposing that bill. "It was the only case in which I had ever had the misfortune of differing from that most learned and venerable person, and it gave me great pain to be under the necessity of testifying that difference of opinion, and of acting upon my own judgment." They all knew what great difficulty there was in the administration of justice in getting at the truth when a willingness existed on the part of a witness to conceal or to pervert the facts; and he could not help fearing that there were many persons in the community who might be induced to give false testimony, if an affirmation only were required of them, who would not be disposed to tell a falsehood when they were liable to be prosecuted for perjury, for breaking their oaths. He well recollected an instance related to him by the late Lord Erskine of a witness, a female, from the northern part of Ireland, who was under examination. She had given the most clear and unhesitating evidence, when sworn before the Court of Queen's Bench in the ancient form, by the crier of the court, administering the oath, and by her kissing the book. The judge, who tried the case, said to Mr. Erskine, who was counsel on the other side, "Mr. Erskine, surely you cannot meet this evidence." He replied, "I think, my lord, I can;" whereupon having ascertained from what part of the kingdom the witness came, he said he would swear her in the Scottish fashion. Accordingly he made her hold up her hand, and then, with that manner and voice which no one that he (Lord Brougham) had ever seen or heard could come near for its impressiveness, its suavity, and its dignity, he repeated to her that solemn form of oath by which our fellow-subjects in the northern part of the island are sworn, and which was as far superior to ours in this part of the country as it was possible for one solemnity to be superior to another. It is administered by the judge, and in it the witness was called upon to swear by Almighty God that, as he shall answer to Him at the great day of judgment, he will tell the truth, the whole truth, and

nothing but the truth. Most improperly, indeed, the words were added, "as far as I know, or shall be asked." Well, the witness refused to take this oath; she went down from the box, and there was an end of the matter. There was another case which happened within his own knowledge. It was that of a young man who was present when some offence was committed. He was taken before a magistrate to give evidence, but he refused to swear. He was committed to gaol, where he was kept a month, although he was in feeble health; and when he came out of gaol he took to his bed and died in six weeks, in consequence of the confinement he had suffered. In conclusion, Lord Brougham said, he thought that a discretionary power should be given to the court to take an affirmation instead of an oath where there existed a conscientious objection on the part of a witness. He found, from a great number of cases that had been mentioned to him, that this discretion was at present exercised in Scotland, in some cases by the judges, but more frequently by the magistrate. It was perfectly clear, however, that it was illegal to dispense with the oath, and that the evidence given on affirmation in such cases was inadmissible. The impression on his mind was, that it would be expedient to render that course legal which it appeared was sometimes adopted under the pressure of difficulties, and he trusted that their lordships would take this suggestion into their serious consideration.

Lord CAMPBELL presented other petitions, with the same prayer, and expressed a full agreement with Lord Brougham's opinions.

THE INDIA BILL—THREATENED OPPOSITION.—Lord STANLEY has given notice that, on the 23rd instant, he should, upon the order of the day for the second reading of the bill for the government of India, move the following amendment:—"That in the opinion of this House further information is necessary to enable Parliament to legislate with advantage for the permanent government of India, and that at this late period of the session it is inexpedient to proceed with a measure which, while it disturbs existing arrangements, cannot be considered as a final settlement."

SOAP DUTIES.—Mr. WILSON proposed that on the 5th of July next, the Soap Duties shall cease and determine. Mr. FREWEN earnestly suggested that the Hop Duty should be repealed instead; but was prevented by the forms of the House from moving an amendment to that effect. The resolution for the repeal of the Soap Duties was therefore agreed to.

FRENCH OCCUPATION OF ROME.—At the request of Lord John Russell, Mr. T. DUNCOMBE withdrew a motion on this subject, of which he had given notice. In doing so, he said:—"To prevent any misrepresentation or misunderstanding on the subject, perhaps I may be permitted to state, that it was not my intention to have submitted the motion in any spirit offensive to the French nation, or disrespectful to the ruler of their choice. On the contrary, I entertain the hope that the feelings of amity and regard existing between the people of France and those of this country, and also between the rulers of the two countries, will enable them, by acting cordially in concert on any occasion that may present itself, to overcome any difficulties, from whatever quarter they may proceed."

SAVINGS' BANKS.—The Government Bill on this subject was read a second time on Monday. Mr. Gladstone had intended to make a statement on the subject, but the late hour of the night at which it came on (twelve o'clock) precluded the intended explanation.

POLLING AT ELECTIONS.—New regulations of the poll at University elections have been introduced in the Elections Bill now before the House. The Vice Chancellor is to fix the nomination for a day not sooner than six, nor later than twelve, days after he receives the writ. The polling to commence not sooner than six, nor later than twelve, days after the nomination: it is to open each day at nine o'clock, and to close at the discretion of the Vice Chancellor, not earlier than four, nor later than six, each evening.

HARWICH.—A new writ has been issued for Harwich. In the conversation on the subject, the corruption of the borough was denounced by several Liberal members; while Sir R. INGLIS, Mr. WADDINGTON, and others, defended the constituency. Lord JOHN RUSSELL took a medium course. He would not oppose the issue of the writ, but there should, he thought, be further inquiry into the corruption of Harwich; or leave should be given at once to bring in a bill to disfranchise the borough. But on a division the writ was issued by a majority of 247 to 102.

COMBINATION OF WORKMEN BILL.—This Bill has been "read a third time and passed" in the House of Commons.

EXCISE DUTY ON SPIRITS.—Last evening the Irish members made a pertinacious opposition to this bill. They divided the House four times on repeated motions for adjournment, but Mr. Gladstone was firm, and succeeded in getting the bill read a third time.

THE WAR IN BURMAH.—Mr. CORDEN complained that many Indian official documents were garbled, and Mr. BRIGHT referred to the great mortality among the troops in Burmah. Mr. BAILLIE said that "all Governments" cut out extracts from correspondence, and Sir CHARLES WOOD said that the documents were "prepared" by the Board of Control; and respecting the mortality he "admitted" it.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER LXXVII.

Paris, Thursday Evening, June 16, 1853.

FRESH complications have arisen since yesterday to arrest the upward movement in the Funds. On the faith of the *Times*, that the occupation of the Danubian provinces would not be a *casus belli*, the Bourse went up two francs fifty cents. But it seems that the *Times*, and consequently that section of the English Ministry

of which it is the reputed organ, had overlooked the treaty of Balta-Liman, which distinctly specifies and determines all the different contingencies under which that occupation may take place, and which does not permit Russia, in such a case as the present, to set foot in Moldavia or Wallachia. The Turkish ambassador at Paris, Vely Pacha, had an interview on Monday last with M. Drouyn de l'Huys, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, for the express object of making representations to him on this point. M. Drouyn de l'Huys, having consulted Bonaparte, the latter announced to his Council of Ministers that he was not disposed to consent to the occupation of the Danubian provinces by Russia. Yesterday (Wednesday) M. de Kisseleff, the Russian ambassador, had an audience of the Emperor, to tell him officially that the Russian forces would occupy Moldavia and Wallachia, but that the intention of the Czar in effecting this occupation was not at all to make an attack upon the integrity of the Ottoman empire. Thereupon Bonaparte had a copy of the treaty of Balta-Liman produced, and after having it read to M. de Kisseleff, he demanded of the ambassador "whether that treaty authorized Russia to occupy the Danubian provinces under actual circumstances?" to which M. de Kisseleff could offer but a stammering reply. Then Bonaparte declared, clearly and decidedly, that "France would regard the occupation of Moldavia as a *casus belli*." The text of the treaty of Balta Liman, about which your Ministerial journals have been singularly reserved, is positive in this respect. The event in which Russia may occupy the Danubian provinces is in case the people, or the Hospodars should attempt to change the form of government established in those provinces. In any case the Russian army of occupation may not exceed 35,000 men, which is to be the number of a similar army of occupation on the part of Turkey—in other words, it must be a simultaneous occupation by the two Powers. Such is the text of the treaty of Balta Liman. Russia can only occupy Moldavia and Wallachia in the event of an intestine revolution in those provinces; and at present there is nothing of the kind.

The financial world was again thrown into consternation at learning this new difficulty. All was uncertainty, panic, and collapse. What, indeed, is to be the upshot of it all? Will England join with France throughout all possible eventualities? One need not be a very subtle politician to understand that the pretended provisional occupation of the Danubian Provinces by Russia might very well become a definitive occupation; in which case two large and fertile provinces would be annexed to the Russian territory without striking a blow. Now, will England suffer this occupation so quietly? Will she perceive, or fail to perceive, that to suffer such an event to be accomplished without resistance would be a national forfeiture? These are the questions every one is asking. The most sinister rumours are in circulation. A telegraphic despatch from Vienna has just announced that the Russians definitively crossed the Pruth on the 14th inst. Another despatch from Constantinople states that on the 6th inst. the Porte again rejected the ultimatum of the Czar. These two rumours would mutually confirm each other. Rumours of another nature, but these advisedly spread by Russian agents, have at the same time been in circulation on the Bourse. If we are to believe these Russian emissaries, a revolutionary movement is on the point of bursting forth all over Europe. It has been rumoured that a terrible insurrection had again broken out at Milan, and only been quelled after terrible slaughter; that a great number of arrests and military executions had taken place; that a strong force had moved to the frontiers of the Tessino. The whole truth of these alarming rumours amounts, I believe, to this—about a dozen arrests have been made at Milan, and some ferment exists in that city.

To frighten the French government, it was rumoured that the war party in the British Cabinet had resigned, leaving the foreign policy in the hands of the peace party.

On the other hand, to alarm the English government it was reported that orders had been sent to all the garrisons in France to form a *corps d'armée* under the title of Army of the Rhine. All these rumours are so many Russian manoeuvres. Indeed, for the last ten days, Russia has almost surpassed herself in diplomatic stratagems. She has been intriguing at the four courts of Paris, London, Berlin and Vienna, under four different aspects.

I. To France she represents England as desiring war, for the sole sake of annihilating the Russian navy and naval establishments in the Baltic and the Euxine—a holocaust to British supremacy of the seas. That such were the instructions to the British ambassador at Constantinople.

II. To England she represents France as desiring

war, for the sake of winning some éclat for her tarnished flag, and so, by a powerful impulse of national pride and glory, rallying all the popular sympathies to Bonaparte.

III. To Vienna Russia has sent Baron Meyendorff, to say that she would gladly find Austria interposing her good offices to secure an honourable solution of the question in dispute. By this means she paralyzes Austria completely, and even disposes her to take sides with the Czar, if her proposals for peace are rejected.

IV. Lastly, Russia has succeeded in extorting from Prussia a complete adhesion to her policy, and the promise of effectual support.

In the following words does the *New Prussian Gazette* announce the result of Russian intrigues. "Prussia for her part, in consequence both of the Anglo-French alliance, and of communications made to the Court of Berlin by Russian diplomacy, has been led to assume a decided position in the Russo-Turkish question." The meaning of this last result is that France is to be half paralyzed in her Eastern policy—she may not fire a gun in the Black Sea without having a Prussian army on her frontiers at home. Now, in Bonaparte's actual position, this is a matter to be considered. So long as a naval war only was in question, he could afford to appeal to arms; but, with the prospect of a continental war, will he persist in his warlike resolutions? If he had no insurrection in Paris to fear, his friends might answer, Yes; but, as this nation will never suffer a war to be conducted by a man whom it despises and detests, I answer, No! Now, if France withdraws, what will England do with her fleet and her gold? Unless she make up her mind to revolutionize all Europe, she will be obliged to follow France, to remain passive, and leave Russia in peaceable possession of her Danubian provinces.

Conclusion. The perplexities are increasing, and the posture of affairs is becoming more and more strained.

At home it has been attempted, by dint of the arrests made last week, to throw a sort of halo of interest over the Emperor and his wife. Rumours of a conspiracy to break out at the Hippodrome were artfully spread about. Bonaparte feigned fear; and instead of returning by the Allée de St. Cloud, he changed his route, and since that day he has not appeared at the theatre without a formidable escort of guards. The whole foundation of this plot rests upon half a dozen gamins, who amused themselves with shouting after the Emperor's carriage in the Allée de St. Cloud, *Vive la République! à bas Badinguet! à bas les Aristos!* The police took good care not to lose the opportunity of transforming this farce into a horrible plot against the Emperor's life and person, and to arrest a certain number of bourgeois who were marked as republicans. Two hundred bourgeois were arrested, besides some fifty working men. Among others, a bookseller on the Quai Voltaire. After three days arrest he learned, through the inquiries of a deputy to the Legislative Corps, that he was accused of introducing into Paris a bale of Victor Hugo's brochures. This accusation was utterly unfounded, and after strict search it was found that the police had made a mistake; they had confounded him with another bookseller; not of the Quai Voltaire, but of the Quai Malaquais. This week, again, there has been a new scandal on the Bourse, and a new lie of the official prints. That terrible fall of last Thursday occasioned immense disasters. Among others, a certain stockbroker was hit so hard, that an execution followed; but as the situation was a critical one, and this execution would be the signal for a host of others, and of incalculable disasters, M. Fould advanced 1,200,000 francs (48,000*l.*) to the broker in question. The next day the official journals came out with a flat denial of the report of the broker's ruin, and affirmed with a certain ostentation that far from being "hard up" this broker had met his losses, which only amounted to 1,100,000 francs (44,000*l.*) with securities to the amount of 1,200,000 francs (48,000*l.*). This impudent mystification was very badly received.

The provincial journals contain singular reports of trials of officers who refused to escort the procession of the Corpus Christi. The Correctional Tribunal of Nîmes sentenced M. Philippe Villard, captain of the *Pompier*s at Vauvert, to a fine of 50 francs for not having obeyed the requisition he had received from the authorities to march his troop in the procession. I have heard that twenty-six officers of what was formerly called the Republican Guard have been sent to Algeria for "disaffection." If the army gets into a habit of conspiring it is all up with Bonaparte. S.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

THE British fleet sailed from Malta on the evening of the 8th instant, the Admiral having received his orders the

same morning. The French fleet sailed from Salamis on the 11th instant, and by this time, no doubt, the allied fleets are at anchor in Besika Bay.

M. Aristarchi, the Chargé d'Affaires of Wallachia, has left Constantinople. He is a Greek, and nothing more nor less than an agent of Russia.

General Dembinski has written to the *Journal des Débats*, to contradict the report that he had offered his services to the Sultan, towards whom, however, he expresses sentiments of the deepest gratitude and respect.

A grand constitutional and national festival has been celebrated in Denmark.

THE CAMP.

TEN thousand English soldiers met at Chobham Common at noon on Monday. At twelve o'clock, standing near a central clump of trees on the Common, one might see the troops advancing by five different roads. Through the green of the hedge-rows the bright glancing of the arms had a fine effect. The Welch Fusileers were the first on the ground, marching in with great liveliness. From another quarter, the Artillery, some troops of which had travelled a great distance, came near, the heavy "rumbling" of the wagons shaking the ground, some of the men and horses splashed with mud stains, while others looked fresh and unsoiled. A stirring strain of martial music swelled in from the Chertsey-road, where were seen in full march the fine forms and splendid cuirasses of the Life Guards. Topping the ridge crossed by the Windsor-road, the tall shakos of the Grenadier Guards appeared: this was one battalion, but a larger body of the regiment advanced to join them in another direction, with drums and fifes, preceded by the grave and dignified goat of the regiment. Along another road the fluttering pennons of the Lancers glinted through the trees; the dark tartans of the Black Watch—the noble 42nd—moved in masses along; while the bright caparisons and smart accoutrements of the Light Dragoons diversified the varied procession. The day was wet, the roads miry, and some of the men had travelled far. The whole country around—a quiet and rural neighbourhood—was enlivened by these living streams of military humanity moving through them. Little villages were startled from their dulness; "pretty cottages, the homes of retired competence, shook as horse and foot and rumbling gun-carriages went by. Groups of gaping country-folks collected at cross-roads to stare at the unwonted pageant, and even when it was gone they still lingered to watch as the camp baggage lumbered heavily behind. Now and then there was a halt, during which the men who had marched farthest seemed glad to rest themselves, as best they could, until the call of the bugle once more set them in motion. 'Till nearly midday the advancing columns were struggling along the narrow approaches to the common, and taking up the positions respectively assigned them." At length all were on the ground at about half-past twelve; and the busy masses spread themselves over the common, diverse regiments apparently intermingled, but still all disentangled from the *melée* by the influence of the judicious regulations laid down. The scene now was of the most animated character. The strains of many hands mingled in the air; the striking and distinguished uniforms stood out in moving contrast to the dull dark heath, except where the rifles—least illustrious but very serviceable corps—proceeded darkly to their allotted locality.

The common is a wild, extensive, heath-clad tract of land; the lower parts are marshy; the high ground covered with a scrubby dry turf; the heath is about a foot high. The soil is black and mossy, its products coarse heaths and stagnant pools; the surface is undulating and dotted with two or three clumps of dismal firs, a pleasant wooded and corn country lying northward, and ugly lumpish hills bounding the expanse to the south. On the west side of the road, traversing the moor, lies the camp, arranged in separate towns of tents, the cavalry (looking from the path) being to the right, the infantry in the centre, and the artillery on the left. Its extent, its freedom from inclosures or wood, and on other considerations on the whole, well adapt it for the use to which it is now put. The wet weather has made it in some parts moist and rutty; "but," says the *Times* correspondent, "looking at it with the impartiality and coolness which, not being compelled to sleep there, enables me to exercise, it seems impossible to deny that the camp is finely situated."

In little more than half an hour from the time when the first regiment arrived, the whole of the troops were on the ground; and the report of a gun, echoing over the common, announced the assemblage. The bugles then sounded, the men hastily broke up in groups. As if by magic, white tents started up like mushrooms, and the heath was soon marked by the dotted lines of the encampment. Although the weather prevented a simultaneous operation, as was originally intended, a general verdict of approval was given as

regarded rapidity and dexterity in erection. The canvas houses of a whole regiment were set up in a few minutes, each regiment straining to do their work in the shortest possible time. The palm was generally conceded to the 42nd Highlanders, who handled their tents as if the Arabian desert, not the Scottish hills, had rejoiced in their nativity.

At one o'clock the work was done, and the camp at Chobham was formed. The men, re-forming, defiled by regiments before the Commander-in-Chief; and then returning, sentinels were placed around each quarter allotted to a regiment; civilians were excluded; and the men, released from duty, lounged, cooked, chatted, bustled about tents, or built kitchens, as whim or necessity prompted.

"The sutler's tents were soon driving a busy trade, each being crowded with soldiers, and singing, shouting, and merry-making became the order of the day. Brawny Highlanders might be seen testing the camp kitchens with huge caldrons of future soup; light infantry flew across the ground armed with quartern loaves; and here and there the crowd and excitement round a particular tent indicated that, within, the sinews of war were being dispensed in the shape of thirteen pence to each gallant son of Mars. The Irish, who muster strong in the line, rejoice in an infinite variety of brogues, a constant flow of animal spirits, and light, bony fingers. The English look solid, square, and well 'set up,' are generally good looking, and have considerable difficulty in throwing the necessary ferocity into their mild Saxon physiognomies. The Scotch have a grave, determined look, especially while watching the soup-kettle, great development of muscle, and seem equally ready for a charge with a bayonet, or a literary or philosophic discussion. Their peculiar uniform excited as much wonder amongst the primitive inhabitants of Chobham as it did amongst the Parisians, in 1814; and their dialect was the subject of grave speculation. Altogether it is thought that a finer body of British troops never met together to go through their exercises. The powerful men of the 1st Life Guards, the able-bodied men of the Dragoon Guards, the light and agile Dragoons and Lancers, with their fine and well-kept horses, were the admiration of thousands of spectators; and the strong bone and muscle of the Highlanders evidenced that these gallant killed corps have not in the least degenerated, and that on any emergency their hardy frames would enable them to accomplish wonders equal to any recorded in the former annals of the regiments. The light infantry regiments also appear in admirable order; and the Rifle Brigade, with their dark clothing, which render them almost indistinguishable amongst the dark heath, would prove no common enemy when all are armed with the Minié musket. The men of the Royal Horse Artillery and Field Batteries are well acquainted with their duties, and all their horses in remarkably fine condition."

The *Times* has a good word even for the suspected "Household" heroes, and speaks highly of the general body of the troops.

"The Household troops, horse and foot, may be rather spoiled by a luxurious life, alternating between Windsor and the metropolis. Let them be closely examined, however; let foreigners go out to Chobham and see how they look there. Their earth kitchens may be somewhat more carefully made than those belonging to the line, their horses better provided for, and some faint efforts at furniture in their mess-rooms; but they are as fine and as noble a body of soldiers as any general could desire to wield, and one could not help feeling some pardonable pulsations of national vanity at seeing them yesterday a conspicuous feature of the camp. The troops of the line, however, are the strength of the British army, and must always be its chief pride. In them are supposed to be happily blended the characteristic spirit of three or four nationalities, and the historians of our wars affect to trace in battle the firm and sustained courage of English regiments, the devotion of the Highlanders, or the wild impetuosity of the Irish. If there be truth in this view of our military force, it is well developed at the camp, where yesterday, as you passed from one set of tents to another, you heard the mother tongue spoken in unmistakable varieties of accent. Now a mellifluous brogue saluted the ear, and a little beyond it was the broad dialect of the land of cakes, while the waving tartans and plumed bonnets appealed similarly to the eye."

The arrangements of the camp are suitable and sufficient. A soldier's tent is simple. Fifteen men sleep in it, each with his feet to the central pole, around which are clustered the guns and belts ready for use. Straw is thickly strewn on the floor. The officers' tents are littered in the same way, but each officer has a tent to himself, and his furniture consists of a tub, a chest, and an iron bedstead. The kitchens built by the Sappers and Miners are a decided improvement on the old form in use during the Peninsular war, and which some of the regiments, we observe, still practise. They economize fuel, and enable cooking to be carried on more quickly and in larger quantities; but, on the other hand, they are perhaps a little more troublesome to construct. The experience and practice of the camp on the first day were mainly centered on this point, for of course when the men came on the ground, after their tents were up, the first thing requisite was to feed them, and when that was done the rain had effectually cleared the common of spectators. It must not be supposed that the culinary art, as practised in the midst of war's alarms, is an uninteresting object of study. Anything more rude and accordant with campaigning it is hardly possible to conceive. A trench

is dug with a short mud chimney at one end; a fire is lighted at the other, and the top of the trench being covered over with turf, pots are stuck down into holes made for them in this covering to boil; this is the Sappers' mode. The earth kitchen approved of by the existing regulations is a still rougher contrivance, and one's thoughts in looking at either naturally revert with satisfaction to sea-coal fires, ranges, ovens, hot plates, and all the other appliances of modern gastronomy. The Artillery, like the Sappers, are obliged to be able to turn their hands to any sort of work more than the men of the line, and they gave excellent evidence of their expertness by the quickness with which they took up their position.

The Camp comprises a force complete in itself, representing every arm of the service. There are four regiments of Cavalry, three battalions of Guards, two brigades of Infantry, each comprising three regiments; one troop of Royal Horse Artillery, three batteries of Horse Artillery, a company of Sappers, and a Pontoon train. The cavalry is composed of the 1st Life Guards, the 6th Dragoon Guards, the 13th Light Dragoons, and the 17th Lancers, commanded by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge. Colonel Henry Bentinck commands the battalions of the Grenadier, Coldstream, and Scots Fusilier Guards. Sir De Lacy Evans commands the 1st Infantry Brigade, which consists of the 38th, the 93rd, and the 2nd battalion of the Rifle Brigade. Major-General Fane commands the 42nd, the 50th, and the 95th, forming the 2nd Infantry Brigade. Lieutenant-Colonel Bloomfield commands the Royal Artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel Vickers the Sappers and Miners, and Colonel H. D. Jones the Pontoon train. The entire division is under the command of Lord Seaton, Lieutenant-Colonel B. Wood being Assistant Adjutant-General, and Colonel Torrens Assistant-Quartermaster-General.

The regiments forming this "camp" had to be drawn together from the various quarters of the kingdom. Windsor, Knightsbridge, Hounslow, and Winchester sent the Life Guards and the three battalions of Foot Guards. The 50th had to come all the way from Preston, Chatham furnished a large contingent, Weedon sent in a regiment, and Woolwich of course contributed the horse and foot artillery.

The railways have already organized excursion trains from the metropolis, and on the ground every arrangement to secure accommodation is being made. Innkeepers from the neighbouring towns have taken patches of ground, at enormous rents, close to the line, and offer every variety of refreshment and welcome to the weary traveller "who can pay." Some of the ground so let pays three pounds the square foot, while other portions have been secured by those who came early in the field at 20% an acre. All the hosts expect to realize rapid fortunes, and certainly with a fair prospect, if high charges and scant entertainment do not drive the public to other expedients. Booths for billiards, for prospect, and for theatrical entertainments, have also been erected.

On Wednesday, Prince Albert inspected the camp. There is to be no military demonstration on the anniversary of Waterloo, to avoid the "perpetuation of rivalry" suggested by the remembrance. Tuesdays and Fridays have been decided upon for holding the reviews of the troops, and Tuesday next, the 21st instant, will be the first grand day at the camp, her Majesty having expressed her intention to be present with his Royal Highness Prince Albert and a brilliant staff to review the troops in the camp on that day. The numerous royal and distinguished visitors at present in this country from the Continent will also be present on the occasion. The nights on which surprises and attacks will take place will necessarily be only known to the highest military authorities who will have to direct them.

Yesterday, the troops went through defensive manoeuvres, as if in the face of an enemy advancing from Guildford. The operations were well executed.

INDIA AND CHINA.

The following telegraphic despatch has been received:—
"The steamer *Calcutta* arrived on the 16th June, at 6½ a.m., in 108 hours, from Alexandria.

"Belling, which had been really captured by the Burmese insurgents, notwithstanding the denial of the Bengal government, has been recaptured by our forces, with the loss of thirty killed and wounded.

"The Burmese Commissioners have not yet returned an answer to the Governor-General's proffered terms.

"Should they not return a favourable answer before the thirty days allowed them for consideration have elapsed, an advance upon Ava will take place, and steamers are being made ready to meet the contingency at Bombay.

"Trade was dull.

"The delay in the arrival at Suez of the *Precursor* steamer, from Calcutta, has enabled the Bombay mail

of the 23rd of May to arrive in time for the Bengal steamer from Alexandria.

"The latest intelligence from Hong-Kong is to the 22nd of April."

An additional telegraphic despatch brings us news from China. It says, "Nankin and Kiang-loo have been taken by the rebels, and Kiang-hai (? Shanghai) is completely deserted."

AMERICAN NOTES.

AMERICANS apply themselves to the cause of humanity with as much energy as to the cause of science. Mr. Grumel, the magnificent merchant of New York, who formerly fitted out an expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, has now fitted out a second expedition with the same object. It sailed from New York on the 30th of last month.

The *Washington Union* is the newspaper organ of General Pierce's government. An article advocating amity and general alliance with Russia appeared in it lately. This caused great surprise and democratic indignation. It is now explained that the article was written by one of the editors on his own responsibility, and that it was not suggested or sanctioned by any of the cabinet.

