

# The Leader.

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

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VOL. IV. No. 172.]

SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1853.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

## News of the Week.

THE Emperor of Russia has proclaimed to his subjects, in a special manifesto, that, unless Turkey concedes to his demands, calling God to his aid, "with a full assurance in the arm of the Almighty," "he shall go forth to fight in defence of the orthodox Church." This is a proclamation of War, because the dispute between Russia and Turkey has reduced itself to one point, upon the concession of which Russia insists, while Turkey, advised by England and France, declares that she cannot concede that point without yielding the independence of the State, and the authority of her Sovereign. This declaration is made, in language which derives its strength from its moderation, by Redschid Pacha in reply to the note of Count Nesselrode. It is understood that the Governments of England and France adhere to their position, and the reply from M. Drouyn de l'Huys to Count Nesselrode, is a public evidence that such is the case with France at least; while the *Morning Post* and *Globe* declare, on authority confirmed by Lord Palmerston, that there is no difference between the Governments in Paris and St. James's. The note of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs ably controverts the arguments of the Russian Minister; it courteously intimates, that if France stood upon her rights, she might return the menaces of Russia, and declares that the sacrifice which she has made, gives her a right to expect that the Emperor will find, for the question that he has raised, a peaceful solution. It is reported, we hope truly, that President Pierce has also declared in support of Turkey, offering the American fleet.

The actual position at the present moment appears to be this: Turkey has been called upon to make a concession which the Independent Powers of Europe declare to be impossible; the Emperor has declared that he will institute a religious war unless he obtain that impossible concession. War, therefore, is the next step. The grounds upon which the allied Powers stand, are so perfectly accordant with justice and common sense, that the Peace party has been unable to make a public appearance during the whole of this dispute. The doctrine, it has been remarked, finds an only refuge in the *Times*, where it appears in juxtaposition with denunciations of Russia. The *Times* labours to show, that any war would be a great tax upon the people of this country, eating up our

surplus revenue, and obliging the Chancellor of the Exchequer to call upon us for more.

There is, however, an account on the other side. The Emperor of Russia is imperilling the whole of the royal order and the peace of Europe. He also attacks commerce; his policy is systematically to exclude English trade. One of the very subjects in dispute at the present moment is the entrance to the Danube, which the Sovereign of Russia is bound by treaty to keep open for the ships of all nations, and which he suffers to be choked with mud in a very suspicious manner. He threatens to make war on behalf of a church which enjoys no respect in other parts of Europe; and in fact he threatens the civilized part of the world with a species of Gothic invasion. We recognise to the full the amount of intelligence which is awakening to a consciousness of itself in Russia, but we believe that the civilization of Russia would be damaged, as that of Europe would be, were the rude soldiery, the fighting animals of the Emperor, to be suffered to overrun the world. The Emperor has shown himself the most efficient champion to put down liberty wherever it was struggling; and we believe in our hearts that he would like to destroy the State of England, because, with all its faults, it has been, down to the present moment, a refuge and a safeguard of political liberty. If he be suffered to proceed, therefore, the sacrifices must be, the authority of treaties by which the thrones of Europe are sustained, public order, the Turkish empire, commerce, and political liberty.

Almost to the eleventh hour there appeared but one issue. In Russia itself there is a party that condemns the mad rashness of the Emperor—a party which cannot but have an hereditary knowledge of the method in which troublesome Czars have been brought under control.

But from Vienna comes the tenth repetition of a report, that mediation has been accepted. There are some corroborations. Lord Clarendon has declared, in the House of Lords, that negotiations with St. Petersburg are still proceeding. There is reason, in spite of the fact that the Russian troops have advanced, to doubt whether the contemplated final order from St. Petersburg is issued. A new report is, that Austria has united with France and England in the mediation: a position much less equivocal than that which she has hitherto occupied, and one which could scarcely fail to bring, if not the Emperor, at least his immediate counsellors, to reason.

At the instance of Lord Palmerston, Mr. Layard has postponed his motion on Turkey, *sine die*; and Lord Clanricarde had promised to follow Mr. Layard's example in the Upper House. Lord Palmerston declares that "the forbearance" of the English Government cannot be construed to be weakness.

Very long sittings, many subjects taken in a night, bills forwarded a stage, in the intervals between debates, amendments to postpone motions until that day three months, are signs of a session verging to its close. The week has been full of business, some of it of a satisfactory character, although it is not for immediate accomplishment. One of the most remarkable measures explained this week, for example, has been Lord Shaftesbury's Bill for the Prevention of Juvenile Mendicancy—a measure which would have the most important results, if it were rendered law. Lord Shaftesbury calculates the number of children annually turned out, by their parents, as mendicants and vagrants, as 3000; the total number living in London, by thieving, he reckons at 6000, the latter class being constantly recruited by the former, but being checked by premature death. He proposes to give the children right of education in union schools, adding a claim upon the parent to contribute to the support of the child. In such cases the act of vagrancy, or crime, on the part of the child, would be taken as *prima facie* proof that training had been neglected, and he would be sent to the union school, instead of prison. This would render the reformatory principle complete, and would do much to relieve the growth of crime. In our view it is scarcely less important, as recognising the right of public education for all children. The Law Lords found exceptions in the details of the bill, which has passed the committee *pro forma*, and is referred to the Poor-Law Commissioners; a course which would be more satisfactory to us, if amongst those commissioners, or the referees of the bill, there were Mr. Frederick Hill and Mr. M. D. Hill, who have both studied the subject so profoundly, and with such successful assiduity.

Another subject which also bears upon the welfare of the working classes, has been mooted by Mr. Cobbett, in obtaining leave to introduce a bill, for the purpose of limiting the labour, in factories, to ten hours, according to the Act of 1847. We have dealt with this subject specially, in a separate paper; here let us only observe the disposition of the House of Commons, not to deal straightfor-

wardly with questions of the kind, but to shirk them. It is often said that Parliament should not interfere in these matters, but it must not be forgotten that Parliament *has* interfered, and does constantly interfere, to restrain the working classes. In this case, too, the interference would not properly be a restriction upon the class, but would only be to enable the class to render general an arrangement, which could only be observed if it were general, and which the vast majority desire.

Captain Scobell raised a brief discussion on the clause in the Merchants' Shipping Bill, which permits British ship-owners to employ more than one-fourth of foreigners in their crew. Captain Scobell resisted this abuse of free-trade, not only as tending to throw British seamen out of work, but as tending to undermine the national nursery for seamen, and positively to introduce foreigners into our coasting navy. Mr. Labouchere himself, distinguished for his fidelity to free-trade, supported the objections to the clause. Nevertheless, so strong are trading considerations over national, that it was carried.

Some other questions discussed by private Members and Peers deserve notice. Mr. Collier's motion for a bill to transfer testamentary jurisdiction from the Ecclesiastical to the Common Law and County Courts is a measure of which the necessity is admitted; but Lord Palmerston promises that Government will take up the subject next year, being only delayed by press of business. Lord Brougham has usefully explained a Bill to assimilate the Scotch Law of Bankruptcy with the English, and it would be a decided improvement although the English law itself is far from being perfect. Mr. Hadfield's Bill on the same subject, and Mr. Phillimore's Bill to prevent that scandal of the Church, the sale of presentations, have been adjourned.

A far more disgraceful act of evasion was the treatment of Mr. Keating's resolution on the subject of the late Admiralty Board. It will be remembered that when the gross abuse of patronage was first brought before the House, Mr. Stafford treated the subject with the greatest levity, making off-hand declarations as to the non-receipt of letters, which ultimately proved to be diametrically opposed to fact. Leading men on both sides of the House professed to receive his explanations as satisfactory, and it was only by great perseverance that a Select Committee was obtained. The Select Committee convicted Mr. Stafford of misappropriating the patronage of the Admiralty to political purposes, convicted the Duke of Northumberland of wilfully and negligently leaving that part of the Admiralty business to the secretary, convicted Mr. Disraeli of acquiescing in the plan in some degree, and convicted Lord Derby of appointing an inexperienced First Lord without watching his conduct or that of his subordinates. The investigation was conducted with great keenness, but not unfairly, by Lord Seymour. The report of the Committee was felt to be quite within the evidence. The public fully expected that that report would be followed up by an expression of the opinion of the House. Nobody, however, took up the matter until Mr. Keating did so. The ex-Ministers spun out the discussion on another subject by speaking against time, and thus having delayed Mr. Keating until a late hour of the night, they tried to get rid of the motion by objecting to its being brought on at such an hour. He persevered, and was met by various attempts to get rid of him. Ministers appear to have affected to resist these evasive manoeuvres, but declined to give Mr. Keating a night for the renewal of the debate, and agreed to the adjournment of the House, by which the subject falls to the ground. They have practically assisted the Opposition to stifle the discussion.

There is no event out of doors so striking as that which is now becoming the commonplace—the accumulated proof of continued prosperity. With one qualification, it is the same on all hands.

From Australia we have reports of the most surprising kind—*increase* in the population and resources of these important colonies; the gold export of Victoria alone is now estimated at 15,000,000*l.* for the past year, but evidently the annual produce must be reckoned at a larger rate. The Imperial revenue for the year and quarter, notwithstanding the remissions of duty, shows an increase, almost without exception, in all the important branches. The sole exceptions are a slight decrease in the customs on the year, and a slight and evident casual decrease in the property tax on the quarter, the effect, probably, of some diversity in the returns. The total increase of the year is 1,923,000*l.*; on the quarter, 1,146,000*l.* The Board of Trade reports keep up the same strain: again, in the month ending June 5, there is an increase on the exports of 1,187,558*l.* The total increase on the first five months of the year, as compared with the same part of 1852, being more than 7,314,000*l.* The increase in the imports and in the goods taken for home consumption, food, raw material, and luxuries, show the same activity of trade, and the same prosperity of the people. The increase is spread over the whole surface; and when we remember the great augmentation of prices in the retail market, we can the better understand how great the resources of the people must be augmented.

It is clearly no time, therefore, to relax the efforts of the working-classes in obtaining increased wages, and we regret to observe the spread of misunderstanding between that class and their employers. Again and again we counsel our countrymen not to press demands without substantial information to prove that they are not only abstractedly just, but consistent with the actual state of trade, generally and in their own place. If they are prudent, they have a right to be firm; and in being so they are sustaining not only their own interest, but that of the whole of the workmen. As the grasping of one workman at employment at a lower rate of wages than that which is fair, is the usual means for bringing down the general standard, so every sacrifice to maintain the general standard contributes to the welfare of the whole, and in the long run serves even those who make the sacrifice.

Prince Albert is confined to his bed by sickness—he has been seized by the same illness that attacked the Prince of Wales; but the bulletin of the morning announces that the eruption has come out well, and that the invalid is going on favourably. At this day, probably, there is no man in the country about whose health there will be a more kindly solicitude.

### THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT.

#### RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

THE anticipated discussions in both Houses on this subject have been postponed. Conversations respecting the propriety of the discussions sought by Lord Clanricarde and Mr. Layard, took place on Thursday evening. In the House of Lords the subject was abruptly introduced by

Lord BROUGHAM, who stated that he did so without any communication with the Government. Lord Clanricarde had good motives and was discreet, but the discussion would involve a relation of all the affairs in the East, and if the Government would neither declare that war was inevitable, nor that negotiations were likely to be successful, then the discussion might produce inconvenience, even mischief.

Lord CLARENDON said—"I certainly cannot say that there would be neither 'mischief' nor 'inconvenience' in a full discussion at present. Negotiations are going on, and we earnestly hope they will end in a pacific solution." Lord Clarendon added, that he did not wish to postpone Lord Clanricarde's intended motion on account of any difficulty in the subject, but as it was desirable that both Houses should discuss the subject at the same time, and as Lord John Russell was extremely ill, and could not attend in the Commons, he would ask Lord Clanricarde to postpone his motion till Monday.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH said he hoped Lord Clanricarde would postpone his motion, not alone until Monday, but generally. It would at present result but in a partial and lame discussion.

Lord DERBY echoed this advice. The responsibility

of the whole question should be left with the Government, and they should not be embarrassed by being forced into a partial discussion. It would be desirable that the House of Commons should also be silent on the subject. Earl GREY spoke to the same effect: The Marquis of CLANRICARDE then withdrew his motion, on the understanding that the House of Commons should also refrain from discussion.

In the House of Commons, Mr. LAYARD stated the terms of his motion:—

"That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, humbly submitting to her Majesty, that the House has learned with deep concern that the Government of Russia has announced a policy and adopted measures which affect the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and humbly praying that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct to be laid before this House the fullest information on the subject as soon as such information can be given without injury to the public service."

He then expressed surprise at finding on the notice book of the House, that his motion was deferred from the 8th to the 11th of July. This was done without his knowledge.

Mr. GLADSTONE expressed his ignorance of the alteration; but stated, that the grounds of any wish for delay was the illness of Lord John Russell; and Sir CHARLES WOOD acknowledged that he had made the alteration in the notice book, not thinking that Mr. Layard could refuse the request for postponement. Mr. DISRAELI condemned this interference with "the orderly conduct of business." And Mr. LAYARD, in conclusion, stated that, whether Lord John Russell were in the House or not, on Monday, he would bring forward his motion, unless there were some very good grounds for not doing so.

Another reference to this subject was made on the third reading of the Soap Duties Bill, in the Lords. Lord ELLENBOROUGH, anticipating the possibility of war, protested against the sacrifice of revenue (1,200,000*l.*) involved in the act.

On the following evening, Lord PALMERSTON appealed to Mr. Layard to withdraw his motion—

"If I understand the nature of his notice, his objects are three:—first, to obtain information, if any information can prudently be given; next, to assure the Government of support, in the event unfortunately of support being required; thirdly, to hold the Government to their duty, if in the opinion of my hon. friend they were likely to swerve from the performance of it. Now, in regard to information, none can be given, consistently with the duties of the Government, beyond that already in possession of the House. Nothing can be obtained with regard to that object. With respect to support, I assure my honourable friend that her Majesty's Government require no assurance; they do not suppose that, in any unfortunate event which may lead them to appeal to this House and to the country for support in a just cause, that support would not be cheerfully and cordially given. (Cheers.) We need no other assurance of that than the knowledge that we are sitting in the British Parliament. (Renewed cheers.) With respect to the last topic, as to any idea that her Majesty's Government may require a stimulus for the performance of their duty, I think it is sufficient to observe that when two great countries like England and France are united in a common course of policy, are aiming at a common object, are guided by common interests, and inspired by most perfect and unreserved confidence in each other—(cheers)—I say that it cannot, I am sure, enter into the mind of any man to suppose that any temporary forbearance which the Governments of two such great countries show, arises from want of determination, or that the most conciliatory course can be a symptom of debility or weakness. (Loud cheers.)"

He further stated, in order to meet the only other object with which the motion could be brought forward, that it ought to be enough to know that where two such countries as France and England were united in a course of policy, it must be for the general benefit of Europe. The bringing on of the motion would produce inconvenience, and, possibly, injury.

Mr. LAYARD replied, that the day for bringing on the motion had been fixed by the Government itself. The public was unaware of the great importance of the proclamation which had been issued by Russia, and there had never been a case in which such interests had been involved in which Parliament had not had full information. At present, not a little had been afforded by Government; but if Lord Palmerston would state that injury would arise to the public service by bringing on the motion, the responsibility of delay would no longer rest with himself.

Lord PALMERSTON had thought that there could be no doubt about his representation to that effect.

Mr. DISRAELI said that only a week back Lord J. Russell had intimated a wish that the motion should be brought on, and it was most important that the public should be better informed, as the impression was, that during the last week serious circumstances might have arisen to induce an exactly contrary course on the part of Government.

Mr. BRIGHT had great confidence in the pacific policy of Lord Aberdeen, and advised Mr. Layard to disregard any taunts which might be directed at him



from the press or other quarters, and withdraw his motion, as his doing so might tend to the peaceful settlement of the question. Sir GEORGE GREY had drawn a precisely opposite inference from that of Mr. Disraeli as to the course taken by Government, and he urged the withdrawal of the motion. Mr. HUME and Lord D. STUART having taken the same view of the desirable course, Mr. LAYARD withdrew his motion.

#### RUSSIAN OBSTRUCTION OF THE DANUBE.

On this subject, closely connected with the foregoing, Mr. LIDDELL asked some questions. Had the Government inquired into the state of English ships detained in the Danube through the imperfect navigation of the river? and in the event of hostilities with Russia, would a force be sent out to prevent those ships falling into the hands of hostile powers?

Lord PALMERSTON's reply was characteristic in its clearness, liveliness, and tact.

"The recent obstruction of the navigation of the Sulina channel of the Danube has been caused by the accidental circumstance of the waters of the river having overflowed and spread over the banks, and so far diminished the force of the current as to increase the quantity of mud on the bar. This particular inconvenience is temporary, and will no doubt cease when its cause has also ceased; but I am bound to say that, for many years past, the Government have had reason to complain of the neglect of the Government of Russia to perform its duties as possessor of the territory of which the delta of the Danube is composed, and to maintain the channel of the Sulina in an efficient navigable state. (Hear, hear.) It was my duty, when Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to make frequent representations to the Russian Government on the subject; and Russia, although she always admitted that it was her duty to do so—admitting that which we asserted—that as Russia thought fit, by virtue of the treaty of Adrianople, to possess herself of the mouths of the Danube, that great watercourse and highway of nations, leading into the centre of Germany, it was her duty to see that that great highway was maintained and made accessible (according to the treaty of Vienna) to the commerce of all nations. (Hear, hear.) Russia never disputed that statement, and she asserted always that she was employed in using means to remedy the grievance. The grievance was this—that while these mouths of the Danube formed part of the Turkish territory, there was maintained a depth of 16 feet on the bar, whereas, by the neglect of the Russian authorities the depth had diminished to 11 feet, and even those 11 feet were reduced to a small and narrow channel from obstructions on the side, from sand-banks, and from vessels wrecked and sunk, and allowed to remain there, so that it was difficult for any vessel to pass, except in calm weather and with a skilful pilot. (Hear.) We were also aware that there were local interests that tended to thwart what we believed to be the intentions of the Russian Government. In the first place, there was rivalry on the part of Odessa, where there existed a desire to obstruct the export of produce by the Danube, and to direct it, if possible, by way of Odessa. (Hear.) There were also those little local interests which arise from the profits that bargemen and lightermen, and persons of that class, make by unloading the steamers that come down the Danube, so as to enable them to pass the bar, reloading them again outside the bar. These local feelings and interests must have obstructed, without their being aware of it, the good intentions of the Russian Government, for they always promised they would take the most effectual measures. They said they would send a steam-dredge to carry away all the obstructions on the bar. The steam-dredge came, and the steam-dredge worked, but in two hours it was always put out of gear from some accident or other—(a laugh)—and they were obliged to go back to Odessa for repairs. (A laugh.) We recommended that the Russian Government should pursue the method by which the Turkish Government kept the channel clear. That method was a very simple one. They required every vessel that went out of the Danube to tack to their stern a good iron rake, and by that means the passage of each vessel kept the channel clear, a depth of sixteen feet being constantly maintained. (Hear, hear.) I understand that, in addition to the representations I made when at the Foreign-office, constant and emphatic representations have been made to the Russian Government on this subject, and I hope that that Government, while they break through those trammels which hitherto seem to have impeded their proper action, will see that it is a positive duty which they owe to Europe to maintain free and open that passage which, by force of arms, they obtained, and which they believed themselves justified in retaining by the treaty of Adrianople. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LIDDELL directed the attention of the noble lord to the second part of his question, which he had not answered. Lord PALMERSTON again rose and said:—

"I apprehend the question of the hon. gentleman relates to vessels which are now confined within the Danube and the Russian territory for want of water. If by any misfortune, which I cannot anticipate, war should arise between this country and Russia, it would not be easy for a British ship of war to get up to those vessels without water." (Laughter.)

#### THE DOCKYARD INQUIRY: MORE DRAMATIC DISPLAYS.

The doings of the Derby Ministry in the matter of the dockyard promotions were brought before the House on Tuesday evening. It led to a long and noisy debate and to many divisions—the Opposition merely obstructive, and the independent Liberal members urging on the inquiry.

The first manoeuvre was made by Mr. Disraeli. When the Speaker called on Mr. Keating to bring forward the motion of which he had given notice, Mr. DISRAELI interposed between him and the chair, pointing out that "at this hour of the night" (a quarter past eleven) Mr. Keating should not make an *ex parte* statement. "But," added the objector, "with regard to the administration of the Admiralty, I cannot refrain from observing, that I should be prepared to appeal to the fleet now at Spithead as a proof of the efficiency with which that department of the Admiralty was conducted." Shouts of "order" met this interjected defence, and Mr. KEATING at once protested against it as in itself an *ex parte* statement. Mr. DISRAELI, however, persisted in speaking, hinting that to enable him to make such observations, he would move the adjournment of the House; but the Speaker decided that he could not do so, Mr. Keating being in possession of the chair. Thus stopped, Mr. DISRAELI confined himself to asking Mr. Keating, was it "fair" to bring on his motion at such an hour? Mr. KEATING said he would adjourn it if Lord John Russell would give him "a day" for the discussion of the motion. Lord JOHN RUSSELL said, that the Government business was so pressing, that he could not assign any day within a short time.

Mr. KEATING therefore proceeded with his motion. The report of the Committee necessitates an expression of opinion by the House; for that report—a most able analysis of the evidence—does nothing but report facts. The motion now proposed has not been framed in any feeling of personal hostility to any individual; it is directed exclusively against the system. Mr. Keating then gave a history of the reforms in the Admiralty commenced in 1847, and detailed the perversions of patronage by Mr. Stafford and the late Board. He quoted largely from the circulars issued by the former Board, to prove that they earnestly desired promotion for merit, and then stated in detail and at great length the manner in which Mr. Stafford interfered with the course of that promotion. During his speech, the Opposition tried every way to stop the speaker and drown his voice. Cries of "Divide, divide," met him at the very commencement of his statement. Then, loud conversation on the back benches was heard; but Admiral BERKELEY promptly interfered, calling Mr. CONOLLY, member for Donegal, to order for his noisy interruption, on which Mr. Conolly attempted to speak, but was silenced as disorderly. As Mr. Keating proceeded, the cries of "Divide, divide," rose to a storm of interruption; and when Mr. Keating mentioned the promotion of unworthy persons, Mr. BOOKER rose to order at the imputation. "The honourable and learned gentleman," he exclaimed, "broadly states that individuals of blemished character were promoted merely for the sake of political purposes!" Mr. KEATING retorted, that the Secretary to the Admiralty had himself admitted this before the Committee, and concluded by proposing the following resolution:—

"That, referring to the report of the select committee on dockyard promotions, and the evidence upon which it is founded, this House is of opinion that, during the administration of the late Board of Admiralty, the patronage of dockyard promotions, and the influence of the Admiralty, were used and exercised for political purposes to an extent and in a manner calculated to reflect discredit upon that department of the Government, and to impair the efficiency of the service."

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON stepped forth as leader of the Opposition, and moved the adjournment of the debate. Amid "loud cheers" from his party, he assumed a tone of great indignation. Mr. Keating "may be learned in the law, but he has a very limited sense of justice. Not even his short experience in the House can excuse the gross impropriety of the course he has adopted. He has brought forward charges when he knows it is physically impossible to answer them. As a member of the late Government, I do not shrink from this question: I am prepared to contend that the Board of Admiralty, as constituted under Lord Derby, is entitled to the gratitude and not to the censure of this House. (Loud derisive shouts.) If I had had time, it would have been my duty to take grave exceptions to the report of the Committee; it has a tone of bitterness and severity not borne out by the evidence. It throws out sarcasms and insinuations more difficult to deal with than direct accusations. But the report and this motion really attack the Duke of Northumberland—yet never was a human being more anxious to benefit the service than the Duke. The minor appointments of the navy have been always in the hands of the Admiralty, and the administration of that great department does not depend on the appointment of caulkers, joiners, sawyers, and smiths. Loudly praising the Duke for his disposal of patronage irrespective of all political influences, Sir John concluded by repeating his claim "to the gratitude of the country."

Mr. DISRAELI interposed, objecting to Sir John's proposition. He hoped his right honourable friend

would not persevere in his motion for adjournment, but allow the House to come to a decision at once. He then launched out in more praise of the Duke of Northumberland. "In the brief space of ten months he protected your forts, defended your coasts, and manned your navy." The man who has done such deeds cannot be crushed by factious opposition. (Loud cheers.)

Lord SEYMOUR warmly defended the report of the Committee from the imputations of Sir John Pakington, who had not even attempted to show that it was contradictory to the evidence.

The house then divided on the motion for adjournment, which was thrown out by 95 to 79. Sir T. D. ACLAND moved the adjournment of the house. Mr. LABOUCHERE and others loudly protested that this question should be fairly discussed. Lord PALMERSTON assented, and suggested Tuesday next, if Mr. Ball, who had a motion on malt, would give way. Here Mr. DISRAELI became sarcastic and defiant.

The course which this debate has taken has not been, perhaps, so satisfactory as was expected by honourable gentlemen opposite. (Cheers.) There are great complaints made of much injustice, of statements being made that must be answered; but no such talk was there when the great statement was made at midnight—(loud cheers)—with the moral conviction on the part of the honourable and learned member for Reading (Mr. Keating) that no opportunity could be given in this session of Parliament for proceeding with the inquiry; and with ill-concealed triumph on the part of his friends and supporters, whose sanguine cheers accompanied that manifesto of spitefulness—(loud cheers)—although they knew that not a single member of the late Government would have an opportunity of making a remark. (Cheers.) I will not myself countenance any attempt to delay the decision of the house on the main question; and if honourable gentlemen opposite choose to sneak out of the position in which they have placed themselves—(continued cheering)—before the house and the country, we challenge the decision on this resolution, which they have not dared to challenge. (Loud cheers.)

The gallery was cleared, but no "division" took place, as all the members present went into the lobby, voting against the adjournment of the house. Mr. J. G. PHILLIMORE then moved the adjournment of the debate, but his motion was rejected by 98 to 70. Mr. DRUMMOND now struck in with a characteristic amendment. He proposed to strike out the latter part of the resolution, and insert instead the following words:

"It appears that during every administration of the Board of Admiralty patronage and influence have been used and exercised for political purposes; and that the report of the committee on the Chatham election states that there is no instance of an election at that place in which a Government candidate was not returned."

Mr. BERNAL OSBORNE objected to this bridge for the late Admiralty, and commented sharply on the course of the debate.

Considering the high character and standing of the honourable member for West Surrey, he should hardly have stooped to be made a bridge of escape for the late Board of Admiralty. For, since the truth must be spoken, it is not the Duke of Northumberland and the late Secretary for the Admiralty who are on their trial; it is the character and conduct of this house. We deputed a select committee, composed of members of both sides of the house, to examine into the truth of certain allegations; they made their report; and then the late Secretary for the Colonies comes down at two o'clock in the morning, deprecates a debate, moves an adjournment which he votes against, and takes that opportunity of bringing forward egregious charges against the select committee. I will not say a word against my predecessor at the Admiralty (Mr. Stafford); I think he has been ill-used by his party; they made use of him, and then, when they found he could not be of any further use to them, they threw him over, and fell down and worshipped the Duke of Northumberland, who they hope may yet be of service to them. (Hear, hear.) At least I believe that will be the opinion of the country to-morrow. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer has used the words "sneaking out." He has on many occasions shown himself a great proficient in that art; but I ask him, if he do not wish to sneak from this debate, to use the little influence he may yet exercise with his party to bring this matter to an open discussion. I hope he will use his influence with the honourable member for Cambridgeshire, who, I believe, is still one of his few followers—"hear, hear," from Mr. Ball)—to give up Tuesday next for this purpose. Let not honourable gentlemen opposite seek to avoid this discussion by the sneaking amendment of the honourable member for West Surrey. By so doing they will not whitewash the character of the Duke of Northumberland, but will damage that of the house in the eyes of all honourable men. (Cheers.)

Lord PALMERSTON, on being appealed to, expressed his opinion on the situation.

"Honourable gentlemen opposite may wish to get a discussion on the main question at this hour of the morning, but will that be fair either to themselves, the house, or the country? I think a division, under present circumstances, would be unsatisfactory to the country, and would not preclude the resumption of the debate, for it would be in the power of any honourable gentleman to bring forward the motion in another shape. I therefore trust that, for the sake of the dignity of the house, for the reputation of honourable gentlemen opposite, as well as on account of what is due to the subject itself, that the debate may be now adjourned. (No, no, and confusion.) An appeal has been made to me to allot a Government day, upon which

this debate can be resumed. My noble friend (Lord John Russell) was compelled to leave the house, as he is suffering under some degree of indisposition; but when he was leaving, he stated that, in the present state of public business, he could not consent to give a day. It is all very well for the honourable member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. E. Ball) to say his motion is of great importance. I do not undervalue its importance; but it is not a matter that presses, and he can take some other Tuesday—there will be no lack of Tuesdays—(roars of laughter)—upon which he can bring it forward. I think next Tuesday would be a very fitting day for the resumption of the debate. (No.) At all events, let the debate be now adjourned. (No, no.)"