In Jamaica, the discord between the Government and the Assembly continues, and the situation becomes more serious every day. The Assembly refuse to vote the supplies, except for particularly specified objects, which exclude the payment of official salaries. Their reason for this refusal is the rejection by the Government of a bill retrenching official salaries, more than once passed by the Assembly. The Government now threaten to turn loose the convicts and disband the police, for want of means for their support.

A Cunard steamer has at length outstripped the swiftest of the Collins line. The *Arabia* in her last voyage, surpassed the best voyage of the *Arctic* by six or seven hours. (It may not be useless to note that the names of all the Collins steamers end in "c," and that the names of all the Cunard steamers end in "a.")

Under the heading of "Loss of a Liverpool Ship," we lately noticed the wreck of the *William and Mary*, and the abandonment of the ship by the crew, leaving over sixty passengers on board. We now have further news. The ship, unguided, drifted on the water, and was on the point of sinking entirely, when all the crew (but two) were saved by a passing schooner.

Urquiza still blockades Buenos Ayres, both by sea and land. He has just defeated a portion of the national squadron, and it is thought that the local authorities must succumb. But they still say, No. Proposals for a peace have been considered by both parties, on the persuasion of the Brazilian and Bolivian ministers.

Gold is found to be widely spread in New Zealand, but the natives, careless of it themselves, hinder diggings by their formidable jealousy, so that no large findings have been made.

The New York Exhibition is not to be opened until the 15th of July.

The scientific discoveries of Lieutenant Maury, of the National Observatory, Washington, have much facilitated navigation. The rapid voyage from California of the *Sovereign of the Seas* (82 days), resulted from a careful action on the theories of winds and ocean currents announced by the *sagan*, and since then two other ships have made other voyages equally expeditious.

THE NATIONAL SOCIETY AND THE CHURCH CATECHISM.

SOME controversy arose at the annual meeting, last Wednesday, of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor. The meeting was well attended. There were present the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London, Winchester, Gloucester and Bristol, Salisbury, Chichester, St. Asaph, Oxford, Llandaff, Norwich, and Worcester, Archdeacon Denison, the Reverend Canon Trevor, Reverend J. Keble, Dr. Pusey, and several other clergymen, together with many eminent laymen. The Archbishop made a speech, referring with gladness to the progress of the Society, and a long report gave statistics of the same tone. The last paragraph of the report formed the text of the debate that ensued. It said—

"During the past year applications have been made to the committee from several quarters to sanction particular interpretations of their terms of union. The committee have declined to do so, considering that the language of those terms is sufficiently clear and intelligible, and that the principle embodied cannot be mistaken. With respect to the management of schools, the committee, having no power to interfere, cannot undertake either to enforce the observance of the terms of union, or to relax the obligation incurred by accepting them. These questions are left to the good faith of the managers of schools and the due oversight of the bishops of the Church; and the committee

have full confidence that the managers of schools in union will so act up to the conditions upon which they have received aid from the society, as may best, under God's blessing, promote the object for which it was incorporated—the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church."

Not with the intention of stopping discussion, but to enable those who wished it, to avoid the "exciting displays" of former years, Lord Redesdale moved that the meeting should adjourn. Mr. A. J. B. Hope seconded this motion, requesting his friend, Archdeacon Denison, to be satisfied with his former success, and with "the satisfactory and safe position" in which the Church was now placed. The Archdeacon was inflexible. Referring to his former efforts, he said, that for years he had vindicated the right of Churchmen, founders of schools, to receive aid out of the taxes of the country, without having conditions imposed on them which the Church never framed. He then pointed out that a great inquiry into the management of schools had been commenced, and would they now evade it? Instead, they ought to pass a resolution that would sweep away all imputations. Between the course of the society in 1813 and 1839 there was a discrepancy; and with a doubt upon the case, would they, with enemies around them, and an actual secession from their own body before their eyes—would they refuse an inquiry? The Reverend W. Donnes Willes supported the Archdeacon. But the Reverend J. Keble (who was received with loud cheers) advocated an adjournment, not separating himself from his "venerable friend" Archdeacon Denison; but considering that the society had not yet had time to consider the answers to the inquiries of the committee. The Reverend Canon Trevor earnestly objected to adjournment. "No greater injury could be inflicted on the Church of England than an attempt to stifle discussion, and prevent the expression of feelings with which the hearts of the clergy and laity were almost bursting." But he still differed from Archdeacon Denison; the question was not one to be best discussed in a numerous meeting. It was a delicate question; otherwise in towns, where there were many Dissenters, than in rural districts, such as that where the Archdeacon had gained his experience. Besides, no vote of the meeting could coerce the clergy; the points disputed should rest with the bishops. The Bishop of London took the same view, and expressed his regret at the prospect of "painful discussions upon delicate questions which they were not competent to decide."

The real question involved in this dispute is—whether the teaching of the Catechism in schools in union with the National Society shall be rigorously enforced. Mr. Keble's memorial, presented some time back, suggested that the bishops should be requested to inquire whether this was or was not done. Some have made inquiries, some have refrained. The Bishop of London thinks both parties discreet. The appendix to the report contained their replies. The basis of Mr. Keble's argument is, that time should be given for the society to consider those replies. Mr. Denison, on the contrary, thought the discussion should go on. The meeting agreed with Mr. Keble and Lord Redesdale; the motion for adjournment was carried; and so the matter stands.

"YOUNG IRELAND" IN LONDON.

MR. CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY, M.P., Editor of the *Dublin Nation*, has received from his friends, personal and political, the English honour of a public dinner. It took place on Wednesday at the Freemason's Tavern, and was attended by six members of Parliament (Messrs. Kennedy, Lucas, Meagher, McCann, McMahon, Brady), and about two hundred and fifty others. In proposing Mr. Duffy's health, the Chairman, Mr. Sheriff Swift, M.P., congratulated Mr. Duffy on having sustained his indictment in the House of the deserters from the Irish party. Mr. DUFFY in his speech referred to the "Irish party" in the House.

"Many had doubted from the first, and many to this day doubted, of the success of that great Parliamentary experiment, but it was his deliberate and most sincere conviction that the experiment had succeeded. Taking into account the limited means at the disposal of the independent Irish members, and having regard also to the extraordinary difficulties with which they had to contend, he did not hesitate to say that they had succeeded to a very great degree. Some of the most respectable and most experienced members of the House of Commons had assured him that the character of the Irish representation had greatly improved within the last four months. The English Government had arrived at the conclusion that they had at last that greatest of all imaginable difficulties to contend with—an independent Irish party, which could be neither bought nor bullied." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Duffy characterized another class of Irish members as—

"Men who were the laughing-stock of England, and the scorn and the curse of Ireland, black-legs and gamblers, broken-down squires and lawyers, with loose principles, or no principles at all. . . . Was it not deplorable to see two Irish parties in the House of Commons, each as

deeply pledged as the other, yet sitting at opposite sides of the house, scowling at one another, and voting in different lobbies? One or other of them ought to be extirpated."

He next referred to English parties:

"Thom of Canterbury, or the Mormons of America, indicating the road to immortality, did not present a more monstrous monument of human absurdity than the noble lord the member for London leading the British House of Commons. (Loud cheers.) And then to think of a relative of that noble person's having worried the House with a speech of five hours' duration on the subject of India, while the hon. member for Manchester (Mr. Bright) exposed the whole gist of the question, with frank, manly, and massive eloquence, in less than ten minutes! (Cheers.) What sort of system was that which kept such an imbecile old gentleman as Lord J. Russell's relative at the head of the Board of Control, while such a man as Mr. Bright was excluded from office? Mr. Duffy then alluded to the necessity of union amongst the English and Irish Radicals."

Other speeches in the same tone having been made, the proceedings went on to a late hour amid much Irish enthusiasm.

SCHOOLBOYS ONCE AGAIN.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL is three hundred years old; and those who have played and studied within its walls might form a large company of good and gallant men. Of the once pupils now living, a band met on Wednesday to celebrate the three hundredth year, and to contribute towards the "Benevolent Society of Blues." Alderman Thompson was the President; but when he thought he would be heard for his cause, he found the old boys talking of past times so merrily, that they forgot their respectable, but prosy President. There were the Duke of Northumberland, Lord Leicester, Lord Churton, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Colonel Angerstein, and several other old blues thronging Merchant Taylor's Hall, all talking loudly and cheerily of the good old times. The chairman proposed "Church and Queen," which was received with the plaudits due to the traditions of the hall. The national anthem was then sung, the vast assembly joining in the chorus with heartiness. This may be said to have closed the "business" of the meeting; for as the observations of the chairman were not audible to more than a fourth of the company, and as the worthy alderman had already developed a more than tendency to prose, the guests devoted themselves to conversation and conviviality. The "Pious and Immortal Memory of the Founder, King Edward VI.," was honoured after a fashion, and the army and navy were not forgotten. The chairman had now reached the toast of the evening—"Prosperity to the royal and ancient foundation of Christ's Hospital; may they prosper that love it, and may God increase their number!" The buzz of conversation, the clatter of plates, and the clink of glasses had reached their climax; and the stewards awaking at last to a sense of their responsibilities, added to the din their contingent of noise, which of itself would have almost sufficed to set up a City election. Mr. Harker, the toastmaster, himself a "blue," shouted "Silence," and "Chair, gentlemen!" till he was hoarse; but all was vain. At last he vociferated "If you don't be silent you'll be sent to the stones!" Words of tremendous import to the alumni of Christ's. Several hoary-headed gentlemen were observed to turn pale as a thousand painful reminiscences flitted across their memory. The audience gave a general hysteric laugh, and subsided into a momentary silence; during which the worthy alderman was heard chiding those who could not hear him, for disturbing those who could, and hinting desperate threats of resignation. The voice revived them; the din once more rose triumphant, and the speech wended "its weary way" to a conclusion unheard and unheeded. But the meeting made up in its own fun, "fast and furious," for the loss in the alderman's eloquence, and the influence of "auld lang syne" prevailed throughout the night.

HINTS ON LAW REFORM.

THE "amendment of the law" is still an object with Lord Brougham, and the Society he inspires. At its meeting on Wednesday, what has been recently done or discussed touching the improvement of the law was recounted. The assimilation of mercantile law has been considered, also the formation of Chambers of Commerce. The law of partnership is the subject of inquiry by a Royal Commission. The reform of the ecclesiastical courts is expected: and much has been done with reference to the law of landlord and tenant. Several members then referred to existing defects in practice and in theory. In one case, of a lady's marriage settlement, on which the fees of counsel were only 13*l.*, the profits of the attorney were 83*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* Mr. Collier objected to the great division of labour in the legal profession. It created many good technical lawyers, but very few who had studied the laws of England as a whole, or jurisprudence as a science. (Mr. M. D. Hill parenthetically dated law reform from

the 28th February, 1828, when the subject was "introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Brougham." This caused loud cheers. Lord Brougham himself was present, in the chair.) Professor Hancock (from Dublin) boasted that Ireland was in advance of England, having had County Courts, and having an Encumbered Estates Commission before her. Lord Wharncliffe and Mr. Hastings pointedly denounced the Inns of Court as "enormous lodging houses—nothing better." Their revenues were said to amount to 100,000*l.*—at least, were 50,000*l.* a-year. With that sum, what might be done towards legal education? Christ's College, Cambridge, with but 5000*l.* a-year, did an immensity of good. It had established fifteen fellowships and six lecturer's chairs; while in the Inns but 1720*l.* a-year was spent in lectures. How different was the state of the Inns now from what they had been when our population was only 2,000,000: then 5000 students were maintained there. In such conversation some hours usefully passed.

W A G E S.

THE operatives now ask, in some cases, for concessions which cannot make the master poorer, but which add much to the comfort of the men. With this variety to note, the movement simply progresses, the success of the operatives being almost monotonous. In Birmingham, where the builders lately succeeded in getting higher wages, the painters and glaziers have made a demand for an advance. The manner of the negotiation is chronicled as different to the style of such proceedings of old. "The men are less offensive, and the masters more considerate." Compromises have therefore been effected. It is said by some, that the high wages press too severely on the ironmasters; but the constant increase in the production of Birmingham ware, shows that the increased comfort of the operatives has worked the other way. At Glossopdale the holiday visitation of last week has been successful; the men now work but ten hours and a half a-day. In the West Riding the juvenile hands in several mills have obtained an advance of wages. The tailors in many towns of South Wales have obtained an advance "on demand." The masons of Swansea, after a five weeks' strike, have got a rise of 2*s.* The Bolton weavers have obtained an advance without a "strike." In Nottingham the Sutton hose hands, usually out of work at this season, are not only fully employed, but at advanced wages. In the north of Ireland there is full work for the weavers, and more hands are eagerly sought. The general well-being of working men is shown by the fact that in the tenth week of the last Christmas quarter, there were but 8041 persons receiving relief in England and Wales, on the ground of being "out of work." As a particular instance, we note that the deposits in the Leeds Savings Bank have increased by 14,000*l.* within the half-year.

Many negotiations are still pending. The bottlemakers of Shields ask an advance of 4*s.* per week; the masters have offered 2*s.*, and a compromise is likely. The men at the Lynvi works (Wales) have struck on account of an objectionable mode of payment, and meetings are held daily in the mountains. The shoemakers of Swansea, and the ship carpenters of Cardigan are out on strike, demanding an advance of 3*s.* per week. The colliers and miners of Wales contemplate a further "operation for a rise." The Manchester shoemakers demand advanced wages and the abolition of "slopwork." The strike of the Stockport spinners and weavers continues: they demand an advance of 10 per cent.; some firms have already yielded, and more are likely to yield. The strike of the dock labourers and porters of Liverpool is ended, the men having returned to their work. At Blackburn the twisters-in have demanded 25 per cent. rise.

The Government employés seem to be winning the knack of making their demands successful. The Edinburgh County Police have obtained an advance of 3*s.*, 2*s.*, and 1*s.* 6*d.* per week, according to rank; and the police of Glasgow have got an increase of 2*s.* per week. There seems every likelihood that the movement among the Manchester Police, noticed last week, will be successful.

THE STRIKE OF THE MANCHESTER GLASS-CUTTERS.

A noticeable controversy is going on in Manchester between the glass-cutters and their employers. In the Manchester glass works a practice has existed for some time, of locking the men out, and locking in, a practice which does not exist in any other town. As a workman passes through the door he has to call out his number, 1, 2, 3, or 4, as the case may be, so that the time-keeper may take it down. The workman often finds himself treated too much like a serf—but there is no occasion to treat him like a criminal. The men felt their treatment to amount to this, and reasonably endeavoured to get it altered. As the men are at "piece work," the fact of locking out, and the manner

of it, certainly wear a doubly unpleasant aspect. Messrs. Percival, Yates, Vickers and Co. have published a circular against the men, in which, with most reprehensible taste, they sneer at their "sensitive feelings," for protesting against being numbered like criminals—because this firm think the men inconsistent in other respects. They are so, no doubt; but it ill becomes Masters to discountenance a partial manifestation of commendable self-respect. Occupied in discussing their best course of procedure, the glass-cutters exceeded, one afternoon, the locking up time, and so absented themselves; and the next morning, when they went to work, they were refused admittance, and thus forced to strike. Messrs. Molineaux and Webb, who compelled this step, have published a circular representing the men as having left their work unfinished, in a dishonourable manner—when, in truth, the men were shut out from their work by Messrs. Molineaux, Webb, and Co. themselves. Both of the above-named companies sent round circulars to all their fellow masters, the Flint Glass Manufacturers, with a list of the men on strike, so as to prevent them getting any employment elsewhere—an act of vindictiveness unbecoming gentlemen. While thus soliciting the sympathy of co-masters, Messrs. Percival and Co. have (so the men discover) sent out an agent to induce workmen from other manufactories to come and work for them; and Messrs. Lloyd and Summerfield, of Birmingham, have, it is alleged, lost some of their men by this agent's solicitation. Messrs. Percival and Co.'s circular, is, in point of temper and fair statement, infinitely below that of the men's. The glass-cutters of Manchester are still out. They may not have the happiest or most considerate way of enforcing the claims of Labour, but certainly the Masters have a much worse in defending the rights of Capital. There is more to be said on both sides than is included in this abstract of the dispute, but having looked personally into the matter, and having all the documents on both sides before me, I can say that this short account presents the substantial merits of the case, and that the sympathy of the public is due to the men. No doubt property, knowledge, and the prejudices of the influential and employing classes go with the Masters, and the public, therefore, has a right to expect that they will be more just, dispassionate, and generous than the workmen, who have narrow means, few opportunities, a hard lot, and small means of self-defence. J.

Manchester.

THE ROTHERHITHE "CONSPIRACY."

THE "war-rocket" case has "come down like a stick." The following correspondence has taken place:—

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD PALMERSTON, SECRETARY OF STATE,

"MY LORD,—The observations made by your Lordship in the House of Commons on the 5th of May last encourage me to solicit your Lordship to relieve me from the proceedings now pending against me.

"I beg to assure your Lordship that I never had the slightest idea that in carrying on my factory of war-rockets I was committing a breach of the law; nor has anything occurred, previous to these proceedings, in the ten years during which I have been endeavouring to bring before Her Majesty's Government various improvements, some of them patented, in that branch of the Ordnance department, to give me any intimation of the kind. I am now, however, advised that my manufacture does come within the meaning of the prohibitive clauses of the 9th and 10th of William III., c. 7, and I am very desirous to be spared the expense and anxiety of a trial, which I am told can only result in a declaration of the law to that effect.

"I therefore propose to plead 'Guilty'; and, under the circumstances, I venture humbly to submit to your Lordship that the law has now been sufficiently vindicated, and to pray your Lordship to give instructions that the pending proceedings against me may be abandoned.

"I have, &c.,

"WILLIAM HALE.

"8, Bedford-row, June 1."

"Whitehall, June 3, 1853.

"SIR,—I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st inst., in which you state that you are advised that your manufacture of war-rockets comes within the meaning of the prohibitive clauses of the 9th and 10th of William III., c. 7; that you are desirous to be spared the expense and anxiety of a trial, and therefore propose to plead 'Guilty.' And I am to inform you that, under these circumstances, Lord Palmerston will direct the Attorney-General not to call you before the court for judgment.

"I am, Sir, &c.

"H. WADDINGTON.

"Mr. William Hale, 8, Bedford-row."

The semi-official *Chronicle* states that the Government are willing that Mr. Hale should select one of four officers named to make a reasonable yet liberal valuation of the property seized. Mr. Hale has fixed upon Col. Chalmers, Inspector of Artillery at the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich, and now awaits his decision. The *Chronicle* adds—"The abandonment of the prosecution against Mr. Hale will not be matter of surprise, as it was never intended, as Lord Palmerston stated, to press hard upon him, but to elicit if they were manufactured for any of the foreign refugees in this country. It would now be difficult to obtain any

further information on the subject if the surmise is correct that the two most important witnesses who could have been called, if the case had been brought forward at the Surrey Sessions, have left a country where they were safe from danger, to watch the present aspect of events on the Continent."

COLLEGIATE AUTHORITIES.

THE case of the Rev. Lionel Buller, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, seems one of great hardship. The facts have been stated before Mr. Justice Wightman this week. In 1845, a suit in chancery was commenced against Mr. Buller, to obtain a charge on his fellowship. On the first of December, 1848, Mr. Buller was summoned before the provost and fellows of the college to answer a charge of fraud and perjury; and, accordingly, on the 5th of that month he appeared, when he was charged with having committed perjury in the answer he had put in to the bill in chancery, which was then read. Mr. Buller requested an adjournment to enable him to answer the charge, and accordingly the further hearing was adjourned until the 19th of the same month, on which day his answer to the bill in chancery was again read, and compared with two letters which had been written several years before the said answer was put in; these were read and compared with certain statements in the answer, and in some particulars they differed. Mr. Buller was then ordered out of the room, and about twenty minutes after was recalled, and told by the provost that he had been unanimously found guilty of fraud and perjury, and was expelled from his office of fellow of the college. It was now submitted that this was a most monstrous proceeding, and wholly unjustifiable. The provost and fellows assumed to act under the authority of the statutes of the college. One of these statutes set forth on account of what crimes and misdemeanours the scholars and fellows ought to be removed from the college, amongst which is the offence of "perjurium manifestum." Then the mode in which he may be convicted is pointed out; that is, first, if he have confessed the charge made against him publicly, or that he shall have appeared to be clearly guilty by the evidence of good and proper witnesses, or by evidence of the fact, the words in the statute being "per evidentiam facti." In the present case the provost and fellows assumed to act on the last of these three categories, and held that the mere production of the answer in Chancery put in by Mr. Buller, and also two letters written by him several years before, which in some particulars differed from a statement made in the answer, was "evidentia facti" of the crime of "perjurium manifestum." Now this was a most monstrous decision, and one that was the more unjust, as Mr. Buller had no opportunity given him to explain or answer the charge made against him.

Mr. Buller has commenced proceedings at law against the provost and fellows to compel a restoration of his fellowship; but the judge has suggested the intervention of the bishop, as visitor of the college. An application to the bishop is accordingly to be made.

ENGLISH SOCIETY.

THE Law Courts and the Police Offices again reveal bits of English society beneath the surface.

Mr. J. H. Hewett is a greengrocer in Wych-street, a man of property also. He contracts a kind of marriage with a young woman, allows her to use his name, allows her as his wife to live at his lodgings, and then, a few weeks since, deserts her, leaving her to support his family of six children. In Scotland the evidence given as to his constant visits, and his appearance, on several occasions, in the character of a husband and father, would establish a legal marriage; but in England it is otherwise. The unmarried "wife" has obtained 2s. 6d. a week, for the support of the youngest of the children, and must go to law again for the same pittance for each of the rest.—Another case reads like a bit of exaggeration in a story of low life. Thomas Deadman, a prosperous market gardener in Hammersmith, some time ago, seduced a poor girl named Mary Bartlett, and retained her as his mistress. He gave her a key to his garden back gate, that she might enter it when she pleased, and take vegetables for herself and her family. But "Miss Deadman," the market gardener's sister, a lady of fashionable attire but violent manners, finding one day that the young girl and her old mother had taken some spinach from the garden, had them arrested for thieves. (She had some time before beaten the young girl most cruelly, during her pregnancy). When the magistrate heard the story he at once discharged the prisoner. A third case, instead of a deficiency in matrimonial solemnities, shows too much of the marriage bond. The facts on the first trial thus appeared. Thomas Iredale left his wife and married Elizabeth Verrall. The indignation of the deserted wife exhibited itself in hostile proceedings against the new "wife," who was finally obliged to leave Iredale and live by herself. There were thus three "homes"; one where Iredale lived alone, and two others, in each of which he had a wife and family. But the discord did not end. Mrs. Iredale (the first wife) made an irruption into Elizabeth Verrall's rooms: struck at her with a penknife, and openly took away several valuables, claiming them as her husband's property. For the robbery she was acquitted on this defence; but for the assault was sentenced to three months imprisonment.

ment. Another police case on Tuesday exposed the facts in a different light. Iredale committed a violent assault on a carman, named Hambrook, for insulting "his wife." On being charged, he said, "Hambrook insulted my wife: she can prove it," and he pointed to a respectably dressed woman in court. "A wife cannot be witness for her husband," said the magistrate. "I am not his wife," said the woman immediately, "I am only his mistress." This was Elizabeth Verrall, the persecuted "second wife" of the former case, and it was shown that she had, seconding Iredale, used the foulest language towards the carman. For the assault Iredale was fined.

In Glasgow, the wife of a collier, named Dawson, was given to drink; still they lived rather quietly together. On Thursday evening the wife returned home helplessly drunk. There were some lodgers in the house. At night, when they were all asleep, the husband got up, went into the room where Carril, one of the lodgers, slept, and took a razor from a drawer. Returning to bed, he cut into the throat of his still insensible wife, making a two-and-a-half inch gash in the windpipe. He then lay down to sleep, the woman bleeding to death beside him. Thus they were found in the morning, the wife not quite dead. The man expressed sorrow for not having killed her at once; but there is no hope of her recovery.

Other cases of wife desertion or wife-maiming—cases of common ruffianism—are recorded in the daily papers. We give one of them. The policeman at Cheyne-walk, Chelsea, saw a "miserable-looking woman" sitting on the bank of the river. She refused to answer his questions. He lifted up her shawl and saw an infant beneath. He told her to go "home" to "her husband;" but the poor woman, in a burst of bitterness, refused, exclaiming, "I have five more children, and I would drown them all sooner than go home." She stepped forward to fling the infant into the river, but she was prevented. She then flung the child on the ground, and rushed towards the river, but was stopped. Her story has been told, and found true; she was industrious and well-conducted, and had been in the habit of going out to daily labour, to assist in the support of her family. On returning home, the evening before, she found that her husband had gone off with a girl of nineteen, leaving his wife to support the children. Her misery had made her mad. She is still in custody.

Another case appears in to-day's papers. A costermonger named Parker has had four wives in succession—he was tried some time ago for the murder of the third, and acquitted. On Wednesday evening, he turned his present wife out of the house, but sent for her on Thursday morning. As soon as she entered the door, he sprang upon her, and struck her a terrible blow on the right eye. She fell. He then struck her again and again upon the face and head. She struggled out of the house. She did not venture home again, but he met her in the court, where she was lurking about. He again struck her a heavy blow in the face, and knocked her senseless, the blood streaming from her head. On coming before the Court, "her right eye was shockingly confused and extravasated, she had a severe bruise on the side of her nose, and a cut on her temple, and her whole features were swollen." This is the ninth time that her husband has thus beaten her—but she has always forgiven him before the Court. The husband was fined 10*l.*, or imprisonment for four months. Not having the money, he was imprisoned. "He was locked up in one of the cells, where the bruised wife shortly after presented herself with a clean shirt for him, and burst into tears on being refused an interview with him!"

The utter savages—both men and women—who surround us, seem more numerous than those driven to vice or crime by necessity. For instance, two "stout, healthy-looking young women" smash the glass in the Fulham Workhouse, brave the magistrate with fierce, disgusting language, and, on being sentenced to imprisonment, one attempts to strangle herself by twisting her garter round her throat. Had not a policeman visited the cell at the time, she would have killed herself. The "home" habits of some of the lower orders are worse than "savages." The police found on Saturday, in 11, Cooper's-court, in one dark, dirty, and unwholesome room, thirteen adults of different sexes sleeping on the floor. There were two other cases of the same class, with all the additions arising from poverty and moral degradation. The usual fines of 4*0s.* were imposed.

Such localities aid crime, as a Glasgow story shows. Alexander Boyd returned from Valparaiso to Glasgow, his native place. On last Saturday evening he met an old friend, and for old acquaintance sake they drank freely together, until the night wore away. At one o'clock they were met in the street by two women, who prevailed on them to enter a house in the New Vennel, a dark den in a bad street. Here, in a narrow room (eight feet wide by six feet four long), another drinking match took place. The liquor was "drugged." When Boyd and his companion were insensible, the women stripped them of their clothes and watches. Boyd, half conscious, faintly struggled, and threatened the police; they dragged him to the window and threw him out headforemost. He fell a height of three stories; his skull was fractured, and he was killed on the spot. Two little boys were hidden under the bed; they saw the scene: some lodgers, looking through a chink in the door, also witnessed it. The women and a male accomplice are in gaol.