Conversation of a most desultory kind followed, in which Sir JOHN PAKINGTON tried to explain why he had voted against his own motion for adjournment, and Mr. HILDYARD mentioned that early in the evening he had requested Mr. Keating not to bring on the debate, as it could not be properly treated at a late hour; therefore Mr. Keating could not complain of the present proceedings. Another division then took place, but the adjournment of the debate was again rejected by 98 to 64. This increased the confusion. Mr. C. BERKELEY moved as an amendment "that the Mercantile Marine Bill be now read." Sir WILLIAM JOLLIFFE implored the house to divide on the main question. Lord PALMERSTON suggested that the debate should be taken at the morning sitting that day. (It was now half-past three.) Mr. DISRAELI said he would accept an adjournment of the house as negating the motion: Mr. Keating of course being free to raise it again. The adjournment of the house was then carried by 100 to 59.

#### THE INDIAN BILL IN COMMITTEE.

Last night the House went into committee on the Indian Bill. Matters went on very quietly.

On the motion for going into committee, Mr. BLACKETT said that after the division on the second reading there was no hope that the decision of the House on this subject would be reversed. But he remarked upon the existing uncertainty whether the East India Company would, after the passing of the Bill, consent to retain their commercial character as regarded India, inasmuch as any information before the House showed that the Company entirely dissented from this measure. He also complained that the present Bill, from the way in which it was framed, revived all the acts which had been passed on the subject of India, including that of 1833, all of which ought to have been consolidated.

Sir CHARLES WOOD stated that there was no reason to suppose that the East India Company would not be prepared to undertake the administration of India under any measure which it might seem good to Parliament to pass, and in reference to the revival of the act of 1833, he remarked that almost all the provisions of that act were of a permanent character. As for the consolidation of the laws relating to India, desirable as it might be, the task was too gigantic to afford any reasonable prospect of its accomplishment.

Mr. BRIGHT urged that the very difficulty of consolidation was a reason for its being attempted, and its not being done was another proof of the unstatesman-like way in which the bill was being passed. Mr. JOHN PHILLIMORE said that legislation for 150 millions of people was being performed in a way utterly unworthy of a civilized country. Mr. HUME at some length urged that it would be far better to delay legislation.

In Committee various amendments were proposed, but they were all defeated by Ministers, and only two came to a division. First, on clause one, attempts were made to limit the bill to ten years, and place India under the government of the Crown. These were Mr. PHINN's propositions. He withdrew the former, but took a division on the latter; when his amendment was rejected by 127 to 34.

Then, on clause two, a great diversity of opinion prevailed as to what number of persons the Court of Directors should consist of; and parties were quite broken up in discussing the clause.

Lord JOCELYN moved, as an amendment, to substitute 24 for 18, and that the quorum should be 13 instead of 10. He thought that the retaining the present number would make the body more efficient for discussing important questions. Strangely enough the Indian reformers, Mr. BRIGHT, Mr. PHILLIMORE, and Lord STANLEY, championed the Government against the East India Company, whose representatives, like Mr. MANGLES and Mr. BARING, opposed the clause.

The amendment was rejected by 186 to 85, and the clause agreed to. The chairman then, on the motion of Sir CHARLES WOOD, reported progress.

#### SUCCESSION DUTY BILL.

Discussion on the clauses of this bill was resumed on Monday. Mr. WALPOLE objected to the clause which disallows incumbrances created by the successor himself, arguing that it was unfair to tax a man on the

nominal value of a property, reduced as it might be by those incumbrances. On a division, Mr. Walpole's proposed amendment was rejected by 124 to 116. But Mr. GLADSTONE afterwards partly conceded the point, by inserting words allowing the successor for any monies laid out in permanently improving the estate.

To the clause making trustees responsible in the first instance for the tax, Mr. WALPOLE strongly objected. Trustees would not be found to act with such liability hanging over them. After a short debate, the clause was altered so as to make the trustees answerable only for the money passing through their hands.

The clause, imposing a penalty on concealment of the value of succession, was opposed by Sir JOHN PAKINGTON and Sir FITZROY KELLY, but carried on a division by 164 to 139.

The clause compelling the production of title deeds, settlements, &c., that the value of a man's interest might be ascertained, was sturdily combated by Mr. MULLINGS and many others, as giving an opportunity of exposing chance flaws in titles to those who would contest the owner's claim. Mr. GLADSTONE pointed out that without this power, the tax could not be assessed; that the inspection of the title deeds would be select and secret, and that he would insert a proviso making it necessary to get the order of a Judge in Chambers for the production of the deeds. But the Opposition were not satisfied: they divided and were beaten by the narrow majority of 6, the numbers being—For the clause, 78; Against it, 72. Sir WILLIAM JOLLIFFE then attempted to confine the documents that should be produced to such documents as leases, plans, court and rent rolls, but after much pertinacious protests by the Opposition, the clause was carried by 101 to 94; the only part struck out being that which allowed officers to take extracts and copies of title deeds—this concession by Mr. GLADSTONE being received with "loud cheers" by the Opposition.

Mr. WALPOLE moved that the tax should be enacted for "five years." It was so vexatious and annoying that the country would not bear it any longer. Mr. GLADSTONE explained that this tax in its early years would be unproductive, and that it would take five years before any single estate would have paid the whole amount of duty. Mr. DISRAELI and Lord GALWAY suggested that as this tax was avowedly intended as a compensation for the inequalities of the Income-tax, it should be co-extensive with the Income-tax, and expire like it in 1860. This amendment was rejected by 195 to 125.

A proviso to prevent legacy duty being levied on the landlord, on the determination of leases on lives on his estate, was introduced by Mr. Gladstone. It was also provided that monies paid on the death of a third party, in fulfilment of a bond, should not be considered a succession.

In lieu of the clause taxing timber, (thrown out by Sir John Trollope and the Opposition,) some weeks ago, Mr. GLADSTONE brought forward a clause, taxing the landholder only for the monies received on the sale of timber. Sir JOHN TROLLOPE again objected to this, as raising a perpetual running account; and Mr. VERNON SMITH pointed out how annoying it would be to a landlord, to keep an account of small portions of timber, hedge-rows, for instance, cut down to relieve a farm. Mr. GLADSTONE said that a minimum could be fixed, beneath which the tax should not go. The new clause was carried by 195 to 179.

The remaining clauses were then agreed to, and the bill was reported, amid cheers from the Government benches.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS.

Mr. COLLIER shortly re-stated the evils of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and introduced a Bill to redress them. Their jurisdiction is usurped. There is an immense number of them, archiepiscopal, episcopal, archidiaconal, diocesan, and peculiar—372 in all, the limits of whose jurisdiction it is often very difficult to ascertain. By the law of *bond notabilia* it is necessary to go through probates in two courts, sometimes more. The courts decide on written depositions without *viva voce* examination or the intervention of a jury, and it is necessary to employ a proctor as well as an attorney. There are enormous sinecures, absorbing a vast amount of money in fees, sometimes held by superannuated old men, and in other cases by women and children, who perform the duties by deputies and deputy-deputies; and notwithstanding the great cost to the public, there is no proper registration of wills or fit places for their custody. Litigation respecting wills is carried on simultaneously in the courts of common law, courts of equity, and ecclesiastical courts.

With respect to the jurisdiction of these courts over divorces, church-rates, brawling in churches, defamation, and other matters of such kind, nothing but a total abolition of the courts can settle the question. But the proposed bill deals with the chief jurisdiction of these

courts—the testamentary jurisdiction. It transfers the decision on all undisputed wills, and on wills involving property under the value of 300*l.* to the County Courts, making the districts of these courts districts also for testamentary-judicature. Every person who dies within the district shall have his will proved there. The law of *bond notabilia* is abolished, a simple system of registration is established, and the treatment of real and personal property is assimilated. All cases of testamentary property over the value of 300*l.* would be tried in the superior Courts of Common Law—where the judges have now much time on their hands, owing to the operations of the County Court. An argument in favour of this change is, that the Courts of Common Law visit the provinces, and thus parties could get their cases tried at home. The Courts of Common Law would decide regarding the proof of the will, the Court of Chancery would, as at present, decide equitable questions arising out of it. His proposal then is, that the Common Law Courts have power in cases above 300*l.*, and in appeal cases, that a clerk of probates should be attached to each court; that the metropolitan County Court should be consolidated into one court of probate, and proctors are to have the power of practising as attorneys in any court in the county.

"It may be said that this is a somewhat sweeping measure, but the time has come when sweeping measures of law reform are absolutely necessary. Hitherto all our efforts in the cause of law reform have been little better than patchwork. I know that the country do not take the same interest in matters connected with the administration of justice as in the grant to Maynooth. (Hear, hear.) The cause of law reform has never had its Covent-gardens or Exeter-halls, but it would be creditable to the Legislature to deal with these questions without any pressure from without. Law reform has been left almost entirely in the hands of lawyers; and though it cannot be said that they have disregarded it, I am afraid that the legal mind generally labours under a malady which I may describe as an undue preponderance of the Conservative element—too great an attachment to forms and precedents; and the consequence of this is that the machinery by which the administration of the law in this country is carried on, has often become inconvenient and cumbrous, and clogged by the accumulation of the useless dust of ages. (Hear, hear.) The suitor in equity is often compelled to resort to a court of common law—the suitor in common law is often compelled to resort to a court of equity—and here there is a third system—that of the ecclesiastical—which possesses none of the advantages or recommendations either of a court of equity or of a court of common law. (Hear, hear.)"

Lord PALMERSTON, speaking for the Government, cordially consented to the introduction of the bill. The ends of justice in this court, though attained in most cases, are still arrived at by circuitous and thorny paths, through sloughs and quagmires which some never pass. The Government are by no means indifferent to the subject, but the pressure of other topics on the House has put it out of their power to introduce a bill of their own. Next session they will bring in a measure calculated to remove the evils alluded to by Mr. Collier.

Mr. HADFIELD censured the present Lord Chancellor for his obstruction of law reform. Sir BENJAMIN HALL blamed the Government for not having introduced such a bill as that proposed by Mr. Collier, and instanced a late case, raised by Archdeacon Denison, where a question of vital importance to the Church could not be decided in the Ecclesiastical Courts, on account of the great expense of their proceedings. Sir Benjamin quoted late returns, showing the perversion of Church property. The Rev. R. Moore, whose case has excited so much disgust, is in the annual receipt in the province of Canterbury of 10,894*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, and having held the office 53 years he has received no less for a sinecure office than the sum of 577,399*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* (Hear, hear, hear.) The Rev. R. Watson, son of the Bishop of Llandaff, was appointed to the office of registrar at the age of 5 years, and having held it 59 years, had received the sum of 40,303*l.* 1*s.* 8½*d.*, although he never set foot in the diocese for forty years. Not content with that appointment, the right rev. prelate got him appointed to a sinecure receivership at 8 years of age, and having held that office for 56 years, he has received the sum of 27,720*l.* for doing nothing. (Hear, hear.) In the diocese of Norwich there are some appointments well worthy of attention. The Rev. H. A. Bathurst, who was appointed registrar of the court at 6 years of age, has held the office 17 years, during which he has received the sum of 1360*l.* The Rev. E. Bathurst, who was appointed at 10 years of age, has held the office 27 years, and received 38,540*l.* Captain Bathurst, who was appointed receiver at 3 years of age, has held the office 28 years, and received 1680*l.* The total amount received by the present possessors of sinecure offices connected with the ecclesiastical courts is 1,146,128*l.* 14*s.* 9½*d.*

After a promise from the Attorney-General, that the Government would attend to the question of further reforms in the Ecclesiastical Courts, leave was given to bring in the bill.



## HOURS OF LABOUR IN FACTORIES.

A new bill on this subject has been introduced. It limits the hours of labour of women, young persons, and children, in the factories of the United Kingdom, to ten hours during the first five days of the week, and to seven and a half on Saturdays. In fact, it restores the Ten Hours' Act of 1847, and extends its application to children from the ages of eight to thirteen, who are at present excluded from the operation of the act for shortening the hours of labour. Mr. COBBETT introduced the bill. He gave a history of the former acts for the limitation of the hours of labour, and showed how the masters had evaded them in many cases, by the introduction of the shift system. It was found in the court of law that the words of the statute of 1844 were not sufficiently explicit to preclude this evasion. Where the Factory Act has been honestly carried out, its good effects have been plainly seen. The people employ very well indeed the two hours allowed them by the act. Many of the men are going to school, with the prospect of becoming good scholars in a short time. Wages have materially advanced, and are still improving; many of the men are industriously cultivating small plots of ground; and the women are more attentive to their domestic duties, and make their husbands more comfortable in their homes. The Compromise Act of 1850 unjustifiably extended the hours of labour from ten to ten and a half hours, and on Saturdays to seven and a half hours. In addition to restricting the labour to ten hours, the bill now introduced proposes to stop all motive power from half-past five in the afternoon till six in the morning, and on Saturday it should be stopped so as to limit the hours of labour to seven and a half hours. Those who have carefully considered the question, consider this the only effectual remedy for the evasions of the Factory Act now practised. Heavy fines are also proposed in the bill. In conclusion, Mr. Cobbett showed the necessity of this bill, by stating, on authority, that the annual mortality among the children of factory operatives amounts to 60 out of every 100.

Mr. FIELDEN supported the bill. Mr. WILKINSON deprecated any interference of Parliament with the hours of labour. Lord PALMERSTON consented to the introduction of the bill, without stating what course he might take on the second reading. He then stated that he intended himself to bring in a bill for limiting the hours for the employment of children. What he should propose was, that children should not be employed earlier than six in the morning, nor later than six in the evening.

"I really think, to have little children from eight to twelve years of age brought out on a drizzling morning in winter at half-past five o'clock, often obliged to walk three or four miles from the place where they live to the place where they work, to be kept there till the evening, and then to have to go the same distance back alone, with snow on the ground, I really think, I say, that, where that practice prevails, nobody can be surprised at the extreme mortality of factory children. It is a matter of considerable delicacy to interfere by legislation as to the employment of those who are fully of age to determine for themselves, who ought to be considered free agents, and ought to be at liberty to work if they think fit; but my own opinion is, that mill-owners are not pursuing their own real interests by dealing with the persons employed as if they were mere machines, as if the longer they could work the more profit could be made out of them, and as if all other considerations should be set aside except the quantity of work, and the greatest number of hours' work which could be got out of human beings. My own opinion is, that employers would do better—and I know that a great number of them do act upon that consideration—to reflect that those operatives are moral and intelligent agents; that, unless they give them that moderate degree of leisure which is essential for their health, and for their domestic economy, they are not making out of them that amount of really good work which they might do under a better system."

Lord JOHN MANNERS praised Mr. Cobbett's proposition, and characterised Lord Palmerston's as unsatisfactory. He denounced with great warmth the Compromise Act of 1850, and the systematic and shameless evasions of that act by master manufacturers. It is necessary to take away the facilities for those evasions, to make the owner directly responsible, and to impose such penalties as will largely diminish the illegal gains. Mr. Horner (one of the factory inspectors) had characterised the mill-owners as "unscrupulous law breakers;" and although the restriction of the motive power might naturally be viewed with apprehension, yet when the masters evaded all other laws, they should make a trial of this means of prevention.

Sir GEORGE GREY corrected Lord John Manners. The "law-breaking" among the mill-owners was exceptional, not general. The act of 1850 had worked well: it added half an hour to the time of labour, but it made the hours fixed and certain. Sir George expressed regret that Lord Palmerston did not at once condemn the proposal to restrict motive power; every eminent statesman had repudiated such a course. Mr. JAMES BUTT and Mr. W. J. FOX condemned the act

of 1850 as ungenerous and unjust; and Mr. WILSON PATTEN denied that the mill-owners of Manchester evaded the act. His remarks on the injury that would result from the restriction of the motive power, drew from Lord PALMERSTON a remark, that "the only motive-power he proposed to restrict was that of the children."

Mr. LABOUCHERE objected to Mr. Cobbett's bill as novel and important. It restricts the hours of adult labour, and prevents the labouring man from using that which is his only capital—the labour of his hands. Mr. BOOKER supported the bill, as tending to "the protection of the bone and sinew of England." Lord JOHN RUSSELL pointed out that Lord Palmerston had said nothing approving of the restriction of motive power. The only observation he had made on that point was, that he would not vote for the restriction of adult labour. After some remarks from Mr. NEWDEGATE and Mr. BALL, leave was given to bring in the bill.

## SCOTCH BANKRUPTCY LAW.

Lord BROUGHAM brought before the House the peculiar defects of the Scotch Bankruptcy Law, prefacing his statement by presenting several petitions from eminent commercial English firms interested in Scotch trade, praying for an alteration in the law. In Scotland, the trustee of the bankrupt's estate is elected by a majority of the votes of the creditors, and to obtain these votes, he must canvass directly and indirectly. While the election is pending, the estate is often deteriorated, especially in cases where it consists of seasonable goods. The trustee is a paid officer, paid while the case is pending, and thus he has an interest in not doing his duty—in allowing the proceedings to linger on. But the trustee is also a judge—he has to adjudicate on the claims of the creditors, and to decide points of law, equity, and fact. Yet he is often incompetent—sometimes not even an accountant. From the decision of the trustee, appeals can be made to the Sheriff's Court, to the Court of Session, and finally to the House of Lords; and such appeals are frequent. The commissioners to the sequestration, who have to fix the trustee's salary and to audit his accounts, are also elected by the auditors, and are often utterly unfit for their duties. The consequence of this state of things not unfrequently is, that the bankrupt's solicitor or some friend is elected trustee, his sureties are found to be worthless, commissioners friendly to the trustee and the bankrupt are appointed to fix the trustee's commission and to pass the solicitor's bill, and hence there is a total absence of that protective check upon the trustee's charges and the solicitor's costs which is essential for the interests of the creditors; and, instead of adopting the salutary change which was introduced into the English law by Lord Cottenham's Act, and taking away from the creditors the power of granting or withholding the certificate, the Scotch law, remaining in the same state as the old English law, leaves this power entirely in the hands of the creditors. There may be parts of the English bankruptcy law which are less applicable to Scotland than to England, and there may be some points on which the Scotch law is better than the English; the whole matter should be referred to the commissioners who have been recently appointed, to consider the possibility of assimilating the mercantile law of the two countries.

## JUVENILE MENDICANCY.

Lord SHAFTESBURY has explained the necessity and the scope of his new bill. He illustrated the state of the rising generation by many anecdotes and quotations from reports of City missionaries and magistrates. He submitted to 100 City missionaries the following question, with a view to ascertain what was their experience on this point:—"How many do you estimate, having lived an honest life up to twenty years of age, have afterwards fallen away, and entered on vicious courses?" The answer from almost every missionary was, "Not 2 in 100." This is a clear proof that childhood was the seed time of crime. Two objections have been made to his proposals—first, that the workhouse should not be made a place of detention, or have in any degree the character of a prison; and, second, that as a consequence of their adoption, large additional masses of want, clamorous for relief, would be thrown upon it. But it was not intended to give the workhouse the character of a prison, but to take precautions against the claims of the parents to recover the children for the worst and most sinister purposes. With so great an object in view, it would be worth while to incur some slight risk of additional expense, though, from minute inquiries which he had made, he was convinced that nothing of the sort would occur. A large proportion of the parents are perfectly capable of maintaining their children. The measure proposed would clear the streets of nine-tenths of the mendicants and vagrants who infested them, especially when backed

by two or three strong convictions. He rejoiced to state that his views had the full concurrence of a great number of the police magistrates. The present is the very moment for making the experiment of such a measure. The Common Lodging Houses Act has begun to clear out those dens of infamy and schools of vice; the increase of the wages of the labouring classes has taken away the slight pretext that exists for mendicancy; the police were never more active and experienced than now, and the magistrates never more enlightened. "Now is the accepted time; now is the day of salvation." Now is the time to try a measure which avoids all mention of penalties upon children, of houses of correction, of discipline for juvenile delinquents; which is one entirely of mercy and prevention, and which, under the blessing of Almighty God, would anticipate to a very great degree both the gaoler and the hangman.

Some difficulties in the working of the bill were anticipated by Lords CAMPBELL and BROUGHAM. The bill is therefore to be referred to a select committee.

## SIMONY.

The laws at present in force against simony being restricted in application, Mr. ROBERT PHILLIMORE seeks to amend them, so as to include all acts of simony. From an early age, this offence has been accounted a grave evil in the church: the ecclesiastical law makes it void, and Crown proclamations have denounced it "as execrable in the sight of God." A statute of Anne forbade *clergymen* to simoniacally obtain, directly or indirectly, any ecclesiastical benefice. But this did not apply to laymen. There is an old act of Elizabeth, which, in intent, clearly prohibits the simoniacal contract, but the judges have construed it to prohibit only contracts for vacant livings, the sale of the next presentation being held lawful. In the case of Fox v. Bishop of Chester, the patron of the living sold the next presentation while the incumbent was on his death-bed, and though Lord Tenterden decided that the sale was illegal, yet the judges reversed the sentence, and established the legality of such sales. In doing so, they advised an extension of the law to the prohibition of the "sale of the next presentation." This prohibition is now proposed. It has been said, "You are going to touch the rights of property," but when the House passed the former acts against simony, and when they passed the Reform Bill, did they think of the rights of property? The true and original principle of these presentations is, that the right of presenting is a spiritual trust, in essence, and the right of property in the presenter is subordinate or accidental. Mr. Phillimore then quoted scandalous advertisements, where the advantages of good houses and trout-streams were carefully set forth, but where there was not one word requiring in the clergyman any qualification for the cure of souls. He concluded by stating that he had carefully guarded the preparation of the bill, so that it should be prospective and not retrospective in its operation. It did not touch the question of advowsons at all; it only had reference to the sale of the next presentation, which he thought he had demonstrated to the House was a continual source of profligate and shameless abuse. (Cheers.)

Mr. BOUVERIE, anxious that the Customs' Act should go into committee that day, (it being Wednesday, when the House, by rule, adjourns at six,) moved the adjournment of the debate; but Mr. GEORGE BUTT, objecting to this course, moved, as an amendment, that Mr. Phillimore's bill be read that day six months. He accused Mr. Phillimore of mistakes and fallacies. It is not simony—it is not illegal—in a layman to purchase the next presentation to a living. The right of the next presentation is a chattel real. The new bill confiscates the property of persons who had made a purchase under the existing law. One gentleman had paid 15,000*l.* for the next presentation, for his eldest son. By this proposed law his interest would be seriously prejudiced. It was to be regretted that the property, in those presentations, was not disposable, by the State, for the spiritual welfare of the people, and Mr. Phillimore's object would be a work of benevolence, but "we must take the greatest care not to affect the rights of property." Indeed it may be doubted whether the Crown would not use this property, if in its possession, rather for political than for spiritual purposes. At all events, simony has remained unaffected since the time of Henry VIII., and this bill destroyed the property established in that practice.

As Mr. Butt and a succeeding speaker proceeded, Mr. WILSON (Secretary to the Treasury) attempted, more than once, to stop the debate, that the Customs' Act might be committed, but Mr. BANKES got up, at ten minutes to six, and insisted upon speaking, "irrespective of the convenience or inconvenience of the Government." He then spoke against time until six o'clock, when the House adjourned, without fixing a day for the resumption of the debate.—Mr. PHILLIMORE

MORE calling out "Wednesday next," and Mr. VANSITTART retorting "This day six months."

**CHURCHES AND CONGREGATIONS.**—As the population of our great towns leave their places of business for residence in the suburbs, the old churches in the City become deserted, and their former congregations, scattered over rural outlets, are without places of worship. Lord HARROWBY has therefore brought in a bill, enabling bishops to pull down useless churches, to unite small parishes, and otherwise to alter ecclesiastical matters to suit the convenience of the people. The bill is passing through the Lords.

**THE INDIAN ARMY.**—Lord ELLENBOROUGH has brought in a bill, enabling the East India Company to increase their European force in India from 12,000 to 20,000; and their force in this country from 2000 to 4000. The bill has been withdrawn.

**THE EDUCATION BILL.**—Lord JOHN RUSSELL intends to move the second reading of this bill, but not to proceed further this session.

**ELECTION EXPENSES.**—A bill, prohibiting the use of election dinners, processions, flags, or other party symbols at elections, has been passed through committee, Colonel SIBTHORP denouncing it with energy as a "disgraceful bill."

**LANDLORD AND TENANTS IN IRELAND.**—Mr. Napier's Bill passed through Committee. Several divisions against separate clauses were taken by the Irish Radical Members, but in all cases without success.

### THE REVENUE.

NO. I.—AN ABSTRACT OF THE NET PRODUCE OF THE REVENUE OF GREAT BRITAIN, IN THE YEARS AND QUARTERS ENDED JULY 5, 1852, AND JULY 5, 1853, SHOWING THE INCREASE OR DECREASE THEREOF.

Years ended July 5.

	1852. £	1853. £	Increase. £	Decrease. £
Customs.....	19,011,774	18,954,362	57,412	...
Excise .....	13,206,404	13,737,599	531,195	...
Stamps .....	6,002,860	6,477,347	474,487	...
Taxes .....	3,149,702	3,201,047	51,345	...
Property Tax .....	5,363,910	5,589,079	225,169	...
Post Office .....	1,041,000	1,066,000	25,000	...
Crown Lands .....	220,000	392,888	172,888	...
Miscellaneous .....	302,948	159,862	...	143,086
Total Ord. Rev....	48,298,598	49,578,184	1,480,084	200,498
Imprest and other Moneys .....	595,004	758,789	163,785	...
Repayments of Ad- vances .....	842,886	1,322,469	479,583	...
Total Income.....	49,736,488	51,659,442	2,123,452	200,498
Deduct Decrease.....			200,498	
Increase on the Year .....			1,922,954	

Quarters ended July 5.

	1852. £	1853. £	Increase. £	Decrease. £
Customs.....	4,502,164	4,943,337	441,173	...
Excise .....	3,443,516	3,795,617	352,101	...
Stamps .....	1,626,826	1,675,148	48,322	...
Taxes .....	1,503,707	1,510,483	6,776	...
Property Tax .....	1,056,991	1,053,027	...	3,964
Post Office .....	230,000	251,000	21,000	...
Crown Lands .....	60,000	200,888	140,888	...
Miscellaneous .....	202,189	90,537	...	111,652
Total Ord. Rev....	12,625,393	13,520,037	1,010,260	115,616
Imprest and other Moneys .....	212,688	256,759	44,071	...
Repayments of Ad- vances .....	216,652	424,573	207,921	...
Total Income .....	13,054,733	14,201,369	1,262,252	115,616
Deduct Decrease.....			115,616	
Increase on the Quarter.....			1,146,636	

NO. II.—THE INCOME AND CHARGE OF THE CONSOLIDATED FUND, IN THE QUARTERS ENDED JULY 5, 1852 AND 1853.

Quarters ended July 5.

### INCOME.

	1852. £	1853. £
Customs .....	4,522,251	4,962,924
Excise .....	3,452,902	3,804,041
Stamps .....	1,626,826	1,675,148
Taxes .....	1,503,707	1,510,483
Property Tax .....	1,056,991	1,053,027
Post Office .....	230,000	251,000
Crown Lands .....	60,000	200,888
Miscellaneous .....	202,189	90,537
Imprest and other Moneys .....	54,518	61,141
Produce of the Sale of Old Stores .....	158,169	195,618
Repayments of Advances .....	216,652	424,573
	13,084,205	14,229,380

### CHARGE.

	1852. £	1853. £
Permanent Debt .....	5,745,830	5,721,238
Terminable Annuities .....	568,687	572,975
Interest on Exchequer-bills, issued to meet the Charge on the Consolidated Fund....	450	463
Sinking Fund .....	544,249	615,185
The Civil List .....	99,176	99,407
Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund....	287,878	356,823
For Advances .....	326,343	990,027
Total Charge.....	7,572,625	8,304,718
The Surplus.....	5,711,580	6,104,662
	13,284,205	14,529,380

### LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

[LETTER LXXX.]

Paris, Thursday Evening, July 7, 1853.

NOTHING is talked of all over Paris but an attempt, alleged to have taken place on Monday last, to carry off or kill Bonaparte. It was known that he was to

be present that day at the opening of the Opera Comique. He went with the Empress, attended only by a picket of cuirassiers. The boulevards were filled with a multitude, attracted thither partly by curiosity, partly by the weather, which, was that day superb. Suddenly, about half-past nine, the crowd was seen to be in great commotion; serjents de ville and gendarmes ran to and fro, giving and receiving orders; and all thoroughfare on the Boulevards des Italiens, as far as the Chaussée d'Antin, was prohibited. Everybody was then in a hustle to know what was the matter. It was ascertained that some fifteen men had just been arrested as they were about to assail Bonaparte. Some say the conspirators were captured within the theatre; the attention of the police having been called to them by the noise of a pistol which one of them let fall. Others say they were taken outside, just at the moment of Bonaparte's arrival, and that they were suspected to be conspirators by a policeman, who heard them shout *Vive l'Empereur* louder than the rest of the crowd. According to the information I have been able to collect, the truth of the matter is quite different. There is in the Rue Marivaux a small private door by which Bonaparte makes his entrance to the Opera Comique. This fact being known, three persons posted themselves by the private door. Three serjents de ville ordered them to withdraw; they did not comply, and the serjents laid hands on them; but some fifteen other persons came up, as if to see what was doing, and rescued the first three prisoners, but were themselves surrounded and captured by a reinforcement of about a score of policemen. It is alleged that they were all armed. During the tumult three other persons slipped through the private door into the passage leading to Bonaparte's box, and were there caught and arrested. Immediately after this three full squadrons of cuirassiers, "guides," and municipal guards, took post round the theatre; and when Bonaparte came out, they encompassed his carriage in very compact order, and escorted him to St. Cloud. This event has caused a great ferment all over Paris. The Government gave orders to the journals from the first not to publish any details, and itself drew up the following paragraph, and had it inserted in the *Patrie*:—"This evening, among the crowd at the doors of the Opera Comique, where the Emperor and the Empress were present, the police arrested ten or twelve persons, belonging to old secret societies, who tried to make a disturbance. The case is in judicial hands."

It is evident from the insignificance of this paragraph that the Government is afraid of alarming the good *bourgeois* of Paris if it gave more details. The Bourse, indeed, has been in a considerable fright. All the jobbers asked themselves what would become of them if an attempt on Bonaparte's life were successful; and to judge from the scared faces of most of them it may be presumed that they were very uneasy as to the future. They were all eager for particulars respecting the affair. One of them exhibited, to all who desired to see it, a pistol which he stated he had picked up on the very scene of the occurrence. People weary themselves with conjectures as to the scope of the affair, and as to what party it proceeded from. The police does not sleep over the matter. According to its views it was the secret societies, consequently the Republicans, that originated the attempt. But thinking men look further. I have met many persons who believe that Russia is no stranger to the affair. For a month past indeed everybody has been disgusted by the endless intrigues and efforts of pecuniary corruption practised by that power among the population of Paris—journals and journalists bought over, gold scattered profusely among all classes, down to that of the workmen; public functionaries suborned, stock-jobbers and brokers gained over, &c. &c.—nothing has been left untried. Just now you meet, go where you will, people who assure you of the honourable, and above all the pacific, intentions of the Emperor Nicholas. It is not, therefore, impossible that to fulfil his threat (you recollect that letters from St. Petersburg announced that he would certainly find means to separate England and France) he may have tried, by an ill-contrived show of a conspiracy, to show England how little dependence she should place upon an order of things which a dagger stroke, or a pistol shot, would be enough to demolish. England has now an opportunity of seeing what a vast danger she would incur in entering upon a war in which she might at any moment be left to stand alone in consequence of a revolution effected in France. As for France herself, it is the interest of Russia to terrify the financial world, which now reigns and governs under the name of Bonaparte, and deter it from engaging in war to-day, with the prospect before it of a revolution to-morrow. All this is possible; still it is only conjecture. If Russia avails herself of the late occurrence to work upon the fears of the English people and their Government, and show them how little trust

they can put in the French alliance, the conjecture will then acquire a high degree of probability.

Meanwhile Russia triumphs over the whole league. In the teeth of England and France she has entered Moldo-Wallachia, caring no more for what those degenerate Powers may say than if they had no existence. The Czar Nicholas has taken exact measure of his ground; he has seen that the government of the two countries is in the hands of moneyed men. He knows that moneyed men, who care very little about honour, but a great deal about net profit and loss, would at once calculate the expenses of a war, and comparing them with the results, would conclude that they ought to have nothing to do with it. On this basis he has speculated and acted. He now knows that the traders of both countries are afraid of war. Knowing that, he will go great lengths. He will go in the first place to Constantinople; then, by way of giving those gentlemen a lesson in logic, a science with which they are not very familiar, he will go thence to Paris, and next to London. It is my belief that it will not take Russia ten years from the present time to expunge France and England from the map of the world!\* Many worthy people endeavour to blind themselves as to the consequences of the dastardly that has just been committed. Like people who, when they have been kicked, console themselves by saying, "It was not a blow; I need not take any further notice of it;" France and England, which have acquiesced in the crossing of the Pruth, will acquiesce also in the crossing of the Danube. Once on the path of cowardice there is no stopping till you tumble headlong into the slough of ignominy. There are people, then, who believe that negotiations are about to be resumed. Nevertheless the manifesto of the Emperor Nicholas very distinctly says, No. It declares that negotiations can bear only on one point, the complete submission of Turkey, and its unrestricted adherence to the proposed ultimatum. Now, that point cannot be yielded by the Sultan, who would thereby expose himself to be hurled from his throne by a revolution. Nay more: the manifesto declares pointedly that if Turkey does not yield, "calling God to his aid, the Emperor Nicholas will commit to Him [that is to his sword] the decision of the quarrel, and that full of hope in the all-mighty hand of the Most High, he will march to defend the orthodox faith." One must be blind or a trader not to understand language so clear. Diplomacy may intervene as much as it pleases; Russia is on its march to Constantinople; it is not protocols that will stop it. And see the cleverness of Russian policy. It has just obtained a declaration of neutrality on the part of Prussia, of Austria, and of all Germany, so that the armies of France and England are henceforth separated from Russia by the whole breadth of the continent, and can be of no use to save Constantinople. As for the two fleets, I have already shown that they might annihilate the Russian fleet and burn Sebastopol, but not stop the march of the Russian army. The danger is therefore a thousandfold more pressing to-day than yesterday. What has happened with regard to the Pruth will now be repeated as to the Danube. As long as the latter is not crossed, good folks will still go on dreaming of peace; nothing but the taking of Constantinople, with the consequences thereof which I have predicted, will open their eyes. There is only one chance of our escaping that shame, namely, should it turn out that Turkey, on hearing of the passage of the Pruth, immediately despatched the French and English fleets against the Russian fleet, and thereby irremediably begin the war. After the first cannon shots were fired there would be no help for it, fight the two parties must. Now, everything authorizes us in believing that Turkey will abstain in her moderation from pushing matters to extremities.

The passage of the Pruth has been hailed on the Paris Bourse by a rise of 1 franc 60 cents, the greatest rise that has taken place for a long time. In justice, however, to our moneyed men, it must be stated, that the *Independence Belge*, of that day, made known in Paris the news, that at a meeting of the English Privy Council, held on Saturday, it was resolved that the English Government would not make a *casus belli* of the entrance of the Russians into the principalities; but that it would propose to Turkey to accept the Russian ultimatum, under the sanction and with the intervention of the four great Powers.† The Paris Bourse concluded from this news, that the passage of the Pruth, far from being regarded with alarm, ought, on the contrary, to be considered a highly reassuring fact. Reassured, therefore, it was, and up went prices; subsequently, what with the conspiracy, and the result of second thoughts, they have gone down again. M. de Kisseleff has com-

\* [We need scarcely say that we do not coincide with this special belief of affairs.—ED.]

† [We do not believe that this statement is correct. The *Morning Post*, which has been so accurate of late, implied by distinct assertions precisely the reverse.—ED.]



plained in strong terms to M. Drouin de l'Huys of the 60,000 muskets sent to the Porte. M. Drouin de l'Huys shrewdly replied, that Russia ought no more to take that matter amiss than France did the occupation of the Danubian provinces. So great was M. de Kisseleff's vexation, that he ordered post horses, with the intention of taking his departure. Orders have been received by MM. Woronzof and de Panin to return forthwith to Russia—a proof that war is there expected.

There is nothing new here, apart from the two great topics—the attempted assassination and the affairs of the East. There are movements, however, in the provinces here and there. A strike for wages has been attempted at Uzès, and another at Angers; but the authorities suppressed them by arresting the ring-leaders. The 20th of this month has finally been appointed for the trial of the persons said to be implicated in the great conspiracy of the Hippodrome. The police are not agreed as to the specific charges they shall bring forward; but they give out that they have discovered the prime mover of the conspiracy—a perfumer's clerk. Poor police!

There is another piece of news, but it has nothing to do with politics. Two lines of railway are to be laid down from the Boulevards to the Bastille, and along these, monster omnibuses, holding eighty persons each, are to be drawn by horses. The omnibuses will contain a library, *café*, billiard-room, *restaurant*, &c. The experiment is in progress at this moment in the Champs Elysées. S.

#### CONTINENTAL NOTES.

THE long reported invasion of the Danubian principalities was accomplished, for "peaceful purposes," to use the ironic language of Russia, on the 2nd and 3rd of July. General Danenberg entered Moldavia by Skoulani, and Wallachia by Leova, with some 25,000 men. It is confidently stated, by journals which have been hitherto accurate in their intelligence, that this will be regarded as an "act of war" by France and England. It has also been stated, that the combined fleet in the Dardanelles has been placed at the disposal of the Sultan, to order it where and on what service he pleases, through the Ambassadors of the two Powers respectively. On the other hand, later advices by the gossip telegraph assure us that there are prospects of peace; that Russia will negotiate from her new position; that M. Ozeroff has been sent to Constantinople for that purpose; and that France, England, and Austria will, conjointly with Russia, mediate the *sened* or treaty required by Russia; but not in the "form" demanded by Russia. This is open to doubt; but it is possible.

Still, every fact breathes of war. The militia of Constantinople have been called out; the reserves of the Russian army are being marched up; the Porte has sent emissaries to Circassia; the Emperor of Russia has marched in procession to the Church of St. Isaac, wearing conspicuously the golden cross, symbolical of the headship of the Greek Church. The Turkish Admiral has visited the combined fleet, to arrange for its passage up the straits; and the Turks are strengthening the line of the Balkan. A German paper states that "the Commander of the American squadron in the Mediterranean has, in a private audience of the Sultan, offered the active support of the United States in the event of a war with Russia. This offer is attributed to the success obtained by the American missionaries in several provinces of Turkey. It has produced a great sensation." The Russian squadron at Sebastopol sends out cruisers to within a few miles of the Bosphorus; trade is stagnant at Odessa; and Europe is filled with Russian emissaries. Such is the tissue of facts and rumours at the present moment.

A telegraphic despatch from Vienna received this morning states that "Prince Gortschakoff reached Bucharest on the 3rd, whence he sent the Russian General Niprunkotschinski with despatches for Omer Pacha to Schumla."

Three great state papers have been published bearing on this question. The first is the reply of Redschid Pasha to Count Nesselrode's note, published in our last. It is as follows:—

"**SUBLIME PORTE—DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.**

"To his Excellency the Count De Nesselrode.

"SIR,—I lost no time in laying before his Majesty the Sultan, my august master, the despatch which your Excellency has done me the honour to address me on the 19th (31st) May last.

"His Majesty the Sultan has always shown, and on all occasions, the greatest regard for his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, whom he has ever looked upon as his sincerely and well-disposed neighbour. The Sublime Porte, while entertaining no doubt of the generous intentions of the Emperor, has been deeply grieved at the interruption of relations between them which has unfortunately occurred, and which arises perhaps from the Emperor not understanding the real impossibility in which the Porte has found itself placed on the question raised by Prince Menschikoff with reference to embodying in a diplomatic engagement the religious privileges accorded to the Greek religion. Nevertheless, it is consoled by knowing that for its part it has in no wise contributed to produce such a state of things. In truth, the Ottoman Government has shown, from the beginning, the best disposition, and every facility relative to the questions which Prince Menschikoff was commissioned to settle in pursuance with the orders of the Emperor. And even in questions so delicate as that of the religious privileges of the Greek church, it was still in religious sentiments, and not refusing the assurances which tended to remove and reduce to nothing all the doubts which might have been excited in that respect,

the Sublime Porte hoped, especially from the well-known wisdom of Prince Menschikoff, that that Ambassador would be satisfied with the project of a note which had been communicated to him in the last instance, and which contained all the assurances that had been demanded.

"It is true that his Highness Prince Menschikoff has, the second time, abridged the minute of the *Sened* which he had at first given, and in communicating at the last a project of a note, he has made certain changes as well in the terms as in the form and title of the document; but the sense of an engagement being still found there, and as that diplomatic engagement cannot accord either with the independence of the Ottoman government or with the rights of its sovereign authority, it is impossible to give to the motives of utter impossibility presented on that point by the Porte the term of refusal, and to make of that a question of honour for his Majesty the Emperor of Russia. Moreover, if complaints have been made of that impossibility by attributing it to a sentiment of mistrust, Russia, by paying no regard to all the assurances offered in the most solemn manner by the Sublime Porte, and by declaring that it was indispensable to embody them in an instrument having the force of an engagement, does she not rather give a patent proof of her want of confidence towards the Ottoman government, and has not the Ottoman government on its part a right to complain? Nevertheless, in answering on these two points, it refers itself to the high and known justice of the Emperor of Russia, as well as to the high reasons and the eminently pacific sentiments of your Excellency, which, moreover, each has been able to recognise and appreciate.

"His Majesty the Sultan, by an imperial firman bearing his august *hatti-scheriff*, has just confirmed anew the privileges, rights, and immunities enjoyed by the members and the churches of the Greek rite *abantiqo*.

"The Sublime Porte will never hesitate to maintain and to give the assurances contained and promised in the project of the note transmitted to Prince Menschikoff a short time before his departure. The despatch received on the part of your Excellency speaks of causing the Russian troops to pass the frontiers. That declaration is incompatible with the assurances of peace and of the friendly disposition of his Majesty the Emperor. It is, in truth, so much opposed to what one is justified in expecting from a friendly power, that the Porte knows not how it can accept it; the military preparations and the works of defence ordered by the Porte, as it declares officially to the Powers, are only those rendered necessary by the considerable armaments of Russia. They constitute a measure purely defensive. The government of the Sultan having no hostile intentions against Russia, expresses the desire that the ancient relations which his Majesty moreover regards as so precious, and of which the numerous advantages are manifest for both parties, may be re-established in their primitive state.

"I entertain the hope that the Court of Russia will appreciate, with a feeling of confident consideration, the sincere and loyal intentions of the Sublime Porte, and will take into account the utter impossibility in which it finds itself to defer to the desires which have been expressed. Let that impossibility be appreciated as it merits to be, and the Sublime Porte, I can assure your Excellency, will not hesitate to instruct an Ambassador Extraordinary to proceed to St. Petersburg to re-open there the negotiations, and to seek, in concert with the Government of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, an arrangement which, while it may be agreeable to his Majesty, shall be also such as the Porte can accept without affecting either the basis of its independence or the sovereign authority of his Majesty the Sultan.

"Your Excellency may regard it as certain, that for my part I most earnestly desire such a result, and I indulge in the hope that such is also the desire of your Excellency.

"I pray your Excellency, &c.,

(Signed)

"REDSCHID."

The next great state paper issued from St. Petersburg. It is the manifesto of Nicholas. The following is a faithful translation:—

"By the grace of God, We, Nicolas I., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias and Czar of Poland, &c., &c., inform all people. Be it known to our beloved and faithful subjects, the defence of our faith has always been the sacred duty of our blessed ancestors.

"From the day it pleased the Almighty to place me on the throne of our fathers, the maintenance of the holy obligations, with which it is inseparably connected, has been the object of our constant care and attention; these, acting on the groundwork of the famous treaty of Kainairdji, which subsequent solemn treaties with the Ottoman Porte have fully confirmed, have ever been directed towards upholding the rights of our Church.

"But to our extreme grief, in latter times, notwithstanding all our efforts to defend the inviolability of the rights and privileges of our orthodox church, numerous wilful acts of the Ottoman Porte have infringed upon these rights and threaten finally the entire overthrow of all that ancient discipline so precious to orthodoxy.

"All our efforts to restrain the Porte from such acts have proved in vain, and even the word of the Sultan, solemnly given us by himself, was soon faithlessly broken.

"Having exhausted all means of conviction, and having in vain tried all the means by which our just claims could be peaceably adjusted, we have deemed it indispensable to move our armies into the provinces on the Danube, in order that the Porte may see to what her stubbornness may lead.

"But, even now, we have no intention of commencing war; in occupying those provinces, we wish to hold a sufficient pledge to guarantee for ourselves the re-establishment of our rights under any circumstances whatever.

"We do not seek for conquests: Russia does not require them. We seek to vindicate those rights which have been so openly violated.

"We are even yet ready to stop the movements of our

armies, if the Ottoman Porte will bind itself solemnly to respect the inviolability of the orthodox church; but if obstinacy and blindness will it otherwise, then, calling God to our aid, we leave it to him to decide our quarrel, and in full confidence in the right hand of the Almighty, we shall move forward on behalf of the orthodox faith.

"Given at Peterhoff on the 14th (26th) day of June, in the year of the birth of Christ, 1853, and of our reign the 28th.

"Sealed at the Senate in St. Petersburg on the 14th (26th) June, 1853.

"To the original of this document the own hand of his Majesty is signed.

"NIKOLAI."

The third great state paper is not less important than the other two. It consists of an admirable reply of M. Drouyn de l'Huys to those allegations in the circular note of Count Nesselrode, which we published last week, and forms the complement of the reply of Redschid Pasha. M. Drouyn de l'Huys does not scruple to show that the Russian note is inaccurate in its facts and illogical in its arguments. He separates the present quarrel of Russia with the Porte from all the disputes between the latter and France, and declares with reason that the Russian quarrel is a totally new thing. As a specimen of the decided way in which Count Nesselrode is dealt with we quote the following. The Count alleged the "capitulations" of France as a precedent for the Russian demands:—

"M. Drouyn de l'Huys replies that these capitulations never gave to the French Government a right of protection over the Catholic subjects of the Sultan. If France has been able to render to this small portion of the Ottoman population services of the nature of those which Russia takes honour to herself for having rendered to persons of her own religion, her direct and official protection has only been exercised in favour of foreign establishments, with priests equally foreign, and whose spiritual chief resides at Rome. The protection of Russia, on the contrary, would apply to a clergy composed of subjects of the Sultan, and hierarchically under a Patriarch who is also dependent on the Porte. It is impossible, therefore, to assimilate the position of the two Powers. M. Drouyn de l'Huys terminates this point with the quotation of an important passage from a paper by the Count de Saint Priest, who was ambassador of Louis XVI. at Constantinople from 1768 to 1785, and which shows in clear terms the nature of the French Protectorate:—

"The zeal of our Kings has been decorated with the name of protection of the Catholic religion in the Levant, but this is illusory, and serves only to lead into error those who do examine the question. Never have the Sultans had an idea that the monarchs of France thought themselves authorized to interfere on matters of religion with the subjects of the Porte. There is no Prince, wisely observed one of my predecessors, the Marquis de Bonnac, who, however close his union with another Sovereign, might be permitted himself to interfere with the religion of his subjects. The Turks are as delicate as others on this subject. It is easy to comprehend that France never having treated with the Porte, except in a friendly way, has not attempted to impose on it obligations of an odious nature. The first part of my instructions was to avoid everything that could give umbrage to the Porte by giving too extended a sense to the capitulations on matters of religion."

At the close of his note M. Drouyn de l'Huys administers a severe rebuke to Russia, and takes up a strong position. If the intentions of the French Government had been less conciliatory, if it had only been penetrated with the idea that neither of the contracting parties to the convention of July 13, 1841, could, at the risk of compromising the peace which the collective guarantee of the Powers had for object to secure to the Ottoman Empire, use any of its rights anterior to that European arrangement, France would have had the full right, not only of opposing the reserves which are in constant use in diplomacy, but in her turn to make her menaces heard. France, says M. Drouyn de l'Huys in conclusion, has followed a very different line of conduct; and the moderation of which she has given proof, in addition to taking from her any part in the responsibility of the present crisis, also gives her a right to hope that the sacrifices which she has made for the maintenance of tranquillity in the East will not be thrown away, and that the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, influenced by similar considerations, will find a means of reconciling its pretensions with the prerogatives of the sovereignty of the Sultan, and of settling otherwise than by force a difference, the solution of which is now waited for by so many interests.

It is remarked, that Count Gyulai has been suddenly summoned from Milan to Vienna; thence he has gone to St. Petersburg, ostensibly to attend a review—really, it is believed, on a secret mission connected with the Turkish question.

Turning from the East, we have few facts to record. The Archduchess Sophia of Austria has been visiting the King of Prussia—doubtless for no good end.

The Press of Vienna states that the Emperor of Austria will pay another visit to Munich in the course of this month.

The reign of terror in Hungary and Italy continues. The Countess Blanche Teleky has been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment by a military court in Hungary, for having communicated with the political refugees abroad. Her Governor has also been condemned to undergo three years' confinement, and a female servant thirteen months, for the same offence.

The *Venice Gazette* publishes a sentence, pronounced on the 28th ult., by the court-martial of Udine, condemning a gentleman of property, named Gaspari, having a wife and two children, to death for having been found in possession of a knife in the form of a stiletto, 12 lbs. of small shot, and 200 percussion caps. The sentence has, however, been commuted by Marshal Radetzky into three months of military arrest without irons, on the ground of M. Gaspari's respectability and perfect innocence in a political point of view.

Letters from Florence, dated the 1st inst., announce the decision of the Court in the affair of Guerazzi and others. M.M. Guerazzi and Petrucci, are sentenced to 15 years hard labour, M. Capuchi, sub-officer, to 63 months, and M. Montagio, journalist, to 90 months. M. Romanelli, former Minister of Justice, is the only one acquitted. Of the contumacious, nine are sentenced to hard labour for life; among them are M.M. Montanelli, Mazzoni, Marmocchi, Franchini, and Mordini, all former Ministers of the Grand Duke. The effect produced by the sentence was bad.

Riots have taken place in Smyrna, in consequence of the forcible arrest of an aide-de-camp of Kossuth. By way of retaliation, a marine officer, the son of a field-marshal, had been assassinated. The hotel of the Austrian Consul was guarded by Austrian soldiers.

On the 1st of this month, a bill to regulate the superintendence of the State in matters of public worship was presented to the Second Chamber of the States General of Holland. Art 1 of this bill leaves to the different religious communions perfect liberty to organize themselves internally in everything that concerns their worship and its exercise, but with the previous approbation of the Government before being carried into execution. The other thirteen articles of the bill are all more or less restrictive. They concern the oath to be sworn by the functionaries of public worship, ecclesiastical titles, jurisdiction, residence, dress, erection of churches, &c.

Louis Napoleon is still coquetting with Rome. The *Moniteur* of Thursday publishes two decrees; one ordering that the members of the Imperial Chapel shall be Honorary Canons of the Imperial Chapter of St. Denis, and have the right to assume the title and insignia of that body; and the other, that the members of the Metropolitan Chapter of Paris shall wear over their ordinary dress suspended round their necks by a light blue ribbon, a decoration consisting of a cross, with five branches, enamelled in white and violet, and having on a blue ground, on one side, the effigy of the Holy Virgin, the Patroness of the Church of Paris, and on the other, the inscription—"Chapitre Metropolitain de Paris—1853—Napoleon III. Empereur."

By order of the Emperor, the Count de Nieuwerkerke, director-general of the imperial museum, has been authorized to add to his title that of intendant of the fine arts of the household of his Majesty.

The cholera is at Copenhagen, but owing to the coolness of the weather does not spread rapidly. Up to eleven o'clock July 1, the total was 84 cases; the proportion of deaths more than half, or 47. The authorities were beginning to bestir themselves, and, should it be required, one or more of the barracks will be transformed into hospitals, in which case his Majesty has given orders that the palace of Frederiksborg shall be handed over to the troops so displaced.

#### CHRONICLES OF CHOBHAM.

On Saturday, an extended display took place on the Common. Prince Lucien Bonaparte and many French generals were present: and afterwards lunched with Lord Seaton. On Monday, there was no review or field work, but the Duke of Cambridge exercised the cavalry for two hours.

On Tuesday, the troops proceeded to Virginia Water, and crossed it some on pontoon bridges, "in the face of the enemy;" while others protected their passage and crossed by a more circuitous road. The sight of the troops crossing this bridge was one of considerable interest, and not without beauty. The beautiful scenery around the lake is well known—the rich and varied foliage which skirts each side of the water, the sloping grassy banks, the glassy surface of the lake, the pretty lawn in front of the head keeper's house. To these were added, on Tuesday, the Queen's barge, with its light and elegant canopy, its white-coated rowers, and the royal standard floating at its prow, the beautiful frigate gaily dressed with flags in the distance, crafts thickly laden with dark-coloured riflemen, slowly paddled over the stream by red-coated Sappers, and the cumbrous and heavy-looking pontoon bridge, over which troops of various coloured uniforms passed, now infantry, now cavalry, now artillery. Each grassy opening between the trees was dotted with the dark Rifles, the rich foliage of the trees and shrubs now relieved by brilliant and splendid uniforms of general and staff officers, and now shrouded in the smoke of artillery and musketry, while the lawns and banks were covered with thousands of elegantly dressed ladies, officers in uniform, and civilians in more sombre dress. And if to the usual sounds, the gentle plashing and murmuring of the waters of the lake, or the rush of the waterfall, the reader adds the rattle of rifles and the booming of cannon, he will have an idea of the scene at Virginia Water, when her Majesty, in her State barge, glided along amid the cheers of the people, and landed at the fishing temple, preparatory to her reviewing the troops on the beautiful lawn a short distance from the lake.

On Wednesday the troops appear to have rested, after their march and movements of the preceding day. On Thursday they had another sham fight, in which the cavalry greatly distinguished itself. In the evening the Foot-Guards had several athletic games.

The deep cuts on the common make the movements especially difficult, and, after the late rains, made the ground almost impassable for artillery. In some cases these cuts are the remains of ditches, sunk when the

common was partially enclosed. The remaining enclosures about the country illustrate the means of internal defence which England possesses from foreign invasion, in the close intersection of the greater portion of her surface with hedge-rows and ditches. With such impediments to its progress, an army of any size would find the country even more impenetrable than while it still abounded with fastnesses and its forests were uncleared. Open downs, like those on the chalk formation, do, indeed, present fewer difficulties to the movements of an enemy; but even there the hand of cultivation has without premeditation formed many natural barriers, behind which the independence of the country could advantageously be defended field by field. It is a singular coincidence of results which thus converts the peaceful labours of husbandry into an arm of defence, and makes the boundary lines of farms strong fortifications. We are too populous and too industrious a nation to retain the unbroken character of those wide open plains which they have on the continent, and which are so well adapted for the shock of contending armies. Improved agriculture grumbles at our frequent hedge rows; but there is no evil from which some good may not be extracted, and the camp at Chobham undoubtedly shows a national use to which even they might be applied.

The soldiers are getting accustomed to tent-life, although it is obvious that the tents for the privates are too small. But a formidable foe has attacked the troops in the very heart of the camp.

Chobham-common has for years past, and long before the date of the present invasion, been in the almost undisputed possession of extensive colonies of frogs, lizards, snakes, and other interesting representatives of that class of animate creation. As might be supposed, these aborigines are not disposed to yield quiet and undisputed possession to the new comers, and many of the spots of ground on which the tents are pitched appear to be exactly those to which, whether from early recollections or other causes, considerable interest appears to be attached by these earlier tenants. With respect to interference with these local and cherished spots, the cavalry, and especially the Life Guards, appear to have been by far the most deeply implicated, judging from the extent to which some of the officers of that crack regiment are molested. As soon as the darkness and silence of midnight envelope the camp, the tent of one of the younger officers of the Life Guards is, it is said, regularly entered, in some mysterious manner, by a cold, clammy, and bright-eyed specimen of the frog species. Whether this be really the identical frog the memory of which is embalmed in song, "because he would a-wooing go," or a descendant, is not known, but certain it is that his advances are not met in that cordial spirit which should induce a repetition of the visits; for, if there is one thing towards which, more than another, the gallant officer entertains a feeling of abhorrence, it is a frog. This lively little creature, however, still nightly insists upon favouring the tented officer with its pleasant presence, croaking, and leaping, and bounding at will over every part of the tent. The gallant officer has more than once sprung out of his bed, and drawn his bloodless sword from its scabbard, to inflict summary punishment upon the intruder. All efforts, however, to destroy the disturber of his peaceful dreams have as yet been unavailing, and there is every probability that he will be unable to part from his little companion until he bids adieu to the scene of his present military occupations.