Some efforts are made to reclaim our offensive outcasts. An institution for reforming young criminals has lately been founded: Lord Shaftesbury patronises it. But it really seems to do some good. It took in 74 boys; 52 of these, disgusted with the hard-work, meagre fare, and strict discipline of the place, left in a short time, but 30 young fellows (between 10 and 17 years old) remain, taught to make desks, dressing cases, and, of all things in the world, "pocket books." If the boys pass well through twelve months probation, the society will get them permanent employment.

Wilson has been sentenced to twelve months imprisonment

and hard labour for his conduct towards Mr. Gladstone. The case suggests the character of a very large portion of London life. Wilson's offence was but an accident, but the circumstance which suggested it is common and constant. The humiliation and misery on one side are, at least, but too patent; perhaps the redeeming kindness is as general, though not as well known. Other offenders, noticed last week, have been awarded punishment. Ann Mack, for cutting at Mary Anne Fitz, (a wife she had been accused of wronging,) has been sentenced to imprisonment for one year. Francis Mead, the man who murdered his wife, has been transported for ten years, while John Yates, who attempted to murder his wife, has been transported for twenty years.

The "adventurer" is a distinct sinner, with very aristocratic associations. Mr. Basil Wigan was a clerk in a bank; but he got tired of that life and betted on the turf. He was lucky in the year 1861; he won 3,000*l.* He then lived in a "stylish" way, at a hotel, and drove about in a carriage. Thus accredited, he obtained jewellery and clothes to a great extent. He broke down, and, in December last was put in jail by his creditors. The other day he betted again, won 50*l.* on the Chester Cup, and then hired counsel to plead his release. But he failed, and has been ordered an imprisonment of nine months more.

A little foreign feature comes into our record. M. Francia Napoleon de Soozostakowsky went to Vauxhall on Sunday evening with a friend. He saw a foreign gentleman, and, as he saw him, talked at him, saying to his friend, "That's a Portuguese I have been looking out for for seven years."—"What for?" asked the stranger.—"You know right well," answered the Pole with the long name. "You are a gambler; I have met you in Paris."—"You are mistaken," said the stranger. "I'm an attaché of the Portuguese Embassy in Paris. Here is my card; my name is Richard de Chamouse Browne."—"I don't believe it," said the positive Pole. Both went out into the open air from the amphitheatre, and, after some further parley, the insulted Portuguese struck the other a severe blow on the head. Before the magistrate, the case was arranged by the assailant paying for the surgical dressing of the cut head, and for the damage to the broken hat.

The morality of the Bar was illustrated at the Central Criminal Court on Monday almost as effectively as by Charles Matthews at the Lyceum. John Richards, a burglar, stole into a house with a latch-key, was found in the bed-room of a lady lodger, and could give no credible account of himself. Mr. Sleight, in defending "his burglar," considerably suggested (of his own imagining, no hint of the kind being given in his brief) that the burglar was in the room by the appointment of the lady! The judge and jury condemned this defence as unfounded and unjustifiable; "there was not the slightest evidence to support the insinuation." The burglar himself (who was transported for ten years) disclaimed the defence of his ingenious advocate.

The following incident illustrates humanity of not any social phase. Captain Harding, of Newington, went to Australia two months ago. His wife, a lady highly educated, grew nervous and distressed at his absence, and on Thursday week quietly drowned herself in the water-butt.

MISCELLANEOUS.

QUEEN VICTORIA has been gay as the gayest, this week. She has given a ball, held a drawing-room, and twice visited the Italian Opera.

The King and Queen of Hanover arrived, in a royal yacht, on Thursday. The Duke of Cambridge received them at Woolwich, and drove with them to the Hanoverian Legation. As they were on their way to call on the Queen, Her Majesty and Prince Albert met them, and all then proceeded back to the Legation.

There was a state ball at the palace on Wednesday; nineteen hundred guests assembled. The Dukes, Earls, Marquises, and men of title present were very numerous. Among the men of Science and Art present were Sir Roderick Murchison, Sir H. T. De La Beche, Sir J. Herschel, Sir C. Eastlake, Sir D. Brewster, Lyon Playfair, Michael Faraday, Austen Layard, Henry Hallam, and Alfred Tennyson. It may interest some of our readers to be told (after the *Court Circular*) that the Queen wore "a dress of pink silk, covered with pink tulle, ornamented with pink satin ribbons, and bunches of pink roses and diamonds."

We have again to state, for the information of the police authorities, that the Queen and Prince Albert called on the Duke and Duchess d'Aumale, on Saturday. It must be within the recollection of Lord Palmerston that this lady and gentleman are political refugees.

The Duke of Genoa left town for Brussels on Tuesday, after taking leave of the Queen at the drawing-room.

We have also to notice that the Duke and Duchess of Nemours visited the Queen, yesterday.

The first stone of an asylum for idiots was laid by Prince Albert, on Thursday. The site is Earlswood, near Reigate, where 130 acres have been purchased. It is a very picturesque and beautiful spot. The ceremony was interesting; corn, wine, and oil were scattered on the stone. The ladies present then advanced, and passing the stone one by one, left each a purse of money on it. Of the fair donors, three or four hundred presented purses containing five guineas each. The building is to cost 35,000*l.*, and to have accommodation for 100 adults, 130 boys, and 70 girls.

Sir Harry Smith is always ready to bear generous testimony to the sterling qualities of the people. At an agri-

cultural dinner at Plymouth, he said:—"The militia is the natural means of defence in all times of danger, and from the reports which I have received I am enabled to announce that they have turned out in a manner as gratifying to me as it must be to you. There is no force so formidable as an armed population. There is no nation—I care not what their deeds of glory may have been—which can assail Great Britain with any chance of success, so long as she was loyal to the Queen and true to herself. It is upon the loyalty of the people that we must rely—not upon fortifications here or there—but, I repeat, upon the people—upon those born to till the soil and to defend it." (Loud plaudits.)

The Duke of Genoa inspected the curiosities of Portsmouth on Monday morning, and then returned to town. He dined with the Queen in the evening, and left town for Brussels the next day.

Thirty-one Irish members voted for the ballot. (Had not others of the brigade been absent at a religious meeting in Dublin the minority for the ballot would have been augmented by perhaps six more.)

Mr. Commissioner Phillips has sufficiently recovered from his recent accident to resume his seat on the bench.

The Society of Arts have awarded their medal to Mr. Toynbee, F.R.S., Aural Surgeon to St. Mary's Hospital, for his invention of "an artificial *membrana tympani* (drum of the ear), in cases of deafness dependent upon perforation or destruction of the natural membrane."

Forty cadets for the Company's service were examined at Addiscombe last Saturday; seven were selected for the engineers, fourteen for the artillery, and nineteen for the infantry. Prizes were also distributed.

Conservatives can adopt innovations when they find them serving their turn. Thus they have established a successful Land Society. During nine months it has issued 4500 shares, representing a capital of 225,000*l.*, on which 35,000*l.* had already been paid. It has purchased entirely ten estates.

Hampton races have been capital this year. There were many new improvements in the way of increased accommodation, and the running was good. The Stand Plate was won by Nonsuch.

New churches are being built, or have been lately built, in many parts of London. The latest we notice is one in Marylebone, to which Lord Portman has practically contributed 4000*l.*, having given the site for 4000*l.* less than its value.

Monseigneur Garibaldi, the Popes Nuncio, at Paris, died yesterday, of apoplexy.

Steam packets between Havre and Southampton are projected.

An Italian Opera in Edinburgh is contemplated; and, it is said, artistes have been already engaged.

The South of Ireland is advancing in industry. The present growing crop of flax in the southern counties is fully ten per cent. better in quality than that of last year.

A meeting to protest against Mr. Chambers's bill, providing for the inspection of nunneries, was held in Dublin on Monday. It was respectably attended by Roman-Catholics.

The Dublin Exhibition advances in interest and popularity. The gaiety of the city is unprecedented. Over seven thousand visitors visit the building on the shilling days, but it is curious, though characteristic of the Irish, that on the half-crown days (Wednesdays) the attendance is greater than on the days of cheap admissions. It is now said that the Queen's visit will take place before the end of the month.

Mr. James Hannay delivered the first of his series of six lectures on Satire and Satirists, at the Literary Institution, Edwards-street, Portman-square, on Wednesday evening last. The course is to be continued on the succeeding Wednesdays. The subject of the second lecture will be Erasmus, and the Satirists of the Reformation.

Mademoiselle Claus gave a delightful concert at Willis's Rooms on Wednesday. The audience was crowded and brilliant; the programme rich and varied. The young pianiste never obtained, and never deserved, more hearty and more genuine admiration.

The "coming event"—Fitzroy's bill—"casts its shadow before." Several cabmen have given up their licenses, and the applicants for new licenses are said to be of superior character. Great care is taken in granting the new licenses, and five hundred applications from old drivers, conductors, &c., have been refused. (Some individual hardship is certain to result from this new reform.)

A curious will has been disputed this week. Mr. Auries left to his married daughter, Henrietta, some rents on the following singular and involved conditions: that she should lose the property if she had more children than one, and if none of the children lived beyond twenty-one. Henrietta had two children, both of whom have lived beyond twenty-one. The judgment is in suspense.

Election agency seems chiefly practised by innkeepers and attorneys. At Finsbury, Mr. Thomas Cripps was an organiser of election victories; he boasted of being able to bring up some score votes, and he had a dashing way of placarding the town with bills, having "a deal about reform." When Mr. Gardner retired at the last election, Mr. Cripps offered his disengaged energies and preparations to Mr. Wyld. Mr. Wyld accepted them. Cripps states there was a contract to pay him 40*l.* Mr. Wyld and his agents say not. But that he acted for Mr. Wyld was clearly proved, and the jury awarded him 10*l.*

An old Scotch law still in force enacts that assaulting a man in his own house is a capital offence. It is called "hamesucken." A case of the kind lately occurred in Edinburgh. A Mr. Williamson, a gentleman of property,

went to the house of the Rev. William Robertson and assaulted him with violence. The charge for "hamesucken" was withdrawn, otherwise a conviction would have led to transportation. As it was, the assailant was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment.

At Ascot races, Captain Labalmondiere, superintendent of the London police, attended to direct his men in frustrating thefts. While doing so his own pockets were picked of a purse and watch.

Thames water is known to have peculiar virtues. Perhaps the corpses immersed in it give it body. Last week we recorded some drownings, and this week there is a flood of river fatalities. Three lads hired a boat, and while cruising past Whitehall found themselves in the swell of a coming steamer. They did not know how to manage the boat; some water rushed over the sides, and two of them jumped out. They were drowned; the other was saved. The bodies remain in the river. Another lad lost his life in the same way last week. On Sunday the body of a boy was found in the river; it was taken to Lambeth dead house, where it lay unclaimed (the relatives meanwhile, perhaps, printing in the *Times* their entreaties "to return"). On Sunday also the body of an old man, unknown, was found floating near Battersea-bridge. He had a walking stick in his hand which was firmly clenched.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

THE reduced rate of mortality announced in last return was continued in the week that ended last Saturday, in which the number of deaths registered was 1007. In the 10 corresponding weeks of the years 1843-52 the average number was 887, which, with a correction for increase of population becomes 976. The actual mortality is, therefore, still in excess of the estimated amount by 31.

As compared with those of the previous week, the present results exhibit general uniformity. Fatal cases produced by typhus have risen again from 41 to 53; those by phthisis from 152 to 163; and, while bronchitis has still further declined from 63 to 54, pneumonia has increased from 42 to 62. Small-pox last week carried off 5 children and an adult; scarlatina 28 children and 2 adults; measles and hoopingcough, 25 and 58 children respectively. A few weeks ago diarrhoea slightly manifested a disposition to increase, but more recently it has subsided; the deaths from this complaint were 23, while the corrected average is 15.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 10th of June, at Glencorse, near Edinburgh, the wife of Sir Charles M. Ochterlony, of Ochterlony, Bart.: a son.

On the 11th, at Standen-hall, Lancashire, the wife of John T. W. Aspinall, Esq., M.P.: a daughter.

On the 12th, at Bellarena, county of Londonderry, the wife of Sir Frederick William Heygate, Bart.: a daughter.

On the 12th, at 40, Eaton-square, the Countess of Galloway: a son.

On the 13th, at Oakley-lodge, Chelsea, the wife of Charles Henry Edmonds, Esq.: a son.

On the 13th, at Paris, Lady Abby: a son.

On the 13th, at Abbey-lodge, Regent's-park, Mrs. Ernest Bunsen: a daughter, under the influence of chloroform.

MARRIAGES.

On the 8th of June, at Handsworth, Staffordshire, Chiley Pine, Esq., Fourth Dragoon Guards, to Agnes, eldest daughter of the late James Gibson, Esq., M.D., of Heathfield-hall, Staffordshire, and formerly of the Thirteenth Light Dragoons.

On the 9th, at the parish church, Wacquinghen, Pas-de-Calais, Stephen Ronald Woulfe, Esq., only son of the late Right Hon. Stephen Woulfe, Esq., Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, to the Hon. Isabella Letitia, youngest daughter of the late Lord Graves.

On the 11th, at St. Thomas's Church, Ardwick, Manchester, James Heywood, Esq., M.P. for North Lancashire, to Anne, fourth daughter of John Kennedy, Esq., of Ardwick-hall, and widow of G. Albert Escher, Esq., of Zurich.

On the 14th, at Sheffield, Mr. Young Mitchell, Aead Master of the School of Design, to Mary, youngest daughter of William Smith, Esq., Dam-house.

On the 14th, at Frimley Church, Surrey, Henry Hamer, Esq., eldest son of Lewis Gideon, Esq., of the island of St. Helena, to Ernestine Henriette Sophie, eldest daughter of Guillaume Cambier, Esq., Royal Military College, Sandhurst.

On the 14th, at St. John's Church, Notting-hill, Augustus J. W. Northey, Esq., of Llangwathan, Pembrokeshire, Major Forty-first Regiment, eldest son of Colonel Northey, late Quarter-master-General, to Louisa Sophia, only daughter of the late Joseph Price St. George, Esq., of Notting-hill-square.

On the 14th, at Dorking Church, George, eldest son of Thomas Cubitt, Esq., of Denbies, esq., to Laura, youngest daughter of the late Rev. James Joyce, vicar of Dorking.

On the 15th, at St. Michael's Church, Toxteth-park, Edward Joseph, second son of John Knight, Esq., of Antwerp, to Maria Dolores, eldest daughter of Vice-Admiral Grenfell, I.B.N.; also Robert Maxwell, Esq., of Liverpool, to Maria Emma, third daughter of Vice-Admiral Grenfell, I.B.N.

DEATHS.

On the 14th of May, at Bahia, South America, Commande William F. Feud, R.N., of her Majesty's ship, *Express*, eldest and only surviving son of the late Lieut.-Colonel George Feud, C.B., Grenadier Guards, aged forty-two.

On the 4th of June, at his residence, Torpoint, near Plymouth, Admiral John Allen (youngest son of the late Admiral John Carter Allen), after a protracted illness of nearly four years.

On the 8th, at Clifton, John Downie, Esq., late First Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court in British Guiana.

On the 11th, at Earl's-court, Tunbridge-Wells, Mrs. Tighe, widow of the late William Tighe, Esq., M.P., of Woodstock, county of Kilkenny, in her seventy-eighth year.

On the 12th, at Thornton-hall, Yorkshire, aged sixty-five, Elizabeth, wife of Sir Charles Dodsworth, Bart., and granddaughter of the late Lord Blayney.

On the 13th, at Paris, Mary Harriet, eldest child of Sir Thomas Neville Abdy, Bart., of Albans, Essex.

On the 14th, at 20, Eaton-place, Ann Elizabeth, relict of Captain Ryder Munster, R.N., eldest daughter and co-heiress of the late John Stowe, Esq., of Newton, Lincolnshire, and of Ryton-grove, county of Durham.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted, it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication. No notice can be taken of anonymous communications. What-ever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer; not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of his good faith. We cannot undertake to return rejected communications. All letters for the Editor should be addressed to 7, Wellington-street, Strand, London. Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.

The Leader

SATURDAY, JUNE 18, 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. ARNOLO.

THE ON-COMING OF RUSSIA.

TURKEY and Russia are still the objects of the keenest curiosity daily, and, notwithstanding the fact that the papers are deluged with reports that contradict each other every hour, there is shrewd reason to suppose that in the main the truth is proximately before us. Russia has studiously imparted an altered manner to her behaviour, if not towards Turkey, towards the other powers of Europe. Her attack is not to be made upon Constantinople itself, by a fleet anchored off its amphitheatre,—the place is likely to be too well defended for that. Nor will Russia repeat that attempt to cross the Balcan which proved so hazardous in 1828, and which would evidently be more dangerous now, with the support that the Sultan has from his Asiatic subjects, and from his most powerful European allies. The point to be attacked, if it is not already so, is the portion of the territories of Turkey which lie on the left bank of the Danube,—territories under rather an anomalous relation with the Porte, and enjoying, if we may be allowed the expression, a certain degree of protection from Russia. On the strength of that protection Russia has the right to visit those principalities with military occupation, under certain extreme circumstances, which do not at present exist. The Porte has the same right; the object being to maintain the constituted authority in these principalities, and to defend, on the one hand Christian, and, on the other hand, Turkish rights. Russia now conveys to other powers the assurance, that her attack on Turkey will be limited to that occupation, and that so long as she keeps within the letter of her right, she abstains from creating a *casus belli*.

The sophistry of this proposition, however, is generally exposed. It is to be observed that even if Russia had the right to occupy the provinces, she could have no right to use that occupation as a hostile compulsion upon Turkey in general policy. The conduct of Russia just at present exactly resembles the mode in which she has made her encroachments before; sometimes by sudden aggression, sometimes by establishing a footing on the half-pacific principle; and it is scarcely possible that she can succeed in inducing the statesmen of Europe to be deceived by her present professions of peaceful purpose.

There is no evidence that they have been so deceived—on the contrary, while the preparations of Turkey to resist any invasion are continued with spirit, those of France and England are not less perseveringly pursued. France in particular is hastening her naval preparations, and establishing camps within her own territory as we are; while our Mediterranean fleet is already at hand to co-operate under the direction of the Ambassador at Constantinople, with the Turkish and French fleets, the flying squadron, under Admiral Corry, has been ordered back to reinforce our channel reserve, and the rumours of a rendezvous in Yarmouth Roads indicate an evident purpose of being prepared not only to destroy the Russian naval armaments in the Black Sea, but simultaneously to establish an effectual blockade at the entrance of the Baltic. Assurances are put forth, not less by English and

French journals, supposed to serve official purposes, than by those in Russian interest, that a peaceful accommodation is still possible. But it is not easy to understand how that should be so. We do not attach much credit to the oscillations in the hopes and tone of the money-markets of the various capitals of Europe, since those sensitive, artificial creatures, the funds, fluctuate at the slightest change of the political atmosphere; nevertheless, they prove that the apprehension of war prevails very extensively; therefore, it does not in any quarter receive positive or authentic contradiction. One circumstance which has reached us, also implies that in quarters which ought to be well informed, hostilities with Russia are expected; very extensive purchases have been made in hides and tallow for English consumption. Possibly a Rothschild or Baring may consider tallow or hides a better investment under existing circumstances, than a Russian loan, and we should quite agree with them.

Some doubts have arisen upon the probable course which Austria may take. We have already touched upon that point, and we find no reason as yet to change our opinion. A rumour that Russia had accepted the mediation of Austria, is evidently one of the fabrications of the electric telegraph, contradicted by subsequent reports, and then revived. The probable statement is, that Russia absolutely refuses all mediation. A responsible Vienna journal attempts to explain the "reason why." The Moscow party has succeeded in separating Nicholas from his faithful and discreet minister, Nesselrode, has promoted a great conspiracy of the South Slavonians, intends to erect a separate empire with "Czarigrad," once Byzantium, and more recently Constantinople, for its metropolis. This party has been able, says the *Vienna Wanderer*, to divert the Emperor so far from his usual course, as to carry on the communications with Prince Menzschikoff by his own hand. It is evident that some faith is put in this explanation by well-informed persons in London. To confess the truth, however, false reports are circulated with so much assiduity, and with so able a display of evidence to corroborate them, that we are quite unable to distinguish them from the true. And we have reason to doubt the explanation of the *Wanderer*. It is an attempt to assimilate Russian parties to Western ideas, which will not hold. There is not that distinction between the Moscow and the St. Petersburg parties that we should understand if we considered them parties of Reaction and Progress. If we considered that the Emperor had just two sets of servants, one set in place and one set out, and that occasionally he turned the former out and the latter in, for a change, we should be nearer the truth. The one fact that appears to us probable, is, that the Emperor means to go on; so that hides and tallow will realize a handsome profit to the present purchaser, and genuine free-traders will have an opportunity of displaying their inexorable adherence to principles, by subscribing to the next Russian loan.

But, if Russia goes on, will war be limited to Turkey and her frontiers, or to the eastern side of Europe? That depends upon the amount of work which may be given to the Emperor, on the eastern side of Europe, and plenty of material could be found to busy his energies withal.

CONFESSIONS OF PARLIAMENT ABOUT INDIA.

MADAME DE GENLIS describes, in her *Tales of the Chateau*, a place called "The Palace of Truth," in which everybody was constrained to speak exactly as he thought, with a candour more conducive to the knowledge of facts than to the credit of the speaker. Sometimes the spirit of that involuntary candour seizes upon men even on the most important and public occasions, and both Houses of Parliament appear to have been in some degree under such an influence on Monday night; as when, for example, Sir John Pakington confessed a fact, of which, as he justly said, the country was not aware—that the burden which the Government was about to impose was not the rich man's question so much as the poor man's question. He was speaking of the Succession Tax, and the meaning of his words seems obvious. Parliament is about to call upon owners of landed property to pay so much towards the expenses of the State, when they succeed to "that property," but evidently, from Sir

John Pakington's declaration—and of course he knows the feelings and motives of his own order—those heirs to landed property intend, when the tax is imposed, to try if they cannot transfer it to the shoulders of their farmers and labourers, upon whom they mean to throw the burden, if they can. That is the interpretation of which Sir John's words are capable.

In any country where patriotic motives prevail, it is generally understood that each man shall contribute to the State, in some degree, according to his means; but the privileged classes have systematically endeavoured to avoid that burden at the expense of the poorer classes; and now Sir John Pakington announces this new purpose of wholesale evasion. The aristocracy which had the longest duration in the history of the world, was that of Venice, which was characterized, during a large portion of its career, by a public spirit that made it sacrifice its means and its individual interests to the State.

There is no more striking incident in history than that where the Venetian people made voluntary contributions towards the defence of their city against the Genoese, in the war of Chiozza; and in that sacrifice the nobles took a leading part. Our own nobles, if they had been there, would have put forward the fishermen and porters of Venice to make the sacrifices in their lieu!

The past history of the world inclines us to believe, that the welfare of every State depends, in a great degree, upon the amount of aristocratic feeling in its leading men; giving to that word its justest interpretation. It has happened in most states that the nobility, the gentry, by whatever name they may be called, have been actuated above all things by a spirit of self-sacrifice towards the principles of their order, and the welfare of their State. Whether they are called gentlemen or not, whether their incorporation is formed by some principle of election or is an hereditary appointment, the existence of an order animated by that spirit appears to be essential to the effective movement of popular influences. From the aristocracy of Venice or the Orders of Knighthood, to the "Order of the Lone Star," in some form or other that spirit ought to be embodied. Lord Ellenborough, than whom no man is better informed on the subject of Indian affairs, declares that the welfare and safety of our Indian Empire depends upon such a spirit. It is not, he says, "men crammed with knowledge that are wanted,"—"a horse-dealer would not feed his cattle in that manner." It is not your "over-educated men" who are most necessary. "I have usually observed that, in public life, the men who are the most useless, and in society the men who are the most intolerable bores, were over-educated men—they are generally useful for nothing." "It is not to qualities similar to these which you propose to impart, that the people of India look—they look to character." And from the context of his speech, it would be implied that he anticipates "character" for birth. He objects to the principle of competition as the introduction, especially to the army. There have been disgraceful actions in the Indian army, he says, there have been courts-martial; yet "the general character of the officers of the Indian army is free from any imputation; they are gentlemen in every sense that can be attached to the word." This is an important declaration; but in the application of it we are inevitably driven to two conclusions. If we receive Lord Ellenborough's word "gentleman" in its ordinary sense, we must suppose the officers of the Indian army to be persons of high birth, of chivalrous bearing, of unquestionably honourable conduct in every relation of life; and then we are driven to ask, how it happens that commissions sometimes find their way into the hands of persons of low birth, of low moral conduct, disgraceful for their drunkenness, their debauchery, their laziness, their ignorance, their vulgarity, their dishonourable conduct, and, to complete the bill of indictment, their vile personal appearance; for, to say the truth, whether we look at the Queen's service or the Company's service, it happens unfortunately that gentlemen bearing her Majesty's or the Company's commission too often fall under the description just given. Splendid exceptions there always are, of course; even our description applies to exceptions; but how is it that they occur at all? Is it that practically the patronage, the want of competition, lets in persons so ill complying with

Lord Ellenborough's requisition? or is it that those who are responsible for the Government of affairs in India often substitute the spurious and base article for that which is genuine? It is not for us to answer these questions. We only ask them, because it does appear to us that stunted stature, vulgar, bloated features, bad grammar, inebriated stuttering, dense ignorance, idle profligacy, reckless debt, low company, and stupidity, are not to be regarded as attributes of the English gentleman.

Unless, indeed, we are mistaken in this particular, and we must accept all Indian officers, however they may look, speak, and act, as veritable English gentlemen; and, if so, we have only to say that the English aristocracy is doomed,—that a race amongst whom there are men claiming the description which we have given above, is written down in the books of fate.

Lord Ellenborough, however, with the candour of the Monday night, declares to us that it is upon maintaining a class of public servants, superior either to horse-dealers or to over-educated men, that the character and feeling of the services, the high moral tone, and therefore the security of the Indian Empire depend. It probably is so; but then we would ask, if the security of our empire depended upon the high moral tone, how is it promoted by giving commissions to gentlemen, of whom, if you ask General Sir Charles Napier about their business obligations, he will tell you that they are ruinously and universally in debt; or, if you ask any one acquainted with the habits of life prevalent amongst the many, he will enlighten you with allusions, as a matter of course, to "the soldiers' wives!"

There is, however, one being who sits up aloft to watch o'er the life of poor India, and who is altogether a superior to the peccadillos; he is a person upon whom everything depends; "in every war he manages the minutest details in every department," including "the commissariat." Now the commissariat implies the providence of biscuit, of rum, meat, vegetables occasionally, fruit, refreshments of every kind, and some subsidiary conveniences; and all these, from a cockchafer to a rotten cork, are under the surveillance of that one individual. He does the same, we are told by Lord Ellenborough, for "every possible branch of the Government." This person, thus wise, thus all present, has no aid. Unlike any English minister—Lord Aberdeen, for instance, who is surrounded by persons almost his equals—"he is alone;" "he cannot, by possibility, know one man in the country, when he lands;" nay, his very ministers may oppose him,—their views and policy may have been altogether different from his own. This person is the Governor-General. We have literally and exactly copied Lord Ellenborough's account of that functionary, introduced with a solemn disclaimer of "trifling with their lordships." There is, therefore, by a special law, one person upon whom everything depends, all-present, all-knowing, without assistance, superior to perversion, upon whom the whole character of the Government of India must entirely rely. Of course, isolated, unassisted, alien to the country, he must know all that he has to do by inspiration. Supposing all this possible, and we have no disposition to contradict it, we then come to the most extraordinary statement of the whole series of confessions.

"In this country," says Lord Ellenborough, "if my noble friend who is at the head of the Government does that which is for the advantage of the people, the people here acknowledge it. The press supports that which is a benefit to the people; and he is at the head of a strong government. But in India the public is not the people. What we here call the Indian public is composed altogether of English officials, whose interests may be, and often are, I regret to say, considered altogether at variance with the interests of the people, while the press represents men and not the people. It may so happen that the unanimous combination of what is called the English public and of the press against the Governor-General may be the surest indication that he is doing his duty by the people."

Thus those gentlemen, those persons selected to form the government, are all but so many false media, misgoverning, misrepresenting, opposing the real people. Take away the Governor-General, and India remains an immense people, with its Government opposed, in every conceivable way, to its rights, its interests, its voice, its justice. Let us, for one instant, sup-

pose, as a moral possibility, that a bad Governor-General might be appointed over India, then the people must be in the predicament that we have described—misgoverned, misrepresented, cut off from an appeal to the conquering state under whom they are subject. Is not this a horrible position for 150,000,000 human beings to be placed in? It appears to us to be intolerable, and that some kind of guarantee against that position ought to be granted. One mode would be to admit the people of India to a direct representation. There is no necessity to endow them, at once, with universal suffrage; but, at all events, let some voice of India penetrate to the ear of England.

And, while we are about reforms, it appears to us that there is one reform which might do much to save India and benefit England, and, perhaps, to save the aristocracy of this country,—it would be for them to restore something of gentlemanly training and bearing to their order. A spice of the old chivalrous spirit, a little more honour than the temptations to transfer their own burdens to agricultural labourers, at 7s. or 9s. a week; a little more honour than to divert the patronage of India sometimes to the class of men whom we have described; a little more honour than to use the conflict of parties, in the Houses of Parliament, as the means of damaging the Government, and reducing the standard of statesmanship still lower.

BALLOT AND EXTENDED SUFFRAGE.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL would not concede the ballot, if at all, "unless every man in the country should have a vote;" and Mr. Cobden "would not extend the suffrage to every man without the ballot." There is a great deal of truth in both these positions; but to pursue the paradox, they are more true when they are combined, and yet we hold to some extent that they neutralize each other. While the suffrage is so limited, if it is not properly "a trust," it is, at all events, a privilege and a power; it may be exercised mischievously against the majority; and the majority would have a right to rebel if, besides being an exclusive power, it has become also a secret power. It is bad enough that the people of England should be governed by one-seventh of the English nation, and should be politically in the position of a conquered nation, having no political position or right of its own; but it would be far worse if that fraction were able to exercise its power in secrecy. We agree, therefore, practically with Lord John, although we agree with Mr. Cobden in thinking the arguments by which Lord John arrives at his conclusions baseless.

There is no doubt, also, that if you extend the ballot to poorer classes you, to some degree, extend the power of bribery or intimidation. It is curious, by the way, to observe how much the House of Commons remains at the mercy of words, and how a considerable proportion of the argumentation appeared to turn upon the alternate use of the equivocal word "intimidation" in either one of its senses. Mr. Sidney Herbert spoke of intimidation as declining under the civilizing influences of modern times—meaning by the word, bludgeon-intimidation. But under the pressure of an unsound, because artificially stimulated, credit, intimidation of another kind, through exclusive dealing, threatened loss of custom, and pressure for debt, has been increased very largely, and openly used by election agents. So far, then, we agree with Mr. Cobden, that if the franchise were extended, *primâ facie* it would be additionally necessary to protect the vote by means of the ballot.

Nevertheless, we are still more strongly convinced that a considerable extension of the suffrage will carry us beyond the range of that class which is most subject to the dread of credit intimidation and the more delicate kinds of bribery. Probably there is no man less independent in his circumstances than the small trader. To threaten his custom is to threaten his existence. He has managed to avoid the extreme of poverty, and yet he has always been in the neighbourhood of it; and thus he has acquired the greatest amount of dread and an enervated want of familiarity in grappling with it. His means are so small that a slight invasion upon them touches upon extinction; his self-reliance is weak, and he dares not say his soul is his own. The small farmer has been nearly in the same predicament, with the counteracting difference of a sturdier life in the

open air, and the re-counteracting effect of a less animated brain. The class that we have just described constitutes the lower margin of the unenfranchised class.

If you pass beyond, you come among artisans and working men; and here, although reactionary influences might have a large reserve amongst the uneducated agricultural labourers, you have, perhaps, excepting the gentry, the most independent class in the country. The flower of this class are men who think for themselves, who have seen enough of adversity not to be terror-stricken at its recurrence; who know the value of principles, who are prepared to make sacrifices, and who, in short, retain a larger proportion of that English spirit which is prepared to stand up for right through thick and thin than any other civilian class in the country. It is possible that at first this class may find the ballot a convenience, and if it wishes to vote by that means there is no reason why it should be refused the arrangement according to its own pleasure. But we do not believe that the ballot will be most valued by this class; on the contrary, they are to a large extent independent. The freemen already enfranchised, and exercising whatever is marketable as an exclusive privilege, have perhaps done the worst that is possible for the credit and independence of the working classes.

On the whole, the ballot must be regarded as one of those questions which are not in the present year ripe for present settlement. By far the greater number of us have made up our minds that it ought to be conceded, if the people persevere in wishing it; and no one can shut his eyes to the fact that an immense majority of the people are of that opinion. Nevertheless, they do not press upon it with any concentrated purpose. On the other hand, many of the most influential leading men in Parliament are opposed to it. They have committed themselves so far in pledges against it, that they cannot be expected to yield except under the compulsion of necessity; and we have not yet favoured them with that compulsion. Place a political revolver against the head of Sir James Graham, and he is too sagacious a man not to yield with a good grace, and to be glad that the matter is settled. But while we leave him with no revolver except his own intellectual ingenuity, it will remain a point of honour with him to execute his *pas seul* according to his own fancy. The question stands, however, with others of the same kind, for reconsideration next year; and then, if the public desires to get its ballot, it must be prepared with its political revolver, to make Lord John Russell and Sir James Graham stand and deliver. They can do it very well, if we only make them try.

To be consistent, if Lord John Russell give us ballot, he must give us franchise. His last Reform Bill, indeed, which graces the shelves of the political library, pledged him to such an extension of the suffrage as would by this time have done much. It was encased, no doubt, in a wrappage of legislative nonsense, but the nonsense was perishable, and the five-pound franchise was an immortal contrivance. We must have that, if not something better; and if we manage well, we may reconcile Lord John Russell to the unaccustomed process of making good his post-Reform Bill pledges. Prejudices against extension of the franchise are fast diminishing; and enough has been done to convince men that the mischievous results which they fear, could not by any possibility be so large as they look in prospect. A right which was universal would neither have the marketable nor the mischievous use that a fractional privilege has had. The franchise, at present limited to but one man in seven, is something distinctive; no man can so readily sell that which everybody has. Again, it is a delusion to suppose that because every man had the franchise, the selection of representatives would be universally different from what it is now; on the contrary, the unenfranchised men are so little different from the enfranchised, that if you collect them in a crowd from any part of the country, you would find great difficulty in pointing out a voter from his countenance, stature, or other personal attributes. You may think that you would be safe if you picked out the worst dressed and lowest looking man in the multitude; but if you did, ten to one he would be a freeman, to be had, if you wanted his vote, for five shillings and upwards. What a national suffrage would do, would be to give us the sentiments, not of a class, but of

England; and really in all classes Englishmen are so much alike—have so much the same virtues and the same faults, the same capacities and the same weaknesses—that the results would, upon the whole, be the same; only that there would be a discontinuance of exclusion, and of political discontent on the score of that exclusion. It is political free-trade, that is all. We have learned to consider free-trade both safe and profitable. National suffrage, with the ballot, would be political free-trade, with a privilege to every man of keeping his political ledger in his own counting-house, not subject to be exposed in the market-place every year.

REVIVAL OF THE WAGES MOVEMENT.

THERE appeared to be a species of lull in the wages movement, but it has recently revived again in greater force than ever. Some months back the trades were moving here and there, asking an advance of wages pretty generally, but in no vast numbers at a time: now there is a strike by the thousands, and nearly all Stockport is suspended or marching in procession. Once more those who sympathize chiefly, if not almost exclusively, with the employing classes, are dismayed at the inroads which the claims of labour may enforce upon the capital of the country. The subject has attracted attention in several quarters; the Tory *Standard* exclaims that it is the result of emigration; and, paraphrasing Hezekiah, it cries, Woe upon them who have set house to house, and have driven the people from the land, by neglecting the interests of the humble. There is some truth in this; for if capitalists had been a little more provident in anticipating the demands of their work-people; if statesmen had done a little more in anticipation of the day, by conceding political rights to the class which most values such rights; numbers who have sought comfort and political existence in Australia and America, would have preferred to have staid at home with a far less share of either, so that it were at home. Other journals, less wedded to antiquated ideas, still view the exodus of the labouring classes not without alarm, and now that the working-classes of Lancashire are asking for a rise upon their comparatively high rates, capital looks grave.

In the first place let us observe, that the present demand for wages is not unreasonable where it is pressed; a fact which we can prove on the best testimony. Demands are urged in various places on behalf of various trades—carpenters, masons, plasterers, and others—who have obtained exactly similar advances in other places. And in a country like England, so generally uniform in its condition, it is to be supposed, *primâ facie*, that the rates which can be paid in one place can be paid in another of the same kind. If carpenters and joiners can make five shillings or more in Birmingham, they may expect not less in Burnley. The rates paid to dock labourers in London can be afforded to dock labourers in Liverpool. Even where the trades are different, as in the comparison between the plumber and cotton-spinner, the same principle holds: labour is more valuable generally; and though the circumstances may modify the application of the principle, it is to be presumed that the spinner has a right to some advance. Upon the whole, the present movement is not so much for an increase of wages, as for a fetching-up of wages in those places or in those trades that have not yet benefited by the advance proved to be practicable in other places and trades. *Primâ facie*, therefore, we say, these working-men who are now asking for the advance, are warranted by the evidence which is open to the whole country.

The special application of this general principle may be affected by circumstances peculiar to a place or to a trade. We have already told our working friends that they cannot be guilty of a more impolitic act than that of demanding higher wages than can be afforded;—in other words, if they ask wages so high, that after paying for the cost of production, for raw materials, wages, rent, &c., the manufacturer had no profit to himself, or very little, it would be to his interest to suspend his trade, or to abandon it altogether; and then, not only would the labourers that he employed lose their wages, but they being out of work, their competition would reduce wages in other employ. We may add truly, that a worse effect would be produced by the fact that working men had insisted upon that which was unjust and injurious to a class

with whom they ought to co-operate; they would be repaying the bad example which some of them may have received from bad masters. They are bound, therefore, to consider the representations of the masters, not only with candour, but with a desire to know the truth. On the other hand, it is evident that unless the masters in any particular trade or place are prepared to raise wages to the equivalent of those given in other trades and places, they are bound to give their workmen a distinct explanation why it is that wages cannot be so raised. They are bound, not only by justice, but by policy, since it is most desirable that the men should understand the justice of the case on the side of the masters.

It is too late in the day for us to think it necessary to prove that high wages are no evil. If trade is in a flourishing condition, masters cannot conceal the increased demand for labour, and cannot refuse a higher remuneration. It follows, therefore, that high wages are a necessary attendant upon prosperous trade. There might be drawbacks, but at present we observe very few. The artificially-enhanced price of iron has been cured by the breakdown of the speculations of forestallers and regraters. The high price of wool, and still more the bad condition of the wool from Australia, are a more serious drawback; but we do not observe that the Yorkshire employers are the slowest to concede advanced wages. There is no excessive price of cotton. If the cotton manufacturers are under difficulty, it is that they have overdone the practice of producing in advance of the market, and of seeking an excessive "cheapness," to their own ultimate damage. The new system, however, which has followed the institution of railways, and the ready transit of goods throughout the world—the practice of making more to demand, with short accounts, has saved the capital of manufacturers to a great extent, and has mitigated the evil of their system of underselling themselves. Upon the whole, some more definite explanation is due to the men, why wages should not be raised in the cotton districts, than they have yet received; but, let us repeat, they are bound to receive that explanation with candour, and with a desire to do justice to the case, as soon as they understand it.

That portion of their demands which consists in the claim for short time, is reasonable, on every ground. The total absorption of life in the business of driving cotton machinery, is absolutely and irredeemably an evil, a vice; and whatever may be the inconvenient consequences of assenting to an abatement of the hours of labour to a reasonable amount, those consequences ought cheerfully to be undergone. If labour prove insufficient for the requirements of the markets, let improvements in machinery supply the deficiency. We are convinced that there is no acquisition so valuable to the working-man as some proportion of leisure. Nothing can compensate for the loss of that. It is leisure that makes the "gentleman," that elevates the man above the mere animal, or human machine. It is leisure that gives room for thought to turn, and thus makes the artist, the poet, and the philosopher. We do not mean that each man needs to be a teacher in these pursuits. He who is fitted to be a teacher is usually born with "genius," and can struggle up from the adverse circumstances of early life. But the man who is to profit by the teachings of the philosopher, the poet, or the artist, must himself have something of each; and he can only get that something when his thoughts have room to turn round. It is leisure to take in the objects around him which enables him to reflect upon his plans of future life; to provide for a coming time; and to become a "man of substance." It is leisure that enables him to look about for a better employ—for promotion in industry. It is leisure that enables him to consult with his fellows, and to exercise deliberately and temperately the right of combination. If the whole working-classes of this country, with their intelligence, their opportunities of self-improvement, their general command of comfort, succeed in possessing the daily hour of leisure—not the hour of excitement snatched before sleep—they would establish a footing upon a ground which would not only make them better than they are in the relations of life, but would elevate the whole condition of the class, supply it by degrees with new standards of excellence, and enable it to com-

mence a march of "progress" unlike the pitiful struggles which hitherto have been misnamed by that name.

And meanwhile? Why, meanwhile the very effort for this higher condition in itself ennobles the workmen who can conduct these struggles with an eye to that better condition, and in a spirit not unsuited to it.

MOLESWORTH TO RUSSELL:

A PROPHETIC SERMON.

THE present Minister for Russell affairs ought to remember the election for South Devon, in 1835, not only because he was then defeated, but because he there received an admirable sermon, from a friend, on a subject recently debated. There was a public dinner, at Exeter, the day before the polling; among the guests was Lord John Russell, with Sir William Molesworth and Mr. Charles Buller, both subsequently in office with Lord John; and, in an after-dinner speech, Sir William warned his present colleague, that if he were defeated, it would be for want of protection to the voter. We cannot add to the force of Sir William's words—worthy to have been repeated from the Treasury bench, in the recent debate:—

"If, my lord, you lose this election, you will lose it simply by the means of intimidation, for the majority of the electors are undoubtedly in your favour; but they dare not, nor can they be expected, even for conscience sake, to incur utter destruction and ruin. Their responsibility to their brother electors, their responsibility to their own consciences, is as nothing, when compared to the responsibility which they are under to their imperious landlords—to the tithe-extorting priests; the one, my lord, is a mere name, the other is something in dread and terror-striking reality. If, my lord, you gain your election, you will gain it with difficulty, by the self-sacrifice of many, and some of your truest and most undaunted supporters will rue the day of your return; for they will suffer, as has been the case in other counties, through the anger, the ill-will, and revenge of their infuriated landlords.

Now, my lord, these considerations deserve your most earnest attention, in order to apply the fitting remedy to these enormous evils. The only remedy is secret suffrage. Now, my lord, remember the contest. Remember the electors of Devon, and the evil which they will endure, when you will hereafter have to give your vote on the subject, when you will have to say ay or no for the ballot. The ballot, my lord, is the only remedy which will strike at the root of this pernicious influence, of these enormous evils, of which we justly complain. As the only remedy, all true, all earnest, all zealous, all determined reformers, ought to spare no trouble, no exertions, to obtain it: and they ought ever to persevere in courageously demanding the ballot, until their wishes are gratified."

THE

PRESENT STATE OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

LETTER IV.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—The present position of the Turkish Empire is a perplexed one; but in order fully to comprehend it and more completely to develop the causes to which it may be traced, especially the internal causes, it will be necessary for me to take a rapid glance at its modern history. Consisting, therefore, more of a condensation of facts than of original matter, the present letter will be founded upon several diplomatic papers, histories, books of travel, Krasinski's *Montenegro die Slawen der Türkei*, the daily journals, &c. I have stated this in order to acknowledge the foreign sources whence the matter is derived, and to avoid repeated acknowledgments in the body of my letter. This condensation is essential, since by no other means can we arrive at the first impulses of that growing movement which has threatened to engulf the Ottoman Empire, and which even now, if suffered to increase, and if not met by gigantic efforts on the side of the Porte, protected from foreign intervention by the western powers of Europe, will hurl the Crescent back into the wilds of Asia and the savage deserts of its religious history.

The treaty of Carlowitz left Turkey comparatively impregnable—seated upon the height of military glory. But on war again breaking out, the Emperor of Germany assisted Russia with 80,000 men. In consequence of this first intervention, the Porte was compelled to conclude the treaty of Jassi in 1792, in which we find that extraordinary clause authorizing Russian

interference in the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, whose respective Hospodars were not to be removable unless with the consent of the autocrat of St. Petersburg. The Porte, however, deemed itself strong enough to infringe this treaty, and removed the Hospodars at its own pleasure. The Russian remonstrances were met by the closing of the Dardanelles. Russia already attached so much importance to her intermeddlement in those provinces, that she immediately despatched an army of 60,000 men to maintain her influence there. The inhabitants of Bucharest joined the Russians, and the Turkish troops were defeated. This moment, sir, was an important one, for a great army threatened Turkey, and foreign influences were already at work in the provinces; yet it was in the midst of this crisis that the Sultan Selim entered upon that career of innovation which has been since pursued with such fatal effect. Mahmoud, the greatest of Turkish reformers, has often erroneously been considered the first of her innovators also. Selim, however, had already attempted new importations, and had advocated changes in the discipline and command of the Mussulman troops. He chose, as I have already stated, that important moment when the Russian army was on the march, and her influences at work in western Turkey. The effects of this impolitic proceeding might have been imagined. The Turkish forces, on their march to meet the enemy, mutinied and massacred some of the officers who desired to introduce European discipline amongst them! This disorganized rabble of course effected nothing against the enemy. In the next campaign, the Turks, after a brilliant defence, found themselves worsted, and, at its termination, Selim, who had offended all true believers, died, and yielded the harvest of his trouble to the famous Mahmoud. Mahmoud raised the confidence of the faithful by setting up the standard of the Prophet in the plain of Duad Pasha. A large army was collected, hurled the Russians back across the Danube, and caused General Kutusoff to evacuate Rutschutz. But, unfortunately, Ahmed Aga, when he victoriously passed over the Danube to follow the enemy, and when he took Rutschutz and fortified a large island in the river, imprudently left behind him an untrenched camp, and a portion of his troops. A Russian detached force took the camp, and defeated the troops, surprised and unguarded. The Turkish army was cut in two, and deprived of provisions and supplies; 10,000 men surrendered; but the winter terminating the campaign, the two armies retired. The Grand Vizier, however, presently received "great reinforcements." But mutterings were already heard. The French army invaded Russia, the Porte saw a trembling future, and the treaty of Bucharest was signed in 1812, by which Russia extended her frontiers from the Dniester to the Pruth. This war had been carried on by the Porte in the midst of internal anarchy and stimulated rebellion. Already, in 1805, the Servians had gained courage to assert their nationality, and after various reverses and victories, and the perpetration of fearful cruelties upon the Mussulman population, had succeeded in asserting their independence. Their nobles, however, were divided into two parties,—the Russian and the Turkish; only the poor peasant desired the national independence of his country. The Russian party at length triumphed, and the Czar became the real sovereign of Servia. But presently the treaty of Bucharest was signed, by which Bessarabia was given to the Russians, and no sooner was this treaty concluded, than the Turkish forces re-entered Servia, and the inhabitants were bidden by the Czar to unite with *his ally*, the Ottoman Porte. Turkey, therefore, regained Servia in exchange for Bessarabia, and all European statesmen have overlooked this; yet an apparent advantage only was obtained, for certain clauses, reserving peculiar rights to Russia, were framed to constitute the spring-work of future diplomacy and intrigue. Ere the unfortunate treaty of Acker-mann in 1826, by which the Porte undertook to carry instantly into effect the clauses of the treaty of Bucharest, and through which Russia gave to the Servians the *amende honorable* for her conduct in 1812, demonstrated this to Europe, the Ottoman power had already destroyed itself by means of its ill calculated reforms. The Mussulmen had even termed Mahmoud a *Giaour*, and, weakened and divided, their abasement encouraged the outbreak of the

Christian population of the empire. Moldavia, Wallachia, Greece, and the Morea revolted. The two former were overthrown, but, after a ten years' bloody contest, the latter were proclaimed independent, in 1839, by the allied powers of Western Europe, and by Russia. Abdallah, the Pasha of Acre, had also rebelled in 1822, and been with difficulty repressed. But the Bosnians, who could bring 40,000 troops into the field, showed themselves the most decided opponents of the reforms attempted to be introduced by the Sultan: war was carried on against them, and, at length, on the destruction of the Janissaries, the Bosnians were compelled, by great severities, to submit to the new institutions. In the midst of this Ottoman weakness and confusion Russia declared war in 1828, "since the clauses of the treaty of Ackermann respecting the Servians had not been carried out by the Porte." The Servians and Bosnians again rose in rebellion. The Bosnian troops, consisting of 38,000 men, who were commanded to march against the Russians, advanced towards Constantinople, intending to depose the Sultan. They accidentally fell in with a Russian corps, which attacked and defeated them, thus unintentionally preserving Mahmoud from destruction. The Servians were kept quiet by Prince Milosh. Events marched to a terrible consummation, and Mahmoud dared once more to raise the standard of the Prophet. The mighty banner unfurled only fell powerless in the dust, and Mahmoud signed with the blood of Turkey, and amidst the execrations of the descendants of Mahomet, the ominous treaty of Adrianople! Mahmoud blinded, a reforming fanatic tore from the hands of the Mussulman Bosnians districts they had held from childhood, and divided them amongst the Christian Servians, and this also occurred in 1830! When, however, Ali Vidaich came to regulate the new boundaries, he was made prisoner by the Bosnians, and afterwards allied himself with them; and, in conjunction with Vussein, compelled the Turkish Vizier to do public penance, and to wash himself publicly as an unclean person! 25,000 Mohammedan Bosnians united with 40,000 Albanians to destroy this *Giaour* who defiled the sanctuary of Constantinople. It was in vain that Reshid Pacha despatched a considerable body of troops to stay this threatening avalanche; they, too, only served to augment it, by throwing themselves with an embrace into its midst! A rapid march on Constantinople, and Mahmoud must have fallen; but diplomacy, which has already done so much for the Empire, preserved the Sultan this time. Reshid promised a return to the ancient order of things—the Mussulmen confided in the Reformer's word, separated, and were utterly destroyed in detail. And thus did Mahmoud shed the blood of the Prophet's children. But again the Bosnians revolted, the Imperial troops were yielding, when an army of Christians advanced, the two incongruous bodies united, and the enemies of the Sultan were once more defeated. In the meantime, the Bulgarians rose, and the Pasha of Acre had rebelled again, in 1831. The Turkish troops subdued the former, and the latter was conquered by Ibrahim Pasha; but the Porte, on this occasion alarmed at Ibrahim's power, pardoned Abdallah, and espoused his cause. The advance of Ibrahim into Turkey, and the peace effected by Russia and France in 1832, are within the memory of all. In 1838, the Bulgarians; in 1840, the Bosnians; in 1841, the Bulgarians; and in 1848-50, the Moldavians and Wallachians, again revolted. Religious persecutions, the Servian question of succession; Syria distracted and convulsed; the war with Mehemet Ali, the Herzegovina, and Montenegro, have from time to time revealed the disastrous internal condition of Turkey.

"A political religion (says one writer) has produced national apathy; ill-calculated taxes on land, poverty, and famine; the abolition of the feudal system, the delegation of the patriarchal authority of the chieftains to military governors, who rule with an iron hand, and drain the country by the most rapacious exactions; the chiefs who formerly furnished thousands of light cavalry are now without strength or influence." "The army is miserable in physical qualities, discipline, and appointments. We are at a loss to know what has become of that splendid race of men who, with fierce pride stamped on their manly features, so often carried fire and sword into the heart of Christendom. It would seem as if the flower of the Turkish race expired with the Janissaries." This is

too true: the precipitate eagerness of Mahmoud had the sole effect of hastening the fall of the empire. For it was useless for one man to strive against the will of his people, and that people surrounded by hostile powers, and isolated amongst hostile races. Mahmoud used the arms of Christians to destroy the virility of the children of his own faith. The very founders of the glory of his empire he slew in a barrack. The liberties of the Christian population he moistened and nourished with the blood of Islamism, and, from the first moment of his reign, to that when he resigned his breath, Turkey, subjected to innumerable humiliations, from without and from within, saw her influence weakened, her children destroyed, and the flag of the Prophet scowled upon with gloomy contempt by the people, while the Russian army was encamped at Adrianople, and the Autocrat dictated his own terms to the Sultan.

And one of the first acts of Abdul Medjid, on his succession, was to dismiss "the corrupt administration of Riza Pasha." Yes, honour, faith, loyalty, had all deserted the children of the Prophet. "The last great reformer, the Vizier Redshid Pasha, was expelled from office, for peculation unequalled even in the annals of Turkey." Only recently Hafiz Pasha, Finance Minister, was dismissed, and "the deficiency left in the public treasury amounted to 30,000,000 piastres." In the affair of the loan, interested motives were imputed to those concerned in its negotiation. "The Grand Vizier, Mehemet Ali Pasha, and the President of the Council, Mustapha Pasha, desired the establishment of the company, for the settlement of the affairs of the Bank, the one to increase his wealth, the other to employ his immense capital." The Porte was only enabled to arrange for the liquidation of the first loan negotiated in France by a two years anticipation of the Egyptian tribute, and this is no sooner arranged than Turkey "agrees to pay 4,000,000 piastres as an indemnification for the claims of Austria, and yet further sums for the reimbursement of duties wrongly assessed on Austrian merchandise!" And in the midst of all this trouble, dishonesty, and confusion, "the principal bankers resolutely refuse to have anything to do with the society formed for the liquidation of the claims on the Turkish Bank," and Prince Menschikoff scatters gold, and spreads increased corruption in the already distracted and beleaguered capital!