#### THE HUSTINGS AND THE ALTAR.

Irish priests canvass for votes after celebrating mass. The parish priest of Tralee has done so for "the son of O'Connell." This step by Dr. McEmery is more noticeable, as he opposed O'Connell's later agitations, and often gave the people wholesome rebukes for their idleness and excitability. A local paper thus reports the speech:—

"What might not O'Connell have been had he not preferred to struggle for his religion and country! He was at that time at the head of his profession. Business was pouring in upon him. His receipts were enormous, his fame as an advocate unequalled up to that time, and I believe to the present, in Ireland. With all these advantages, what might not O'Connell have been—what wealth might he not have amassed! What fine estates, what broad acres, might he not have bought for his children, while he himself might have been a peer of the realm, had he loved his religion and his country less, and fame and wealth more! But he gave up his great practice, the Bench to which he would have attained, the wealth which he would have left to his children, and devoted all those great intellectual powers with which God had gifted him to the defence of his religion and country. He died poor—very poor—in a foreign land. And his children—how has he left them? Where are the fine estates he might have purchased for them? They have none. He has left them but little—that which his father and uncle left, and which he himself, perhaps, could not touch. What would we be to-day but for him? I remember—it is a matter of history—the time when every miserable Protestant

'shoneen' looked on himself as a superior being. Look at the high position in which the Catholics of Ireland now stand! Every Catholic now feels himself morally, as well as physically, equal to the Protestant. It is true they have privileges which we do not possess, and to which we do not aspire. They can eat meat of a Friday—we are not at liberty to do so. They are not bound to go to confession, and have therefore greater freedom to commit sin; but, to compensate for those restrictions under which we labour, we have (turning to the altar) the body and blood of Jesus Christ—(sensation)—to be our food in this life. With the exceptions I have named, I do not see how, at this day, they can be said to be our superiors; and for this we are indebted to Daniel O'Connell. Think you, then, I can be ungrateful for my religious freedom, achieved by that man, Daniel O'Connell? And do you think, now that this great man is no more—may he rest in peace!—that when his son comes to claim my vote, I will say to him, 'Your father did a great deal, but he is dead, and I do not see why I should vote for his son?' I would be ashamed to look at any man in the face, if I were so base as to forget all O'Connell did, and refuse my vote to his son. No! I will never do it,—I will vote for the son of O'Connell."

Here the orator struck the altar with his clenched hand, an act responded to by several persons throughout the chapel striking the front of their pews with their clenched hands. At a former part of the speech, when the speaker alluded to O'Connell's dying in poverty, the people sobbed aloud, and great excitement prevailed. The local reporter adds:—"In the western gallery we noticed Mr. John Reynolds, who came down from Dublin the previous evening, and seemed much affected, putting his handkerchief to his face several times. Mr. John O'Connell sat in the eastern gallery, and was heard to sob audibly, while the tears flowed thick and heavy down his cheeks."

Mr. O'Connell has been returned by a large majority. The other Catholic candidate, Mr. Shine Lalor retired, and Mr. Thomas Fitzgerald, Q. C., was his only opponent.

#### LIVERPOOL ELECTION.

THE nomination of candidates took place on Wednesday. The Honourable Henry Thomas Liddell was the first Conservative candidate. On many points his tone was Ministerial. He lauded Lord John Russell for his "Protestant" sentiments, and will give a favourable consideration to the Reform Bill. Another Conservative candidate was Mr. Thomas Berry Horsfall (late Derbyite candidate for Derby). He very positively expressed "no confidence" in Sir Charles Wood; chiefly on account of the "heartless and unfeeling" way in which Sir Charles had received a commercial deputation in 1847. But as regards Mr. Gladstone's Budget, it is, in Mr. Horsfall's opinion, "the best Budget he ever read." Sir Erskine Perry, the Liberal candidate, was great on India. He pointed out how the woollens of Yorkshire might be largely used in India by better government of the people. Mr. John Bramley Moore, a local Liberal-Conservative was "independent" in personal relations and political sentiment.

Mr. Liddell and Mr. Horsfall have been returned. The close of the poll, at four o'clock, is as follows:—Horsfall, 6154; Liddell, 5659; Perry, 4673; Bramley Moore, 1326.

#### THE "DEMOCRATIC ADDRESS:" ITS RECEPTION IN AMERICA.

THE English Democratic Address, recorded in our columns some weeks ago, has been well received in America. Its tone of sympathy with American feeling, and its express dissent from any intrusion of English advice on the subject of slavery, has won its attention and respect. In commenting upon it the *New York Tribune* says:—

"We are bound to say, however, in reply, that the day of the emancipation of the slave appears indefinitely postponed so long as the natural alliance of manufactures and agriculture in the South is wanting, and the British free-trade party scatter the southern population, impoverish the soil, and thereby strengthen the hands of the master, and increase the dependence of the slave. We tell the democrats of England that the Free-traders must study economical principles, and then their philanthropic and liberal prayers for the slave will have some weight. Exeter Hall, the Earl of Carlisle, the English democrats, will be as impotent for the slave as the last are for Parliamentary reform, so long as the present commercial system predominates. It is precisely this system which retards the progress which we are happy to note, but which is slow, because the policy of England is selfish and unfriendly to the growth of other nations. The most efficient hindrance to universal liberty and emancipation is to be found in that very policy. And while the British democrats call on us to abolish slavery, we respond, in all friendship and good feeling for them, that the great bulwark of that institution was established when England resolved to become the workshop and mart where all the people of the world must come to sell their raw materials, and buy manufactured goods. Just in proportion as this country attains to industrial and commercial independence, bondage and compulsory labour must disappear from its face."

It will be borne in mind that this coincides with our own opinion, more than once stated, that Englishmen,



who largely and readily profit by the industrial conditions of slavery in the South, should in decency be silent on the subject. The position of the *New York Tribune*, as a leader of abolition opinion in the States, makes the argument all the more valuable.

#### "ADVANCE, AUSTRALIA!"

"ADVANCE, Australia," was selected as a motto of the heraldic bearings of our great colony, and each day has shown it to be appropriate. The latest mail is rich in facts showing the progress of the colony. The colony of Victoria is the foremost of the three colonies. Its population in 1851 was but 95,000; in 1852 it rose to 200,000. Its shipping (inwards), 126,000 in 1851, was 408,000 tons in the succeeding year. Its imports, 1,056,000Z. in 1851, rose to 4,044,000Z. in 1852. But its exports show a still more remarkable increase. They were 1,424,000Z. in 1851, and in 1852 they had increased to 7,452,000Z. But this is merely the official record at low prices of the exports; while it is known from other sources that the gold exported alone amounted to nearly 15,000,000Z. Thus the exports of this young colony equals the exports of California, surpasses by four millions the exports of Bengal, the greatest of our Indian presidencies, and approaches to one-fourth of the value of the exports of Great Britain itself. The town of Melbourne has shown proportionate progress. In March, 1851, it had 23,000 souls; at present it contains 80,000; and Geelong, the second town in Victoria, which had but 8000 souls two years ago, has now 20,000. The entire value of the gold raised in Victoria, during 1852, is calculated at 18,500,000Z. Rich mines of tin ore have been also reported. Immigration continues, but the wages of labour are still high, and house-rent and market prices are exorbitant. In Sydney, also, there is a severe pressure on the market, the demand far exceeding the supply of goods. At the diggings there is still "good luck;" at a new district called Jumberry Creek, two men averaged 50Z. a-day for twelve weeks, and their companions had been equally fortunate.

#### REPUBLICAN SIMPLICITY.

SOME instructions from the Department of State in Washington, addressed to its Diplomatic Agents in foreign countries, have lately been printed in the newspapers. We extract a paragraph:—

"In performing the ceremonies observed upon the occasion of his reception, the representative of the United States will conform, as far as is consistent with a just sense of his devotion to republican institutions, to the customs of the country wherein he is to reside, and with the rules prescribed for representatives of his rank; but the department would encourage, as far as practicable, without impairing his usefulness to his country, his appearance at Court in the simple dress of an American citizen. Should there be cases where this cannot be done, owing to the character of the foreign Government, without detriment to the public interest, the nearest approach to it compatible with the due performance of his duties is earnestly recommended. The simplicity of our usages and the tone of feeling among our people are much more in accordance with the example of our first and most distinguished representative at a Royal Court than the practice which has since prevailed. It is to be regretted that there was ever any departure in this respect from the example of Dr. Franklin. History has recorded and commended this example, so congenial to the spirit of our political institutions. The department is desirous of removing all obstacles to a return to the simple and unostentatious course which was deemed so proper, and was so much approved in the earliest days of the republic."

The instructions to Consuls are of a practical character, entering into a common-sense statement of details more useful in tone than the usual stiff and dry style of English official writing.

#### MORMON ORATORY.

THE "saints" are disturbed by "apostates" amongst themselves, and their chief, Brigham Young, hurls holy denunciation against the traitors. In the tabernacle at the Great Salt Lake City, he spoke a fierce speech amid a crowd of his people. After warning them against the apostates in their midst, who were trying to rise up and usurp Joseph's (Joe Smith's) place—

"What do we see here?" exclaimed the prophet. "Do we see disaffected spirits here? We do. Do we see apostates? We do. Do we see men that are following after false and delusive spirits? Yes. When a man comes forth out, as an independent devil, and says, 'D—Mormonism and all the Mormons,' and is off with himself, not to Texas, but to California (you know it used to be to Texas),—I say he is a gentleman by the side of a nasty sneaking apostate, who is opposed to nothing but Christianity. I say to him, 'Go in peace, Sir,—go and prosper if you can!' But we have got a set of spirits here worse than such a character. When I went from meeting last Sabbath my ears were saluted with an apostate crying in the streets here. I want to know if any one of you who have got the spirit of Mormonism in you—the spirit that Joseph and Hiram had, or that we have here, would say, 'Let us hear both sides of the question, let us listen and prove all things.' What do you want to prove? Do you want to prove that an old apostate, who has been out off

from the church thirteen times for lying, is anything worthy of notice? I heard that a certain gentleman, a picture-maker in this city, when the boys would have moved away the wagon in which this apostate was standing, became violent with them, saying, 'Let this man alone, these are saints that are persecuting (sneeringly). We want such men to go to California, or anywhere they choose.' I say to those persons, you must not court persecution here, lest you get so much of it you will not know what to do with it. Do not court persecution. We have known Gladden Bishop for more than twenty years, and know him to be a poor, dirty curse. \* \* \* I dreamed that I was in the midst of a people who were dressed in rags and tatters—they had turbans upon their heads, and these were also hanging in tatters. The rags were of many colours, and when the people moved they were all in motion; their object in this appeared to be to attract attention. Said they to me, 'We are Mormons, Brother Brigham.' 'No, you are not,' I replied. 'But we have been,' said they, and began to jump, and caper about, and dance, and their rags of many colours were all in motion, to attract the attention of the people. I said, 'You are no saints, you are a disgrace to them.' Said they, 'We have been Mormons.' By-and-by along came some mobocrats, and they greeted them with, 'How do you do, Sir, I am happy to see you.' They kept on that way for an hour. I felt ashamed of them, for they were in my eyes a disgrace to Mormonism. Then I saw two ruffians, whom I knew to be robbers and murderers, and they crept into a bed where one of my wives and children were. I said, 'You that call yourselves brethren, tell me is this the fashion among you?' They said, 'Oh! they are good men, they are gentlemen!' With that I took my large bowie-knife, that I used to wear as a bosom-pin in Nauvoo, and cut one of their throats from ear to ear, saying, 'Go to hell, across lots!' The other one said, 'You dare not serve me so!' I instantly sprang at him, seized him by the hair of the head, and, bringing him down, cut his throat, and sent him after his comrade; then told them both if they would behave themselves they should yet live, but if they did not I would unjoint their necks. At this I awoke. I say, rather than that apostates shall flourish here I will unsheath my bowie-knife and conquer or die! (Great commotion in the congregation, and a simultaneous burst of feeling assenting to the declaration.) Now, you nasty apostates, clear out, or judgment will be put to the line, and righteousness to the plummet. (Voices generally, 'Go it! go it!') If you say it is right, raise your hands. (All hands up.) Let me call upon the Lord to assist us in this, and every good work."

The "saints" appear to have other causes for fear than from "apostates in their midst." There was said to be in the territory "a horde of Mexicans, or outlandish men, who were infesting the settlements, stirring up the Indians to make aggression upon the inhabitants, and who were also furnishing the Indians with guns, ammunition, &c., contrary to the laws of this territory and the laws of the United States." President Brigham Young has issued a proclamation ordering small detachments of "military" to "reconnoitre the country" for the purpose of arresting and keeping in custody every strolling Mexican party, and furnishing information to head quarters.

#### ARNOLD RUGE'S LECTURES.

DR. ARNOLD RUGE has given this week three lectures on German Literature, Philosophy, and History, in Willis's Rooms, showing us the state of that country in a new light. Beneath the Literature since Lessing was German Philosophy, beneath German Philosophy the system of Humanism; and in German History we find the practical consequences of those ideas. Considering the Literature of the last hundred years, he described the first period, that of *Lessing*, or of the enlightenment, as that of the struggle for liberty of thought and science; the second, that of *Kant*, as the period in which a temple of free science and art was erected, the supremacy of science and art being established; the period of *Fichte* as that of the licentiousness of the romantic party, which deteriorated Fichte's absolute liberty into absolute frivolity, and opposed the supremacy of reason by the supremacy of their fancy. The fourth period, that of *Hegel*, he described as that of the victory of Philosophy over the romantic party. The men of the first period he stated to be Lessing, Lichtenberg, Klopstock, Wieland, F. H. Jacobi; of the second, Kant, Herder, Schiller, Goethe; of the third, Fichte, Novalis, Schelling, Tieck, the Schlegels, and the Teutonic writers since 1815; of the fourth, Hegel and his school; Strauss, Feuerbach, Platen, Heine, the Political Lyricists and the Humanists. In the course of German Philosophy the *Kantian Philosophy* was explained as a system of restricted liberty or mere independence of men of nature and of the senses; the *Fichtian Philosophy*, as laying down the principle of absolute liberty of the thinking person; the *Hegelian Philosophy*, as carrying out the principle and the system of absolute liberty; and *Humanism*, as realizing the principle and system of human liberty in religion, society, and state.

For the political history of Germany he stated the dissolution of the old Germany by the Reformation, the formation of a new Germany in the progress, Prussia; the destruction of both in 1806; the reformation and revival of Prussia from 1808-18; the Prussian roman-

tic reaction; the revolution of 1848, and the causes of the failure of the attempt to reconstruct the empire and the single dominions of the princes upon a democratic basis. Calling the German princes the aristocracy of the empire, and their system pastoral supremacy, he showed that the present constitution of Germany is an aristocratic anarchy; full licentiousness and the dominion of the romantic or old German party, by which the present insignificant position of Prussia is explained, and the future revolution may be foreseen, as at last the will of the people must be done, and also in society and state the licentious party conquered by the party of the supremacy of law.

#### SPIRITUAL PENMANSHIP.

OUR tables and heads have been turned by unwilling hands and talking ghosts; but they manage those things better in America. The *New York Tribune* reports, as fact, a great extension of our communications with "the other world."

"The Hon. N. P. Tallmadge," wishing to test the "spiritual" messages conveyed through the Misses Fox, summoned the spirit of John C. Calhoun. It came, and gave him several answers to his questions. But Mr. Tallmadge, willing to be thoroughly convinced, asked the spirit, could it do anything—that is, make a physical manifestation. The spirit said "Yes." And on a subsequent day, the parties present sat quite away from the table, and the table moved. The following conversation then occurred:—

"Q. Can you raise the table entirely from the floor? A. Yes.

"Q. Will you raise me with it? A. Yes; get me the square table.

"The square table was of cherry, with four legs—a large size tea-table. It was brought out and substituted for the round one, the leaves being raised. I took my seat on the centre; the three ladies sat at the sides and end; their hands and arms resting upon it. This, of course, added to the weight to be raised—namely, my own weight and the weight of the table. Two legs of the table were then raised about six inches from the floor, and then the other two legs were raised to a level of the first, so that the whole table was suspended in the air about six inches above the floor. While thus seated on it, I could feel a gentle, vibratory motion, as if floating in the atmosphere. After being thus suspended in the air for a few moments, the table was gently let down again to the floor!"

Subsequently, the spirit of Calhoun became musical—made a candlestick beat time, rang bells in a lively peal, and played a guitar in a way "most musical, most melancholy." Mr. Tallmadge then asked the spirit to write something. The spirit told him, in reply, to sharpen the pencil, and put it and some paper into a drawer. It was done; some sounds were heard—the pencil was heard to move; but when the drawer was opened there was no writing. The spirit rapped out, that he had not then "power" enough to write—on another evening would. The other evening came, and thus Mr. Tallmadge tells the story:—

"We met pursuant to appointment—took our seats at the table, our hands and arms resting on it as usual. I placed the paper with my silver-cased pencil on the drawer, and said—

"My friend, I wish the sentence to be in your own hand writing, so that your friends will recognise it." He replied, 'You will know the writing.'

"He then said—

"Have your minds fixed on the spirit of John C. Calhoun."

"I soon heard a rapid movement of the pencil on the paper, and a rustling of the paper, together with a movement of the drawer. I was then directed to look under the drawer. I looked, and found my pencil outside of the drawer, near my feet, but found no paper on the drawer where I placed it. On raising up the drawer, I discovered the paper all under it. The sheets were a little deranged, and on examining, I found on the outside sheet these words—'I'm with you still!'"

The writing has been pronounced by Calhoun's friends to be "a perfect fac simile" of his writing. Mr. Tallmadge adds:—

"This 'sentence' is perfectly characteristic of Calhoun. It contains his terseness of style, and his condensation of thought. It is a text from which volumes might be written. It proves—

- "1. The immortality of the soul.
- "2. The power of spirits to revisit the earth.
- "3. Their ability to communicate with relatives and friends.
- "4. The identity of spirits to all eternity.

"How one's soul expands with these sublime conceptions! How resistless is this testimony of their truth! How surprising that men can doubt, when this flood of living light is poured upon them by spirits who, in the language of Webster, 'revel in the glory of the eternal light of God.'"

Lord Burleigh's shake of the head was not half so impressive. What makes the matter at all worth notice, is the credit it has received in America. The *New York Tribune* opens its columns freely to such narratives; and the "Hon. N. P. Tallmadge" is a public man of some note.

## WORKMEN AND WAGES.

In the Manchester district the demand for an advance of wages has become general, and several mills are without hands. The fustian workers also ask an advance of 3s. per week. In this district there are now five mills on strike, one firm (that of Messrs. Pooley with 350 men) having arranged to give an advance. The operatives on strike are 80 at the mill of Mr. George Clarke, 350 at Mr. S. Turnbull's, 200 at Messrs. Powny and Wood's, 93 at Messrs. Wood and Co.'s, 120 at Messrs. Wood and Co.'s (throwing out of work 180 others), 25 at Mr. W. P. Clarke's, and 62 at Mr. Daniel Clarke's mill. Some of the dyers have conceded the advance demanded by the operatives, but the following hands are still out:—109 at Messrs. Crabtree's, 100 at Mr. Brown's, 80 at Mr. Ramsay's, 150 at Mr. Andrew's, and 85 at Messrs. Newton and Son's. (Amongst those who have given the advance are Messrs. Douglas, employing 150 dyers.) The men claim an increase of 3s. per week each, with a reduction in the length and weight of pieces, and refuse to dress or dye "double bankers."

In Stockport the enormous "turn out" continues. Some say that the masters are separately making concessions, but as yet there has been no sign of a general yielding. A few slight disturbances have taken place. The advance of 1d. per yard demanded by the Kidderminster, the Bridgnorth, and the Stourport carpet weavers, is still refused. At Woodstock some farm-labourers discontented with their wages, having left their work before their term of service expired, they were compelled to return by the magistrate.

The steady advance of the working men is indicated this week by general more than by particular facts. First-rate artisans are much wanted in Birmingham. The scarcity is partly attributed to emigration. In Ireland farm-labourers are every day becoming scarce. Many have left the country to settle permanently in England, where the demand for them is still great. Many of the Manchester millowners have granted their spinners the advance and reduction of time demanded. The Manchester police have obtained the demanded advance of 2s. per week, but by their impolitic delay in granting it the Watch Committee has lost some of their best men.

In these improved perceptions of the working men, and in scattered notes of progress we have a few gratifying items of record. The Leeds coal-miners have petitioned Parliament to enforce on their masters proper precautions against accidents, and to organize some means of compensation for the widows and orphans of poor miners killed in the pit.

The Literary Institution at Woburn (aided by the Duke of Bedford) has got a new library, well fitted up, and contemplates a collection of models of machinery, and scientific apparatus. In Lambeth, large swimming baths have been opened: laundries and an infant school are attached. The savings of the poor in the Marylebone savings banks have increased from 18,564l. in 1848, to 23,481l. in 1852. A public park at Hampstead Heath is among the means proposed to give the working people of London a means of recreation.

The Royal Association at Windsor, instituted for giving prizes to well-conducted working people, is respectable more on account of its connexion of classes, than any practical good it may effect. On Thursday the prizes were given. The following were the prizes awarded:—

Class 1. To the labourer or artisan, or his wife, who has brought up a family in honest, sober, and industrious habits, and without parish relief, except in cases of sickness—Three persons received prizes of 3l. each, and four 2l. each.—Class 2. To the widow of a labourer or artisan who has brought up her family in honest, sober, and industrious habits, whether with or without parish relief—Three persons received 3l. each, and two persons 2l. each.—Class 3 (a). To families distinguished for cleanliness and tidiness in house and person—Eleven persons received 30s. each, and seven persons 1l. each.—Class 3 (b). To the best cultivators of gardens or allotments, being also persons of honest, sober, and good moral character—Seven persons received 30s. each, and seven persons 1l. each. (Prizes for gardens and allotments are also included in some of the other classes.)—Class 4. To well-conducted servants or labourers, male or female, who have lived for the longest period of service in the same situation—Thirteen persons received 3l. each, and six persons 2l. each.—Class 5. To young persons, male or female, who have kept their first place of service for the longest period, not less than three years—Three received 30s. each, and four received 1l. each. The Queen and Prince Albert are the patrons of this society.

In Westminster many improvements in the dwellings of the poor are contemplated by the new bill.

## LILLIPUTIANS IN LONDON.

THE Aztec children are rare curiosities of the human race. They have been exhibited in private to scientific parties during the week. They are two—a boy and a girl. In the boy, the lower part of the face much projects; the lips are disproportionately thick, and the nose a good Jewish aquiline. The eyes are dark and humid, affectionate in expression, and having a lively animal intelligence in every glance. The complexion is a rich dark olive, and the hair black and falling in long curls. The height is about three feet; the form is slight and supple; the arms and hands feeble and helpless-looking. The girl has nearly the same characteristics, but is slighter and smaller. On the whole, their appearance and actions are far from unpleasing; they run about the room with liveliness, and examine every new object with a passing curiosity. They cannot speak any language of their own, and only repeat a few words; but they easily understand routine questions. What they are is obscure; but an account is put forth, more than probable. They are said to be some of the descendants of the Aztecs—the race driven from Mexico by Cortes. Among that race there was a peculiar hereditary priesthood, and in course of time the exclusive intermarriage of the sacerdotal families caused the degeneracy of the race. But the popular veneration exalted the race from priests to idols, and in the present country of the Aztecs these little beings are set cross-legged on altars, and worshipped. A rather marvellous story is told of the capture of these now exhibited:—

"In 1848, Mr. Huertis, of Baltimore, and Mr. Hammond, of Canada, attempted to explore Central America. They had read Stevens's account, in his *Central America*, of a conversation between himself and a priest residing at Santa Cruz del Quiche, relative to an unexplored city on the other side of the Great Sierra range, the glittering domes and minarets of which the priest averred having seen from the summit of the Sierra. The people, manners, and customs of this city were supposed to be precisely the same as in the days of Montezuma. Messrs. Huertis and Hammond arrived at Belize in the autumn of 1848, and, turning south-west, arrived at Coban on Christmas-day. They were there joined by Pedro Velasquez of San Salvador, a Spaniard. From Coban they proceeded in search of the mysterious city. From Velasquez alone is any account of their travels to be obtained. Huertis and Hammond have never returned to tell their tale. According to the statement of Velasquez, on the 19th of May they reached the summit of the Sierra, at an altitude of 9500 feet, in lat. 15° 48' N., and beheld in the distance the domes and minarets of a large city, apparently of an Egyptian character, and about 25 leagues from Ocosingo, in the same latitude, and in the direct course of the River Usumacinta. This city they eventually reached. Velasquez describes it to be of vast proportions, with heavy walls and battlements, full of temples, gigantic statues, and pagan paraphernalia; the people having Peruvian manners combined with Assyrian magnificence, and bound to remain within the walls, seeking no intercourse with the world around. The name of the city is Iximaya. The travellers were informed that white men had previously entered it, but that no white man had ever returned. Hammond and Huertis were both slain—the former in entering the city, the latter in endeavouring to make his escape. Velasquez, being more wary, lulled his captors into security, and not only escaped himself, but brought with him two children belonging to the priests—the two now in England."

## MR. HANNAY'S LECTURES.

MR. HANNAY delivered the fourth of his "Lectures on Satire and Satirists" on Tuesday, the subject being Swift, Pope, and Churchill. Possibly the popularity of the subject may account for the increased audience. Sir David Lindsay, Erasmus, and the great Monsieur Boileau, are comparatively unfamiliar, and most people are more fond of amusement than instruction. Mr. Hannay announced himself as the champion of Swift—his view being antagonistic to that of Mr. Thackeray, and indeed of most commentators, including Jeffrey—particularly Jeffrey. Great allowances were to be made for Swift—he was in a great measure the sport of circumstances. He was a curious contradiction—the noblest intellect indulging in the most trivial buffoonery—the most wretched of mankind, who could yet cry *Vive la bagatelle!*—his fame and worship, his madness and despondency—his constitution of a Hercules incessantly tortured by disease. He was virtually at the head of his party, but received very small wages. To the lecturer, the effect of looking at the given cause, period is like a Saturnian feast, where the slaves have the good things and their masters wait upon them. Swift, during his Harley and Bolingbroke days held, probably, the most potent position that a writer ever held in this country. Mediating in their quarrels he helped to govern England. Harley and Bolingbroke had their rewards, and Addison was made Secretary of State. Why then should Swift be stigmatised as "a burglar," for seeking practical recognition of his greater genius? In his little deanery, he was like the giant under Etna; when he moved himself he set going a volcano of fire and mud.

With respect to Stella, our information is so vague that no opinion can well be formed. Whether married or not, it is certain that Swift's love was the pride and glory of her life. For Vanessa, she flung herself at him like a moth at a lamp. It would be unfair to blame the lamp for its brilliancy. Of Pope,

"The Camellia nursed for lamplight grace,"

as Allingham calls him, Mr. Hannay said: His nature was, like his person, small and weak. He was quite as capable as his friend Swift of small passions and vices. As friends make presents of jam, turkeys, and oysters, these potentates exchanged little pots of gall as friendly gifts. Pope's *Sporas* is the prince of satires—that is, of personal satires. The *Atticus* is more subtle, and is higher art. Pope loses by being compared to Swift. Humour was not his prominent feature—a man who was never known to laugh cannot be said to be humorous; but he had a lynx-like eye for the ridiculous. Pope was cramped by his high notions. Shakspeare relished clowns and clodhoppers; while Pope's taste was shocked by them.

Churchill's career was "brief, but brilliant." He blazed, "the comet of a season." But a great name never dies out; and at present he resembles the "V. R." and other letters the day after an illumination. He may be pictured as a boy—a Tom Jones with a dash of Dryden in him. Then his early and imprudent marriage—his honeymoon rising above the horizon of the Fleet prison walls. Placed in holy orders by his friends, he did not disgrace his calling, but quitted it. He studied the actors and satirised them. He had found his element, and meeting with great success, was able to pay in full those creditors who had been content with five shillings in the pound. He joined the class which holds that good-fellowship and humbug-hating are preferable to respectable moralities—the class that is rebellious and radical in opinion—high-flown in liberality and the generous qualities—and does not go home till morning. He wrote satire for satire's sake, although he satirised nothing that he did not hate. A manly, vigorous intellect, that set about his work with the zeal of an honest, affectionate, and loving soul.

## ONE MORE "UNFORTUNATE."

THE story of Jane Papson is but one out of many unexposed. She lived at Folkestone with her parents. A man named Metcalf became acquainted with her some time ago; but lately he deserted her and her child. She took a poor lodging for 2s. a-week, and was remarked by her landlady as "a very respectable young woman, who conducted herself with great propriety." Metcalf refused to support her, and she and the child were sorely pinched. She took a meaner lodging for 1s. 6d. a-week. For five weeks she lived on nothing but bread and water, and was indebted to the charity of her landlady for some food. She told the landlady that she would be happy if the father of the child would but pay her rent; but even that small pittance he refused.

On Wednesday last she was crying in the afternoon, and afterwards sat down and wrote this letter to Metcalf:—

"15, New-street, Cloth-fair, Smithfield.

"J. Metcalf,—By the time you receive this I hope to be no more. It is you who brought me to this, you bad, wicked man. I know that I was greatly in fault in giving way to you, and bitterly have I reason to repent it, which I do from the bottom of my heart. But had you never promised things which you did it would never have happened: and as soon as you saw how things turned, because I would not leave my dear baby at some workhouse door to the mercy of the world, you thought proper to leave us to starve and die! Oh, you bad, bad man! hanging is too good for you; repent! repent! before it is too late. I will say no more, for to-night I hope, please the Lord, to be in heaven, and my baby as well. Oh, may our blood rest on your head, for it was you that was the cause of it. But my kind love, for as I hope forgiveness, so I forgive you. —Farewell; oh, farewell! JANE PAPSON."

She then wrote to her parents:—

"Dearest Father and Mother,—By the time you receive this I hope to be no more. I little thought when I wrote last to you that I should ever come to want a bit of bread, but such is the case, and I can bear it no longer. Dear mother, if my baby should be spared, oh do you take him and bring him up, and never hit or scold him. His name is Thomas James Metcalf. It was his father that has brought me to this; but I will say no more—my time is short, and I wish to die in peace with you all. My kindest love to all. Farewell!—farewell!