I have never, sir, witnessed before such an unexampled career of misfortune, confusion, and anarchy, as is presented by the last fifty years of the history of the Ottoman Empire: and yet that Empire still lives! It has tided over these fearful rebellions, survived the corruptions, the anarchy, the apathy of its subjects. Does there not here lie ground for hope? Can we any of us remember the struggle Catholic Emancipation cost us? how convulsed was our own enlightened England, and yet wonder at the effect of such an agitation upon the old Mahomedans of the Empire? And this Turkish reform too followed and was accompanied by other extensive reforms, any one of which alone would have been sufficient to convulse a kingdom to its centre! No, sir, there is ground enough for hope; for in foretelling such results as these, we should have believed that we prognosticated the total ruin of a mighty empire. This empire, however, still survives the difficulties of the fearful struggle, embittered and increased though they were by foreign influences. The battle being once fought, the prejudices of the old race being once and for all drowned in blood, the path becomes smoother for the further and more effectual pursuit of ameliorative and enlightened measures. These measures alone can now preserve what they have formerly well nigh destroyed. But Turkey, unless powerfully protected, will be unable to persevere in this career of administrative and national reform, and religious toleration. A war even might snatch the fruit from her trembling grasp, for a period of war is not a period for domestic improvement, if it does not prohibit it. My next letters being devoted to Russian policy for the last forty years or more, and to Russia's present political position in respect to Turkey, I will defer considerations upon the requirements of the Ottoman Empire until my next following communication, when these necessities, in conjunction with the policy of the Western Powers, shall receive careful and ample development and full consideration.

ALPHA.

"A STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

NOBODY can regret more sincerely than Mr. Keogh, that Mr. Keogh is the Parliamentary hero of this week, and is likely to be the hero of next week. His career and his political character have been forced on the attention of the world, and neither are in a condition to render him assured of a happy issue. The politician who commenced his political life at the Carlton, and is continuing it at the Reform, having immediately passed across the stage as leader of the Irish Brigade, is in the position of one suspect to all parties; and when an unlucky accident forces a public investigation into so sinuous a life, it becomes a matter of difficulty to induce the careless public to comprehend the minute motives which compelled the tortuosity, and which, in all the vacillations, preserved the "personal honour"—which is always assumed to include the political. The public will not analyze; and if it is insisted that the public should think at all about Mr. Keogh, the public necessarily comes to the conclusion that the man who started as a "Conservative Catholic," then became a Democratic Ultramontanist, and is finishing as law officer of the Government, which is neither Conservative nor Catholic, Democratic, nor Ultramontane, and which positively refuses to do any one of the things Mr. Keogh declares in "Dod" that he will do, and has declared out of doors would have to be done by any Government he joined—and who completes these inconsistencies in the short period between 1847 and 1853—may be a very clever, but cannot be a very reliable, or, politically, very lofty personage. There is a question of the day about Mr. Keogh, and that is the way it is likely to be answered. On Thursday he defied the Lords to the scrutiny; and as they were not very busy with other affairs, they readily accepted the challenge; and though Lords Eglinton and Derby are in the ridiculous position of having undertaken to damage the character of a man to whom their own agents offered office, when they thought he could be useful, they have the resource of repudiating the agency, and are not likely to halt in their malignant commission of inquiry; for if they ruin Mr. Keogh, they just now deal a heavy blow against the Government of Lord Aberdeen.

In the House of Lords Mr. Keogh ran great risks in having his character ventilated. It is heavy odds, half a dozen Earls against a poor Q. C., particularly when the Q. C. has exposed himself on various points to the sneers of Peers who were never tempted. There is a different code for Peers and needy law-officers. For instance, the Duke of Northumberland was loudly cheering the Earl of Derby, when the Earl of Derby was talking the chivalry of the question about Mr. Keogh. But, supposing all Lord Westmeath's assertions about Mr. Keogh are correct, and granting that he is a political Proteus, how venial are his errors paralleled with the infamy of the Derby Admiralty doings in the Dock Yards. But the old Marquis of Westmeath did not prove his case; it was shattered to atoms in the course of half an hour's energetic common sense from the Duke of Newcastle; and, thus, two nights debates in the Upper House have resulted in the putting on record, and the supporting Lord Derby's opinion, that the appointment of Mr. Keogh was an "unfortunate" one, and Lord Eglinton's opinion that the appointment was the "least reputable" one. Lord Derby, last night, repeated the "points" of a leading article, in Friday's *Morning Herald*, and made out a defence for his petulance on the preceding occasion; for though the miserable exhibition of Lord Naas in the Commons had made his repudiation of the Duke of Newcastle's retort ridiculous, he still had to say that, as the quasi offer was made before Mr. Keogh remarked that the nights in Ireland were sometimes long, he had still ground to go upon, in maintaining that the coalition were wrong in choosing the law-officer who made, and whom they knew to have made, that indiscreet speech.

Lord Derby was very emphatic about this; and as he made the morning paper's points, one after another, his supporters were astonished at his cleverness, and cheered him with enthusiasm. But is it not contemptible in a great party leader to be lending his name and weight to this paltry persecution of a man in every way privately estimable, and in respect of whom these peers ought to take for granted that in forming the present Government Mr. Keogh was influenced exclusively by a desire to secure good government and "law and order" in Ireland. Is it not thoroughly despicable to find the great party crowding into the House as they would not crowd if it were a national debate, for the purpose of hounding on a shattered Orangeman Marquis, whose main grievance against Mr. Keogh is, that he upset the influence of the Marquis's property in Westmeath. In order to gratify this petty spite, the House of Lords last night entertained the question in direct violation of constitutional propriety; and the Earl of Derby

only gave way after a grave Premier and two graver ex-Chancellors had implored decency and self-respect. That his lordship is a very small-minded man was a heterodox remark made here a week ago; and the ample demonstration of the littleness was supplied last night, when, to the meanness of the unblushing reproduction of the leading article against Mr. Keogh, his chivalrous lordship superadded the silliness of sneering at Lord John Russell (who was standing by the throne) upon the same grounds, in much the same tone, and with the same description and degree of wit employed by Sir Robert Peel on Tuesday. So small, so thoroughly wretched was this attack, that none of the members condescended to take the least notice of it; and thus Mr. Keogh, while unquestionably teased by the stray fire at his general political vicissitudes, has had his wrongs adopted, from a common sense of anger, and even identified with Ministers. He gained, on the whole, from what passed last night among the Lords, inasmuch as the Duke of Newcastle's spirited defence swept the main charge away, and as the public will have its sympathies aroused for the protection of an obviously persecuted man. Whatever his political sins, it will be felt that Lord Derby's business should be with higher matters.

And, so far as regards Thursday's proceedings in the House of Commons, Mr. Keogh, no doubt, obtained a distinct personal success. His success is in the fact just stated—that he placed the assailant Eglinton and the spiteful Derby in a ridiculous position; and he succeeded because he tickled the Government side of the House with a piquant story about the arrangements of the Tory camp. It was pleasant to find that Lord Naas, a heavy Irish young man, fat and fatuous, had made such a dreadful fiasco of a little diplomatic *pour-parler* W. B. had entrusted to him. It was pleasant to find that W. B. "formed" the Tory Government, and only made use of Lord Derby as a frontispiece, or tame elephant in the Lords, keeping him in complete ignorance of manoeuvres for the management of Mr. Keogh (then a potent person as democratic ultramontanist, pet of the priests, and creator of a new party, standing aloof from, and yet combining "Old" and "Young"—"Middle-aged Ireland")—and when his lordship "inquired," letting him know nothing of what was going on. It was pleasant to find Mr. Disraeli, tempted by a genial inclination to say a kind thing of Mr. Keogh, pooh poohing Lord Eglinton, in admitting that he would not have been "displeased" if Lord Naas had induced Mr. Keogh to take office under Lord Derby. It was pleasant to find poor Sir John Pakington falling into the trap skilfully laid by Mr. Keogh, and denouncing Mr. Keogh, the whilom ultramontane democrat, for taking office under Lord John, and denouncing Lord Aberdeen for accepting such a politician as Mr. Keogh (that is apart completely from the question of the so-called seditious agrarian outrage speech)—the fact turning out, that Mr. Keogh had made all his anti-Ecclesiastical Titles Bill speeches previous to Lord Naas' offer; so that, if the argument was true that his present appointment was disgraceful, Sir John would make out Lord Naas, not only to be a very silly heavy young Irishman, but a very criminal heavy young Irishman. It was pleasant to find Mr. Whiteside indignant with Mr. Disraeli for Mr. Disraeli's compliments to Mr. Keogh—observe, that Mr. Whiteside was Lord Derby's Solicitor-General for Ireland, just the office Keogh would have had, had he joined—and, in the teeth of his leader, delivering an hysterical, table-banging expression of horror at any Government encouraging "agitation" by the promotion of agitators. It was pleasant to find some of the Opposition cheering Mr. Whiteside, in utter forgetfulness of Mr. Disraeli's opinion, that Mr. Keogh would be an acquisition; and as Mr. Disraeli suffered severely from his law officers, and always fled deliriously from the brogues, and dullness, and bigotry of Napier and Whiteside, he ought to know; and it was pleasant to find Mr. Vance, a staunch Tory, and perhaps the most stupid member of Parliament going, elaborately lecturing and rebuking Mr. Disraeli for his preference of errant men of genius to consistent bores. Lastly, it was very pleasant to hear Lord John reappear in his fine old character—"a real friend when you're in trouble," and stand up so heartily for Mr. Keogh—in noble forgetfulness that through Mr. Keogh he had been memorably insulted before all Europe by Lord Aberdeen. Every now and then, of late years, there is a *renaissance* about Lord John; and it is always when his manliness is evoked for a slandered colleague. He is a great party man: all of his party are his personal friends; and he would die for a colleague. The finest speech he has made these ten years was his magnificent burst, two days before he left office as Premier, in behalf of Lord Clarendon, then attacked (and on capital grounds) by this same Lord Naas, whom Lord John compared, in consideration that

he was of the Irish propertied classes, and that Lord Clarendon's government had carried Ireland safely through a rebellion, to a skulker in the hold, who, when the fight was over, crept up on deck to criticise the captain. The same unexpected vigour was exhibited by Lord John on Thursday: and in his generous vindication—his contemptuous looks at Lord Naas—and his sneers at Lord Eglinton and Lord Derby, no one could have detected any trace of those feelings which must always be in Lord John's inmost mind when he thinks of Mr. Keogh—the man whose cleverness and energy made the debates on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill destructive to the Whigs, the bill itself a dead letter and a farce, and a perpetual reproach to its author,—the man, too, who had humiliated Lord John the other day by wringing from Lord Aberdeen an apology which was an insult to Lord John Russell. Of course, the Government benches cheered fast and furiously—it was delightful to them to find Lord John in such a splendid condition for fight: and then, the spirit of party survives all coalitions, and so long as a Whig is left, he will be found hallooing and hurrahing whenever there is a chance of seeing a Tory kicked; and Lord John's kicks at Lord Eglinton reminded them of good old days, when they had both measures and men. On the whole, therefore, Mr. Keogh obtained a complete personal triumph: and it was no wonder, seeing that against his own practised tact were pitted no more startling antagonists than a clumsy stout-minded young lord, and the ungrammatical and deplorable W. B. There is no doubt that the House was glad of the result, and that the congratulations Mr. Keogh got in the lobby were hearty and sincere. There is not a more popular man in the whole club—the House of Commons; as, having been in every party, his personal acquaintance is, of course, extensive; and, wherever he may happen to be in politics, he doesn't lose the friends he makes. Every one understands all about his career: they don't think him a Bayard; but they think, if he had been born to a great fortune he would have been a far more respectable statesman than Lord Derby; and, considering that it's the business of the country, and not of the House, to reward political virtue, and punish political vice, they fancy Mr. Keogh and Ireland may be left to arrange with one another, and, meanwhile, like his society, are glad to see him getting a handsome salary, hope he'll soon get a safe permanent appointment, and, it's a pity, but it's a fact, would rather sit and hear Keogh for five days than Whiteside, or Napier, or other consistent bores, for five minutes. When Cato went down to the House at Rome he was going to an assembly which was in contact with the nation, and was national—Roman nationality meaning something sublime; and when Cato walked to his place the young conscript fathers looked at him with awe, no doubt; but the British House of Commons is not in contact with the nation, is the result of a limited suffrage, and shapes necessarily into a club, and has no high opinion of the nation, which it buys and sells; and in the British House of Commons, therefore, Cato would be counted out, and wouldn't be reported. Keogh, leading in the smoking-room, would set all the young conscript fathers, just in from Hampton races, roaring at Cato. And that being so, the Eglintons and Whitesides, who give themselves airs, and talk Catoism about a notoriously villainous public life, talk very palpable nonsense. Mr. Disraeli's is, perhaps, the right view: Mr. Keogh was an agreeable clever man; and Mr. Disraeli could not see what obstacle there was to his acting in the same government with Mr. Keogh. Thus, if Mr. Disraeli sees a vice in the coalition, it is a coalition of dull dogs. Were it really a coalition of "all the talents" he would admire it, for in that case he would not be left out.

Another hearable debate was on Tuesday, on the Ballot, when other Lord Naases used a similar argument—that it is un-English to get at the truth. Lord Naas blamed Mr. Keogh because he had betrayed confidential communications in his own defence: and Mr. Sidney Herbert blamed Mr. Berkeley, because it was suggested that secret voting would get at the true opinions of the people of England; and if an un-English system, would at least be preferable to the too British system of selling conscience for a few shillings and a day's drunkenness—the great characteristic of the existing electoral system, and of which the upholders of our wonderful Constitution are justly jealous. Mr. Berkeley made a most amusing speech. True, the question, as he put it, was how we can remedy general national corruption; but he had to be heard, to keep an audience a little after dinner time, and this is the British and not a Roman Senate, and he was obliged to be amusing. It is no use, he, an old and clubbable member of the club knows, adopting what Mr. Cusly called the "integrity dodge" in politics. Virtuous

indignation is not his forte, and so he treated the question of national corruption in a light, pleasant style, which did not drive away the easy moralists—the members—until he had done, when, of course, they rushed from Sir John Shelley, who doesn't quite understand the club yet, and accordingly talks at his constituents, who must be delighted to see their member so active in the House, and who are of course honoured by his reputation as a first class bore. Perhaps as the country is to settle the question of corruption, sterner talk would, in the end, answer better than Mr. Berkeley's jovial and careless flippancy; but as the jurists seem to like democrats born among the aristocracy, and are no doubt convinced that Henry Berkeley holds exactly that moral position which enables him with effect to teach the people how to live, it was his business to show his wit—which he did—and his wit is very good—*il faut être homme blasé avant d'être homme politique*—and as Mr. Henry Berkeley, who is familiar with the tone of the governing classes, must have a high opinion of the democracy which worships those classes—sneers at the House of Lords come well from a son and brother and uncle to earls—it is easily conceivable that his bluff cynicism tells immensely on the House in June when people are beginning to be weary of the budget, and to wish Mr. Gladstone less conscientious and more curt. It was hardly a good debate on the Ballot, for it was too argumentative, when all that was wanted was piquant illustration; and, on the whole, Mr. Berkeley's was the best and most serviceable speech. He was happy in the accident which left reply to no more important personages than the Secretary-at-War and the Lord Advocate (of the Lord knows what). Mr. Sidney Herbert is an elegantly feeble statesman, who reproduces the commonplaces of conversation and orthodox books with careful memory and in a nice voice; and having an immense property, and being a contingent Peer, his teasing but compact twaddle is invariably listened to with deference—nay, on Tuesday, when his plagiarisms of Sidney Smith on Ballot were so adroit as to be literal—with great "cheers and laughter." But to the enlightened strangers, who were not bound to be well bred towards a statesman with 30,000*l.* a year, it was painful hearing his speech, for probably more impertinent nonsense was never talked—it should be understood that Sidney Herbert quoted Sidney Herbert only at dreary intervals, when the quotations specked, so as to show the Bæothian profundity of the parentheses. The greater part of an hour he devoted to showing that it was a delusion to suppose that the Ballot would really be a secret system; his argument was that every man's vote would be known. Mr. Cobden was in a hurry and nervous, and was intense on his own crotchets, or he might have annihilated the whole speech by the simple retort—if so, if the Ballot would make no practical change, why not let us have it? The other Ministerial speech was, in a different way, more absurd. Out of respect to Lord John, no doubt as "leader," and opposed to the Ballot, only two Ministers who agreed with him spoke; there appeared a tacit understanding that the Radicals of the Coalition were to be discreet and quiet. Sir William Molesworth accordingly going to asleep, and snoring audibly through Mr. Herbert's wisdom; Mr. Bernal Osborne sitting out the debate as spectator on the back benches of the Peers' gallery, where he was able to enjoy private conversation when Sir Robert Peel made the amicable reference to the "eccentric member for Middlesex;" Mr. Bethell imitating Sir William as well as he could, but, being active minded, not doing it very well; Sir Alexander Cockburn taking refuge in the smoking-room, chatting with congenial Mr. Keogh, both of them turning up in time to record their opinions practically that Lord John Russell had talked nonsense. But the Lord Advocate! He was evidently put up, with faith in his powers, by Lord John. He rose with Sir Robert Peel; but the House would have the baronet and not the lawyer, and he had to wait; and then he got a hearing, and straightway proceeded to pour out fluent futilities in an abominable forensic way,—further developing his incapacity for House of Commons position, in not only not adopting House of Commons style, but in making a set speech, which might have been made last year, ten years ago, or next year—which had no reference to the current debate, contained no reply to Peel, and was utterly disconnected from the events of the year and the arguments of the day. Lord John hear, heard: Mr. Gladstone, just come in in very full dress from an evening party, did so too: Mr. Gladstone is conscientious, and, having been absent all night, thought it was his business, as an "in," to cheer whoever might happen to be up: but the rhetorical Mr. Rutherford was, nevertheless, a conspicuous failure, and had foolishly displayed to a full House his third-rate nature, which, well concealed

might have been talked of as second-rate, and which would be reputation for a Lord Advocate. His argument was the stale one, the only novelty being an unparalleled loud how-wowry delivery of it, that a voter for a Member of Parliament exercised a public trust akin to that of the member when he comes to vote for men and measures. Lord John Russell repeated this impudent sophistry; and Lord John, and the Lord Advocate, and the Secretary at War, spoke as if it were assumed that the question was a mere abstract question; as if, at this moment, the public trust of a vote was exercised conscientiously,—as if the people was universally an honest people,—and as if it was taken for granted by everybody that the country was a remarkably conscientious and free country, and national ruin would come if men were to “skulk” (Lord John’s word) from a profession of their political opinions; it being, to Lord John’s mind, more manly to be bullied and bribed than to be secretive, and more hypocritical not to tell how you voted than to vote against your convictions. But this twaddly triad was not well answered. Mr. Bright certainly crushed Mr. Sidney Herbert’s assumption that we had “progressed” in public spirit, and that there were no more Dukes of Newcastle doing what they liked with their own, by a detailed reading to the House of the famous London-derry correspondence about the County of Down. And Mr. Bright would have gone on to make a splendid speech, as usual, if there had been time; but it was one in the morning, and the young Lords’ and old Lords’ retainers, whom he had insulted by divulging the truths of the country system which sustained them, were noisy and restive, and Mr. Bright is getting cautious, and has lost his old partiality for talking amid Tory yells and hootings, and so he closed abruptly, and his speech stands as a truncated oration addressed only to one part of the question. Mr. Cobden’s was an inexpressibly unwise speech: in every particular a mistake; but one specimen suffices. His peroration was a declaration that there was no cure for bribery but the ballot; and he would, consequently, oppose an extension of the suffrage if the ballot did not accompany it. That is Mr. Cobden’s faith in the masses of England! It is a revelation of his real, undoubtedly not Radical, nature. The accidents of the question of Free Trade made Mr. Cobden a popular leader: but he never had any business in connexion with the working-classes. Essentially a middle-class man, and a political economist, not a politician, he has no sympathy whatever with the masses, and, in fact, heartily at once fears and contemns them. And other quasi Democrats talk from the same point of view. Extension of the suffrage is asked on one ground, because it is prudent to make scoundrel constituencies so numerous that they would be too many to buy, and would, consequently, have no temptation to dishonesty; and in the same way, the ballot, which is simply a machinery to protect the impressionable, is asked because it would prevent bribery—the calculation being that when you are not sure of the vote you won’t pay a price for it. Mr. S. Herbert answered that queerly for a bold Briton, proud of his nation—“Why,” said he, “that is not sound; for when a gentleman wanted to get into parliament, he’d make a bargain with the voters, and pay them only on condition that he was returned, so that corruption would be increased, and you would not only have men bribed, as now, but you would add another iniquitous system, by which it would be the interest of every man bribed to canvass and offer bribes for the votes of others.” How much this sort of reckless and foolish talk injures the cause of British democracy, may be ascertainable by-and-by; but let us hope it is exceptional talk, and that there is left a school of Liberals who do not believe, because there is a large percentage of scamps in the towns, and of poltroons in the counties, that therefore there is not a true and pure mass among the people, who would compel good government in England, without the protection of the ballot-box. Sir Robert Peel made a speech for the ballot, which would justify a revolution: but Sir Robert’s orations are only amusing, not important; he is a droll, not a statesman. Proprietor of Tamworth, he despises corruption: and he thinks that the landed interest need not be afraid of the Ballot, because “Property, sir, will always have its influence.” In other words, if you bring up a place, and every voter is your tenant, you’re sure to have a majority.” But that’s not altogether Sir Robert’s point of view about the ballot; he knows that his demure brother—it is the fraternity of Duke Robert and Henry Beauchere—votes against the ballot, and that is enough to ensure Sir Robert’s vote for. As Coleridge said of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, that each was the half of a perfect man, so it may be remembered, that if the natures of Robert and Frederick Peel were conjoined, we should have a perfect statesman. Separated, each is afflictively incomplete: Frederick all reason:—some one asked

once if he was the head of the family, and was answered, No, he is only the brains—and Robert all passion; the steam boiler in one place, and the wheels and cranks in the other, motionless and resultless for want of connexion with the steam. Sir Robert is the greater success of the two in the house; he is a “character,” and has a recognised position, succeeding, in some degree, to the now-silent place of the decaying Sibthorpe. He is an “independent member;” that is, no one knows how he’ll vote until they see him in the lobby. He occasionally joins the standard of the Earl of Derby; but he has no particular rule in politics, beyond that of balancing the Peel interest by always plumping against his brother. He is a Liberal Conservative: and he understands that to mean—voting to-day with the Whigs, and to-morrow with the Tories: occasionally digressing in favour of Radicalism, as on Tuesday. He was in favour of the Ballot; and described the Ballot as preferable to open voting, because it is “a free and easy, and effective system;” but the first two adjectives sufficiently explained his hopes:—he would have the country “free,” but only on condition that it’s “easy” as well. Sir Robert represents the free and easy interests; that is his style of thought and talk. He’s the free-and-easiest orator in Parliament: he stands with one hand in his pocket, and he twirls a cane in the other—sometimes varying the gesture by twirling his moustache. He gives solemn advice to the country gentlemen—a sagacity he derives, perhaps, from studying his father’s career—to give way on the Ballot now, gracefully, because gracefully or not, they would be certain to have to do it in a few years. He said the Ballot was the Cape Horn of politics—and that was taken as a *mot*, and Sir Robert grinned heartily with the grinning House; and he particularly advised Sir James Graham—the Philip Van Artevelde of the voyage—not to make such a fuss about this, as having swallowed every other political nostrum, surely he needn’t stick at this dose? that is Sir Robert’s fun; and he fancies that when the House roars at his brusqueries it is laughing with him, and in no degree at him, which is surely a mistake. He was very funny on Lord John—some people thought it was sheer impudence—but the House didn’t stop to inquire if it was respectful, and laughed unreservedly; a noticeable sign that Lord John is going down. Sir Robert’s position has been obtained in this way; long resident abroad, he has no party connexions here, and no party training, and has apparently quarrelled with his family, and is thus not under the necessity of consulting any one, and accordingly gives full swing to his whims; and manages always, when he gets on his legs and cane, to blurt out, without the slightest *arrière pensée*, exactly what he thinks, which is usually what other people are thinking at the time, but would not venture to say publicly, about prominent public men. When he gets up it is known something insolent—something that only Sir Robert dare say—is to be expected; and his words are hung upon us as if he were a crack debater and a great man. Then his name and career have made him talked about; his private affairs extensively discussed, and his disposition and tendencies relentlessly criticised; and thus he has the advantage, when he speaks, of speaking to people who know intimately everything about him and are curious to know more; and so all turn their heads towards him and watch his every syllable, and laugh consumedly. All except Mr. Frederick, who deepens his demureness, holds his head down, and ponders on the principle of primogeniture.

But Sir Robert only led himself out of the country party into the ballot lobby. Lord John following, but not noticing the erratic baronet—who thought he had hit on a good description when he spoke of the “eccentric member for Middlesex”—had put his elbows into his hands, trotted out Sidney from that eternal scaffold, mentioned Sir John Elliott (he has taken to that patriot since he married into the Mintos), invoked vigour, candour, and openness in public affairs and public trusts, and suggesting, in reply to Mr. Bright, that the Massachusetts convention had not yet made up its mind about secret voting, very solemnly concluded—“Well, then, let us pause.” (Loud cheers from the Whigs.) And then Lord John sat down. That is the great Whig policy. Conventions are being held in Massachusetts, while corruption is eating into the heart of England; and Lord John adjures the House of Commons “to pause.” And the House paused accordingly; and the character of the division would appear to be this—because Massachusetts is not decided, England suspends her opinion about the question of open as against secret voting. Mr. Bright is responsible for putting the idea into Lord John’s head. Mr. Bright took the House to Massachusetts, and told all about the system there; he was even dramatic in his narrative. Burke’s memorable dagger was paralleled by Bright’s astonishing envelope—the envelope in

which Massachusetts electors deposit their votes—which Mr. Bright waved before the eyes of the British Senate, and called upon them to admire and to adopt. It has come to this with the British constitution, that it’s a question of an envelope—a self-sealing envelope, and the mouth of the British lion a mere Venetian letter-box. But this episode in the debate startled Lord John; perhaps he thought the envelope a great invention, in which there might be a national salvation—self-sealing; and in closing the discussion he did not give a direct negative—he only asked for time, till we have further news from Boston. It was not a great attitude for a great statesman to take; but Lord John does nothing but pause now. The ballot might well have been approved on Tuesday, if only as a machinery for preventing a repetition of such scenes as have been disclosed this session in the Committee corridors. We are now nearly at the end of these hideous revelations; the Liverpool committee will worthily bring up the disgusting procession of infamies; and up to this moment Lord John, “leader,” and therefore responsible, has done nothing even in the way of hint at a remedy. There are several writs still suspended, and several commissions are in process; but still no rule is being applied. Even for Harwich a writ is renewed, Lord John being content to pause there; and assuring the House (Ralph Osborne and Robert Lowe honourably voted against him, as they did on Tuesday, when secret voting was also an open question) that “in time,” with increased trade and communications with the rest of the coast, Harwich may become very respectable—meanwhile new liberty being given to it to repeat the old scoundrelisms which, even in a nation of corrupt borough constituencies, has made it a conspicuous abomination. Lord John is apparently resolved not to meddle with the matter until, in due course, he comes to the Reform Bill next session; and then we shall see Mr. Cobden voting against Lord John Russell, on an extension of the suffrage, and Mr. Bright leading British democracy,—our Henry of Navarre being discernible in the melée by a white—envelope.

“A STRANGER.”

Saturday Morning.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Will Mr. R. M. W. favour us with his present address. We are desirous of communicating with him.

USE OF ADVERSARIES.—The adversaries of a good cause are like men who strike at the coals of a large fire. They scatter the coals and propagate the fire.—From *Goethe’s Opinions*.

TRUE LIBERAL.—A truly liberal man employs all the means in his power to do all the good he can. He does not rush in with fire and sword to abolish imperfections, which are sometimes unavoidable. He endeavours, by cautious progress, to remove the ills of the body politic; but he eschews violent measures, which crush one evil but to create another. In this imperfect world of ours, he is content with the good, until time and circumstances favour him in his aspirations after the better.—From *Goethe’s Opinions*.

THE NATAL HORSE.—The Natal horse, indeed, deserves something more than a mere passing notice. He is a small, and by no means a showy animal, nor does he possess any of the points for which an Englishman would look in a good hunter or hackney. His shoulder is very much depressed, and the withers are generally so low that when on his back you have, to use a familiar expression, “nothing before you,” and it is no easy matter to keep the saddle in its proper place. He is very narrow in the ribs, so much so that an English saddle, unless made by one who thoroughly understands the matter, and well stuffed, is sure to gall the back—the worst evil that can happen to an African horse. To avoid this a false panel is often added, and saddle-cloths are in very general use, but as they increase the heat it is better to do without them if possible.—BARTER’S *Dorp and Veld*.

ALPINE FLOWERS.—While the Alpine flora offers a rich treat to the eye, through its large flowers, and their pure colours and lovely forms, they are, on the other hand, incapable of pleasing any of the other senses of man. With a few exceptions, which indeed refer only to plants occurring solely in the lower part of the zone, the flowers of Alpine plants are scentless. An increased degree of heat, generally also dryness of the soil and atmosphere, favour the development of those secretions which are volatilized from flowers, whence the south of Europe, for example, has far more sweet-scented plants than the north, and the number of odoriferous plants in general increases towards the equator; it is therefore readily to be comprehended that the Alpine plants, which grow in a constantly moist soil, at the lowest possible temperature, cannot be odoriferous.—SCHOUW’S *Earth, Plants, and Man*.

Literature.

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

THE *New York Daily Tribune* of the 3rd instant brings us cheering news, in the shape of a report of the Religious Conference in Pennsylvania. The Church of the Future—a Church such as we have repeatedly declared to be the necessity of this age—seems likely to arise from the movement now leading our American brethren. It may be proper to state, that the Society of Friends has of late years been troubled by a schism which has split the body into two sections—an orthodox conservative and a liberal progressive section. Moral reforms, such as Anti-slavery, Peace, Temperance, Equalization of Women and Men, have been the subjects of contention. Conservative Quakerism holding aloof from reformatory societies, and denouncing all who endeavoured to bring religion into politics; “Young” Quakerism holding to the principle of making all life animated by religion.

“The contest between the two parties led at length to divisions in the Genesee, Indiana and Ohio Yearly Meetings, within whose limits new Societies have been organized, repudiating the old disciplinary arrangements, and inviting to membership, not Quakers alone, but all those, without reference to sect, party or theological belief, who regard the Human Family as one Brotherhood, and who acknowledge their obligation to obey the Golden Rule. The Societies, consequently, embrace many who have never been Friends, but who, having been repelled from other sects by the prevailing Sectarianism, yet feel the want of some form of religious association.

“Within the last two years, the contest between the parties above alluded to, within the limits of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, has been brought to a more direct issue, and the result is, in Chester County, an open division, and in other parts of the body a state of feeling that seems likely ere long to draw off many of the younger portion of the body to the new movement. The Call for the Conference, of whose proceedings I am about to speak, originated in Chester County, but was addressed to all, without regard to residence, who felt the need of an association which should divorce practical Christianity from speculative theology.

“In accordance with this call, a large assembly convened in Friends’ meeting-house in Old Kennett, on Sunday, May 22. Every seat was occupied, many stood in the doors and passages, and others went away because they could not find room even to stand. The meeting presented an imposing appearance. There were a goodly number of aged Friends present of both sexes, dressed in the usual Quaker garb, but the bulk of the audience consisted of intelligent persons of middle age, and as fine a company of youths as I ever saw convened.”

The “exposition of the sentiments” of the new society, calling itself the Society of Progressive Friends, (or, in plainer language, “Christians without a Church,”) is a very remarkable document. It opens with stating why the new sect was forced into dissent:—

“In our efforts to apply the principles of Christianity to daily life, and to social customs and institutions which we deemed subversive of individual and national morality, as well as in conflict with the laws of God, we encountered the hostility of the popular sects, to one or another of which most of us belonged, and to which we were bound by ties that grew with our growth and strengthened with our strength. Mingling with the chime of church bells and with the tones of the preacher’s voice, or breaking upon the stillness of our religious assemblies, we heard the clank of the slave’s chain, the groans of the wounded and dying on the field of bloody strife, the noise of drunken revelry, the sad cry of the widow and the fatherless, and the wail of homeless, despairing poverty, driven

‘By foul Oppression’s ruffian gluttony
Forth from life’s plenteous feast;’

and when, in obedience to the voice of God, speaking through the holiest sympathies and purest impulses of our Godlike humanity, we sought to arouse our countrymen to united efforts for the relief of human suffering, the removal of giant wrongs, the suppression of foul iniquities, we found the Church, in spite of her solemn professions, arrayed against us, blocking up the path of reform with her serried ranks, prostituting her mighty influence to the support of wickedness in high places, smiling complacently upon the haughty oppressor, ‘justifying the wicked for a reward,’ maligning the faithful Abdiels who dared to stand up for the truth and to testify against popular crimes—thus traitorously upsetting the very foundations of the religion she was sacredly bound to support and exemplify, and doing in the name of Christ deeds at which humanity shuddered, obliterating her indignant blushes only with the tears that welled up from the depths of her great, loving heart.”

When they found themselves excommunicated, because they associated with noble men and women, not of their own sect, for the purpose of abolishing Slavery, War, Intemperance, &c.,—when they found the meaning of Christianity subordinated to sectarian shibboleths, its teaching subordinated to a church, “and the sum of every virtue in man narrowed down to the dimensions of a particular creed, or smothered under the petty limitations of speculative theology,” they began seriously to inquire, What is this Church which thus enthrals us? The result of their inquiry was that Churches are human Institutions, fallible, perfectible, like all other institutions:—

“We have dwelt at some length on this point, because we deem it of fundamental importance. This chain of organic communion with God lies at the root of many evils in the Churches around us, and hence we desire to make our denial of its validity as emphatic as possible. We would impress upon the minds of all whom our voice may reach, the truth, that there is no mysterious alchemy whereby a company of men, mean and selfish as individuals, are transmuted into a holy body; no Divine afflatus vouchsafed to them in the mass, superseding the necessity of personal conformity to the will of God. Such a claim is the acme of superstition and imposture. It is amazing that it should for so long a period have deceived and befooled the nations! When will the people learn that there is nothing Divine, nothing too sacred for investigation, in the artificial arrangements and prescribed

formalities of sects? Alas! what multitudes join the popular Churches, submitting to their rites and paying the expenses of their administration, deluding themselves meanwhile with the idea that they are thus ensuring their eternal salvation, even though their daily lives are defiled by sordid and debasing acts, and they scarcely lift a finger or breathe one honest aspiration for their own or the world’s moral improvement!

“Our inquiries into the nature and uses of Religious Organization have also brought us to the conclusion that the Churches around us have made a vital mistake in demanding uniformity of belief in respect to scholastic theology, ordinances, rites, and forms, as a condition of religious fellowship and the basis of associated effort.”

Their new Church is based upon absolute freedom.

“It has been our honest endeavour to avoid, if possible, the mistakes into which previous organizations have so generally fallen, and especially those radical errors which are pointed out in this address. To this end we have made our association as simple as possible, having done little more than to provide for an annual assembly. We claim for this organization no other powers than such as we ourselves have conferred upon it in consistency with our own and others’ individual freedom. We make no draft upon the veneration of our fellow-men for any arrangement that we have adopted, or may adopt hereafter. Veneration is due only to God and to those eternal principles of Rectitude, Justice, and Love, of which He is the embodiment.

“We have set forth no forms nor ceremonies; nor have we sought to impose upon ourselves or others a system of doctrinal belief. Such matters we have left where Jesus left them, with the conscience and common sense of the individual. It has been our cherished purpose to restore the union between Religion and Life, and to place works of goodness and mercy far above theological speculations and scholastic subtleties of doctrine. Creed-making is not among the objects of our association. Christianity, as it presents itself to our minds, is too deep, too broad, and too high, to be brought within the cold propositions of the theologian. We should as soon think of bottling up the sunshine for the use of posterity, as of attempting to adjust the free and universal principles taught and exemplified by Jesus of Nazareth to the angles of a man-made creed. Churches which undertake this impious and impracticable work doom themselves thereby to barrenness and death. Instead of being warmed and animated by that living faith which ‘works by love,’ and overcomes the world, they lapse into bigotry and intolerance, and their formularies, having no life in themselves, become at length mere petrifications, fossil remains of ideas, which, however significant once, have no longer any adaptation to the condition of the race. It is sad to behold a Church, with Christ’s name upon its brow, turning away from the wells of immortal truth, and clinging with superstitious pertinacity and veneration to the shell of an ancient creed, or the letter of an ancient Discipline, from which the original soul long since took its flight; swift to frown upon the slightest departure from its forms and theories, but slow to utter a testimony against a popular sin; ever zealous in tithing ‘mint, anise, and cummin,’ but heavy of step and slow of speech when the great interests of Humanity are at stake.

“Our terms of membership are at once simple, practical, and catholic. If we may be said to have a test, it is one which applies to the heart and the life, not to the head nor to any of its speculations. Our platform is broad as Humanity, and comprehensive as Truth. We interrogate no man as to his theological belief; we send no Committees to pry into the motives of those who may desire to share the benefits of our Association; but open the door to all who recognise the Equal Brotherhood of the Human Family, without regard to sex, colour, or condition, and who acknowledge the duty of defining and illustrating their faith in God, not by assent to a creed, but by lives of personal purity and works of beneficence and charity to mankind. If, by any possibility, there should be found here and there a sincere inquirer after truth, who may not feel himself included in this invitation to membership, we shall still bid him welcome to our assemblies, and listen with patience to whatever his highest convictions may prompt him to offer. We do not seek to bind our Association together by external bands, nor by agreement in theological opinions. Identity of object, oneness of spirit in respect to the practical duties of life, the communion of soul with soul in a common love of the beautiful and true, and a common aspiration after moral excellence,—these are our bond of union: and when these shall die out in our hearts, nothing will remain to hold us together; and those who shall come after us will not be subjected to the trouble of tearing down a great ecclesiastical edifice, constructed by our hands, before they can make provision for the supply of their own religious wants.”

Our extracts have been long; but so few readers receive American papers that it seemed desirable to reproduce as much of this exposition as space would admit.

Among the sensible things “talked of” just now in various circles, is one which every reader will thank us for directing his attention to, if he have not anticipated us—viz., the Marine Vivarium in the Zoological Gardens. The active, ingenious, and inventive secretary, D. W. MITCHELL, who has a true passion for Natural History, and whose passionate zeal carries him successfully through all tasks, has this year rendered the Gardens infinitely more attractive than they were before. His Fish House is a palace of wonder and delight. One could spend weeks in it with interest and fresh instruction. How many of us, book-naturalists, alas! for the most part, “cabined, cribbed, confined” within the smoky necessities of metropolitan life, have never seen a third of the sea anemonies and echinoderms gathered together in this Fish House! We know the polyps, perhaps, from seeing one occasionally on our coasts, during a “fortnight’s residence with the children;” we know the other forms in engravings—but how different they are when seen here in these miniature seas, living among the marine plants and fishes, expanding their delicate arms in slow rhythmic movements, betraying their secrets to spectators crowding round the glass tanks! Polyps, molluscs, echinoderms, barnacles, lobsters, salt-water-fish, are here to be seen as they are to be seen at the bottom of the ocean. You have only to multiply them by millions, and exaggerate the small piece of rock into a reef of some miles, and the wonders of ocean-life are before you!

Lecturing is becoming almost as popular here as in America. Every day we see a new name announced. This week Signor FILOPANTI has been re-opening the vexed question of legendary Rome; and JAMES HANNAY has commenced his course on Satirical Literature, with HORACE and JUVENAL—a mere mention must suffice, other pressing occupations having prevented our attendance.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

State Churches and the Kingdom of Christ. By John Allen.

The British Controversialist.
The Poetry of Geography. By Peter Ligonier.

The Poetry of Geography. By Peter Livingston. Groombridge and Sons.
An Essay on the History and Management of Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics' Institutions.
 By James Hole. Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

Memoirs of Mary, the Young Duchess of Burgundy, and her Contemporaries. By Louisa Stuart Costello. Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. R. Bentley.

Travels of Rolando; or, a Tour Round the World. By Anne Bowman.

Cranford. By the Author of "Mary Barton."

Popular Economic Botany. By L. C. Archer.

Popular Physical Geology. By J. Beete Jukes.

W. and F. G. Cash.

Houlston and Stoneman.

Groombridge and Sons.

ry, Scientific, and Mechanics' Institutions.
Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.
and her Contemporaries. By Louisa Stuart.

Louisa Stuart
R. Bentley.

an. R. Bentley.

George Routledge and Co.

Chapman and Hall.

Reeve and Co.

Reeve and Co.

THE FRONTIERS OF CHRISTIAN AND TURK.

The Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk; comprising Travels in the Regions of the Lower Danube. In 1850-51. By a British Resident of Twenty Years in the East. 2 vols. Bentley

"THERE is a tide in the affairs of books" as well as of men, and the current of political anxiety will carry these able and interesting volumes into creeks and corners where perhaps their intrinsic merits would have failed to introduce them. The work is primarily a book of Travels, and admirable both for the sustained gravity and shrewdness of the observer; it is, however, secondarily a book of political *à propos*, and this accidental circumstance will be of more service to it than its own merit. It may be read by idlers for amusement; it will be read by politicians for its calm observation.

The writer is an English gentleman, whose excellent sense and sagacity claim for him an attentive hearing. The value of his observations is enhanced by his candid admission of having entered Turkey with strong prejudices against its policy and religion, prejudices which only more accurate knowledge could dispel. He left it persuaded of the superiority of Turkish rule over the petty exasperations of Austria and the rapacious immorality of Russia. The tone may be judged from the following extract :—

“One would naturally be led to infer from these premises, that the policy of Russia must be more advantageous to Wallachia than that of Turkey, otherwise it would not be preferred ; but it is a notorious and undeniable fact, that Russia is altogether indifferent how badly the internal affairs of the province are administered, provided her political influence be maintained and progressively augmented ; while Turkey is as unquestionably most deeply and sincerely interested in the prosperity of the country. The two systems, respectively followed, are diametrically opposed to each other. The Russian policy consists in encouraging corrupt administration, in order that continual dissatisfaction may exist among the population, to act as the sword of Damocles over the prince's head, whose submission, in questions of direct importance to her is secured in return for her support in his difficulties. She endeavours to keep the province in a state of constant disquietude, and the government weakened by personal ambitions and rivalries, which she excites, while both province and government are exposed to the dangers of popular irritation, occasioned by her intrigues ; and her influence is thus sanctioned by the prince as a safeguard against the jealousy of the principal Boyars, and against a possible outbreak of resentment on the part of the people, while it is not only tolerated but even courted by the Boyars, in the hope that it may advance their schemes of aggrandisement and attainment of power, at the same time that it protects the privilege of their *caste*. The Turkish system, on the other hand, is to promote, by every possible means, the successful administration of the prince, as a basis of stability and order, and the tranquillity of the population, securing the rights and interests of every class of society, furthering the material improvements which are so much required, and repressing the abuse of power and malversation of office, which have become so deeply rooted in all its departments, that administrative employment is sought after as a certain source of wealth by easy peculation ; and the tendency of all the efforts made by Turkey in favour of Wallachia, is to develop the native resources of a province attached to her empire, which will thus be strengthened on its northern frontier, by the welfare and fidelity of a population owing everything to her.

owing everything to her.

“In spite of these irreproachable motives, and this unimpeachable conduct on the part of the Ottoman Porte, and notwithstanding that Wallachia has much to gain by loyal attachment to the Sultan, while the friendship of the Czar is productive of palpable evil, still the influence of Russia is preponderant with the Prince and with the Boyars for the reasons above stated; but the lower orders, which form ninety-nine hundredths of the population in Wallachia, have neither similar interests nor the same opinions, and they found all their hopes of well-being on the sympathy of the western cabinets of Europe; which sympathy, being in every way consistent with the policy of Turkey, is expected by them to come sooner or later into the field, and to strengthen the hand of that power in the unjust contest entailed upon it within its own frontiers by a bold and unscrupulous foreign rival.

“The humbler classes of society, in all countries, are generally actuated and guided in their judgment by positive facts rather than by speculative conclusions; and in Wallachia the contrast which is offered by the demeanour of the two armies of occupation, has greatly contributed towards their forming a correct estimate of their relative position with regard to them. Russia has thus injured her cause by the success of her favourite scheme of keeping troops in the Danubian principalities, which she was always striving to accomplish, in the hope that her influence would be permanently increased by it: but the contrary result has taken place; and those very troops, which she has now succeeded in establishing on a firm footing in the country, have done much to diminish the respect of the people for the Russian name. On their first arrival, both armies were billeted on the inhabitants; the Turks respected their property, paid for what they received, and even supported the families with which they lived on the abundance provided for their own sustenance, scrupulously observing the precepts of hospitality which form a principle of their religion; but the Russian soldiers maltreated and even robbed

their involuntary hosts, devouring their provisions, and impoverishing them in every way during the unwelcome occupation of their houses. So remarkable was this distinction, that the inhabitants of one quarter of the town of Bucharest, who had petitioned the Ottoman commissioner, on the entrance of the troops, to be exempted from the obligation of receiving Turkish soldiers as guests, actually applied to him for the advantage of being their hosts, when they saw how profitable it was to others; whereas, every possible means are employed to obtain relief from the burden of entertaining Russian soldiers. The bad conduct of the latter seems to be as much encouraged by their officers, as the respectable behaviour of the Osmanlis is promoted by the instructions and example of their superiors."

One good object will be effected by these volumes—viz., the strengthening of that wholesome hatred against Austrian policy which all Englishmen should feel, and, when opportunity once more offers, should *act* upon as well as feel. There is something base in the illogicality of the practical acquiescence in despotism, which the English manifest by their apathy in foreign politics. They are ready enough to be up in arms against the pretensions of the Pope, but submit to the pretensions of the Kaiser. That the Madiari should be deprived of the charms of Protestantism seems to Protestant England a fearful and damnable tyranny; but that nations should be deprived of their nationality, that peoples should be deprived of their freedom, does not seem fearful to the English nation, a free people somewhat boastful of its freedom!

These volumes not only nourish hatred against Austria, by revealing the state of the Austrian dominions, but also gives hope and encouragement to liberal minds by revealing the insecure condition of Austrian rule. They reveal the contempt and hatred universally felt by the Slavonian population for the small proportion of the inhabitants of the duchy of Austria, "and unerring indications are exhibited of the latter succumbing and the former prevailing." Even the Croats, who in the last war sided against the Hungarians, are no longer to be relied on.

“ But his Croatian subjects are likely soon to be suspected also ; for I learnt at Carlovacz, with some degree of certainty, that if another attempt on the part of the Magyars should take place, they will be eagerly joined by the Croats. It appears that the former people still hope to achieve, if not complete national independence, at least more liberal institutions than they have as yet enjoyed under the Austrian rule ; and that another insurrection is projected, which is not intended to break out until its principles shall have spread over all the Slavonian provinces of the Austrian empire ; while the Croatians now understand the error they fell into by opposing the Hungarians, and will in future make common cause with them. They were induced to follow their Ban in his campaign against Hungary, by promises of political enfranchisements, and of diminutions in their fiscal burdens, which promises have subsequently been belied by him ; and he is now as unpopular among them as he was formerly revered. Their natural sympathies are all in favour of the Hungarians, although they equally object to a Magyar supremacy ; and the general discontent, which seems to be growing amongst the inhabitants of Austria which do not belong to the Germanic race, is rife in Croatia. It is, therefore, probable, that in the future inevitable vicissitudes of the empire this people will appear in a new light, and a widely different one from that in which they have lately made themselves known.”

Consider: the modern Slavonic race numbers little less than a hundred millions, thus constituting more than a third of the whole European population, yet nowhere ruled by a native dynasty!

“In Austria there are only six millions of Germans to control twenty-three millions of Slavonians, including those of Austrian Poland; and in Prussia, exclusive of the Rhenish provinces, three millions and a half of Germans to four millions of them. These proportions are pregnant with great results, for this people is now almost everywhere displaying a high degree of national energy. They have given birth to a new branch of literature, and in many of the states incorporated in the German dominions they write vigorously and successfully on their own condition and destinies, especially in Austria, where their dream is national unity; and they evince a stubborn perseverance in the pursuit of this theme, which, it were blindness to deny, must produce, if not its full realization, at least a serious endeavour to attain their object. They are essentially an intellectual and a warlike race, and these two elements of national character, when united, can never fail in generating remarkable events. Whatever be their ultimate issue, and however they may turn, they will attract the attention of Europe, and influence its prosperity, becoming consequently most interesting to England, the workshop which supplies the continent, and the factory whose returns must greatly depend on the wealth of its customers. It is, therefore, time that the subject should be considered, in order that the probable results of its incipient fermentation may be rightly appreciated, ere they take us by surprise.”

Enough has been done to indicate the political character of this work; we may return to it on a future occasion for some specimens of its character as an amusing book of travels.

REV. C. BEECHER ON SPIRIT RAPPINGS.

A Review of the "Spiritual Manifestations." Read before the Congregational Association of New York and Brooklyn. By Charles Beecher. Bosworth.

MRS. HAYDEN has been the great rival to "Uncle Tom" in the circles of Gossip during 1853. Spirit Rappings and Table Movings have replaced "those dear blacks!" and Fashion has run after the Black Art as it before ran after the Black Misery. It was right, therefore, that Mrs. Beecher Stowe should have a brother to succeed her on the evanescent throne of a season's popularity. He has done his best in an elaborate little work full of hard words, learned names, Hebrew, Greek, and Scripture. Curious the work certainly is, and may be taken as a specimen of the intellectual disease of our epoch.

The Rev. Charles Beecher begins by accepting the *facts* of "Spiritual Manifestations." *Collusion* seems to him utterly untenable; but he never suspects that where Collusion was absent there may have been Delusion; no sooner does he convince himself that the narrators were not impostors, than he conceives it unnecessary to ask if they were not dupes. For ourselves, we believe them to be *both*.

Having accepted the facts, he proceeds to examine the hypotheses put forward to account for them. He divides them into two:—"I. The *Pneumatic*—Natural Law with Spirits. II. The *Apneumatic*—Natural Law

without Spirits." The medium, or channel, being in each case Odyle. As a clergyman, he of course takes his stand beside the Bible, and finding there abundant evidence of Spiritual Manifestation, he rejects the physiological hypothesis:—

"Thus the pneumatic theory, established by the facts of the Bible, supplies to them a law by which they are seen to fall within the scope of mental and physiological science. Hence it is the better theory. It is not enough that a theory can by great effort embrace the phenomena of clairvoyance, rhapsomancy, apparitions, oracles, haunted houses, rappings, &c., it must also take in the facts of the Bible. It must give to the Bible its natural meaning, not explaining away, by fatal accommodation principles, its demonic possessions, its pythoneses, its laws, its history of the evoking of Samuel, and of the false prophets, nor yet excluding them as anomalous. Whatever physiological law accounts for odylic phenomena in all ages, will in the end inevitably carry itself through the whole Bible, where it deals with the phenomena of soul and body as mutually related, acting and reacting. A large portion of the Bible, its prophecies, ecstasies, visions, trances, theophanies, and angelophanies, are more or less tinged with odylic characteristics. The physiology, the anthropology of the Bible is highly odylic, and must be studied as such. As such, it will be found to harmonize with the general principles of human experience in such matters in all ages. If a theory be adopted everywhere else but in the Bible, excluding spiritual intervention by odylic channels *in toto*, and accounting for everything physically, then will the covers of the Bible prove but pasteboard barriers. Such a theory will sweep its way through the Bible, and its authority, its plenary inspiration will be annihilated. On the other hand, if the theory of spiritual intervention through odylic channels be accepted in the Bible, it cannot be shut up there, but must sweep its way through the wide domain of 'popular superstitions,' as they are called, separating the element of truth on which those superstitions are based, and asserting its own authoritative supremacy.

"As to the alleged probability of accounting for all those 'superstitions' on purely apneumatic grounds, it is infinitesimally small. The probabilities are that science will approximate nearer to the line in odylies which divides between the effective agency of embodied and disembodied spirits. At present, the phenomena blend in a penumbra, and form a land of shadows and of debate. It is only at a distance from the line that effects on either side can be with certainty referred to causes. That science will, in clearing up this dimness, ever expel spiritual agency from all physical share in human intercourse, is in the last degree improbable."

This Odyle, of which ignorance has made such facile use, turns out to be the universal medium suspected by the ancients:—

"What the ancients suspected, the moderns have demonstrated. In every chemic, or vital function of the body, with electricity, another imponderable, diverse from electricity, is evolved. Three independent courses of experiment, by Matteucci, Thilorier, and Lafontaine, and Reichenbach, coincided with the report of Arago on Angelique Cottin, in establishing the discovery. Transmissible through electric non-conductors, capable of accumulation in unisolated bodies, possessing polarity, residing in the magnet with, but distinct from, magnetism, visible in darkness to sensitive organs, energising from the organism upon nature, and reacting from nature upon the organism, it pervades the earth and heavenly bodies, is diffused through space, and is the agent of the phenomena of clairvoyance.

"Producing when discharged, as in Angelique Cottin, by the sub-cerebral centres, unintelligent effects on heavy bodies, equal to any of the 'manifestations,' it simulates, when directed by the brain itself, all the characteristics of intelligence.

"Tested by Ashburner, endorsed by Gregory of Edinburgh, Hitchcock of Amherst, and others of scientific note, the discovery has at least supplied a desideratum, by affording a nomenclature of singular appropriateness for almost all the anomalies that have ever afflicted science."