"He was born on the 27th of April, 1853. Oh, do be kind to him if he should live after me."

Her last letter was to her cousin, a young woman living at Finchley:—

"My dear Cousin,—By the time you receive this I hope to be no more, for I can bear my misery no longer. I thought—oh that I had never seen that wicked man Metcalf, for to bring me to such an untimely end. I shall never see you again in this world, but I hope to do so in a brighter and a better one. I shall take my baby with me.

"Give my kind love to your dear brother, and bid him farewell for me; we have been like brothers and sisters in this world, and oh, may we be so in the next!

"My kindest love to you all. Farewell!—oh, farewell! —my dearest cousin, farewell! JANE PAPSON."

She then went out and threw herself with her baby into



the river. On the next evening some boys observed something floating near Southwark Bridge; they threw stones at it, but some men in going nearer found it to be two bodies—a woman with a child closely fastened to her breast. Both were dead. This was Jane Papon with her child. Metcalfe lives off Holborn, and admits the facts, but he is, according to English law, "not responsible."

#### "HAUNTED BY DETECTIVES."

THOMAS WHITEHEAD, an artist, wrote a singular letter to Lord Aberdeen. It complained of "persecution." The following is an extract:—

"I know not, my lord, what you may have to say about these illegal and unwarrantable proceedings; but this I say, that there is and can be but one inference drawn therefrom, and that is, that the Government seem to have wanted, and it would appear that they do want still, to make a victim of me; and consequently they have done everything they can to provoke me to crime. I have been by them reduced to the greatest depths of misery: for five years and a half I have endured these ineffable privations with a patience and a fortitude that I believe there would be scarcely found one in a thousand to do the same. But, my lord, human patience has its bounds, and these bounds have already been passed. Everything has been done to blast my good name, and, not satisfied with that, everything has been done to deprive me of the commonest means of existence. Beware, my lord, what you do in this matter; for if the saying be true that 'self-preservation is the first law of nature,' then, my lord, you have reduced me to a most painful alternative. Your policy, my lord, like your predecessors in this affair, has been, and still is, most pernicious and subversive. You have taught a lesson of implacable vindictiveness and of unprecedented pertinacious cruelty that will be cherished by thousands with a savage satisfaction till the latest day of their death. You have 'sown the wind,' and if your lordship should persist in the same suicidal course, you must not be surprised if you should one day 'reap the whirlwind.'" He added:—"If I should be goaded on to do that out of self-defence, which my soul abhors, remember, my lord, that the guilt will be upon your head and the heads of your colleagues."

The prisoner was arrested and examined. It was stated that the Earl of Aberdeen was in danger of personal violence. The prisoner said:—"I cannot see that any such inference is to be drawn from any part of the letter," and added:—"If I am to be dogged and assailed by the detective police, in every form of disguise, like a pack of hounds; and if, besides their insulting bearing towards me, they are to circulate defamatory remarks to my prejudice, shall I not be justified in knocking that man down?"

Mr. Henry—What man?

The Prisoner—Any man who thus insults and degrades me.

Mr. Henry directed that the prisoner should be removed to St. Giles's workhouse for the present.

The people in whose house the prisoner has been lodging state, that he was a remarkably quiet man, and of regular habits, going out every morning and returning at night. Some time ago he went to Jersey, to avoid the detective police, but fancying himself still pursued by them there, he returned to London. He looked about fifty years old.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

THE Queen's guests—the King and Queen of Hanover, the Prince and Princess of Prussia, the Duke and Duchess of Saxe Coburg Gotha—have this week taken leave of Her Majesty and the Prince, and returned to the Continent. The Queen and Prince Albert witnessed the pontoon operations at Virginia Water on Tuesday. That evening Her Majesty went, unaccompanied by Prince Albert, to the Italian Opera; and the next day, Prince Albert was understood to be unwell; and on Thursday it was stated that the lieges of Dublin will be disappointed next Wednesday, and that Her Majesty's expected visit will not then come off. The Prince of Wales has recovered.

The Queen has given a concert this week, has attended the Philharmonic concert, and seen those wonderful little beings, the Aztecs.

The following bulletin of the health of Prince Albert was issued yesterday:—

"Buckingham Palace, Friday, July 8, 1853.

"His Royal Highness Prince Albert has an attack of measles. The eruption has come fully-out, and the disease is proceeding favourably.

"JAMES CLARK, M.D."

We feel bound to notify to the Home Office that interviews have been interchanged this week between the Countess of Neully, political refugee, and the Prince of Prussia; between the said Prince and the Duchess of Orleans, political refugee, and mother of one of the pretenders to the throne of France; and that the Duchess of Kent keeps up a continued intercourse with the said refugees.

The King and Queen of Hanover left town on Monday. The king made several presents to officers and others who have attended him, and has in general been very beneficent to those with whom he came in contact. He has conferred an annuity of 50*l.* a year on a gunner who lost his arm through accident at Chobham; and on the occurrence of the accident, the king, who was on the field, sent an aide-camp, who immediately placed thirty sovereigns in the hands of the wounded man.

The intended visit of the Queen to the Dublin exhibition has excited much interest in Dublin. The Queen will arrive in Kingstown harbour on Tuesday evening (the 12th), and proceed to Dublin the next morning. She will

first drive to the viceregal lodge, and in the afternoon visit the Exhibition. [It is now postponed.]

The Grand Duchess Maria, Duchess de Leuchtenberg, and eldest daughter of the Emperor of Russia, is coming to England. The Grand Duchess Catherine, niece of the Emperor, and wife of Duke George of Mecklenberg Strelitz, is also expected. They will arrive in her Majesty's steamer *Vivid*, from Ostend.

The Bishop of Rochester has issued a formal summons, convening the Dean and all the other members of the church to attend a visitation of Rochester Cathedral on Tuesday next, in conformity with the requirements of the statutes. Such a visitation has not been holden for the last twenty years, nor more than once during the last forty.

Alderman Muggeridge has been elected the new alderman for the ward of Castle Baynard.

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe is staying at Geneva.

North Derby is vacant through the resignation of Mr. William Evans, of Allestree. His son, Mr. Thomas Evans, is likely to be returned in his place.

The electric telegraph misled us last week into stating that Colonel Vandeleur was returned for Clare. The Liberal candidates, Messrs. O'Brien and Fitzgerald, have succeeded.

At the Sligo election three candidates appeared, Mr. John Sadleir, Mr. John Patrick Somers, and Mr. John Hanly, of London. There was very discreditable rioting on the hustings. Mr. Hanly struck a Roman Catholic priest, and some other priest struck Mr. Hanly, the mob rushed in, and assaulted several persons. The supporters of the Lord of the Treasury denounced Mr. Somers as the nominee of the Home Secretary; and the mob alternately cheered Mr. Sadleir and Mr. Hanly.

Mr. Sadleir has been elected for Sligo. Sadleir, 145; Somers, 141—rather close.

At Tralee, Mr. Daniel O'Connell polled 150 votes to 10 given to Mr. Fitzgerald—leaving him the large majority of 140!

Mr. Roebuck is convalescent. He will resume his duties in parliament next session.

The doings of the Derbyshire Admiralty will "out." Lieutenant Engledue was a gunnery lieutenant in 1840. Being off service he accepted, without leave, the command of a mercantile steamer, a grave offence. When the Syrian expedition took place the Government was in want of officers versed in gunnery, and wrote to Mr. Engledue, appointing him to a lieutenantcy in the *Calcutta*. Mr. Engledue wrote back, saying he would accept the appointment if he were made commander, but not if he was only appointed lieutenant. For this "improper and impertinent" reply he was struck off the list of lieutenants. But a good time came. The Tory Ministry came into power, Lieutenant Engledue made himself famous at Southampton for Tory partisanship, and shortly after his memorial to be reinstated was granted on the advice of the Duke of Northumberland, his Admiralty Board, Admiral Parker and Admiral Berkeley, dissenting. Lieutenant Engledue himself stated, on examination before the Committee, that his offence of refusing to serve when called on had been committed by several officers, whom he named, who had been struck off the list, but who had been reinstated. He asserted that, as an Englishman, he had a right to interfere in politics as much as he liked.

In London no work of charity can be promoted without a dinner and a live lord. Great was the grief of the gentlemen of the National Orphan Home on Saturday, when, on meeting at the Star and Garter, they found that Lord John Russell, who was to have presided, was at the Palace by command, and that of the many titled patrons, not one could attend. Finally, the stewards were content with a commoner, and Mr. Cowan, M.P., filled the chair. We hope the orphans will not suffer from the want of a peer's countenance.

The Pope has sent an apostolic delegate to Hayti, and in his message addresses Souloque as the "Constantine of his people," and "the Napoleon of the Antilles."

The American Government has commissioned Robert J. Walker as Minister to China. His duties also extend to Japan. The present political crisis in China is to be "properly improved."

Slaves are still landed in Cuba. The famous slaver, *Lady Suffolk*, lately landed 1160 on the south coast. She sailed from Africa with upwards of 1300 on board, but the vessel was so crowded that the sickly and the dead were thrown overboard.

The Irish State-prisoners, Smith O'Brien, John Mitchel, and Mr. O'Dogherty, are in good health and spirits, according to late accounts from Australia.

"Ireland pacified" is at length a fact. At the Meath Assizes, the whole proceedings, civil and criminal, did not occupy a day. Similar results are expected at the ensuing assizes for the other counties of Ireland.

The American clipper, *Sovereign of the Seas*, has made the voyage from New York to the Mersey in twelve days.

The Crystal Palace Directors announce that the building will certainly be opened on the 1st of May next. The works proceed with success. The income from exhibitors alone will amount, it is said, to 100,000*l.* a year.

The visitors to the Dublin Exhibition are increasing: 9,743 persons visited it on Monday.

The mail brought by the *Melbourne* from Australia weighed twelve-and-a-half tons.

The maintenance of the workhouse poor of England and Wales cost over 1,600,000*l.* during the last half-year.

Inspectors, commissioned by the French Government, are at present inspecting the agricultural improvements of Scotland.

The value of the London property paying income-tax is 15,611,012*l.* 5*s.*

The importation of opium into England is on the increase; 65,354*lbs.* were imported during the last five months.

The number of punishments inflicted in the navy, was, last year, 578, the lashes inflicted varying from 48 to 3. [In 1848 the number of punishments was 1363.]

The revenue of the Liverpool docks was 206,000*l.* last

year, being 13,000*l.* over the amount received the previous year.

The proposed Thames embankment will extend two miles along the river, between Battersea and Vauxhall bridges. It will consist of brick wall, with granite coping, and will cost 100,000*l.* The act to enable Government to make it is being passed. It is contemplated to extend the embankment to the London Docks, and thus there will be a complete promenade along the river. A similar embankment will be made on the Surrey side.

At Bristol, a Roman-catholic priest has been fined 5*l.* for causing the Chevalier de Moscarentas to be turned out of his chapel. The generally violent demeanour of the priest was fully proved; even on the altar his language was most intemperate.

The county Tipperary is at present very tranquil. One of the district judges, Serjeant Howley, says, "it is the most peaceable county in the Queen's dominions."

Cunningham, the medical man who caused abortion in the case of Eliza Marden, has been transported for fifteen years.

An action for criminal conversation has been brought against the Prince of Armenia. It appears, that a Mrs. Mitchell arrived in England from Hong-Kong last year, for the benefit of her health, leaving her affectionate husband in China. Here at a boarding-house, she became acquainted with Leo, Prince of Armenia, who praised her beautiful hair. The landlady of the boarding-house one night found little Miss Mitchell crying for mamma; and on a search, mamma was found in the bed-room of Leo. Other instances of the same kind were proved. Damages for the husband, 750*l.*

Matilda Deighton, the wife of a weaver, was sitting in the workshop, with her infant in her arms, waiting for her husband. He came home intoxicated about midnight, and immediately on entering began to abuse her. Immediately afterwards he struck her a terrible blow under the ear, and knocked her down, swearing that he would murder her. To save her baby she handed it to another female who was present, and the husband then continued his attack upon her, striking her about the head and face till she was covered with blood and bruises. He followed her about several times, and felled her to the ground. At length she succeeded in getting away from him and out of the house, and found refuge in the place of Mr. Hill, a neighbour, with whose wife she slept that night. Her features were so dreadfully swollen that her eyes were completely closed up, and she was unable to see at all until Saturday morning, three days after the assault. The magistrate sentenced the husband to six months imprisonment with hard labour, and at the expiration of the imprisonment to find sureties to keep the peace for six months.

The Governor and his subordinates in Birmingham jail are accused of great cruelty in their treatment of the prisoners. An inquiry into their conduct has been ordered.

Two bricklayers were imprisoned in Coldbath-fields House of Correction. To make them useful they were put to work, but taking advantage of this, they obtained ladders, and scaled the walls on Saturday. They have not been recaptured.

The railway accident mania is again rising. At Aylesbury a boiler burst, killing a person travelling in charge of cattle, who was, most improperly, placed in a break next the engine. Fleming, the driver, immediately remarked, "It's the firebox that's bursted, and this is just what I expected after the Tring cutting job." Captain Wynn, Government Inspector, has attributed the accident to the sudden pouring in of cold water into a boiler exhausted by heat. The jury have stated in their verdict that the superintendence at the Aylesbury railway station is very inefficient.

Mr. Frederick Cope, a Manchester gentleman in good circumstances, fancied that a young lady, to whom he was betrothed, was growing cold in her affection. He became melancholy, and shot himself through the heart with a gun.

A great improvement has been introduced in the *Victoria* and *Albert* Royal yacht. By the use of anthracite fuel no smoke or ashes issue from the funnel.

A building, 20,000 square feet in extent, has been constructed in the Minorities as a store for Allsopp's Burton ales. A branch line from the Blackwall railway conveys the ale into the very store; another branch connects the brewery with the railway at Burton, so that its conveyance is entirely done by rail.

The penny-a-liners have caught a new character, the returned Australian emigrant. The papers on Thursday have the following:—"Among the passengers who came home in the *Indus*, which landed the Indian mail at Southampton on Tuesday, were nineteen Australian returned emigrants, most of whom were from Melbourne. They wore white calico hats, and their hale, hearty, and John Bull appearance formed a striking contrast to that of the Indian passengers. The salubrity of the climate from which they had come was manifested throughout the voyage in the range and power of their organs of digestion. They had all made rapid and large fortunes."

The good feelings of the people in the humbler classes of life are exemplified in the following story:—A few days since a young woman presented herself at the Exeter Gaol, and stated that she wished to thank the chaplain for the excellent advice and instruction which she received from him when incarcerated there. It appears that the young woman was transported eight years ago from this city, and that upon her arrival in Australia she was allowed to enter, under certain restrictions, the family of a clergyman as a servant, where she conducted herself so well that, on the expiration of her time of transportation, he procured her, at her desire, a free passage to England. She brought with her a letter from the clergyman in whose family she had lived, confirmatory of her statement, and testifying to her excellent conduct whilst in his service, and which letter the chaplain read. She had saved out of her earnings forty-three guineas, which the chaplain recommended her to place in the savings bank, and which has subsequently, we believe, been done.

## HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

The number of deaths registered in the metropolitan districts in the week that ended last Saturday was 1103. The advance which it shows on previous returns, arises from coroners' cases, many of which were not duly registered till the end of the quarter, though the deaths occurred and the inquests were held at dates antecedent to last week.

In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1843-52 the average number of deaths was 922, which, if raised in proportion to increase of population during these years and up to the present time, becomes 1014. The actual mortality of last week, therefore, exhibits an excess, on the estimated amount, of 89.

Last week the births of 856 boys and 855 girls, in all 1711 children, were registered in London. The average number in eight corresponding weeks of the years 1845-52 was 1338.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.578 in. The reading of the barometer decreased from 29.58 in. at the beginning of the week to 29.50 in. by 9h. P.M. on the 26th; remained at this reading nearly till 9h. P.M. on the 27th; increased to 29.56 in. by 9h. A.M. on the 28th; decreased to 29.48 in. by 9h. P.M. on the same day; increased to 29.64 in. by 9h. P.M. on the 29th; decreased to 29.56 in. by 3h. P.M. on the 30th; and increased to 30.02 in. by the end of the week. The mean temperature of the week was 59.1 degs., which is 2.4 degs. lower than the average of corresponding weeks in 38 years. The mean daily temperature was below the average on every day of the week, except Tuesday, when it was 2.4 degs. above it. On Friday and Saturday the depression amounted to about 6 degs. The highest temperatures occurred on Wednesday and Thursday, and were about 70.5 degs.; the lowest occurred on Friday and Saturday, and were about 48.5 degs. The greatest difference between the dew point temperature and air temperature occurred on Thursday, and was 16.1 degs.; the least on Sunday, and was 1.4 degs.; the mean difference of the week was 8.2 degs. The wind blew from the south-west.

## BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

## BIRTHS.

On the 16th of June, at Vienna, the wife of Frederick Hamilton, Esq., First Attaché to her Majesty's Legation at that Court: a daughter.

On the 29th, at Devonshire-place, Madame de Zulueta: a son.

On the 30th, at her residence, Rutland-square, Dublin, the wife of Edmund Burke Roche, Esq., M.P.: a son.

On the 30th, at Milliken, Renfrewshire, Lady Milliken Napier: a daughter.

On the 2nd of July, at Candie, in the Island of Guernsey, the wife of Peter Stafford Carey, Esq., the Bailiff of Guernsey: a daughter.

On the 5th, at Westbourne-place, the wife of Captain Kinloch, Grenadier Guards: a daughter.

## MARRIAGES.

On the 30th of April at the Cathedral, Madras, Louis Forbes, Esq., of the H.E.I.C. Civil Service, to Emma Frances, eldest daughter of Major Henry Colbeck, Police Magistrate at the Presidency.

On the 23rd of June, at St. Peter's, Woodmansterne, the Rev. Francis R. Crowther, M.A., Head Master of the Diocesan School, Lincoln, to Anna Louisa, second daughter of the late Joseph Francis Bessy, Esq., of her Majesty's Exchequer.

On the 28th, at Milan, D. P. Watts Russell, Esq., third son of J. Watts Russell, Esq., of Islam-hall, Staffordshire, to Charlotte, youngest daughter of the late Charles Nevill, Esq., and Lady Georgiana Nevill, of Nevill Holt, Northamptonshire.

On the 29th, at the British Legation at the Hague, Robert Fraser Turing, Esq., eldest son of Sir James Henry Turing, Bart., H.B.M. Consul at Rotterdam, to Catherine Georgiana, second daughter of Walter S. Davidson, Esq., of St. James's-street, and Lowndes-square, London.

On the 30th, at Windlesham, Surrey, the Rev. William Stanford Grignon, principal of the Collegiate School, Sheffield, third son of the late William Stanford Grignon, Esq., of Upton-hill and Barneyside, Jamaica, and nephew of the late Lord Abinger, to Adelaide Wilhelmina Sophia, younger daughter of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Edmund Curry, of Erwood, Bagshot, and granddaughter of the late Lord Abinger.

On the 30th, at St. George's, Hanover-square, Captain George D. Warburton, Royal Artillery, to the Hon. Augusta E. B. Hanbury.

On the 30th, at St. Peter's Church, Pimlico, How Dalrymple Fanshawe, Esq., Captain Twelfth Regiment, son of Major-General Fanshawe, C.B., to Barbara, youngest daughter of General Sir Thomas Bradford, G.C.B. and G.C.H.

On the 4th of July, at St. George's, Hanover-square, Lord Edward Thynne, to Cecilia Anne Mary, only daughter of the late Charles Arthur Gore, Esq., of the First Life Guards.

On the 5th, at St. Michael's Church, Norwich, the Rev. John William Clarke, A.M., rector of Cantistock, Dorsetshire, son of the late Sir William Clarke, Bart., to Elizabeth Frances, second surviving daughter of Edward Smyth, Esq., of Norwich, and of Hursfield, Macclesfield.

On the 7th, at Walcot Church, Bath, the Rev. Frederick Sowden, A.M., of Dunkerton Rectory, Somerset, to Martha, only daughter of Admiral Saumarez, K.L., of the Cirous, Bath, and Fern-down, Dorset.

## DEATHS.

On the 20th of March, at Donabaw, in Burmah, of wounds received in action on the 19th, Captain William Peter Cockburn, Eighteenth (Royal Irish) Regiment.

On the 23rd of April, at Singapore, of fever, Lieutenant Guy Colin Campbell, of H.M. ship *Bittern*, son of the late Sir Guy Campbell, aged twenty-nine.

On the 26th of June, at Portsmouth, Frank H. Lambert, Lieutenant on board H.M.S. *Edinburgh*, and eldest son of Frank J. Lambert, Esq., of No. 11, Upper Harley-street, who was unfortunately lost by the upsetting of a wherry, as he was returning to the ship.

On the 28th, at Gosford-house, East Lothian, the Earl of Wemyss and March.

On the 28th, at Bonn, Marjorie, second daughter of the late Hon. William Fraser, of Saltoun, aged thirty-one.

On the 3rd of July, at Shaloke's-house, near Devonport, Elizabeth Emma King, aged thirty-three, daughter of Admiral Sir Edward Durnford King.

On the 3rd, at Tunbridge-wells, Esther Charlotte, wife of Henry Chetwynd Stapylton, Esq., of Norfolk-street, Park-lane, and daughter of Mr. Sergeant Goulburn, aged twenty-four.

On the 4th, at 27, Nottingham-place, the residence of his mother-in-law, the Marquise de la Belinaye, Michael Burko Hopan, Esq.

## 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. Whatever 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, JULY 9, 1853.

## Public Affairs.

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

THE RIGHT OF WORKMEN TO COMBINE  
CEDED BY PARLIAMENT.

"THANK God we have a House of Lords," exclaimed a model politician, rich in ejaculations. Whether the workmen of England will have occasion to respect this interjectional testimony, will be seen in such readiness as their Lordships may display in confirming the "Combination of Workmen's Bill," at length passed by the Commons.

Before this "Combination of Workmen Bill" was passed by the Commons, no English artisan was able to concert with his fellows, however peaceably, for the purpose of altering the rate of his wages, or the hours of his labour. Mr. Justice Erle held that men who were in work were guilty of conspiracy, and liable to imprisonment, should they collectively deliberate on what terms they should sell their labour at. Verily capital has had no conscience in our land. Certain words, "Obstruction" and "Molestation," to wit, had no definition in 6 Geo. IV., and judges ruled, that to reasonably induce or peaceably persuade others to abstain from work, was an indictable offence! Thanks to the efforts of Messrs. Duncombe and Drummond, the Commons have set this infamous judgment at rest. We will quote the new bill entire. Its brief and valuable words place the English workman in a new and just position, as respects his equal right to combine.

The avowed purpose of the act is to amend and explain the act of the sixth year of George IV., "to repeal the Laws relating to the Combination of Workmen, and to make other Provisions in lieu thereof."

"Whereas," says the new bill, 16th Victoria, "an act was passed in the sixth year of the reign of King George IV., entitled 'An Act to repeal the Laws relating to the Combination, and to make other Provisions in lieu thereof,' and whereas doubts have arisen as to the construction of the said act. Be it therefore enacted, by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, and it is hereby declared, that masters, employers, workmen, or other persons, who shall enter into any combination to advance or to lower, or to fix the rate of their wages, or to lessen or alter the hours, or duration, of the time of their working, or *workmen who shall, by peaceable persuasion, and without any intimidation of any kind whatsoever, endeavour to induce others to abstain from work, in order to obtain the rates of wages, or the altered hours of labour, so fixed or agreed upon, or to be agreed upon, shall not be deemed or taken to be guilty of 'molestation' or 'obstruction,' within the meaning of the said act, and shall not, therefore, be subject or liable to any indictment or prosecution for conspiracy. Provided, always, that nothing herein contained shall authorize any attempt to induce any workman to break or depart from any contract or engagement.*"

The terms "molestation" and "obstruction," before this bill restricted their meaning to intimidation, placed the workman as much at the mercy of his employers, as those people who are whipped at discretion in the court-houses of New

Orleans, and whose condition has excited the sympathies of Europe. The master might combine, but not the men. It was lawful for the employer to concert to dismiss his servants, but it was not lawful for his servants to concert to dismiss themselves. And from this degrading subjection the English artisan is not yet well escaped, until the House of Lords confirm the bill above quoted. When that is done, workmen may induce and persuade, on the same condition as their employer,—there will then be "fair play" between them, and, in this respect, there will be Free-trade in combination as well as cotton.

Not less notable than the bill is the history of its procurement. The working class owe it to the judicious exertions of the United Trades' Association, formerly under Mr. Duncombe's Presidency, and now under that of Mr. G. A. Fleming. The exigencies to which such a bill has been exposed in the House of Commons, so unworthily jealous of the freedom of the people, the reader can judge. Only very patient and well-informed men could have undertaken and conducted through Parliament such a bill as this, authorizing the peaceable combination of workmen. It is equal to an industrial revolution. Men who know how to fight their battles in the lobbies of the House of Commons, are able to win the rights of labour. The United Trades' Association, with its practical officers, "deserve well of their country," in a better sense than usual.

## NELSON'S GHOST.

Just now, while we are preparing to meet possible foes by land and water, if Nelson's Ghost were to appear amongst us, would he not be welcomed? Assuredly he would be preferred for the command of the Channel fleet even to Lord John Russell. But what would be the first thing that would strike his eye? It would be an advertisement in the papers, declaring, that to this day, the daughter whom he left as a legacy to his country, is unprovided for; that even now, having reached the maturity of life, and struggled with difficulties, she is still a creditor of the country he served so faithfully!

Her claim, indeed, has been recognised by the gift of a paltry place to one of her sons—a bare provision for the young man. It is a recognition enough to stamp the obligation of the state with the royal admission, but not to fulfil it.

Would Nelson on that account refuse to take the command even at the risk of dying over again? Assuredly not. He would repeat his simple and immortal precept, "England expects every man to do his duty," even though England has shown so disgracefully how little she can understand her own duty.

## CHURCH SCANDALS: SIMONY.

AFTER all, Simon Magus was a great man, and deserved a kind of lay canonization. He made a good commercial estimate of the clerical function, and anticipated the famous maxim—to buy in the cheapest, and sell in the dearest market. What a city man he would have made! And if he did get rebuked by greater men than he—if the despised and rejected of society did read him a lesson—it only shows how much he was in advance of his age; for had he lived now, he would have been the orthodox apostle, and *they* the dissenters. If he had only been born on this side the Reformation, he would have had law on his side, and might perhaps have become an archbishop, and have lived at Lambeth; or a lay impropiator, auctioneer of a score of livings, member of one of our Houses, and defender, not of the faith, but of the rights of property.

It is astonishing to the ingenuous mind how soon custom covers conscience with a scaly rind, more difficult to pierce than that of the rhinoceros; how use really becomes second nature, and tradition usurps and holds the place of belief. That is why, at times, it is necessary to apply great tests to the sincerity of men. When custom and expediency become practically the deities of a nation's worship, first principles are the salt which keeps it sweet. In religion this is especially true; for where honesty is not, there corruption is; no matter whether it be wilful corruption or the result of a blind obedience to traditionary selfishness.

Take one of the great church scandals of the day—simony. See what comes of an established church, inextricably bound up with the State, and virtually officered by the nominees of lay-



men. See what that monstrous anomaly of lay patronage leads to. Ever since the Reformation we have had a scandalous system of lay simony sanctioned by the lawyers, if not by the law. The cure of souls has been one of the best commodities in the market; exposed to the vicissitudes of commerce; selling for what it was worth, like land or consols, or bartered for political support, or corrupt and immoral conduct; advertised in the papers, and cried up with the eloquence of a Robins. For more than one hundred years, clergymen have been forbidden to buy and sell benefices; but the laymen, who were shocked at the shameful system in the clergy, have not only continued to commit the same crime themselves, but have themselves given it the sanction of law. Before an incumbent dies, the layman who owns what is called the presentation, makes a bargain with another layman who has a son or a nephew to plant in the church, and sells, for a corrupt consideration, the next presentation. That is, really, one man buys of another the spiritual control over some hundreds of thousands of men. Eternal life depends, we are told, on belief; and the enforcement of belief depends on the priest; but here is an arrangement which saddles the flock with an incompetent, possibly an immoral shepherd; and the spiritual vocation is reduced to a bargain. The cure of souls is a profitable investment; and the church is like the temple at Jerusalem—the abode of money-changers.

If this great state establishment were not a political institution, garrisoned by a political party, it is obvious these things could not be. If the laity were as sincere and as logical as they believe themselves to be, they never could buy and sell benefices, with an absence of concealment which shows they are so callous as to regard simony as no sin.

This week Mr. Robert Phillimore has applied the test of sincerity rather roughly. He proposes to make the sale of benefices as much simony in the laymen, as in the clergy. And how is he met? By outcries from the staunchest defenders of an Erastian establishment that it is an attack on the rights of property! Rights of property forsooth! What! Christians falling down, like the Jews of old when they conquered Canaan, before strange gods—worshipping Mammon and Plutus, and forgetting the duties of religion—forgetting Christ! You inflict heavy penalties on the seller of a Government office; you would shriek with horror if the next presentation to the bench were an article of sale; you profess a holy indignation at the purchase of a vote; in all these temporal matters you pretend, at least, to eschew corruption. But in things eternal, in the choice of guides to salvation, you not only tolerate corrupt influence, you glory in it. The Church has her Shorter's-court, and her Capel-court, like the City—Church in danger, does not mean that the orthodox religion is in peril; it simply means that simony scents its own probable extinction afar. When Mr. George Butt and Mr. William Bankes opposed the bill of Mr. Phillimore with the cry, You would destroy the rights of property, we are strongly tempted to retort on them the question,—Where, gentlemen, is your sincerity?

But, virtually, the laity are the Cæsars of the Church; while she serves them they will sustain her; when she successfully strives to be independent they will let her drop. But this is only the legitimate development of the theory of a state church, dominant in a country where it is surrounded by congregations of free dissent.

#### THE WANDERING SHEPHERD.

THE *Times* makes merry with "the clerical zoophytes" who are planted in the old parish churches of the City of London, and who would draw to their embrace the flocks straying into the suburbs. It is the object of Lord Harrowby's Bill to endow those reverend fixtures with the power of locomotion—to unroot the shepherd from the soil, and permit him to follow his flock. The state of the case is this:—At one time the City of London was densely peopled with a population residing there for purposes of life as well as business. Of late years the population of the City, so called, has decreased, and the truly resident population has decreased in a larger degree even than the census would show; since considerable numbers who spend not only the working days, but the nights of those days, in the

City, pass their Sunday existence, including the night on either side of that day, in the suburbs. These migratory classes possess the most paying piety, and can afford to keep pew in church or chapel. The churches, therefore, are abandoned by their congregations, and there are many which are all but empty on the Sunday. On the other hand, there are whole districts left to the Dissenter or the Secularist, or to no influence in particular, but that of the tea-garden and the ordinary propensities of mankind at leisure. The Church of England looks upon these stray sheep, who are usually reckoned by statistics amongst its members, with a curious mixture of regret and faintheartedness. The church has abundance of property; it has a strong and laudable desire to recover the stray sheep; but at head quarters there is a still stronger idea as to the necessity of keeping up the dignity of the establishment. It is all very well to swell the purses of poor curates beyond starvation proportions, and Christians are called upon to do so; but who save a hard-hearted sceptic would propose to abate the sleek rotundity of a bishop, in order to expand the attenuated curate? Certainly the proposition would not come from the Bishop himself. There is a strong sense that it would be desirable to collect the sheep, but a much stronger sense that the shepherd ought to be amply provided, lavishly endowed; and in justification, there is a vague idea that if the shepherd be sufficiently adorned he will act as a kind of decoy to the sheep. It has not proved so, and of late years a new idea has been started, that perhaps if the flock will not come to the shepherd he might as well walk abroad after the flock. The Christian Mahomet will go to the mountain—the church of the City will go to the suburb.

We award the due meed of praise to the practical sincerity of Lord Harrowby; he is a member of the church of England, and it is not only right in him to take the measure that he is taking in order to render the machinery of that church efficient, but it is a disgrace to others of the same faith, that they have left it so long undone. If, however, they would follow the public, they will need to do something more than to remove the edifice, or even the staff of officers. It is not only from city to suburb that the public has removed without being followed by the clergy. The public has removed yet further away on the field of opinion and of science. There is not a church in the land that is not disturbed by new views of doctrine; and the multitude of those who think about religion at all, are thinking much more of the primal truths, of the essentials, than of those doctrines that now constitute the standards and individuality of sects. In the regard of its own public of the better order, the church is exactly in the position of the Pharisee, looking to forms and mysticisms, deprecating the search after truth, binding the pupil to the letter instead of the spirit, and teaching men rather to hate each other than to depart from their sect. There is not one sect of the Christian church that does not do its best to discredit all other sects; so that if you take the character of Christianity in turn from the sections of its own mass, you will find it something meaner than Mahometanism.

The effect on the public mind is, either to create a contempt for the craft and mystery which the bonzes of our country make to consist chiefly in mystical forms, or else to regard those bonzes as being themselves inferior to men of other vocations. It may be said that no mean portion of the public has been converted to Christianity in the spirit of Christ, and that it leaves the narrow sectarian Christianity to dwell amongst the builded antiquities in a deserted city. The principle of the church is still, by many of its officers, proclaimed to be incompatible with the truth as it appears in the very works of God; and men are told that they might dangerously learn from science that which would refute the authenticated religion. They are told that the truths of the universe can only be learned on the seventh day, within buildings made by man, and must not be studied abroad amongst the works of God. There are indeed some ministers, even of the Christian sect, who have risen with the opportunities of the day, and can understand the immortal truth which is embodied in the Christian faith as it is in others; who know that the truth of science cannot possibly be inconsistent with the truth of religion, and who are prepared

to teach their flocks how to avoid the judgments of a justice inexorable because it is perfect, by obeying "the laws of nature, and of the God of nature"—laws which must be studied *in situ*, in their working. Men such as these are following the public, to lead it; and instead of being rendered powerless because they are fain to follow their flock from the pulpit to the field, they can find in the open elements new testimony of eternal truths. But such men are no "Sabbath-observers" in the sectarian sense. They will find the materials for a sermon in the field, on the common, in the vivarium of zoological gardens, in the most ordinary path, as well as in a pulpit or book; and they will recognise the fact, that if the pupil finds his faculties awakened by spectacles of art or nature, which do not visit his eyes in the daily path of toil, in that place the sermons of reverend wisdom can reach him best. It is this kind of intellectual following, far more than the material move, which the Church of England needs. If some peer or honourable member, if Lord Harrowby or Lord Blandford, would bring in a bill to enable ministers of the Church of England to gird up their loins and run after their flocks in this sense, the Church of England might become a living and a national church, instead of being, like the coat of arms, an archaeological symbol, a badge of fashion and hereditary distinction.

#### THE NEW SHORT TIME MOVEMENT.

AFTER all, are the Arabian tales so fabulous as, in the simple days of childhood, we were led to believe? Were our nurses right in checking our young fancies by gentle hints that Sinbad was a myth, that streets were never paved with gold, that fairies never interfered to help those who would not help themselves? We are half inclined to doubt it. Certainly, if we were in want of images in which to clothe our impressions of Australian wealth, we should not hesitate to search among the tales of Eastern fancy, and boldly to transfer to this nineteenth century of ours the stories of Alraschid's court. The last accounts from the Australian colonies are as marvellous as those which went before. Gold yields as readily to the digger; the digger is as prosperous and happy. A large society is in process of formation, pregnant with new developments. At present there is Titanic strength and Titanic chaos. Plutus reigns supreme. Shortly there will be order, but the order will be a combination and arrangement of the new elements. But we will not dwell on that side of the question. In England we are at the opposite extreme. Our labourers are in many cases ill paid, hard worked, and, in consequence, dissatisfied. In other cases they are in no distress, but they demand something more than a mere negation of want. They have risen above the condition of their fathers, and feast upon a prospect as wide and boundless as ever opened upon the eyes of young ambition. Law and government! These are noble things, and our artisans and labourers would have some share in their construction. But then there are several obstacles in their way, and the Parliamentary proceedings of last week have called our attention to some of the most remarkable. Foremost in the rank comes the short time question. Mr. Cobbett has obtained leave to introduce a bill "to limit the hours of labour of women, young persons, and children, in the factories of the United Kingdom, and to provide for a more perfect inspection of the factories." But, as we learn from the concluding portion of his speech, Mr. Cobbett proposes to go far beyond all previous legislation, by imposing fresh limits on the period during which the mills may be kept at work. This re-opening of the factory question is likely to lead to very important results. We are quite ready to acknowledge the difficulties which surround any attempt at bold and efficient legislation; but the time is surely come when the opposite course is fraught with dangers still more serious. The whole of Europe has been convulsed with revolutions, and the sins of rulers against their subjects have recoiled with tenfold vehemence upon themselves. Propped up by a strong military force, and resting on the fears rather than on the love of their subjects, the Continental Powers are in no enviable position. The merest accident may suffice to send a fresh batch of emperors and nobles to seek for refuge and asylum in the land of liberty. If we follow their example we shall share their fate; unless our

rulers yield to fair demands, and are ready to confer rights in proportion to the advance of intelligence, what may now be an act of grace will be an act of compulsion. The demand for education and increased opportunities of intellectual advancement, is too palpable and acknowledged a fact to require illustration or proof. The grand condition of compliance with this request is the limitation of the hours of labour, and the settlement of the mutual relations of labour and capital. If our labourers are compelled by the force of competition to work for twelve, thirteen, or even fourteen hours a day, what chance have they for mental culture or innocent recreation? It implies no ordinary amount of self-denial and energy to employ the mental powers when mental employment is the very business of life. The case is still more difficult when the body is overwrought, and the will is weakened by labour prolonged from early morning to a late hour at night. But it will be said, that the Legislature has no right to interfere. Is not every man the master of his own life? Has he not a right, in free England, to work for as many hours as he chooses, to spend his money as he will, and, if his fancy takes him so, to shut himself from all enjoyments. Now, in the first place, we are very much inclined to doubt whether a majority of our workmen are influenced by any such motives as these. No doubt, money is an object to the workman as it is to any one else, inasmuch as it furnishes him with the means of luxury and indulgence. But we have abundant testimony to prove, not only that high wages are compatible with short hours, but that a large majority of our workmen are influenced by the very purest motives. They seek to limit the hours of labour, in order that they may learn to exercise the rights, by becoming acquainted with the duties, of citizenship. If the love of competition, or the will of a minority interfere with the healthy wishes of a majority, it is the paramount duty of the Government to interfere. The case of women and young persons is too obvious to require comment. Painful as it is to infringe, in the slightest degree, upon the liberty of the subject, it must be manifest, that when the authority of the parent or the husband is abused so as to violate higher laws, it becomes the duty of society, through its Government, to interfere for the protection of the helpless.

The result of such a limitation of labour hours is no less beneficial to the masters than to the men. To the men it would afford an opportunity of bettering their condition, of widening their sympathies, of gaining increased skill and greater productive power. The master, on the other hand, would gain by every advance on the part of the workmen. Rapidity and perfection are the result of skill and mastery over work; and these are all but impossible except on the condition we have laid down.

But there is still another, and a very obvious result—"Omne ignotum pro terribili;" and when men are unacquainted with the actual working of machinery, and its probable effect upon the labour mart, they are inclined to regard its introduction with something more than suspicion. It can scarcely be disputed that increase of scientific knowledge, and a genius familiar with the powers of Nature, will not only disarm the prejudices which have hitherto checked encroachments upon manual labour, but will rather induce the workman to advocate the further use of machinery. Nay, even our seamstresses and shirtmakers will find their advantage in a machine, invented at Glasgow, and since exhibited in this metropolis, for superseding hand labour in that department. It will destroy employments which are delusions—which disguise starvation under the semblance of provision. With machinery and intelligence, labour, being more productive, will be more powerful; but shortening of labour hours is one step towards intelligence.

#### TREATMENT OF WOMEN.

NATIONS, it is said, may be measured in their civilization by the consideration which they show for their women, and if so, while individual Englishmen must be subjected to a great variety of scales, some of those who most habitually cross one's path cannot claim a very high rank. Taking the average or mean standard of the people, the beau-ideal for an Englishwoman appears to be that she should settle down as her husband's housekeeper, her children's nursemaid, and her

own monthly nurse after "the month;" and the Englishman who preserves to his wife the immunities and restrictions of that condition, fulfils the expected duty towards her; beyond that he needs not go to be a virtuous man.

He may in another sense go to excesses far beyond any such law, and yet be tolerated. Take it in trifles, or take it in vulgar slights, or tragic calamities, and you find the same growing tendency of treating the woman lightly. There may be reasons for that on both sides; but we will not here enter into speculation; we are only dealing with present facts, and the most familiar incidents will substantiate our averment. Perhaps the place in which your average Englishman most meets with his own class, out of his own private circle, is the omnibus; and it cannot fail to have struck every observer of that public convenience, that the disposition to crowd and hustle the female passengers in the competition for seats, is a growing habit. At any corner where the omnibus usually stops, men may be found to rush into the door of the carriage, even to push back women, and to take their seats, sometimes without even a murmur of remonstrance from the other passengers. Instances have been known of the conductor's vindicating the traditional respect for the sex, by keeping back the "gentlemen" until the women were seated; but such chivalry is rare. The woman goes to the wall now-a-days.

Violent assaults upon women are not only becoming common, but are treated with a levity which appears new to our time. A fellow was brought up the other day for assaulting his wife, and being a smart man, he tried an appeal to an ordinary cant. He challenged the magistrate to inquire whether his wife believed in Christ. "Do you believe in God?" asked the magistrate. "No, no," cried the sanctimonious husband; "don't ask her that; but ask her, if she believes in Christ." He was in hopes that the woman's shortcomings on the point of dogma would disqualify her from claiming justice; and he did not argue without warrant, since justice has been refused in court, as by Mr. Commissioner Phillips, on closely similar grounds. In this instance, however, the magistrate had rather a higher idea of religion, and the woman was sworn. Yet the fellow would find many respectable persons who would stand by him in his fidelity to dogma, whatever might be his conduct to his wife.

The body of a woman was picked out of the water, the other day, with an infant tied to her breast. She had been seduced by a man to whom she appealed when she was starving, and who refused, to her and to his child, the slightest aid. It is not stated, in this case, any more than in the other, that the man was hooted from the neighbourhood; nor are we to suppose, from what we observed generally, that any material inconvenience would result to him.

Another case, though less fatal, and not singular even within the week, is yet more revolting. Matilda Deighton brings before the Worship-street magistrate her husband. She is twenty-six years of age, he is thirty-three. She has supported him in his drunken idleness, and he has habitually repaid her with violence. "He has struck me," she says, "repeated blows with his clenched fist upon my face, neck, shoulders, and under my ears, till both my eyes were closed up by his blows, and I could not see till the next day." He fells her to the ground; he follows her as she runs away from him; and, after long enduring such treatment, she asks for protection. When he was arrested, he exclaimed,—"What a damned fool I was, to be sure, not to sell off all the things before this came off; and the new Act about women passed, too!"

Yes! these outrages are becoming so common that Mr. Henry Fitzroy, Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, has found it necessary to bring in an Act of Parliament, for the protection of British wives. But, in domestic relations, society will never be kept fairly in order by acts of Parliament. They can only apply to gross and exceptional offences; and, if society is passive, the intervals between those will be filled up by cruelty, amounting often to torture, without check or redress. It is not only the commonness of these outrages, not only the levity of the offenders, but the thing which strikes us most is the passive sufferance of society. There was a time when a man who behaved in this way would be treated to "rough

music," or ducked in a horse-pond; but sanitary reformers have removed many horse-ponds, police would stop the rough music; and, if signal crimes are prevented, if behaviour is reduced more to an average, we believe that tame-cruelty enjoys a sufferance, which it could not claim of old.

#### HOW THE NEWSPAPER TAX WORKS.

THE *Times* has set the public laughing at Mr. Cobden, and the sport is glorious. The *Times* wanted to give the public a double paper daily for the same price, and all *pro bono publico*, provided the Government charged only one penny duty. Mr. Cobden somehow doubted the philanthropy of the *Times*, and wished that the double paper should pay the double duty—just as a tradesman opening a second shop would have been subjected to double taxation. This reasoning of Cobden was excessively ridiculous:—

"Where," asked the *Times*, "is the shop of which the size and accommodation are defined by law? Is any draper or grocer forbidden to have a counter above a certain length, or shelves above a certain height, or drawers above a certain capacity?"

It was of no use that the *Morning Advertiser* suggested that were the owners of a shop in Seven-dials to remove to Piccadilly, they would be subjected to heavier taxation. What has a paper to do with a shop? asked the *Times*; if we desire to present the public with a double paper it is a gross outrage on free-trade to prevent us.

The arguments of the *Times*, which have been repeated day by day, are plausible but fallacious, as we will prove by reference to America, where there is perfect free-trade in newspapers. The Great Monopolist is employing his purchased intellect in making the worse appear the better cause.

About four years ago there were in New York three daily papers, with the following circulation:—

The *Sun*, about 50,000, at one halfpenny.

The *Herald*, about 25,000, at one penny.

The *Tribune*, about 20,000, at one penny.

For years had the *Sun* increased, till now it had attained a size beyond which it could not go, as any further enlargement would have entailed a loss upon each copy sold; still the advertisements increased, and the *Sun* curtailed the news to make room for them. The *Sun* was doing a glorious business at the expense of the public; it was paid for inserting the extra advertisements, and the public continued to pay for reading them. This was too good to last.

Another paper, the *New York Times*, was started at one halfpenny, which, as it contained as much news as the two cent papers, at once commenced to deplete the plethoric *Sun*, and in a few months the Editor of the *Times* was enabled to write over his leaders—"Circulation 25,000."

The *Sun* could not open another shop under equal laws; and neither could the *Times* were it subjected to fair competition. Had the *Sun* had influence enough with the Government to obtain the passing of a law charging one penny stamp and 1s. 6d. advertisement duty, it would have been enabled to set the opposition paper and the public at defiance, and to enact successfully the part of Jupiter Tonans, of Printing House Square. The granting of a free half supplement at the present time is at once putting 20,000*l.* a year into the coffers of the *Times* at the expense of the public.

The stamp duty is a fair tax only so long as all papers pay in proportion. If the business exigencies of a paper require that it should use one-half more, or double the quantity, then justice to its contemporaries requires that it shall be proportionally taxed, and the proprietary has the *quid pro quo* in the sum received for advertisements.

The paper duty is a fair tax as at present levied—that is, three halfpence on each pound of paper used; but were Government to say to each paper, "You shall pay a fixed sum for paper duty," this would be an injustice so gross as to be altogether unbearable. And yet this is the very thing which the Government does in demanding a fixed sum as advertisement duty—though in a modified degree—modified only so far that in the supposed case the *Times* would at once swallow up all other daily papers, while in the actual state of affairs it is quietly absorbing them, and rendering fresh competition impossible.



Let us hear the evidence of Mr. Horace Greeley, before a Committee of the House of Commons, upon this point:—

"The prices for advertising with us are from 1s. upwards, advertisements of public interest being inserted at the lowest rate. Now, an advertisement duty would destroy new papers. Its operation is this: your duty is the same on an advertisement in a journal where it is worth ten times as much—for instance, in a journal with 50,000, as in a journal with 2000, although the value of the article is twenty times as much in the one case as in the other: the duty operates precisely as though you were to lay a tax of 1s. a day on every day's labour that a man were to do,—on a man's labour which is worth, say, 2s., it would be destructive, while by that man who earns 20s. it would be very lightly felt. It would entirely destroy new papers. \* \* \* The advertising duty is an enormous help to any paper which has the most circulation: it tends to throw the advertising always on the greatest concern; and the persons who take (as I know men in this town do take) one journal mainly for its advertisements, must take the *Times*, because everything is advertised there, and advertisers must advertise in it for the same reason. If we had a duty on advertisements now, I will say, not only that it would be impossible to build a new concern up in New York against the competition of the older ones, but it would be impossible to preserve the weaker papers from being swallowed up by the stronger ones."

Such is the evidence of Mr. Horace Greeley, the architect of his own fortune, the principal proprietor of the best and cheapest newspaper in the world, the *New York Tribune*. Its editorial staff comprises the brightest intellects in America—Greeley, Bayard Taylor, and gentlemen of that calibre; and for one penny it is delivered to the subscribers in New York every morning between five and seven o'clock. If the people of this country desire to possess such a paper—if advertisers wish their announcements to appear at 1s. and upwards—if the young and struggling newspapers expect "a fair field and no favour"—now is the time to strike a blow at monopoly protected by taxation.

We do not anticipate that this could be accomplished during the present session; but by a vigorous and united effort, the advertisement duty, twice condemned by the House of Commons, could be at once swept away; and "young and struggling journals" would receive an approach to justice, while the free-supplement bribe would form an excellent argument for the total abolition of the stamp duty and the substitution of a graduated postal rate.

#### RUSSIA'S PRESENT POLITICAL POSITION IN RESPECT TO TURKEY.

##### LETTER VI.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—The position which Russia has gained in the European provinces of Turkey is the fruit of long years darkened by tergiversation and deceit, and rendered shameful by unprecedented trickery, and by the praiseworthy fraud of simulated friendship. Under the disreputable cloak of amicable representation, the Czars have meanly hidden their grasping and inordinate ambition: their honeyed words have turned to gall, and their kindly interest unfailingly led to destruction. The treaty of Jassi, in which Russia stipulated that the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia were not removable unless with her consent, paved the way for future iniquitous demands. Religion, that fertile seed of discord, brought forth additional troubles, and was constituted the exhaustless reservoir whence were drawn the causes of Russian indignation and the motives of Russian sympathy. This indignation and this sympathy, both for the Sultan and his rebellious subjects, and that too when the subjects and the monarch were in direct opposition to each other, has never been wanting. It has come unsolicited, it has even forced itself into prominence; it has done its duty of betrayal or destruction, and has then modestly retired into the background, either to remain in readiness for the next occasion, or itself to create the crisis which should call it into existence.

This clause respecting the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia is very singular and pre-eminently suggestive. The only parallel for such an unjustifiable and so unwonted a protectorate must be sought for at our own doors, and thus be brought home more familiarly to our understandings. The differences of religious

faith which separated Moldavia and Wallachia from Turkey, separate Ireland from England; and this protectorate finds its aptest illustration in the guarantee given to France by Great Britain that the viceroy of Ireland shall not be removable unless with the consent of Louis Napoleon, Emperor of the French! How monstrous, how utterly irreconcilable with all our preconceived notions of justice and international law does this protectorate appear, when viewed under the new light that this comparison affords us; and yet this protectorate is only one indication of that moderation which the Emperor Nicholas desires to persuade us he pursues towards the Porte, and this is only the first leaf of the great catalogue of Russia's professions of "interest in the maintenance of the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire."

The first rescript of the Sultan addressed to the Patriarchs of the Servians, and wherein the Porte recognises the independence of Servia, subject only to the payment of the yearly tribute, calls upon the Russian court to witness "how worthy" the rebellious Servians are of the Sultan's imperial graciousness. That imperial rescript goes on to state, that before "the free and perfectly independent internal administration; the uncontrolled exercise of its religion; the election of its own judges; the limitation of the taxes to a single tribute; the free erection of schools, presses, and hospitals," accorded by the Porte to the Servian nation in the treaty of Bucharest, and which were sanctioned in conjunction with Russia," could be carried into actual effect, war broke out again between the two countries, but that now peace being once more restored, the sixth article of the treaty of Adrianople confirms all the privileges and assurances then intended to be granted. And one clause of these privileges proclaimed that, with the exception of the garrisons of the fortresses, no Turk should be permitted to reside or to remain within the limits of the Servian frontier; and this too was also resolved upon, and witnessed by that friend to the integrity of Turkey the Emperor of all the Russias. Thus, sir, whatever may be said to the contrary, the test of treaties demonstrates the right of Russian interference, and the joint protectorate of Russia in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia. Established upon dishonourable precedent, wrung from a bosom friend exhausted by rebellions, created and maintained by their honest ally, Russia has always her references ready and her stipulations in her hands. But this *de facto* protectorate has been obtained by chicanery and oppression, and is endeavoured to be extended by the same means. Won at the point of the sword, the same weapon is called upon to support, to justify, and to enlarge it. According, sir, to the principles of British law, we should unhesitatingly reject the terms of an agreement obtained by coercion. It is only when nations are wronged, and when multitudes are sufferers, instead of units, that the requirements of justice are defeated. Oppression, supported on a gigantic scale by hundreds of thousands of bayonets, is much more respectable and much less punishable than the solitary crime of a solitary individual. If we intend to recognise this principle of the strongest, and are prepared to sanction it, let us at once vote Montesquieu a humbug, and Vattel an enlightened cheat!

And now, sir, Russia, blushing even that circumstances should compel her to demand "such a small trifle," modestly requests the Sultan, by an imperial rescript specially addressed to the Czar Nicholas, to affirm and extend certain other privileges to the Greeks. This rescript the Sultan does issue, but he does not address it specially to the wily Czar. For the Greek church in Turkey has its patriarch at Constantinople, and the Greek church in Russia recognises the Emperor Nicholas, both as its spiritual and temporal ruler! A rescript, therefore, addressed to the Czar guaranteeing the liberties and immunities of the religion of the Turko-Greeks, singularly resembles recognising him as *de facto et de jure* spiritual chief of the Turko-Greek church! And although the expressed intention of Nicholas was only to assure increased tolerance of the Greek faith, and although this has been assured by the Turkish rescript, Prince Menschikoff has left Constantinople, and the Russian army stands prepared to cross the Pruth to enforce the moderate and just claims "of the Russian Emperor." "But the treaty of Bula Liman contains no clause which could justify this invasion."

Did anybody say it did? Has any treaty ever contained clauses justifying the series of Russian invasions for years past? No, it is now as it always has been, and as it always will be, unless a powerful arm is stretched forth to forbid it. Russia desires yet greater influence amongst the Greek population of Turkey. This rescript, if addressed specially to the Czar, would confer that influence upon her; it is refused to be so specially addressed, but the prayer of toleration is granted, and a firman is forwarded to the metropolitan and dignitaries of the Greek church. Russia is not only dissatisfied, but defeated; therefore, the Greeks are shamefully oppressed—therefore, some power must interfere for their protection—therefore, Russia must interfere; and as the only effective manner of bringing the Porte to reason, the Danubian provinces must be invaded, and therefore Russia must invade, and prepares to invade them, and in all probability will invade them, treaties or no treaties to the contrary, notwithstanding.

And still more in the circular addressed by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg to its representatives at foreign Courts, M. Nesselrode has favoured us with the following unsolicited declaration:—

"I think it superfluous to tell you that there is not one word of truth in the pretensions attributed to us by some journals, of claiming either an addition of territory or a more advantageous regulation of our Asiatic frontier, or the right of nomination and revocation of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, or any other religious protectorate, tending to exceed that which we exercise traditionally, practically, and legally in Turkey, in virtue of our anterior treaties. You are sufficiently well acquainted with the policy of the Emperor to know that his Majesty does not wish the ruin and destruction of the Ottoman Empire, twice saved by it; that, on the contrary, it has always regarded, and still regards, the actual *statu quo* as the best possible combination to interpose between the European interests, which would not fail to come in violent contact with each other in the East if a vacuum was made; and that, as regards the protection of the Russo-Greek worship in Turkey, we do not need to watch over its interests any other rights than those assured to us by our treaties, our position, the influence resulting from the religious sympathy which exists between fifty millions of Russians of the Greek faith and the great majority of the Christian subjects of the Sultan: a secular influence and inevitable, because it is in facts, and not in words—an influence which the Emperor found ready made when he ascended the throne, and which he could not renounce, from deference to the unjust suspicions it arouses, without relinquishing the glorious inheritance of his august predecessors."

What a pity it is, sir, in presence of this manifestation of fraternal regard, that we are forced to remember the annexation of Bessarabia; the seizure of the only navigable mouth of the Danube; the very "regulation" of the Russian frontier in Asia, here so unequivocally denied, achieved by the annexation of Georgia and the ports on the Black Sea, the stimulated rebellion of Servia, Bosnia, and the other provinces of Turkey, and the demand of a bond for 13,000,000 francs for the expenses attendant upon occupying Moldavia and Wallachia, and more lately, the decided protection and support accorded to the rebellious Montenegrins! And then M. Nesselrode politely assures the Porte of the "secular influence inevitable" resting upon foundation of religious sympathy, &c., which the Russian Emperor enjoys. Of this influence in my next concluding letter.

But I wish to exhibit this friendly feeling entertained by Russia towards the Porte once and for all in its true light. Certain it is, that after Prince Daniel of Montenegro had been to Russia to complete his education, which purpose he effected in the unprecedentedly short period of two months, he had studied at democratic St. Petersburg to such marvellous effect; he had become so thoroughly imbued with that daring spirit of liberality which prevails there, that immediately on his return to Montenegro he proposed liberal reforms, diminutions of taxes, and set the whole country mad. The result is known; Turkey invaded the province, and Russia politely requested Omer Pasha to march his troops back again into Turkey. Prince Menschikoff shortly afterwards stated, "that he was very desirous to assure the Porte of the friendly disposition which the Emperor of Russia evinced towards Mahmoud, his august predecessor." It is true, sir, that Russia's testimonials of friendship have

always been of an unwontedly and unnecessarily dubious description. This affecting testimony alluded to was the invasion of Turkey, the treaty of Adrianople, and the destruction of the armies of the Sultan. But Prince Menschikoff also desired, and this also in the beginning of the late embassy, to assure the present Sultan of the continuance of this favourable disposition, and viewed in a Russian light he succeeded most convincingly. He despatched commissioners to hold negotiations with the Sultan's rebellious subjects, whom he had already prevented the Porte from chastising, and whose return to allegiance he had rendered improbable by compelling the disastrous retreat of the Turkish forces. He held "long conferences with Khosra Pasha, who negotiated in 1833 the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, who is one of the most devoted partisans of Russia, and who has not been allowed to take any part in public affairs since the death of Mahmoud," he despatched "officers of his suite to Caltaro and the isles of the Archipelago," and represented these trips as parties of pleasure, with which comfortable object these persons had of course travelled from St. Petersburg to Constantinople, and for which they had solely been attached to the embassy! Should Russia fail this time, sir, through the united action of the European powers, be assured the mine has been laid which in some future day she will spring with far greater certainty, and with far greater effect.