Seldom has greater trash afflicted Science!

Let us gather from this volume a glimpse or two at the pseudo-scientific reasoning in which Odyle is made to play a part.

"Instrumental representative of mind, the brain is capable of spontaneous action, without mind. Such spontaneous action will be indistinguishable from mental operations proper.

"Musicians perform automatically. Printers set type mechanically. In revery, all manner of things are done unconsciously,

"A servant-maid, delirious with fever, recited passages of Hebrew heard many years before. A somnambule girl, before exhibition, rose by night and painted at her trial piece with surpassing skill. A somnambule chess-player defeated while asleep those who beat him when awake. Every operation, from the highest rational to the lowest sensational, which brain performs, with mind as irritant, it can reproduce, without mind, under specific external irritants, not even excluding fictitious conscious personal identity.

"Add the power of rapping and tipping at a distance, and one class of the manifestations is accounted for. Now Dr. Kerner, chief physician at Weinsberg in Germany, states that Mrs. Frederica Hauffe, when in the magnetic sleep, could rap at a distance, producing a hollow, yet clear sound, soft, but distinct. And Dr. Hims mentions a gentleman, who, in a dream, pushed against a door in a distant house, so that those in the room were scarce able to resist the pressure.

"Of course, if brain without mind can rap, and move bodies at a distance, it can so do it as to represent its own impressions in the shape of spelled communications. In confirmation, the spelling follows the cerebral habit of the medium, being correct or incorrect as the medium is educated or illiterate. Thus any impression, even though long dormant, or never consciously recognised on the brain of the medium, may automatically reproduce itself.

"Moreover, as the human countenance photographs itself upon the sensitive silver plate, which it does not touch, so the human brain may odylise itself upon the sensitive cerebral plate of the medium which it does not touch. Or, as in every cranium two brains unite to form a double cerebral unit, so in space two brains, finely meshed together by odylic threads, may virtually unite to form a double cerebral unit, the impressions of the stronger imparting themselves to and through the weaker. Thus things never known to the medium, apparently, or to any one in the circle, may be given forth by the distant automatic agency of some co-efficient brain."

Risum teneatis? Is it not pretty theorizing? How delightfully it accounts for the "facts!"

"Thus any high-wrought cerebral excitement may telegraph itself across the globe, upon any other brain in due odylic rapport, and communicate intelligence of then passing events.

"As to events so far in the past that they cannot exist in the form of impressions on any living brain, it is only necessary to conceive that they have recorded themselves eternally upon the all-pervading odylic medium. They may leave their impress, not cognizable indeed by sense, but real, just as if the shadow at which Eve gazed in the fountain had remained a fixed, though unsubstantial form of beauty, after she departed and for ever;—or as a fixed star might shine for us years after passing from existence. The brain of the medium, or its odylic co-efficient, or other half, comes into such a susceptible state that all these phantoms held in odylic suspension, as it were, type themselves thereon, and are given forth as before explained in automatic discharge.

"And even future events, in some such way, may be sensed by the brain. "In confirmation of this, it is found that as anciently oracles could be found only in certain localities; as only in some regions the divining-rod in the hands of the sensitive is affected; as in some localities only the phenomena of haunted houses occur, according as the mundane imponderable emanations vary; so in some localities the 'manifestations' can be had with greater facility than others, the difference being appreciable sometimes in different apartments of the same house."

Do note that phrase, "in confirmation of this!" It is as good as the logic so humorously ridiculed by Shakspeare in the famous Jack Cade scene, where Cade claims to be the descendant of Mortimer, his father having been stolen while a child,—

"Became a bricklayer when he came to age;

His son am I; deny it if you can.

Smith. Sir, he made a chimney in my father's house, and the bricks are alive at this day to testify it; therefore deny it not!"

The scientific statements are as good as the logic. Thus Dr. Rogers—a great authority with Odylists—assures us, with the air of a man perfectly certain of his facts:—

"Every particle, however minute, of every living being, is an exact representative of the whole organism.' 'Each particle of the brain is a representative of the state of the mind at the time the particle was organized.' 'We are constantly giving off these' representative particles. 'Whoever comes after us, who has the sense that shall be affected by them, shall have represented on the delicately sensitive brain all the sensuous peculiarities,' and 'the exact mental state,' 'we exhibited at the time,' 'they were elaborated in the organism.'"

The gross ignorance implied in the assertion "that every particle is the exact representative of the whole organism," is the more reprehensible, because it will mislead the "general reader," who, having learned that the organism is composed of minute cells, will fancy Dr. Rogers is illustrating the cell doctrine. But a nerve cell is not a bone cell, a bone cell is not a fat cell; and the organism, so far from being "represented" by any single cell, is only possible when multitudes of diverse cells are combined together. He might as well take an individual man, and, because the state is formed of individuals fulfilling diverse functions, declare every man was "an exact representative of the whole State."

The Rev. Charles Beecher thinks the "automatic" argument unacceptable, because "it is equally valid against the existence of the soul as distinct from the brain"—a bit of clerical logic which we will not disturb. Let us, in conclusion, warn the unwary reader against placing any confidence in the physiology of these facile doctors, who "talk familiarly as maidens do of puppy dogs," and have yet to learn the *a, b, c* of "cerebral action."

The Arts.

LADY TARTUFE.

On Wednesday the much-expected comedy, *Lady Tartufe*, was produced, before a house crowded from ceiling to orchestra, (the very orchestra was abolished,) and received with applause, although not with enthusiasm. There are those who wonder why *Lady Tartufe* disappointed the Parisians. The reason surely is simple enough? *Lady Tartufe* is a weak and disagreeable play, abounding in wit, in cynicism, in sparkling points, but wanting the main elements of dramatic success: a good fable and life-like characters.

Lady Tartufe herself has some admirable touches, touches which reveal not only a keenly sarcastic and femininely observant pencil, but which also indicate dramatic power; yet, on the whole, the character is a complete failure—the details are elaborately drawn, but they are not organized into a character. *Destourbières* is the other attempt at character, and he is more palpably untrue. A scamp and pimp, in the first two acts, he suddenly throws off that larval condition, emerging into virtue and delicate sensibilities, because the authoress wishes it! The supposition of such a right-minded man, as he suddenly becomes, being forced into so disgraceful a position, as that from which he emerges, merely because he owes *Lady Tartufe* a sum of money, and that on borrowing the said sum, to repay her, there is "a total eclipse of the *mauvais sujet*,"—is a supposition quite childish; and yet, so dearly does an audience delight in virtue, so pleased is the healthy heart of the mass with even the semblance of reform, the applause which followed *Destourbières*, conversion was uproarious! That one bit of virtue cleared the atmosphere!

Sudden conversions I disbelieve, *in toto*; but, even granting their sincerity, they must be prepared. Now *Destourbières*, conversion is not only sudden, and without sufficient motive, it is in violent contradiction to the whole tone of his mind. He is a cynic, a sceptic, a pimp, a liar, a beggar, and we are asked to believe in his changing from all these the instant he can repay *Lady Tartufe* the sum she lent him!

Rachel, as *Lady Tartufe*, looked the beautiful fascinating serpent, and was more graceful, more "distinguished" in manner, than anything now to be seen on the stage, or perhaps off it. If she was somewhat monotonous, the fault lies in her part, since, in each succeeding act, she has to repeat all the emotions she depicted in the first. But the perfect representation of each nuance of emotion, the exquisite perception of the signi-

fiance of trifles, the thorough identification of herself with the character, are things to be seen, and, once seen, never to be forgotten. Her manner, when destroying the fair fame of her young victim, when awaiting the storm which will follow the exposure, when fascinating the old Marechal, and bringing him to a declaration, and, finally, when she comes to the rendezvous, and, having taken off her bonnet and scarf, warms her feet at the fire, in an attitude of the most exquisite grace,—these are pictures painted on the memory, baffling description. Like a beautiful panther, in her graceful power and merciless malignity, you may shudder at her, but the shudder runs through admiration the most intense.

Regnier was, as he always is, the delight of the scene! His keen, intellectual marking of each detail, his absolute *naturalness*, the *brío* of his style, the *relief* he gives to phrases, charging them with a significance unsuspected during the reading, and the animal spirits with which he enlivens every part, make him the greatest favourite of the comedians who come to London; and in *Destourbières*, the success of the evening was more than shared by him.

But, oh! that M. Raphael! Words of mine have no potency of scorn sufficient to express the feelings which his vulgarity, conceit, and incompetence rouse in me; and not only in me, but in all with whom I have spoken. The whole Rachel troupe is indescribably bad, but there is a pretension about M. Raphael which throws his badness into hideous relief. If Mr. Mitchell has any regard for his theatre, he will not again allow Rachel to bring her own troupe—a troupe which, if she had the slightest feeling of an Artist, or cared one button for the Art she illustrates, she would blush to present. It is quite true that people here “go to see Rachel,” and not the troupe; but I can assure Mr. Mitchell that the troupe keeps many away who, having seen Rachel before, refuse—and justly—to endure the *entourage* which she has the bad taste to carry with her into the provinces, and into the St. James's Theatre.

SARDANAPALUS.

“Lisez ses programmes, c'est un puit de science; entrez en conversation, c'est un ignorant,” said some one (*Je soupçonne ce quelqu'un!*) of a “party” who was magnificent in prospectuses. And, indeed, if you read Charles Kean's play-bills, you are for ever after lost in wide astonishment at his talk. In his bill displays you see a man who reads Xiphilin at breakfast, takes up the *Eyrbiggia Saga* with biscuit and a glass of sherry at luncheon, and sups with Diodorus Siculus! Lo! I show you a miracle! Appalled at Charles Kean's erudition (which of course I believe in), I am not surprised to find he has “learnt that scenic illustration, if it have the weight of authority, may adorn and add dignity to the noble works of genius.” Observe, only if it have the weight of authority! Scenic illustration is a mere pandering to the public eye unless it can cite its pedigree! The architecture must be vouched for by Diodorus Siculus, the vegetation by Strabo, the tinsel by Xiphilin, the rouge and beard by the *Eyrbiggia Saga*!

Let but a pundit own the happy lines,
How the stage brightens! how the scene refines!

In other words: Managers who have hitherto spent money and invention in “getting up” spectacles to attract the crowd were mere showmen; but I, Charles Kean, taking my stand upon Xiphilin, adorn and add dignity to noble works of genius.

To show how completely the pundit absorbs the actor, I need only quote this significant sentence: “It is a note-worthy fact that, until the present moment, it has been impossible to render Lord Byron's tragedy of *Sardanapalus* upon the stage with proper dramatic effect, because until now

we have known nothing of Assyrian architecture and costume.” There, you have it in his own words, “architecture and costume” alone render “dramatic effect possible!” Human emotion is not dramatic. The fluctuating expression of the human countenance, the power and the music of the human voice are not capable of rendering tragedy with proper dramatic effect!—which is profoundly true of his face and his voice; but what would his father have said to such an opinion? I saw Macready play *Sardanapalus* to Ellen Tree's *Myrrha* twenty years ago, and although the scenic illustration of that tragedy was innocent of Layard, and has altogether faded from my memory, the actors live with me—faces and tones are vividly impressed on my memory. Will any one twenty months hence remember Charles Kean's face and voice in this part?

I have been forced into these remarks. So long as Charles Kean continues in bad taste to perpetrate bills such as those of *Macbeth* and *Sardanapalus*, so long will I criticise and ridicule them.

P.S. The foregoing was written before I had seen *Sardanapalus*. I have just left the theatre, but my criticism, written under the impression of ennui and disappointment, suffered there, is so unfavourable that I tear it up, and will write another next week, when the calmer impartiality of a judge may replace the feelings of a wearied advocate.

A GERMAN'S IDEA OF TIME.

IMMANUEL KANT was the curse of his nation; an illustrious iconoclast, he dashed the majestic idol Time from its pedestal, proved to his countrymen that Time did not exist—was a fiction—an Idea—a mere subjective Phenomenon; and from that time (which was no time) the Germans have severely ignored the existence of Time! Hence their immeasurableness in all things! their long books, long dinners, long pipes, long hair, long ballets, long operas, longwinded orations, long epithets—their slow coaches, slow movements, and slow conversations! Why should they hurry? *Tempus edax rerum*? A figment! Even those who recognise Time only think of killing it: Kant killed it! *'s'ist doch wahr!*

Amusingly illustrative of this contempt of Time, and utter disbelief in that venerable party's existence, was the display of Herr Schneider, the organist, at Exeter-hall last Monday. He was engaged to play two solos in the intervals of the choral performances of our friends the Cologne singers. A splendid player Herr Schneider showed himself to be; but having once seated himself and commenced the performance, he, not recognising Time as more than a subjective phenomenon, fairly wearied the patience of a British Time-credulous public. He played and played, and played and played. We yawned and fidgetted, and fidgetted and yawned, but still the terrible German held on his relentless way! At every moment he seemed coming to a close; delusive hope! he started off again to “fresh chords and quavers new,” away! away! as if his life depended on it. A few mild hisses, monitory and minatory, produced no result. On! on! he went, without a thought of pausing. Exasperated patience burst forth into ironical cheers and stampings; it was thought that by brave applause we might politely suggest to him that we had had enough. But still he kept on. He was not the man to be put down by clamour, sir! At last the thing became a joke—a painful joke—and only after five-and-twenty minutes assault upon our endurance would this fanatic quit his seat!

Do you not see the necessary connexion between such an exhibition and the spirit of a nation whose language delights in words of this airy lightness and compendious brevity,—

Schwerlallendes gesangestaumelrhythmentrunkenbold!

Kant has done it all!

VIVIAN.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, June 17, 1853.

All last week the markets were very languid, Ascot taking away many of the members of the Stock Exchange, who preferred the glorious breeze on the heath to the vile atmosphere of the temporary building used as a Stock Exchange whilst the old “house” is under repairs. Since Friday there has been great fluctuation; the state of the Eastern question, and the daily rumours current on the Bourse in Paris and Vienna, affect all Stocks and Shares in this market. Consols have been as low as 97½, sellers. To day they are one per cent. higher. The English market of heavy shares has not been affected to the same degree as French shares; the fluctuation in these latter being continual, and of considerable extent. The belief that Austria had become an arbiter of the difference between the Porte and Russia has brightened the aspect of things this morning; but until some definitive arrangement is concluded, one can hardly hope to see a marked improvement in Stocks. In the Land Companies there has been but little doing, save a rise of 10% to 15% per share in Australian Agricultural Shares, consequent on the arrival of satisfactory news from head quarters. Peel Rivers have remained flat; Gold Mines generally have been very languid; Foreign Copper Mines low. Metcalfe's, the once boasted rival to the Burra Burra, after having touched 18½ premium on 1% paid per share, have receded to 5½—6. The accounts received by the West Indian Mail are most encouraging. There has been some demand for Port Royals, another Jamaica copper mine, and which promises well, but will hardly reach such an absurdly high premium without better reasons. When the first decided rise takes place, there will be such a rush to get in, that it will not be surprising to see shares rise 2% or 3% in a day. Money is easy on the Stock Exchange at 2½ per cent. All speculations seem awaiting the course of events before decided investments are made.

Four o'clock.—The prices from Paris come somewhat lower, and French Shares are weaker; English Shares firm; Consols close at 98½, but have been quoted during the day 98½—99.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday, June 17, 1853.

The supplies of Wheat since Monday have been moderate, of Oats small, and of Barley quite trifling. The favourable change which has taken place in the weather, and the more pacific appearance of affairs in the East of Europe, have caused the Wheat

trade to assume a very quiet character. But though there is a falling off in the demand, holders are firm in refusing to make any concession in the price. The demand for Barley, on the contrary, has increased, and several cargoes of Black Sea and Mediterranean have been sold during the week at very full prices. The value of barley has advanced in the Danish and French ports. The stock of Oats is short, and though the trade is not brisk, the previous value of this grain is firmly supported.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	229½	229½	229½	229½	229½	229½
3 per Cent. Red.	98½	99½	99½	99½	99½	99½
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	shut	shut	99½	shut	shut	shut
Consols for Account	97½	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½
3½ per Cent. An.	101½	101½	101½	101½	101½	101½
New 5 per Cents.	shut	shut	shut	shut	shut	shut
Long Ans., 1860	6½	5 15-16	5 15-16	5½
India Stock	shut	shut	shut	shut	shut	shut
Ditto Bonds, £1000	33	33	28	32	29
Ditto, under £1000	33	3 p	5 p	5 p	par	5 p
Ex. Bills, £1000	5 p	3 p	5 p	5 p	3 p
Ditto, £500	5 p	3 p	5 p	5 p	par	5 p
Ditto, Small	5 p	3 p	5 p	5 p	par	5 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Brazilian New 4½ per Cts.	99	Sardinian Bonds	95½
Chilian 6 per Cents.	103½	Spanish 3 p. Cents.	48½
Ecuador	6	Spanish 3 p. Cts. New Def.	28½
Mexican 3 per Cents.	28½	Spanish Passive, Conv.	5½
Portuguese 4 per Cents.	89½	Venezuela 3½ per Cents.	40
Russian 4½ per Cents.	103½	Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	96½

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 till four); Area, 2s.; gallery 1s.

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

French Plays.

ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.

MADLE. RACHEL respectfully announces that her BENEFIT is fixed to take place on WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22nd, on which occasion will be produced LOUISE DE LIGNEROLLES. Louise, Madlle. Rachel.

Numerous applications having been made for a Day Performance during Madlle. Rachel's Engagement, Mr. Mitchell has arranged that a MATINEE DRAMATIQUE will take place at this theatre on TUESDAY, JUNE 28, two days preceding her departure.

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

MR. BENEDICT'S CONCERT.

MR. BENEDICT'S CONCERT ROOMS, HANOVER SQUARE.—Under the immediate Patronage of her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, his Royal Highness Prince Albert, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge.

Mr. BENEDICT begs respectfully to announce that his ANNUAL GRAND MORNING CONCERT will take place at the above Rooms, on Wednesday, June 22, 1853. Vocal Performers:—Madame Pauline Viardot, Madame Marchesi-Granmann and Madame F. Lablache, Mrs. Sims Reeves, Fräulein Agnes Büry and Miss Louise Pyne, Miss Dolby and Miss Williams, and Madame Clara Novello; Signor Gardoni and Herr Reichart, Mr. Sims Reeves, Herr Fischer, Signori F. Lablache, Ciabatta, and Marchesi, Mr. Weiss, and Mr. Burdini. Instrumental Performers:—Pianoforte, Miss Arabella Goddard, Mr. Benedict, and Mr. Charles Hallé (who will perform Beethoven's Triple Concerto for three Pianofortes)—Violin, Messrs. Vieuxtemps and Sainton (who will perform Spohr's Duet for Violin and Alto)—Violoncello, Signor Piatti, and Double Bass, Signor Bottesini (who will perform a new Concertante, composed expressly for the occasion).—An efficient Chorus.—The Orchestra will consist of the Members of the Orchestral Union, conducted by Mr. A. Mellon.—Conductor, Mr. Benedict.

A limited number of Tickets, 10s. 6d. each, to be had at the principal Music Warehouses and Libraries. Early applications for the few remaining Reserved Seats, £1 1s. each, is respectfully solicited at Mr. Benedict's residence, No. 2, Manchester Square.

NEW FOLDING CHAIR BEDSTEAD.
WILLIAM S. BURTON has pleasure in offering an entirely new and very ingenious WROUGHT-IRON CHAIR BEDSTEAD, which, from its being extremely light, durable, and portable (measuring, when folded, 2ft. 11in. by 2ft. 8in. deep), and easily and instantaneously convertible from a chair to a bedstead, or *vice versa*, presents to

MILITARY OFFICERS AND PARTIES TRAVELLING an amount of comfort and elegance long desiderated, but hitherto unattainable. Price, £2 2s.; complete, with best hair mattress and stuffed arms, £3 12s.

WILLIAM S. BURTON has TEN LARGE SHOW ROOMS (all communicating), exclusive of the shop, devoted solely to the show of GENERAL FURNISHING IRONMONGERY (including cutlery, nickel silver, plated and japanned wares, iron and brass bedsteads), so arranged and classified that purchasers may easily and at once make their selections.

Catalogues, with engravings, sent (per post) free. The money returned for every article not approved of.

39, OXFORD-STREET (corner of Newman-street); Nos. 1 and 2, NEWMAN-STREET; and 4 and 5, PERRY'S-PLACE.

CUTLERY WARRANTED.—The most varied assortment of TABLE CUTLERY in the world, all warranted, is on SALE at WILLIAM S. BURTON'S, at prices that are remunerative only because of the largeness of the sales. 3½-inch ivory-handled table-knives, with high shoulders, 10s. per dozen; desserters to match, 9s.; if to balance, 1s. per dozen extra; carvers 3s. 6d. per pair; larger sizes, in exact proportion, to 25s. per dozen; if extra fine, with silver ferrules, from 36s.; white bone table-knives, 6s. per dozen; desserters, 4s.; carvers, 2s. per pair; black horn table-knives, 7s. 4d. per dozen; desserters, 6s.; carvers, 2s. 6d.; black wood-handled table-knives and forks, 6s. per dozen; table steels, from 1s. each. The largest stock of plated dessert knives and forks, in cases and otherwise, and of the new plated fish carvers, in existence. Also, a large assortment of razors, penknives, scissors, &c., of the best quality.

THE PERFECT SUBSTITUTE FOR SILVER. The REAL NICKEL SILVER, introduced 20 years ago by WILLIAM S. BURTON, when plated by the patent process of Messrs. Elkington and Co., is beyond all comparison the very best article next to sterling silver that can be employed as such, either usefully or ornamentally, as by no possible test can it be distinguished from real silver.

	Fiddle Pattern.	Thread or Brunswick Pattern.	King's Pattern.
Tea Spoons, per dozen	18s.	32s.	36s.
Dessert Forks „	30s.	54s.	58s.
Dessert Spoons „	30s.	56s.	62s.
Table Forks „	40s.	65s.	70s.
Table Spoons „	40s.	70s.	75s.

Tea and Coffee Sets, Waiters, Candlesticks, &c., at proportionate prices. All kinds of re-plating done by the patent process.

CHEMICALLY PURE NICKEL, NOT PLATED.

	Fiddle.	Thread.	King's.
Table Spoons and Forks, full size, per dozen	12s.	28s.	30s.
Dessert ditto and ditto	10s.	21s.	25s.
Tea ditto	5s.	11s.	12s.

WILLIAM S. BURTON has TEN LARGE SHOW-ROOMS (all communicating), exclusive of the Shop, devoted to the show of GENERAL FURNISHING IRONMONGERY (including cutlery, nickel silver, plated, and japanned wares, iron and brass bedsteads), so arranged and classified that purchasers may easily and at once make their selections.

Catalogues, with engravings, sent (per post) free. The money returned for every article not approved of.

No. 39, OXFORD-STREET (corner of Newman-street); Nos. 1 & 2, NEWMAN-STREET; and Nos. 4 & 5, PERRY'S-PLACE.

ESTABLISHED A.D. 1820.

REDUCTION IN THE DUTY ON TEA.

In accordance with our usual practice of always being first to give the Public the benefit of every alteration in the value of our goods, we have at once lowered the prices of all our Teas, to the fullest extent of the reduction of duty.

The advantages, both in quality and price, to be derived from purchasing at a first-class City house, must be too apparent to every one to need comment.

We are now selling	s.	d.
The very best Black Tea, at	4	0 the pound.
Good sound Congou	3	0
Finest Pekoe ditto	3	8
Fine Gunpowder	4	0
Choice Coffee	1	0
Finest Homœopathic Cocoa	1	0

This is the most pleasant and nutritious preparation of Cocoa.

For the convenience of our numerous customers, we retail the finest West India and Refined Sugars at market prices.

All goods delivered by our own vans, free of charge, within eight miles of London. A general price current will be sent free upon application.

CULLINGHAM and Company,
Tea-merchants and Dealers,
27, Skinner-street, Snowhill, City.

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—

“FORD'S EUREKA SHIRTS, 38, POULTRY,” without which none are genuine. They are made in two qualities—First quality, 40s. the half-dozen; second quality, 30s. the half-dozen. Gentlemen who are desirous of purchasing Shirts in the very best manner in which they can be made, are solicited to inspect these, the most unique and only perfect fitting Shirts. List of prices and instructions for measurement, post free, and patterns of the new coloured shirtings free on receipt of six stamps.

RICHARD FORD, 38, POULTRY, LONDON.

FINSBURY CHAPEL, SOUTH-PLACE.—

On SUNDAY MORNING next, HENRY IERSON, Esq., A.M., will deliver a FIRST LECTURE in Examination of the recent Discussion between G. J. HOLYOAKE, Esq., and the Rev. BAZWIN GRANT, on Christianity and Secularism.—Service commences at half-past eleven.

Every Yard of Cloth sold at the London Cloth Establishment is sold at the Wholesale Price!!!

AS an AUXILIARY to the CLOTH TRADE, the Proprietors of the LONDON CLOTH ESTABLISHMENT have appropriated the upper part of their extensive Premises in COVENTRY STREET to the purposes of

A LARGE TAILORING ESTABLISHMENT,

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

A PERFECT SCHEME OF ECONOMY,

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,

But also a Guarantee for the Quality, Fit, and Workmanship.

EDMUND DUDDEN AND COMPANY, LONDON CLOTH ESTABLISHMENT,
16, COVENTRY STREET.

TO BE LET, FURNISHED, FOR THE MIDSUMMER VACATION,

WELLINGTON HOUSE, WESTON-SUPER-MARE, consisting of 21 good Rooms, and very convenient Offices, and commanding extensive Sea and Land Views; with or without Two Pews in the Parish Church. Price reasonable.

EDUCATION BY THE SEA SIDE.

WESTON PARK SCHOOL, WELLINGTON HOUSE, WESTON-SUPER-MARE, SOMERSET.—The Rev. JOSEPH HOPKINS, assisted by Five able Masters, receives YOUNG GENTLEMEN, and imparts to them a Finished Commercial, Classical, Mathematical, Literary, and Scriptural Education.

PENINSULAR and ORIENTAL STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY.

NEW ARRANGEMENTS, AND REDUCED FARES AND FREIGHTS.

DEPARTURES OUTWARDS.

INDIA and CHINA, via EGYPT.—For Aden, Ceylon, Madras, Calcutta, Penang, Singapore, and Hong Kong on the 4th and 20th of every month from Southampton, and on the 10th and 26th from Marseilles.

AUSTRALIA, via SINGAPORE.—For Adelaide, Port Phillip, and Sydney (touching at Batavia), on the 4th July, and 4th of every alternate month thereafter from Southampton, and on the 10th of July and 10th of every alternate month thereafter from Marseilles.

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.

N.B.—The rates of passage money and freight on the India and China lines have been considerably reduced, and may be had upon application at the Company's Offices, 122, Leadenhall Street, London, and Oriental Place, Southampton.

TEMPERANCE LINE OF PACKETS, From LONDON to AUSTRALIA.