#### "A STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

If Englishmen would study their country in its aspects this week, they might be in danger of reaching the conclusion, that for the present it is not a country to be immensely proud of.

Prominently, the conversations, on Thursday, in Lords and Commons as to when debates on the Russo-Turkish question are to take place, should attract the attention of an enlightened public. Next, some observation is due to the proceedings in the Commons on Tuesday, when, furnishing new proofs that it is a club, and not a national senate, party tactics succeeded among indifferent members in shirking a great question—was it true (as Mr. Drummond's amendment alleged), that all Boards of Admiralty administer their department in a corrupt spirit? Then, the list of minor questions, occupying the week, is remarkable. On Wednesday, a bill was brought in to diminish the scandal of Simony in the National Church. On Tuesday, Mr. Collier obtained a great Parliamentary success, which no one ever anticipated, by a comprehensive speech on the villainies of our Ecclesiastical Courts. Another three hours, on the same day, were devoted to a consideration of the expediency of legislative interference to check the enormous mortality consequent upon improper systems of labour in our factories and mills. The hideous extent of juvenile delinquency has, conspicuously, been another. Altogether, though we have got rid of the remainder of the petition committees, there is nothing in the "business" of the Parliamentary week to suggest national pride.

A great nation is to be kept in suspense as to the chances of a great war, because Lord John Russell has gone sick to bed! Europe may tremble: but Lord John must cure a diarrhoea. Trade may stop: but Lord John must have his chalk mixtures. Well, if the great and self-governing, enlightened nation is content, why not? Certainly, when Peel disappeared, the country kept itself up. Certainly, when Wellington died, the funds did not greatly descend. And we have still in the House of Commons Lord Palmerston, who does know one or two things about Foreign affairs. But we can't do without Lord John; no, we cannot get through a foreign policy debate without Lord John. You would not suppose that, from the talk in society about him; from the way the House pours out when he rises; from the sneering negatives about him in the journals. But we now know his value; and crave for Cincinnatus from Richmond—at least the postponement of Mr. Layard's motion—which turns up with as much difficulty as a Nineveh monument—from Friday till Monday, and over Monday, perhaps again, if Lady John Russell remains nervous, was taken as a matter of course; the tone almost indicating that if the Queen had requested a prorogation because Lord John wanted rest, the Commons would have ordered cabs and gone to the railways meekly. In the Lords, on Thursday, the postponement of Lord Clanricarde's motion was put upon different grounds, but upon grounds just as slightly complimentary to a self-governing people. Because a mystery balances an impertinence, the "public service," the ready friends of fidgety and weak Lord Clarendon suggested to the feignedly coy Lord

Clanricarde, might be injured by a discussion: but why? The people are regarded by the Peers just as Rabelais's poulettes were regarded by the cook; they may object to being either boiled or roasted, when the cook puts to them which process they will prefer, and the cook's comment on the answer is, that it is not to the point: the English nation is to be permitted by the Peers to discuss the measures of the Government after the Government has acted—may recommend peace when we are in the midst of war, or may demand war after disgraceful conditions of peace have been conceded by the Government. The English nation must be convinced that it is a fine thing to have representative institutions, and to be self-governing; and the self-government is illustrated in the Cabinet crisis hanging over our heads this ten days, some saying that Lord Aberdeen had resigned, and some saying that he had not, and neither party being believed, and the people having no say whatever in the business; and if we were to have our rulers changed from an austere intriguer to an intriguer who is not austere—which is the ambition of young Toryism—nobody being entitled to declare a preference, except, of course, the very responsible sovereign who is well known to be determined towards an amicable alliance with Louis Napoleon for the purpose of crushing Russia, and who, therefore, is not afraid of a war, and consequently not disposed to sacrifice national interests to the interests of the Coburgs and the Orleanists. Self-government may also be illustrated in a consideration of the course taken on the India bill. Everybody who is of any weight disapproves of this bill; but the House of Commons consists of the delegates of the governing classes, and there is not a family of the governing classes which has not some distinct direct or indirect interest in sustaining the misgovernment of India; and the result is that a bill to continue indefinitely the villainies of British governing classes in India, is to be passed, with a few modifications, by an overwhelming majority.

But to come to proper, however unpatriotic conclusions as to that crack West-end club, the House of Commons, we must look minutely to its workings on Tuesday night, in relation to Mr. Keating's proposal of a vote of censure on the Earl of Derby's Board of Admiralty. Let us look back and recollect the origin of the discussion. When Lord Derby, last summer, made his reluctant appeal to the country, all that Tory corruption could do was done to obtain a favourable new Parliament. Mr. Stafford, the Secretary to the Admiralty, and to whom the First Lord handed all that sort of management, made desperate efforts to use his official influence for his party's political purpose; and his sins having been partly acknowledged, after equivocations, and partly discovered, a committee was this year appointed by the new House of Commons to inquire into his proceedings, and this committee reported to the House that all the allegations were true; that Mr. Stafford had corruptly and dishonourably erased an order which regulated promotions in the Dock-yards; had corruptly and dishonourably canvassed in the Dock-yards for his political friends; had corruptly and dishonourably given a dinner to his political friends, and charged that dinner to the expenses of his official department. This report was severe; but in the public estimate a more direct censure would have been justified by the destructive evidence elicited by the committee. The report was read at the bar of the House—and then? In the simple popular apprehension impeachment was a natural thing to follow; at least the voluntary retirement of Mr. Stafford into private life was expected. The Duke of Northumberland, Mr. Stafford's first Lord, had long been guessed corrupt in a negative way; he had not been criminal; he had only been—unwise; but so unwise that some public apology, by himself or by his friends, was to be anticipated. Nothing of the kind. The evening of the report, Mr. Stafford sauntered about jauntily, Mr. Disraeli did not look abashed, the Government grinned, the Radical patriots frowned, the House was indifferent; the report was to be a dead letter. A young member, not familiar with the morale of the club, comes forward, and proffers himself as public prosecutor. But he could only give notice of motion: after Easter, notices of motion are confined to Tuesdays, and for place on Tuesday every notice has to ballot with competitors; so that Mr. Keating had to wait till Tuesday next, and was then third or fourth on the list. It was a charge that a great department had betrayed its trust—that the Navy had been sold to the Carlton Club; and club, if not general excitement and interest, would have been in due course. The nation did not know the matter was coming on; the club was excited simply as to the best means of getting rid of the business without further scandal. Driven to a vote, the majority in the House would probably carry the motion; or, worse, carry Mr. Drummond's characteristic amendment; but every one in the House,

Sir Benjamin Hall and Mr. Keating excepted, wanted to avoid a vote. The club doesn't like that sort of question; and it is an understanding between all parties, and tacitly there was an understanding between Government and the Tory Opposition on Tuesday, that the Keating class of innocents is not to be encouraged—the club's dirty linen, of that description, being best washed and dried in the smoking room. But Mr. Keating displayed moral courage in giving the notice; and he displayed the same quality in insisting on bringing it on. He was pumped in the lobby, wheedled in the House, bullied everywhere; but on he would bring his motion. Matters then looked serious for Mr. Stafford, on Tuesday; but he is so rich, so clever, and such a doosed good fellow, the club couldn't allow him to be harmed; and Mr. Disraeli hit upon a method of evasion, which was perhaps a desperate resource, and not quite worthy of a responsible statesman—he determined to trick Mr. Keating out of the vote. He collected and talked confidentially with his solemnest tones; Lord John Manners undertook to speak an hour or two on the Factory motion, which preceded Mr. Keating's; and Mr. Edward Ball, a lymphatic Lablache, groaned deep acquiescence, and engaged to save the Conservative party by employing the House, and keeping off Keating. "Keep Keating off till eleven," was the word passed, "and then he can't go on, it will be too late." Ball groaned, and Manners lisped, pursuant to promise; and by their displays justified Mr. Disraeli's selection of them, as the most tedious and insipid of orators; but at last came eleven o'clock, and worse, the House, which seemed to have faith in Keating's resolution, was filling—Covent Garden and Pall Mall electric telegraph having notified to mourning senators that Ball was down, that Manners had given way. What was to be done? Mr. Disraeli, in a by-the-by way, suggested that it was late, somewhat too late, for that full discussion which he and his friends desired; perhaps Mr. Keating would consent to a postponement? "Yes," said Mr. Keating, "if the Government will give me a day." "Exactly," said Mr. Disraeli. "Pray, Lord John" (knowing Lord John wouldn't) "give Mr. Keating a day." "Really," mumbled Lord John, "India—Budget—Education—must prorogue before Christmas: can't, indeed." What more important than the House's censure of corrupt administrators? But Lord John takes the club view, and regarded Mr. Keating as a bore, and had already acquitted Mr. Stafford's personal honour. In that case, then, Mr. Keating would go on; and amid the miserably malignant cries of "Oh, oh," and the baffled scowls of a corrupt faction, on Mr. Keating went, with creditable equanimity, in well-bred repose of manner, and with an honest determination to say the truths he had made up his mind to tell. He told them, in great detail, but the detail was necessary to the force of the charge; and despite the continuous roars at him from the one side, and the still more vexatious restive carelessness of the other, Mr. Keating did not finish till he had satisfied himself that he had done his duty. This was after midnight. Sir John Pakington was put up by Mr. Disraeli as a good available bore. With unaffected truth Sir John Pakington declared that he could not debate—that he was incapable—that his party was incapable of an off-hand reply to a speech. The party cheered! The Government smiled. Mr. Disraeli was vexed. And then Sir John went into a lengthy, ejaculatory gossip about the late Government in general, and the Duke of Northumberland in particular: not a glimmer of a reply to Mr. Keating—not a trace of a conception of the gravity of the accusation; and this took till after the first small hour. Then comes Mr. H. Drummond with a well-known Parliamentary red-herring,—an amendment to the effect that the pot was disintegrated by his own colour to sneers at the blackness of the kettle—that all Boards of Admiralty were alike corrupt. A still graver accusation; but loud cheers;—the cheers of people who have escaped a dilemma from the Tories;—loud laughter from the Ministerialists. Odd; but, as it was said, H. Drummond "does hit home so." On the whole, the club was in raptures with Henry Drummond; he had given Mr. Disraeli a splendid card to play. But Mr. Disraeli, who on this occasion evinced remarkable capacity for party leadership, was sagacious enough to see that it was a card which would keep; and he accordingly passed the word to play the rest of the pack first. Hence the appearance of nobody after nobody out of the Tory ranks, with motions for adjournment of the House, of the debate, of everything, anything; the white vests and white neckcloths, tipsy, as is the rule of the young patricians of the club after eleven, were quite reckless, so they could get Stafford off. And they did. At two, Lord John had gone home, and the lead of the House began to be rational; and easy Lord Palmerston gave way; and the House was wearied of divisions



and it was, then, very fine to hear Mr. Disraeli, as he threw back his coat flaps and put himself into the attitude of a conqueror, agree to the adjournment, intimating that he would regard the division (for and against going home) as a division for and against the Derby Board of Admiralty. The effrontery was sublime, the more that it succeeded, and *did* effectually get rid of the question.—Mr. Keating not having that weight in the land which would render his accusatory oration of consequence to the Tories. It was a hard fought and an exciting sight; and the white vests and white neckcloths—(why will young politicians, knowing their faces will be crimson at midnight, wear such garments?)—went home in the cool morning light, well content with themselves and the club, and with a profound heartily expressed aversion for “snobs,” who, like Sir Benjamin Hall and Mr. Keating, will not permit a “fellow” to do what he can for his party. The Government members and ministerialist classes, enjoyed the fun just as much; and the Purists are so few that their feelings need not be calculated. And of what avail is it, after such a set of scenes, such a tactique, such an exhibition of lax political morality, to assure the club that though it is careless and corrupt, the country condemns? The Duke of Northumberland will return his members in the north, and Mr. Stafford will give his dinners in the west, just as usual; and what cares either for the abstract head-shaking of a great nation which believes it is self-governed, and is proud of its representative institutions? “A STRANGER.”

Saturday Morning.

#### OXFORD UNIVERSITY COMMISSION.

VI.\*

PATIENT waiting sometimes has its recompense, sometimes not. We have tarried, hoping that that Association of Tutors, to whose labours, as based upon what the *Times* called “a perception of affairs not likely to be surpassed elsewhere,” we have been directed to look for a satisfactory scheme of University reform, would, before long, give us another “instalment of their views.” *Rusticus expectat.*—And now that Commemoration and Installation are over, and hall and chapel empty, the whole subject is discarded, for a time, with who knows what chances of further postponement! Long vacations are useful to many besides the overworked lawyer. They shelve disagreeable questions, and open vistas of a comfortable limbo for India bills, episcopal settlements, and University Commissions. Conscience, too, favours the situation: for the corporate conscience is always comfortable, and, if it cannot boldly assert that to-day is as yesterday, at least it can undergo a moderate martyrdom, for the sake of bearing its testimony that to-morrow shall be as to-day. There is, indeed, Lord John Russell’s warning of the finger, whereat corporate conscience changes colour.

How to diminish the cost of an Oxford degree? Such is the only question which appears thus far to have occupied the venerable energies of the University, and in what fashion has even this question been met? A body of teachers should have regard, above all, to the interests of sound education. They should discard all that might interfere with that object, nor hesitate, if necessary, to sacrifice for it even “that domestic control and discipline,” which have hitherto given a distinctive character to Oxford. Of what service to education is that distinctive character, when no students remain? They should dare to disclaim the artificial distinctions which genius and learning have never recognised, and, condemning alike the tuft and the untasseled cap, should have carefully abstained from substituting for these gradations of status, on the score of economy, which would, if adopted, restore, in time, all those remnants of a barbarous age. The highest and humblest of our schools teach a better lesson than that which the Oxford tutors inculcate. Eton and King’s School are republics, and Oxford has profited little by those classic antiquarian stores, for which she slighted all other sources of knowledge, if she has not learned that letters wither where rank and wealth enjoy the sunshine of academic favour.

The Tutor’s Association, on the ground of discussing that safest, and, in one light, silliest, of questions, University extension (just as though building Halls, or licensing M.A.’s to board poor students would bring them) has abstained from touching the Colleges. Not a word for all their extravagant and vested interests, their mysterious and perhaps fraudulent battells (the Commissioners declare that in some Colleges a percentage is said to be added for the advantage of the Fellows); for the extortions of scouts little differing from thefts. The representatives of 550 Fellows, whose College revenues amount to some 150,000*l.*, leave the Colleges as they found or made them, aristocratic and

extravagant. They do not pretend to agree with Dr. Whately, who denies that a man can live in decent lodgings at less cost than if he had College rooms and dined at the Hall table. They know that the “reasonable charges” made for rooms, tuition, battells, &c., make the cost of a degree from six hundred to a thousand pounds (one gentleman calls 725*l.* a very low sum). Indeed, the delirious extravagance which often closes the orgies of the wine party by “running a tick,” has been in no slight degree fostered by the difficulty of calculating what the annual College expenses will amount to. All these irregularities incident to College bills are known to the Tutors, and their remedy for them is to leave their own societies as they are, and by affiliated Halls, and Heaven knows what besides, to open to men of frugal habits and moderate means, a postern by which to creep to a degree.

The Tutors neither expect nor desire any extension of the University through the medium of the Colleges, which, in fact, are by no means full now. In 1846, the vacant rooms were sixty or seventy, and the number is now considerably greater. The *prestige* of Oxford is to be kept up by Fellows who divide a handsome surplus, and by Under-graduates who spend largely and dress well. For the people at large, who very inconveniently, and, according to Mr. Mansell, very absurdly, may, with sundry changes of University administration and instruction, press to Oxford for a degree, the Tutors have a scheme by which they will practically understand the old distinctions between commoners and servitors. They will virtually find themselves sitting below the salt, trenchermen, bearers to table of the feast of which they will partake at an humble distance. Their Oxford homes will have nicknames—Poor Man’s Hall—Bastille—and the honourable cares of poverty, its sweet and scanty fare and scrupulous self-denials, become matter of sarcasm or dull jest to the lounging tooth-picks of the College-hall. The Tutors know that the association of commoners and servitors has been productive of a thousand petty but severe annoyances to the latter, and yet they think to establish a grade of students who would be deprived of those opportunities of establishing good fellowship or friendship with their more fortunate fellow-students, which living under the same College-roof supplies. They are wedded to their theory of “domestic discipline,” and therefore they will have none of those who might practice in Oxford “the brave struggles” so often witnessed in the Scottish Universities, if admitted as of old without being forced to join any College or Hall. There, a man will pass his five months, at an expense of eleven or twelve pounds—nay, of five, spending his superfluous money in books. He will go home and work at farm labour, in order to come up the next session to College—“such a man as,” says the evidence from Aberdeen, “will be an honour to any profession;” but he must by no means ask for permission to reside at Oxford if unconnected with College or Hall. The Halls are almost all gone, and those which remain are, with little exception, in doubtful odour. We hear complaints of their being rather *loci licentie* than *loci penitentiae*. The Colleges are luxurious and slothful; yet must all comers join one or other, or something modelled upon one or other. Our morals and domestic discipline require it, else Oxford will be contaminated, especially if men try to live on twenty or thirty pounds for the session in lodgings, selecting—shocking to say—their own tutors, or perhaps worse—disregarding them *in toto*. A good professoriate would make such a contingency often very likely.

Now, the fact is that all these ingenious and elaborate schemes of extending the University while leaving the Colleges to their *lettered* repose, is mere labour lost. How idle to pretend to be serious in calculations respecting the minimum costs of a degree through the agency of charitable foundations and rigorous supervision, when nothing is better known than this, that an Oxford education is dear at any price. Nor will the statute of 1850 itself, requiring, as it does, three several examinations in the school of Literæ Humaniores, largely tend to counteract the present influences of the place, which certainly do not tend to draw to it that middle class blood, mingled in no stinted measure with that of the artisan, without which no educational institutions can preserve vitality. There is still too much of the *toujours perdrix*. Mr. Lowe remarks (*Ev.* 13) that he had seen “in Australia, Oxford men placed in positions in which they had reason bitterly to regret that their costly education, while making them intimately acquainted with remote events and distant nations, had left them in utter ignorance of the laws of Nature, and placed them under immense disadvantages in that struggle with her which they had to maintain.” Such words have their application still, as Oxford will find when she invites new comers on her cheap system. Let her dare to discard her own traditions, and the practice of

even the most liberal of our institutions, and require as a necessity no further evidence of classical knowledge than may be required for scientific investigation, and it will be seen, with a large and earnest professoriate, whether Oxford cannot vindicate University studies against Carlyle’s formidable indifference. At present, nothing is more “a sham.” No study flourishes. Oxford still educates a large proportion of the clergy; but learned theologians, observe the Commissioners, are very rare in the University, and, in consequence, still rarer elsewhere. No efficient means exist for training candidates for holy orders in those studies which belong peculiarly to their profession. Oxford has ceased to be a school of medicine; the few who take medical degrees there with a view to social consideration, study their profession elsewhere. Nor is the number of barristers educated at the University by any means increasing. Of these neglected, and, so far as Oxford is concerned, almost exhausted professions, some attempts are being made to inspire the least promising—the first. Lord Derby recommends a separate school of theology; sundry true friends of reform desire a school of lay theology. Very good, but somewhat awkward for the clergy. What detection of vamped sermons! What discernment in plagiarisms!—nay, what unkenning of heresy and false doctrine!—what reduction of prelate and priestly dimensions to primitive godly simplicity! For the rest, that other school, it is mere talk. Oxford will never see a school of theology. Is not admission of Dissenters looming in the distance? And even were it not so, how can this poor distracted compromise of a Downing-street Church, affect to teach theology to expound articles and catechisms, and dogmatise on sacramental systems? Why, its National Society meets in a fright, listens to some talking about irregular baptisms in a panic, and closes its convulsions with a hasty scramble out of the way of “that horrid Denison,” and a “thank God it’s no worse!” No, the Church of England will not establish a clerical school of theology in Oxford.

(To be continued.)

#### “PREPAID TAXATION.”

LETTER III.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—In common, I believe, with many others, I think that class-taxation is invidious and unjust, quite as much so as class-Protection was or can be.

To tax a man to enable him to carry on a trade, and likewise to tax him by the success of that trade, may receive the sanction of Parliament, but such a law, though in force, can never on principle be *admired*. It has neither the sanction of common-sense nor ordinary honesty; besides which, it must be admitted to be a departure from the principles of *Free-trade* now ruling the destinies of our country.

In looking around to discover how we may the better supply “the public chest” upon *safe* principles, (and by *safe* I mean such principles as will receive the sanction and the contented and enduring approval of “the masses,”) there cannot, I think, be much fear of failure if we apply a moderate tax which shall reach every man in his turn, and by an universal action obtain without oppression or *party-favour* the means for which we are seeking.

It is related, as I have read, that at one period in the history of *Holland*, the taxes were oppressive to such a degree, that murmurs were heard on all sides, and that the Government applying itself to the relief of the sufferers by offering a reward, induced an ingenious *financier* to originate a new method, which he did by suggesting a stamp on paper, or as we may more properly term it, “stamped paper.” I am not prepared to say that his idea was acted upon to any extent, nor what it may have produced, but I think that in a busy country like ours, with its multifarious transactions “on paper,” that an immense revenue might be obtained from the ways and by the suggestions forming the subject-matter of my former letters. There is a tax, as we all well know, on the *manufacture of paper*—and an abominably inquisitorial tax it acknowledgedly is! Trade, which ought to be free, is crippled and confined by it, and an array of officials employed to *collect* the impost.

It is necessary to bear in mind, when considering the taxes which I have proposed in my former letters as part of the scheme of “Prepaid Taxation,” that I am not proposing to lay more taxes on “the people”—my object and aim are to raise a revenue by means simple and inoppressive in their application, so as to relieve those who now suffer under a burden from taxation, and to check that *enormous evil*, the expenses of *collection*. I am aware that at the present time, no one proposing fresh taxes either ought to or can obtain favour. I do not in effect propose *further*, but *other* taxes.

Bearing this principle in mind, I have reason to

believe that a "penny tax" on the different law, commercial, and general documents I have to some extent set out in my former letters, would create a revenue much beyond what was at first anticipated; and I have prepared a schedule of such law, commercial and general "paper-writings," comprising a vast variety of documents, most of them in daily use, and which may be extended or contracted, as circumstances shall require, which will fully bear out my calculations!

Considering the principle of taxation I have stated as applied to "law proceedings," there cannot be a doubt that the increase of expense is a bar to the extension of that principle to any large amount, but it was not considered when the subject of those duties came under enlightened review, some years ago, that a large amount of revenue might have been obtained, and yet a boon given to "the public," by retaining a small amount. A very large revenue might be obtained without an unequal pressure on those who require "law documents" either for the prosecution of their rights or for their defences against any unjust claims, or with regard to the transactions (under "law forms") which belong to the sale or transfer of estates. A small impost (a "penny stamp" on the documents referred to) would realize a large aggregate *prepaid* amount.

In a commercial point of view, there could not be any serious objection to the adoption of a small impost on the scheduled writings in my former letters, or on writings of a like nature; but it may be said that if it can be made to produce so large an aggregate amount as 700,000*l.* a year, it must fall heavily *somewhere*. Now, I should very much doubt whether, in most instances, any receipt be given for salaries paid by cheques, the "crossed cheque" (and more especially when accompanied with the endorsed name of the *evading* receiver or payee) being deemed sufficient, and so in many other cases; and a general "bill of discovery" under "equity law," by some "informing adept," would show up the contents of a *qua* "curiosity-shop." All this class of cases, therefore, is merely brought by this plan under the operation of the Stamp-Act on receipts. It is true the payment would not fall on the payee, as it does at present, but I think the protection (and really we must have protection as a quasi "*Free-trade Protection*," after all) to the payer, by declaring it to be as valid as a "*receipt-stamp*,"—in fact, to be a substitute, (namely, a "delivery-stamp;" and what is a newspaper-stamp but a "delivery-stamp?") would compensate for that which, under the present system, is no real protection whatever. As regards other cheques for government duties, bills, commercial transactions, payment of rent, and purchase-moneys, it is presumed that the transactions are so multifarious, that though the revenue to be derived would be *very large*, there would not be any payment from any one party exceeding 30*l.* per annum. At any rate, any party giving these cheques can in every instance be assured that he is protected from penalties! It is well known that some thousands of millions of pounds sterling pass through the hands of the *London bankers* in the course of a year; and I think the immense profit arising from the sale of consignments might well afford a penny duty on the delivery of goods on the dock-warrants, &c.

The general list which I offered, and which embraced, as its largest item, "*railway tickets*," can be supported on the principle, that, in these "*travelling days*," it will reach nearly every one, and yet be so moderate as to raise a smile rather than a shrug, or any aversion at all; and I think that it would afford matter of congratulation, rather than otherwise, that, in our "*fashionable amusements*," we were giving something to relieve "*the springs of industry*," by paying a penny, *beforehand*, on the ticket of admission. The schedules, which I have rather elaborately prepared, but which I cannot trespass on your space for insertion, include such a variety of items, and capable of almost illimitable and boundless extension, that "the public" would be found, as the day passed, giving their contributions, and adding, as it were, *unconsciously* to the stability of the "Government of the day."

It must be borne in mind that, in continuing the Income-tax and assessed taxes, we so far perpetuate the system, now generally condemned, of maintaining an immense array of *officials*, (who have now, *inter alios*, "the Diggings" and lands of gold open to them,) to carry out the law, and bring the fruits of it into the Exchequer. The expense of this establishment is very great, and it must create surprise to hear the Government congratulate itself upon having saved the country such a sum as 100,000*l.* a year, while, at the same time, the suppression of that establishment, which ought to increase its facility tenfold, is sedulously passed by, as not requiring heed or remark; and therefore pray let this letter on a *penny prepaid stamped-paper newspaper*, be respectfully entertained, as a gentle suggestion. I will not enlarge on the statement

of Mr. Hume, that the Income-tax is, at any rate, only half collected, but we may be sure that, in many cases, it is avoided.

Here are two evils, both of a financial character, which are very great, and which might be avoided, by other modes of raising the revenue.

It has become the principle of leading statesmen of the present day, to proceed as if *consumption* had reached its *highest figure*, as regards the money which, by the course of taxation, is brought to the Exchequer. In fact it seems to have been regarded as a hint, that other modes of taxation should be sought for! Another principle mutually agreed upon, by the heads of all parties, is, that taxation, as it previously stood, could not, upon the new system of trading, raise a revenue, and therefore that a *direct* system of taxation was the means left them. Indirect taxation, or, in other words, customs-duties, having been abandoned, it certainly was necessary that recourse should be had to some other mode of taxation, but I think that impassively following the steps of Pitt and Peel, and by declining to investigate the subject, either with their own resources or from the *suggestions* of others, the "leading men" of the day have missed their way, and will, ere long, find themselves without followers.

It is impossible to assert, having in view the principles of taxation, and the purposes for which it is levied, that the expenses of the Government of this country are within fair limits. The expenses exceed by what they ought, *fully a third*. So much before we proceed to consider what are the principles upon which taxation should proceed.

Taxation, to be bearable, should be equally spread, and every man in a condition to do so should contribute. It should be raised without oppression, inquisition, or expense. Our country having gradually emerged from the oppression practised under the system of "*farming*" taxes, and from the tyranny of "arbitrary" taxes, is, let us hope, destined to escape from the exciseman and the "*surcharge*" system, and to find itself at comparative ease with "*prepaid taxation*." The fact is, that so wedded are people, even in this "go-a-head age," to old ideas, that they expect a "*budget*" as regularly as a "*pantomime*," but it is a mere prejudice, and I am satisfied that a scheme of taxation may be devised which will supersede much of the conventional characteristics of our Chancellors of the Exchequer.

As the water now so interferes with the land, let there be, for the benefit of the poor farmer, a Water-tax. Let us have a "sea-tax," and prepayments can well be borne by her who "walks the waters like a thing of life," much to the relief of the land. It must come to a "Sea-tax" as well as a "Land-tax," for there is the flow of population. On the ocean are always now migratory tenements of human abode. There are the prepayments to be had, and comparatively not felt!