For ADELAIDE, GEELONG, and MELBOURNE, with guarantee to land Passengers and Freight, the splendid new clipper-built ship CALIFORNIA (A 1), 1000 tons burthen. Lying in the East India Docks. The accommodation for passengers by this vessel is of a very superior character, having a full poop and lofty 'tween decks, ventilated on the most approved plan. An experienced Surgeon is engaged, who will have at command an abundant supply of medical comforts. A well-selected Library will be put on board for the gratuitous use of the passengers.

For freight or passage apply to E. K. M. Griffiths and Co., 27 Rood Lane, Fenchurch Street.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN BANKING COMPANY.

Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1847.

The Court of Directors grant Letters of Credit and Bills at 30 days' sight upon the Company's Bank, at Adelaide. The exchange on sums above £10, is now at a premium or charge of two per cent. Approved drafts on South Australia negotiated and bills collected.

Apply at the Company's Offices, No. 54, Old Broad Street, London.

London, June 1, 1853.

WILLIAM PURDY, Manager.

HEAL AND SON'S ILLUSTRATED 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.

Heal and Son, Bedstead and Bedding Manufacturers,
106, Tottenham Court Road.

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

NATIONAL ASSURANCE and INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION,

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

Established in 1844.

TRUSTEES.

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

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

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

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

Interest payable half-yearly in January and July.

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

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

PETER MORRISON, Managing Director.

Applications for Agencies may be made to the Managing Director.

MANCHESTER and LONDON LIFE ASSURANCE and LOAN ASSOCIATION, 77, King Street, Manchester; 454, West Strand, London.

The business of this Association is that of—

1. Life and survivorship risks of every description—Civil, Naval, or Military.
2. Loans on equitable terms, life assurance being contemporaneously effected, upon approved personal or any other sufficient security.
3. Assurance upon half-credit scale of rates.
4. Endowments for children, on non-returnable or returnable premiums.
5. Policies payable to bearer.
6. Whole world policies, being perfect securities, payable to bearer or otherwise, at moderate additional rates.
7. Policies without extra rates, to persons in the Militia or others, not forfeited if killed in defending the country from invasion.
8. Notices of the assignment of policies registered.
9. Medical Referee paid by this Association.
10. Age of the life assured admitted on all policies, reasonable proof being given.
11. Stamp duty on policies paid by the Association.

Four-fifths, or 80 per cent., divided every five years, amongst all policy holders entitled to profits.

CHARLES HENRY MINCHIN, Secretary, Manchester.

WILLIAM JAMES STRICKLAND, Actuary and Secretary, London.

INVESTMENT OF CAPITAL AND SAVINGS.

HOUSEHOLDERS' LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY,

15 and 16, ADAM STREET, ADELPHI.

TRUSTEES.

The Right Hon. T. Milner Gibson, M.P. for Manchester.
John Walbank Childers, Esq., Cantly, Doncaster.
William Bulkely Glasco, Esq., Q.C., Lincoln's Inn.
William Ashton, Esq., Horton House, Wraybury, Staines.
Charles Hulce, Esq., Hurst, Reading.
Richard Griffiths Welford, Esq., New-square, Lincoln's Inn.
F. D. Bullock Webster, Esq., 49, New Bond-street.

This Company is framed to meet the desire of those who seek, without speculation, safe and profitable investment for large or small sums, at a higher rate of interest than can be obtained from the public funds, and on as secure a basis.

The investment system, while it offers the greatest advantages to the public, affords to its members a perfect security, and a higher rate of interest than can be obtained elsewhere.

The capital of £250,000 is divided, for the convenience of investment and transfer, into £1 shares, of which 10s. only will be called.

The present rate of interest upon the paid-up capital is 5 per cent., which will continue to be paid until a higher rate can be judiciously declared.

Applications for investment are received between the hours of 10 and 4.

R. HODSON, Secretary.

PARTICIPATION IN PROFITS.
GLOBE INSURANCE,
 CORNHILL AND PALL MALL, LONDON.
 Established 1803,
 (Empowered by Special Acts of Parliament)

FOR
 FIRE, LIFE, ANNUITIES, AND THE PURCHASE OF
 REVERSIONS AND LIFE CONTINGENCIES.

James Wm. Freshfield, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., *Chairman.*
 Fowler Newsam, Esq., *Deputy Chairman.*
 George Carr Glyn, Esq., M.P., *Treasurer.*

Henry Alexander, Esq.
 John S. Brownrigg, Esq.
 William Chapman, Esq.
 Boyce Combe, Esq.
 Thomas M. Coombs, Esq.
 William Dent, Esq.
 Sir I. L. Goldsmid, Bart., F.R.S.
 Robert Hawthorn, Esq.
 John Hodgson, Esq.
 John Edward Johnson, Esq.
 Richard Lambert Jones, Esq.

Robert Locke, Esq.
 Boyd Miller, Esq.
 Sheffield Neave, Esq.
 William Phillimore, Esq.
 W. H. C. Plowden, Esq.
 Robert Saunders, Esq.
 Sir Walter Stirling, Bart.
 W. Thompson, Esq., Ald., M.P.
 William Tite, Esq., F.R.S.
 Josiah Wilson, Esq.
 Benjamin G. Windus, Esq.

Capital—ONE MILLION Sterling—the whole Paid-up and Invested.

NEW TABLES of Life Premiums on a Just and Liberal basis are adopted by the "GLOBE INSURANCE," combining the Plan of Participation, with those principles of Solidity and Security, which have distinguished the Company from its formation.

Two SCALES of Premiums, Participating and Non-Participating.

TWO-THIRDS of Profits divided as BONUS every Seven Years. ONE-THIRD of the Premium may remain Unpaid as a debt upon the Policy—and other facilities afforded to Insurers.

Insurances taken to the extent of £10,000 on a Single Life. Every class of FIRE and LIFE Insurance Business transacted.

PROSPECTUSES with full Tables, and Details—and Forms; may be had at the Offices of the Company: or of any of the Agents.

(By Order of the Board)

WILLIAM NEWMARCH, *Secretary.*

CLERICAL, MEDICAL, AND GENERAL
LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

Established 1824.

Empowered by Special Act of Parliament.

ADVANTAGES.

EXTENSION OF LIMITS OF RESIDENCE.—The Assured can reside in any part of Europe, the Holy Land, Egypt, Madeira, the Cape, Australia, New Zealand, and in most parts of North and South America, without extra charge.

MUTUAL SYSTEM WITHOUT THE RISK OF
PARTNERSHIP.

The small share of Profit divisible in future among the Shareholders being now provided for, the Assured will hereafter derive all the benefits obtainable from a Mutual Office, with, at the same time, complete freedom from liability—thus combining, in the same office, all the advantages of both systems.

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

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

LOANS.—Loans are advanced on Policies which have been in existence five years and upwards, to the extent of nine-tenths of their value.

BONUSES.—FIVE Bonuses have been declared; at the last in January, 1852, the sum of £131,125 was added to the Policies, producing a Bonus varying with the different ages, from 24 to 55 per cent. on the Premiums paid during the five years, or from £5 to £12 10s. per cent. on the sum assured.

PARTICIPATION IN PROFITS.—Policies participate in the profits in proportion to the number and amount of the Premiums paid between every division, so that if only one year's Premium be received prior to the Books being closed for any division, the Policy on which it was paid will obtain its due share. The books close for the next Division on 30th June, 1853, therefore those who effect Policies before the 30th June next, will be entitled to one year's additional share of Profits over later assurers.

APPLICATION OF BONUSES.—The next and future Bonuses may be either received in Cash, or applied at the option of the Assured in any other way.

NON-PARTICIPATION IN PROFITS.—Assurances may be effected for a Fixed Sum at considerably reduced rates, and the Premiums for term Policies are lower than at most other Safe Offices.

PROMPT SETTLEMENT OF CLAIMS.—Claims paid thirty days after proof of death, and all Policies are Indisputable except in cases of fraud.

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

POLICIES are granted on the lives of persons in any station, and of every age, and for any sum on one life from £50 to £10,000.

PREMIUMS may be paid yearly, half-yearly, or quarterly, but if a payment be omitted from any cause, the Policy can be revived within fourteen Months.

The Accounts and Balance Sheets are at all times open to the inspection of the Assured, or of persons desirous to assure.

Tables of Rates and forms of Proposal, can be obtained of any of the Society's Agents, or of

GEO. H. PINCKARD, *Resident Secretary.*

99, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, London.

KENT MUTUAL LIFE AND FIRE
ASSURANCE SOCIETY, No. 8, Old Jewry, London;
 5, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall; 10, Albion Place, Hyde Park Square; 140, Sloane Street, Chelsea; 5, Cannon Street, Birmingham; and Rochester, Kent.

LIFE.—Most moderate Premiums, half of which may remain unpaid. ALL POLICIES INDISPUTABLE. All Profits divisible Triennially among the Assured. Liberty for Foreign Residence and Travel greatly extended.

FIRE.—Also most reasonable Premiums. Guarantee Fund, £100,000. Last return, 25 per cent.

Policies may be effected daily. Prospectuses, Annual Reports, Forms of Proposals, and all other information, will be supplied upon application, personally or by letter, at the Head Office, or at any of the numerous Agencies throughout the United Kingdom.

GEORGE CUMMING, *Manager.*
 THOMAS ALFRED BURR, *Secretary.*

Will appear on the First of July,

The Illustrated
LONDON MAGAZINE.

EDITED BY

RICHARD BRINSLEY KNOWLES, ESQ.

A Monthly Magazine, profusely illustrated; intended to place within reach of the million an amusing, instructive, and permanently useful work, comprising articles embracing Travels, History, Biography, Fiction, Science, and General Literature, with Reviews of the Newest and Best Books.

PRINCIPAL CONTRIBUTORS.

WILLIAM CARLETON, the celebrated Irish Novelist; Author of "The Miser," "Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry," "The Black Prophet," &c., &c.
 THE VICAR OF WESTBOURNE, Author of "The Erne, its Legends and Fly Fishing."
 THOMAS MILLER (the Basket-maker), Author of "Gideon Giles," &c. &c. &c.
 JOHN COCKLE, M.D., Author of a "Treatise on the Cobra di Capello."
 G. B. EARP, Esq., author of several popular works on the Colonies.
 W. R. BAXTER, LL.D.
 W. DALTON, Esq.
 J. A. HERAUD, Esq.
 MAJOR NEWLAND.
 CAPTAIN MAYNE REID, Author of "The Boy Hunters," "The Rifle Rangers," &c. &c.

Illustrations

By PHIZ, GILBERT, HULME, WEIGALL, DUTTON, CROWLEY, &c. &c.

Amongst the Contents of the First Number will be the following Original Articles:—

THE FAIR OF ERNYVALE, by Carleton.
 THE CHILD AND THE MAN, by the Editor.
 FALLING STARS.
 LIFE AT THE DIGGINGS, by G. B. Earp, Esq.
 HOLGER THE DANE, by the Vicar of Westbourne.
 A FISHERMAN'S SKETCHES IN NORWAY AND SWEDEN, also by the Vicar.
 THE TEMPERAMENTS, by Dr. Cockle.
 THE GAME-BAG OF A BACKWOODSMAN, by Captain Mayne Reid.

With a variety of other Articles, including Reviews of the Newest Books, and several Splendid Wood Engravings.

Price Sixpence.

Published by Piper, Brothers, and Co., 23, Paternoster Row, London.—Sold by all Booksellers throughout the Kingdom.

New Edition, corrected and improved, Crown 8vo, the most beautiful One Volume Edition of Shakespeare ever produced, illustrated with a magnificent Portrait, gilt cloth, 16s.

THE LANSLOWNE SHAKESPEARE,
 unique in size and style of Printing; produced expressly to be a gentleman's hand-book, or elegant present, the new arrangement of the Text rendering it superior to all others for facility of reading or reference. Copies are also kept in various styles of calf and morocco bindings.

New Dictionary of Shakespearian and other Quotations, crown 8vo, 550 pages, price 10s. 6d., elegantly bound, gilt leaves, with Frontispiece after Raphael.

TRUTHS ILLUSTRATED BY GREAT
AUTHORS: a Dictionary of nearly 4000 Aids to Reflection, Quotations of Maxims, Aphorisms, Proverbs, &c., compiled from the works of Shakespeare, Milton, South, Pope, Byron, Colton, Coleridge, and other Writers in Prose and Verse.
 London: William White, 70, Piccadilly; and all Booksellers.

Price One Shilling.

THE SCEPTIC: A DOMESTIC TALE.

By Mrs. FOLLEN.

Authoress of the "Well Spent Hour," &c.

"While freethinking, in its pernicious sense, is spreading its noxious doctrines among the young, the thoughtless, and the wavering, it becomes especially necessary to combat its influence on the peace and happiness of mankind in every possible way, and Mr. Tweedie has done the cause of religion, or, in other words, human happiness, much service, by publishing the unpretending tale which heads this notice. It is not distorted by bigotry, nor disfigured by intolerance, but the blessings, temporal, as well as spiritual, of Christianity, are very unaffectedly brought before the attention of the reader. It is likely, from its kindly spirit to effect much good, and we cordially recommend it to the notice of our readers."—*Portsmouth Guardian.*

Price One Shilling.

THE POETRY OF HOME. By GOODWYN BARMBY.

"There is a noble philanthropic purpose in all that Mr. Barmby writes: his constant aim is to call forth the best feelings of humanity, and to promote good will among his fellow men. And he attempts this in a lofty and cosmopolitan spirit which keeps above any jura of opinion, differences of creed, or peculiarity of sect. Thus it is that his writings have hitherto been so well received by all classes. The 'Poetry of Home' will unquestionably add to his popularity. It is a most unpretending little book, but it contains some exceedingly sweet versification, a graceful play of fancy, an abundance of well-applied imagery, and a most picturesque delineation of natural beauty. As far as mere poetry is concerned, it has ample claims on all lovers of literature; but the kindly Christian philosophy which is interwoven with his story, but which is nowhere thrust prominently or dogmatically before the reader, gives the work a far higher title to general appreciation."—*Western Times.*

Price 3s. 6d.; per post, 4s.

THE EVIDENCE IN HUMAN NATURE
OF A FUTURE STATE. By GEORGE GILES VINCENT.

London: W. Tweedie, 337, Strand.

Just published, price 2s., post free, 2s. 6d.

AN ESSAY ON SPERMATORRHEA:
 its Nature and Treatment; with an Exposition of the Frauds that are practised by persons who advertise the speedy, safe, and effectual cure of this Disease. By a MEMBER OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS, LONDON.

London: Aylott and Co., 8, Paternoster Row.

NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED BY

JOHN CHAPMAN,

142, STRAND.

The Positive Philosophy of Auguste
COMTE, freely Translated and Condensed, by HARRIET MARTINEAU. 2 vols. large post 8vo, cloth. [In the Press.]

The Educational Institutions of the
UNITED STATES, their Character and Organization. Translated from the Swedish of P. A. SILJESTROM, M.A., by FREDERIKA ROWAN. Post 8vo, 10s. 6d.

The Religion of the Heart. A Ritual
 and Book of Exercises, for the Use of such piously-disposed Persons as are not of any Visible Church. By LEIGH HUNT. Foolscap 8vo. [In the Press.]

Ten Sermons of Religion. By THEODORE PARKER. Post 8vo, 8s.

The Bridesmaid, Count Stephen, and
OTHER POEMS. By MARY C. HUME. Foolscap 8vo, cloth. [Just ready.]

The Odes of Horace. Translated into
 unrhymed Metres. With Introductions and Notes, by F. W. NEWMAN, Professor of Latin at University College, London. Post 8vo, 7s. 6d.

"Many of his (Mr. Newman's) metres are exceedingly pleasing in our ears—sweet, various, sonorous." [Prospective Review.]

Master and Man. A Dialogue, in which
 are discussed some of the important Questions affecting the Social Condition of the Industrious Classes; comprising those of Population, Supply and Demand, Competition, the Poor-Law, Education, the Franchise, the Ballot. By HENRY BOOTH, Esq. Foolscap 8vo, cloth. [Just ready.]

Adventures of a Gentleman in search
OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Foolscap 8vo, cloth. [Just ready.]

Paddy-land and the Lakes of Kil-
LARNEY. By a WYKEHAMIST. Illustrated. [Nearly ready.]

The Public School Matches, and those
WE MEET THERE. By a WYKEHAMIST. [Nearly ready.]

The Great Sin of Great Cities. Being
 a Reprint, by request, of an Article, entitled "Prostitution," from the "Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review" for July, 1850. 8vo, sewed, 1s.

Preciosa; a Tale. Fcp. 8vo, cloth, 7s. 6d.

The Civil Administration of the Bom-
BAY PRESIDENCY. By NOWROZJEE FURDOONJEE, Fourth Translator and Interpreter to Her Majesty's Supreme Court, and Member of the Bombay Association. Published in England at the request of the Bombay Association. 2s.

THE SECOND EDITION OF

Principles of Indian Reform. Being
 Brief Hints, together with a Plan for the Improvement of the East India Company, and for the Promotion of Indian Public Works. By J. CHAPMAN, Author of "The Cotton and Commerce of India," &c. 1s.

Baroda and Bombay: their Political
MORALITY. A Narrative drawn from the Papers laid before Parliament in relation to the Removal of Lieut.-Col. Outram, C.B., from the Office of Resident at the Court of the Gaekwar. With Explanatory Notes, and Remarks on the Letter of L. R. Reid, Esq., to the Editor of the "Daily News." By J. CHAPMAN, Author of "The Cotton and Commerce of India considered in Relation to Great Britain." 3s.

Chapman's Library for the People.

Uniform, post 8vo, ornamented paper cover.

Essays by R. W. Emerson. First Series,
 with the Additions and Corrections of the last American Edition, and an Introductory Preface by THOMAS CARLYLE. Reprinted, by permission, from the First English Edition. 2s. [Just ready.]

The Crimes of the House of Austria
 against her own liege subjects. By F. W. NEWMAN, Author of "Regal Rome," "A History of the Hebrew Monarchy," &c. 1s. [Just ready.]

Phases of Faith; or, Passages from the
 History of my Creed. By F. W. NEWMAN. Second Edition, with an additional chapter on the Character of Christ, and a Reply to the Eclipse of Faith. 2s. [Nearly ready.]

THE SECOND EDITION OF

The Artist's Married Life; being that
 of Albert Dürer. Translated from the German of Leopold Schefer, by Mrs. J. R. STODART. [Nearly ready.]

JOHN CHAPMAN, 142, STRAND.

Chapman's Quarterly Series,

PUBLISHED BY SUBSCRIPTION.

Four Volumes in Large Post 8vo, for £1 per Annum.

Chapman's Quarterly Series is intended to consist of Works by Learned and Profound Thinkers, embracing the subjects of Theology, Philosophy, Biblical Criticism, and the History of Opinion.

An endeavour will be made to issue the volumes regularly at quarterly intervals—viz.,

IN MARCH, JUNE, SEPTEMBER, AND DECEMBER, but as so much of 1853 has already elapsed, there will be an unavoidable irregularity in the period of publishing the first four volumes. Volumes I. and II. will be ready before the end of August next, and III. and IV. before the end of February, 1854.

Subscriptions for 1853, entitling Subscribers of £1 to Volumes I. to IV., must be remitted before the 1st September next. Subscriptions for 1854 and subsequent years will be received until the 1st March of each year.

Subscriptions paid in arrear of these dates will be raised to £1 1s.

The price of each work to non-Subscribers will be announced at the time of publication. It will vary according to the size of the respective volumes, but will be on the average 9s. per volume, so that a large saving will be effected by Annual Subscribers.

The Series will commence with the publication of

I. Atheism, the Popular Theology, AND PURE THEISM. By THEODORE PARKER, Author of "A Discourse of Matters pertaining to Religion," &c. An accurate Portrait of the Author, engraved on steel, will be prefixed.

The aim of this work is defined by its author at the beginning of the first Discourse as follows:—"I propose to speak of Atheism, of the Popular Theology, and of pure Theism. Of each first as a Theory of the Universe, and then as a Principle of Practical Life; first as Speculative Philosophy, then as Practical Ethics."

II. A History of the Hebrew Monarchy

FROM THE ADMINISTRATION OF SAMUEL TO THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY. By FRANCIS WILLIAM NEWMAN, formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Author of "The Soul: its Sorrows and Aspirations," &c.

"This work presents the results without the ostentation of research, and with perfect freedom of criticism unites a reverent and sympathetic spirit. It is equally adapted to guide the student, and to interest those who are familiar with the writer's subject, and can, therefore, duly estimate his accuracy and comprehensiveness, and the soundness of his original suggestions."

The following Works are being prepared:—

An Introduction to the History of THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL. By HEINRICH EWALD. Translated from the Second German Edition.

The Essence of Christianity. By LUDWIG FEUERBACH. Translated from the Second German Edition, by the Translator of STRAUSS'S LIFE OF JESUS.

A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of CHRISTIANITY. By R. W. MACKAY, A.M., Author of the "Progress of the Intellect," &c

The Idea of a Future Life. By the Translator of STRAUSS'S LIFE OF JESUS.

LONDON: JOHN CHAPMAN, 142, STRAND.

MECHANICS' INSTITUTIONS.

Just Published, in One Volume, Octavo, price Five Shillings, cloth,

PRIZE ESSAY

ON THE HISTORY AND MANAGEMENT OF LITERARY, SCIENTIFIC, AND MECHANICS' Institutions,

AND ESPECIALLY HOW FAR THEY MAY BE DEVELOPED AND COMBINED SO AS TO PROMOTE THE MORAL WELL-BEING AND INDUSTRY OF THE COUNTRY.

By JAMES HOLE,

Hon. Secretary of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE SOCIETY OF ARTS.

ALSO, NEARLY READY, IN OCTAVO,

THE REPORT

OF THE

INDUSTRIAL INSTRUCTION COMMITTEE

TO THE

SOCIETY OF ARTS.

TOGETHER WITH THE EVIDENCE ON WHICH THAT REPORT IS FOUNDED.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY.

LONDON: LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.

Just published, in Crown Octavo, price 7s. 6d.

SELECTIONS, GRAVE AND GAY,

From Writings Published and Unpublished.

By THOMAS DE QUINCEY.

REVISED AND ENLARGED BY HIMSELF.

VOLUME I.—AUTOBIOGRAPHIC SKETCHES.

EDINBURGH: J. HOGG. LONDON: R. GROOMBRIDGE AND SONS.

This day is published, 1 vol. small 8vo, cloth, 7s. 6d.

CRANFORD.

By the AUTHOR of "MARY BARTON," "RUTH," &c.

Reprinted from "Household Words."

London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly.

Just published, in One Volume, crown 8vo, price 10s. 6d. cloth,

MR. THACKERAY'S LECTURES on the ENGLISH HUMOURISTS of the 18th CENTURY.

"To those who attended the lectures, the book will be a pleasant reminiscence, to others an exciting novelty. The style—clear, idiomatic, forcible, familiar, but never slovenly; the searching strokes of sarcasm or irony; the occasional flashes of generous scorn; the touches of pathos, pity, and tenderness; the morality tempered, but never weakened, by experience and sympathy; the felicitous phrases, the striking anecdotes, the passages of wise, practical reflection; all these lose much less than we could have expected from the absence of the voice, manner, and look of the lecturer."—*Spectator*.

"What fine things the lectures contain! What eloquent and subtle sayings, what wise and earnest writing! How delightful are their turns of humour; with what a touching effect, in the graver passages, the genuine feeling of the man comes out; and how vividly the thoughts are painted, as it were, in graphic and characteristic words."—*Examiner*.

London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 65, Cornhill.

MUSIC IN RIGOLETTO.—Mario's celebrated Barcarolle for the Pianoforte a light and most effective piece, by RUDOLPH NORDMANN. Price 3s.—Also, the favourite Airs from the Opera, by the same popular Arranger, in one book, price 5s. Solo, and 6s. Duett. The Rigoletto Quadrilles and Valses, by Tinney and Laurent, as played at her Majesty's last State Ball, price 3s. each. Boosey and Sons, 28, Holles Street.

INFANT EDUCATION.

THE INFANT SYSTEM, for developing the Intellectual and Moral Powers of all Children from One to Seven Years of Age. By SAMUEL WILDERSPIN. A New Edition, being the Eighth, carefully revised. Foolscap cloth, 5s.

"A new and carefully revised edition of a work already extensively and favourably known."—*Westonian Times*.

WILDERSPIN'S MANUAL for INFANT SCHOOLS, reduced to 2s. 6d. cloth. A Manual for the Religious and Moral Instruction of Young Children in the Nursery and Infant School. With Music. By SAMUEL WILDERSPIN and T. J. FERRINGTON. Royal 8vo, cloth, reduced to 2s. 6d. Hodson, 22, Portugal Street, Lincoln's Inn; And other Booksellers.

SINGER ON SHAKESPEARE.

Just published, 8vo, 7s. 6d., THE

TEXT of SHAKESPEARE VINDICATED from the Interpolations and Corruptions advocated by JOHN PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., in his Notes and Emendations. By SAMUEL WELLER SINGER.

"To blot old books and alter their contents."—*Rape of Lucrece*.

Also, preparing for immediate Publication, in 10 Volumes, Foolscap 8vo, to appear Monthly,

THE DRAMATIC WORKS of WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. The Text completely revised, with Notes, and various Readings. By SAMUEL WELLER SINGER. William Pickering, 177, Piccadilly.

NEW EDITION.

This day is published, in 2 vols., price 21s.

MY NOVEL, BY PISISTRATUS CAXTON; Or, VARIETIES IN ENGLISH LIFE.

By Sir E. BULWER LYTTON, Bart., Author of "Rienzi," "The Caxtons," &c.

Second Edition.

William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.

Just published,

NEW WORK ON THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE. In One Octavo Volume, price 6s. 6d.

STATE CHURCHES and the KINGDOM of CHRIST. An Essay on the Establishment of Ministers, Forms, and Services of Religion by Secular Power; and on its Inconsistency with the Free, Humbling, Spiritual Nature of the Christian Dispensation. By JOHN ALLEN.

W. and F. G. Cash, 5, Bishopsgate Street Without, London; and J. B. Gilpin, Dublin.

In ornamental cover, with numerous Illustrations, price One Shilling, 250 pages,

TABLE TURNING and TABLE TALKING.

Containing detailed Reports of an infinite Variety of Experiments, with minute Directions to enable every one to Practise them. To which is added the various Explanations of this remarkable Phenomenon, given by the most distinguished Scientific Men of England, France, and Germany.

Henry Vizetelly, Gough Square; Clarke, Beeton, and Co., 148, Fleet Street.

LONDON: Printed by George Hooper, (of No. 3, Portland Place, Kensington, in the County of Middlesex,) at the Office of Messrs. SAVILL and EDWARDS, No. 4, Chandos Street, in the Parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, in the same County; and Published by THOMAS LEIGH HUNT, (of Broadway House, Hammersmith,) at THE LEADER OFFICE, No. 7, WELLINGTON STREET, STRAND, in the Precinct of the Savoy, both in the same County.—SATURDAY, JUNE 18, 1853.