It must be hurtful to commerce and to trade to be expecting changes, and to have a *remission* or *addition* of duties brought forward in the way to which we have been accustomed, without having the power and even the firmness to insist upon them. It is utterly impossible, notwithstanding its main features are good, that the present scheme will attain its proposed existence, inasmuch as the Income-tax is *fundamentally* vicious, (all taxes are, of course, only expedient, but there is a morbid expediency with reference to Income-tax.) It is not acquiesced in by the nation at large, and no minister of statesmanship, nor any other party, will ever make it popular. Now, a proposition to put a trifling prepaid tax upon such things as enter into quasi consumption, avoids both the difficulties of a "Poll-tax" and a tax upon food, and yet would realize a large amount. Its amount, too, would not vary, and if it did, it would be rather on the increase than otherwise. It would avoid the expenses of *collection*, and might, with a firm purpose, be rendered independent of pains and penalties!

Let legislators feel that the "Corn laws" are not substantially repealed until the Malt-tax be repealed! Wheat-corn and barley-corn ought to be synonymous. Can Sir John Barleycorn call the present state of affairs Free-trade? Impossible!

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

RICHARD JOHN COLE.

12, Furnival's Inn, June 16, 1853.

AGREEMENT.—He who agrees with himself agrees with others. It has struck me that I believe in the truth of those ideas only which are productive to my mind, which assimilate to my modes of thinking, and assist my progress. For it is not only possible, but also very natural, that such an idea does not assimilate to other minds,—that, instead of assisting, it impedes their progress, and that they think it wrong and erroneous. Any one who is convinced of this, will never engage in a controversy.—From *Goethe's Opinions*.



## Open Council.

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

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

### BRITISH BEER.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—Your remarks on "Free-trade in British Beer" are well-timed and true. No other journals have taken up that point, of the monopoly being rooted in the soil. Being largely connected with the building interests, I am prepared to prove what you say to be true. But it must be said, in justice to the builder, that he does not at all times reap the benefit of the licence being so sold, seeing that the original ground landlord oftentimes gets more ground rent for the spot whereon to build the public-house, than for an ordinary house. "Thirsty Soul," and other writers in the *Times*, ask how is it that the great brewers do not answer them? Had those clever but half-informed writers known what you have stated, they would not have asked so foolish a question; for so long as land is let in the manner it is, and so long as ground landlords derive a benefit from placing the sale of beer and spirituous liquors in the category of "soap-boiling," "bone-crushing," and other offensive kinds of business transactions, so long will the large brewers have a monopoly. More than that, I am not so certain that the public cares so much about the monopoly of the great brewers. Having had some experience on that point, I am inclined to doubt it. The only effectual method of destroying the monopoly would be for the public to take their own affairs in their own hands, either by combination or by singly brewing for themselves.—I am, &c.,

WILLIAM STEVENS.

Metropolitan and Provincial Joint Stock Brewery Company, 13, Upper Wellington-street, Strand, London, July 6, 1853.

### NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Replies to some of our correspondents are necessarily suspended during the temporary absence of the Editor. The question of "*A FOLLOWER*" shall be answered in our next number.

We have received many inquiries for the *Letters of a Vagabond*. They have only been kept out by the press of matter during a busy session. They will shortly be resumed, and brought to the conclusion.

THE TEACHING OF NECESSITY.—A grand necessity elevates man; a small one degrades him.—From *Goethe's Opinions*.

FAULTS IN THOSE WE LOVE.—The discovery of faults in those whom we believed to be perfect, is always a sad temptation to injustice. Our vanity is concerned; we have deceived ourselves but do not acknowledge it, and insist on believing that we have been imposed upon by others. And we fling guilt, annoyance, and hatred on a person, who certainly was not the cause of our mistaking him for what he never desired to be thought.—From *Goethe's Opinions*.

FIRST LOVE.—She put down her veil again immediately; her lips moved involuntarily as she lowered it: I thought I could see, through the lace, that the slight movement ripened to a smile. Still there was enough left to look on—enough to charm. There was the little rim of delicate white lace, encircling the lovely, dusky throat; there was the figure visible, where the shawl had fallen open, slender, but already well developed in its slenderness, and exquisitely supple; there was the waist, naturally low, and left to its natural place and natural size; there were the little millinery and jewellery ornaments that she wore—simple and common-place enough in themselves—yet each a beauty, each a treasure, on her. There was all this to behold, all this to dwell on, in spite of the veil. The veil! how little of the woman does it hide, when the man really loves her!—COLLINS'S *Basil*.



## Literature.

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

LAST week we complained that men were taught sciences but not Science, and that their facile credulity no less than their vicious logic were mainly to be attributed to this neglect. We have now before us a thoughtful and noticeable pamphlet issued from Manchester—*Shall the Poor only receive Education?*—in which the writer points out the pernicious consequences of such neglect as seen in the great manufacturing districts. While everybody is crying out "Educate the people!"—and crying louder in Manchester than elsewhere—it seems to this writer that the people do not stand in so much need of education as the rich. They who are to lead and to govern need more light than their followers:—

"We are in fact suffering severely from ignorance; every man in his own business or profession sees it abundantly. How difficult after all it is to find either a good workman, or a thoroughly taught and scientific man. In many trades a workman may be taught by the greatest stranger to his business, if he has only a little common sense, and some systematically arranged knowledge; whole years of experience among ordinary workmen seem to have produced no more knowledge than a few well taught days would have done. But the same of masters; how difficult it is to find a good manager who is properly the master as he ought to be in knowledge; how valuable he is when found, and how likely to turn out the true master in all respects. The sons of the employer and the employed are taught only the rudiments of education, the mere foundation, leaving the building quite out; they enter trades or manufactures without a principle, and only those who have unusual thinking power manage during a life to form principles for themselves. These attempts are often sufficiently crude, and would be excessively amusing, were it not painful to think that this principle which they do discover is often perfectly absurd, and has been formed after a great effort, and that a right one might as easily have been put into its place with only a slight effort. We know how hard it is to evolve principles out of a collection of facts. It has been the work of the great men of all times, but we leave it to every man to do it as he best may. It is only in professions, and not all these, where principles are taught, and the tradesmen are left to depend on their own vigour of mind. Some of our trades depend on the result of the most minute investigations of nature; their success depends on the principles being strictly adhered to; their progress depends on the principles being so well known that a new step becomes possible. But what do we find to be the case? For no trade or manufacture is there a place where a man may learn the principles on which he must work. There are engineers and machinists among us, but how is it possible that many of them can know their work except as an art. The bad shoemaker must always be making apologies for the leather. We spend millions on railways, millions on legal fees to get railways, millions on engineers, but not a penny to teach these engineers, whether the civil engineer or the driver of the engine. It is simply because the very leaders are ignorant; something more than the standard of the general body of the people must be a standard for them.

"We really have done so well without education that we almost imagine ourselves superior to the wants of a mere school. I grant the wonderful energy of mind which has produced all the great results around us, but it is because there is so much to admire, that we should be anxious for improvement; the more rapidly the horses run the more steady-handed and sharp-eyed must be the driver. We must remember, too, how hard it is for any man to originate a thought, how few have it in their power to learn by experience or by observation the secrets of nature. We see whole generations spent in eliciting truths which the most moderate intellect can absorb in an instant, and see to be essentially true. We may infer, therefore, that a man may know all the principles of his trade or profession, if well taught; but his whole life, even if he be a talented man, may be spent in eliciting one principle, if he be left to himself; and if he be not talented, even this one principle will escape detection."

He concludes, therefore, that we should have schools for principles; schools wherein, besides the acquisition of a special art or science, the pupils may educate their minds by generalities, and when learning a speciality, may learn it thoroughly. We have no space to follow this writer's exposition of the plan he proposes, but we direct attention to his pamphlet as the best which has come under our notice for a long while.

Education is the subject of an able and amusingly-written article in the *Westminster Review*, wherein ridicule and logic are brought to bear against the "sectarian Cerberus—that monster with many heads, and all of them rabid." The writer traces the history of the attempts to secure secular education in England, and the history is damning to all the sects. Another article in the same Review presents a formidable array of facts and arguments against the somewhat increasing tendency to *Over-legislation*, or the belief in the efficacy of life according to Acts of Parliament. "Though we no longer presume to coerce men for their *spiritual good*, we still think ourselves called upon to coerce them for their *material good*." All our daily experience is *against* the efficiency of Government and Acts of Parliament, and yet all our hopes cluster round the "intervention of the State." We see private enterprise successfully carrying out its objects to the full extent of the desirableness of those objects—and we see State enterprise uniformly unsuccessful in comparison. Nevertheless, an "Act" is our panacea! On the evil of these topical remedies employed by the State physician, read this:—

"It is the vice of this empirical school of politicians that they never look beyond proximate causes and immediate effects. In common with the uneducated masses they habitually regard each phenomenon as involving but one antecedent and one consequent. They do not bear in mind that each phenomenon is a link in an infinite series—is the result of myriads of preceding phenomena, and will have a share in producing myriads of succeeding ones. Hence they overlook the fact, that in disturbing any natural chain of sequences they are not only modifying the

result next in succession, but all the future results into which this will enter as a part cause. The serial genesis of phenomena, and the interaction of each series upon every other series, produces a complexity utterly beyond human grasp. Even in the simplest cases this is so. A servant who mends the fire sees but few effects from the burning of a lump of coal. The man of science, however, knows that there are very many effects. He knows that the combustion establishes numerous atmospheric currents, and through them moves thousands of cubic feet of air inside the house and out. He knows that the heat diffused causes expansions and subsequent contractions of all bodies within its range. He knows that the persons warmed are affected in their rate of respiration and their waste of tissue, and that these physiological changes must have various secondary results. He knows that, could he trace to their ramified influences all the forces disengaged, mechanical, chemical, thermal, electric—could he enumerate all the subsequent effects of the evaporation caused, the gases generated, the light evolved, the heat radiated—a volume would scarcely suffice to enter them. If now from a simple inorganic change such complex results arise, how infinitely multiplied, how utterly incalculable must be the ultimate consequences of any force brought to bear upon society. Wonderfully constructed as it is—mutually dependent as are its members for the satisfaction of their wants—affected as each unit of it is by his fellows, not only as to his safety and prosperity, but in his health, his temper, his culture—the social organism cannot be dealt with in any one part without all other parts being influenced in ways that cannot be foreseen. You put a duty on paper, and by-and-by find that through the medium of the jacquard-cards employed you have inadvertently taxed figured silk, sometimes to the extent of several shillings per piece. On removing the impost from bricks you discover that its existence had increased the dangers of mining, by preventing shafts from being lined and workings from being tunneled. By the excise on soap you have, it turns out, greatly encouraged the use of caustic washing-powders, and so have unintentionally entailed an immense destruction of clothes. In every case you perceive, on careful inquiry, that besides acting upon that which you sought to act upon, you have acted upon many other things, and each of these again on many others, and so have propagated a multitude of changes more or less appreciable in all directions. We need feel no surprise, then, that in their efforts to cure specific evils, legislators have continually caused collateral evils they never thought of. No Carlyle's wisest man, nor any body of such, could avoid causing them. Though their production is explicable enough after it has occurred, it is never anticipated."

The writer reduces the question to one of first principles:—

"Manifestly as desire of some kind is the invariable stimulus to action in the individual, every social agency of what nature soever must have some aggregate of desires for its motive power. Men in their collective capacity can exhibit no result but what has its origin in some appetite, feeling, or taste common amongst them. Did not they like meat, there could be no cattle-graziers, no Smithfield, no distributing organization of butchers. Operas, Philharmonic Societies, music-publishers, and street organ-boys, have all been called into being by our love of melodious sounds. Look through the trades'-directory; take up a guide to the London sights; read the index of Bradshaw's time-tables, the reports of the learned societies, or the advertisements of new books, and you see in the publication itself, and in the things it describes, so many products of human activity, stimulated by human desire. Under this stimulus grow up agencies alike the most gigantic and the most insignificant, the most complicated and the most simple—agencies for national defence and for the sweeping of crossings; for the daily distribution of letters, and for the collection of bits of coal out of the Thames mud—agencies that subserve all ends, from the preaching of Christianity to the protection of animals from ill-treatment; from the production of bread for a nation to the supply of groundsel for caged singing-birds. The accumulated desires of individuals being then the moving power by which every social agency is worked, the question to be considered is—Which is the most economical kind of agency? The agency having no power in itself, but being merely an instrument, our inquiry must be for the most efficient instrument—the instrument that costs least, and wastes the smallest amount of the moving power—the instrument least liable to get out of order, and most readily put right again when it does so. Of the two kinds of social mechanism exemplified above, the spontaneous and the governmental, which is the best?"

Having put the question thus, he proceeds to arraign officialism on the various counts of being slow, stupid, corrupt, extravagant, and obstructive. The facts are adduced with terrible force. On the side of spontaneously-formed agencies *not* Governmental, the writer is also eloquent in facts:—

"Consider first how immediately every private enterprise is dependent upon the need for it; and how impossible it is for it to continue if there be no need. Daily are new trades and new companies established. If they subserve some existing public want, they take root and grow. If they do not, they die of inanition. It needs no agitation, no act of parliament, to put them down. As with all natural organizations, if there is no function for them, no nutriment comes to them, and they dwindle away. Moreover, not only do the new agencies disappear if they are superfluous, but the old ones cease to be when they have done their work. Unlike law-made instrumentalities—unlike Heralds' Offices, which are maintained for ages after heraldry has lost all value—unlike Ecclesiastical Courts, which continue to flourish for generations after they have become an abomination—these private organizations are abolished when they become needless. A widely ramified coaching system ceases to exist as soon as a more efficient railway system comes into being. And not simply does it cease to exist, and to abstract funds, but the materials of which it was made are absorbed and turned to use. Coachmen, guards, and the rest, are employed to profit elsewhere—do not continue for twenty years a burden like the compensated officials of some abolished department of the State."

Following this ultra-democratic paper—for is not its tendency that of self-government? and is not that the English for democracy?—there is a lively and curious paper on *Pedigree and Heraldry*, wherein the sentiment of birth is glowingly set forth as a true and ennobling sentiment. We direct attention also to the opening article on *John Knox*, a narrative, in which the great reformer is panegyricized in a strain we cannot respond to, and his evil influence never once recognised. Of the other papers we may mention one on *Balzac*, as being far from the requirements of such a subject, both in knowledge and critical grasp. Had BALZAC been unknown

to the English public, this article would have had its interest, as indeed it will now to those who know little of him.

A defence of superstition, as in itself a healthy, useful thing, could find no more appropriate organ than one which manfully upholds Toryism. There is one in *Blackwood* this month, in an article on *Mrs. Jamieson's Legends of the Madonnas*. We indicate, we will not argue the point. *Fine Arts and the Public Taste* in 1853 is a paper of the *Blackwood* stamp—powerful, hitting hard, and hitting random occasionally, merciless on RUSKIN'S "fine writing" and extravagancies of judgment—altogether, an article which cannot be left unread.

Nor can you leave unread the paper on *Carps*, in *Fraser*, wherein the old familiar pen, dropping the quaintest erudition, and the pleasantest of ichthyologic digressions, traces the *Carp* through ancient and modern pages and ponds. *Tables Turned* is a scientific exposition of the way in which muscular action operates on the table—a paper to be read in conjunction with FARADAY'S letter on this subject. We commend it to Mr. HENRY SPICER, who has just published a sequel to his *Sights and Sounds*, under the title of *Facts and Fantasies*, and who, we may mention in passing, declares the *Leader* (among other journals) to have been "universally silent on the merits of the actual controversy," and to have shown "a disposition to make my work its scapegoat." Are we to class this as one of the "facts" or one of the "fantasies?" Whatever we may have been, we certainly feel a desire to be silent now!

While running through the magazines, let a pause be made at the article on chloroform in *Bentley's Miscellany*, as both useful and interesting. The writer disproves the current notion of chloroform being used as a means of aiding highway robberies:—

"When administered gradually, chloroform can be breathed easily enough by a person willing and anxious to take it; but he has to draw his breath many times before he becomes unconscious. During all this interval he has the perfect perception of the impression of the vapour on his nose, mouth, and throat, as well as of other sensations which it causes; and every person who has inhaled chloroform, retains a recollection of these impressions and sensations. If chloroform be given to a child whilst asleep, the child awakes in nearly every instance before being made insensible, however gently the vapour may be insinuated, and no animal, either wild or tame, can be made insensible without being first secured; the chloroform may, it is true, be suddenly applied on a handkerchief to the nose of an animal, but the creature turns its head aside or runs away without breathing any of the vapour. If a handkerchief wetted with sufficient chloroform to cause insensibility, is suddenly applied to a person's face, the pungency of the vapour is so great as immediately to interrupt the breathing, and the individual could not inhale it even if he should wish. From all these facts, it is evident that chloroform cannot be given to a person in his sober senses without his knowledge and full consent, except by main force. It is certain, therefore, that this agent cannot be employed in a public street or thoroughfare; and as the force that would be required to make a person take it against his will, would be more than sufficient to effect a robbery, and enough to effect any other felony by ordinary means, it would afford no help to the criminal in more secluded situations."

We must conclude this survey by noticing the appearance of two new magazines—one, *Hogg's Instructor*, elevated from its weekly to a monthly form; the other, *The British Journal*. The former contains papers by DE QUINCEY, GILFILLAN, and AIRD; the latter by HORACE MAYHEW, MAYNE REID, ALFRED COLE, and ANGUS B. REACH.

#### THACKERAY'S LECTURES.

*The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century. A Series of Lectures delivered in England, Scotland, and America.* By W. M. Thackeray.

Smith, Elder, and Co.

CHARMED (as all but the very churlish were) with these Lectures when Thackeray delivered them, we have been charmed beyond expectation with the reading of them, for they owe less to manner than we thought. They are truly beautiful, suggestive Essays on topics fertile in suggestion. As criticisms, in the narrower sense of the word, they are often questionable, sometimes absurd in their exaggeration of praise. As characteristics they are more picturesque than life-like. But as Essays, of which the *Humourists* are merely the texts, they are unaffectedly humorous, pathetic, subtle, pleasant, and thoughtful. Few will accept Thackeray's exaggerated verdicts on Swift's and Addison's genius, an exaggeration rhetorical, and almost ludicrous; but where, in our language, are more charming Essays than the two devoted to these writers?

Thackeray's style, always lighted with an ineffable smile, half sad, half playful, is seen to perfection in this volume; its careless grace occasionally lapsing into careless incorrectness; its idiom falling into mere colloquialism, but rising with the occasion into sustained and stately rhythm, or tempered into brief and delicate epigram. You will find passages in abundance of this kind: "Scarcely any man, I believe, ever thought of *that* grave, *that* did not cast a flower of pity on it;" but turn the page, and you will meet with some felicity of expression, some epithet carrying an image, some epigram of singular force. There are *Thackerayisms*, too (we must use the word)—modes of speech peculiar to himself, arising out of his modes of thought; for example, speaking of the past age, "The honest chairmen's pipes are out, and with their *brawny* calves they have walked away into Hades." In that sentence may be detected the two fundamental tendencies of his writing—the light falls upon a physical and characteristic detail, thereby shaping an image to the eye, and it also falls on an *antithesis* (which, on a former occasion, we declared to be one distinguishing peculiarity of his mode of thought). "The pipes are out:" there is an image, carrying the mind *backward* to the scene of the chairman's life, and *forward* to the idea of his death; and by the epithet "brawny," we are made to feel the vigorous but inelegant life which has "walked away into Hades."

The difference between travelling in the olden times and travelling in

our own times, has often been described and lamented; can it be better expressed than in the epigram which closes this account of

#### ENGLAND AS SEEN IN THE "TATLER?"

"The May-pole rises in the Strand again in London; the churches are thronged with daily worshippers; the beaux are gathering in the coffee-houses—the gentry are going to the Drawing-room—the ladies are thronging to the toy-shops—the chairmen are jostling in the streets—the footmen are running with links before the chariots, or fighting round the theatre doors. In the country I see the young Squire riding to Eton with his servants behind him, and Will Wimble, the friend of the family, to see him safe. To make that journey from the Squire's and back, Will is a week on horseback. The coach takes five days between London and the Bath. The judges and the bar ride the circuit. If my lady comes to town in her post-chariot, her people carry pistols to fire a salute on Captain Macheath if he should appear, and her couriers ride a-head to prepare apartments for her at the great caravanserais on the road; Boniface receives her under the creaking sign of the Bell or the Ram, and he and his chamberlains bow her up the great stair to the state-apartments, whilst her carriage rumbles into the courtyard, where the Exeter Fly is housed that performs the journey in eight days, God willing, having achieved its daily flight of twenty miles, and landed its passengers for supper and sleep. The curate is taking his pipe in the kitchen, where the Captain's man—having hung up his master's half pike—is at his bacon and eggs, bragging of Ramillies and Malplaquet to the town's-folk, who have their club in the chimney-corner. The Captain is ogling the chambermaid in the wooden gallery, or bribing her to know who is the pretty young mistress that has come in the coach? The pack-horses are in the great stable, and the drivers and ostlers carousing in the tap. And in Mrs. Landlady's bar, over a glass of strong waters, sits a gentleman of military appearance who travels with pistols, as all the rest of the world does, and has a rattling grey mare in the stables which will be saddled and away with its owner half-an-hour before the 'Fly' sets out on its last day's flight. And some five miles on the road, as the Exeter Fly comes jingling and creaking onwards, it will suddenly be brought to a halt by a gentleman on a grey mare, with a black vizard on his face, who thrusts a long pistol into the coach-window, and bids the company to hand out their purses. . . . It must have been no small pleasure even to sit in the great kitchen in those days and see the tide of human kind pass by. *We arrive at places now, but we travel no more.*"

The volume, which is printed with great carelessness, has numerous notes, and no index. In a second edition we trust that an index will be added, for it is unwarrantable to send forth a volume crowded with names and details, unaccompanied by any means of reference. The interest of the volume would also be greatly aided—or, to speak more accurately, would be less interrupted—if the notes were removed from the foot of the page to the end of the volume. For the most part these notes might be omitted without their absence being felt; but in every case, where they extend beyond the brief registry of a fact, they are intrusions on the interest of the text. They destroy the harmony of the composition. The Lecturer has his art, and what his art caused him to reject, nothing should induce him to thrust in. The sculptor does not pack up his chips in the same case with his statue.

Many of these notes are illustrative, some curious; for these the reader will be thankful—but at the end of the volume. A correction of the old story of Voltaire and Congreve, given in one of these notes, is worth citing:—

"It was in Surrey-street, Strand (where he afterwards died), that Voltaire visited him, in the decline of his life.

"The anecdote in the text, relating to his saying that he wished 'to be visited on no other footing than as a gentleman who led a life of plainness and simplicity,' is common to all writers on the subject of Congreve, and appears in the English version of Voltaire's *Letters concerning the English nation*, published in London, 1733, as also in Goldsmith's 'Memoir of Voltaire.' But it is worthy of remark, that it does not appear in the text of the same *Letters* in the edition of Voltaire's *Œuvres Complètes* in the *Panthéon Littéraire*. Vol. v. of his works. (Paris, 1837)."

Can this story have been foisted in by the English translator, from a rumour of the day, or did Voltaire tell the story to his friends, but omit it in his *Letters*?

#### A SCORE OF NEW BOOKS.

MR. JOHN WILLIAM KAYE has already established for himself such a name as a writer on India, and a very agreeable writer too, that the mere announcement of his volume on *The Administration of the East India Company: a History of Indian Progress*, (Bentley) will be sufficient to cause all persons interested in the governmental affairs of our swarthy subjects to look after it. It is, indeed, written with something of partisan zeal, and a desire to make the best of everything; but it is, we believe, a trustworthy narrative, well grouped, the facts well massed, and the style easy and spirited. The mere bringing together, in one accessible place, of so much widely scattered material, would have been a serviceable piece of work; but Mr. Kaye has done more than this—he has produced an animated history of one of the greatest examples of merchant enterprise ever known.

A companion volume to the one just named has also been published by Mr. Bentley: *Memorials of Indian Government, being a Selection from the Papers of Henry St. George Tucker*. This volume of papers, written by the late director of the East India Company, is also edited by Mr. Kaye: they are selected from a mass of papers placed in his hands by Mr. Tucker's representatives, and are partly of an official partly of an unofficial character. Their object avowedly was to convince the public that the Court of Directors is not unmindful of its serious responsibilities, and to show the public how carefully all questions which come before it are considered. They must be considered therefore as *ex parte* documents, having their value from the known integrity and ability of the writer. They treat of the Administrative Authorities—Military Establishments—Revenues and Resources of India—the Judicial System—Political relations—Hindooism and Christianity—Finance, and other topics. The present parliamentary interest of the Indian question gives to both these volumes an extra interest of *à propos*.



The third volume of *Bulwer's Poems and Dramas* (Chapman and Hall), is not simply a reprint, it contains a large proportion of new poems and altered versions of the old. We will not by a passing sentence anticipate the deliberate criticism which we may attempt on the completion of this edition of our versatile author's poetical works; enough for the present if we notice that this third volume closes the division of *Poems*, and that the fourth will commence the *Dramas*.

In the *Companion to the Railway Edition of Lord Campbell's Life of Bacon* (Chapman and Hall), the student will find a microscopic detection of errors promulgated by Lord Campbell, showing how careless in many respects, and in many respects how unveracious, was the biography which that "canny Scot" had swept together into a chapter for his *Lives of the Chancellors*. Lord Campbell's *Life* has more serious faults, in our eyes, than errors of fact; but this terrible *exposé* of his deliberate falsification of the evidence before him ought to be read by all his readers; and we hope that all who have bought the one book will also buy the other. The writer is known to be a gentleman who has for many years been engaged on a life of Bacon—one to vindicate that great thinker from all the calumnies which have clustered round his memory.

*Apropos* of Bacon, let us direct attention to the compact and carefully edited volume, issued by J. W. Parker and Son, in an eighteenpenny form, *The Essays, or Counsels, Civil and Moral*. It is revised from the early editions, with a few notes by the new editor, Thomas Markby, who has added accurate references to the many quotations gleaming among the wisdom of the text. It also contains *The Colours of Good and Evil*, which were not reprinted by the author after 1597, at least in English, he having incorporated them in his *De Augmentis*. Mr. Markby digresses in his preface upon a subject of great importance, but one scarcely suitable as a prefix to Bacon's Essays—viz., the miserable condition of our private schools, and the shameless want of proper qualifications in the masters. While a government commission is busy with an inquiry into the state of our universities, no one is busy with the state of our "academies for young gentlemen."

From Bacon to Shakspeare is an easy transition—they are both peers. Here is a little volume, *The Wisdom and Genius of Shakspeare*, edited by the Rev. Thomas Price, (Adam Scott and Co.,) wherein the moral sentences, aphorisms, and many of the striking passages are classified. A far better book might have been produced, and one with less pretension; but it will have its service and its charm.

Mr. Cayley's agreeable work, *Las Alforjas, or the Bridle Roads of Spain*, (Bentley,) more than justifies its epigraph, wherein Cervantes declares, *no hay libro tan malo que no tenga alguna cosa buena* (there is no book, however bad, which has not its merits), for although we cannot call it a good book, it has very many merits. It is bright, pleasant, rambling; treats of a country the charm of which is inexhaustible, the very names of its places sounding like "the shores of old romance;" treats of this country, too, in a free, independent style, and carries more material, suggested and implied, than its artificial air would lead a careless reader to suspect. The defect of the work is, that there is too much writing for effect; the traveller gives place to the *littérateur*, and the *littérateur* is often at fault.

Professor Newman has compiled a serious and telling little work, *The Crimes of the House of Hapsburg against its own liege subjects*, (John Chapman,) in which, after first laying down in a few decisive paragraphs what constitutes political crime, he proceeds to track the rise of the House of Austria, and its conduct towards its numerous subjects in Spain, Bohemia, Netherlands, Belgium, Poland, Hungary, Croatia, Italy, &c., and a very ugly catalogue of crimes it is! The volume appears in *Chapman's Library for the People*, where also we have to notice the appearance of *Emerson's Essays*, with Carlyle's preface, in a cheap and elegant form.

Another cheap reprint is *The Confessions of an English Opium Eater*, (Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.,) in a pocket volume of very great elegance. That man is to be envied who sits down to read this marvellous work for the third time; but he who sits down to it for the first . . . ! We have so recently spoken here of De Quincey, that a mere announcement of this republication must suffice.

Two welcome translations of Prosper Mérimée's novels, may also be named here. *Colomba*, that delightful Corsican story, almost a model story, and *The Chronicle of Charles IX.*, that graphic and exciting historical romance, which no one reads and forgets. Both have been translated by Mr. Andrew Scoble, and published by Mr. Bentley, in half-crown volumes, admirably adapted for railway reading, by their bold, handsome type, and portable shape.

William Blanchard Jerrold has accomplished a feat in his *Threads of a Storm Sail*. The directors of the Birkbeck Life Assurance Company suggested to him that he should write a work on the benefits of life assurance—a work which would familiarize the minds of men with the principles of assurance, and persuade them, through their emotions and convictions, to reap its advantages. Now, if any one will consider the painful twaddle usually sent forth in such guise as this, the awkward liveliness, and pervading "preachiness," which frustrate the very effort they are meant to subserve—if he will recal how the "gilding" has in these cases been the bitterest part of "the pill"—he may appreciate the force of our compliment when we say, Mr. Jerrold has written a suggestive, thoughtful, very readable book, which will be acceptable to those who do not want to be instructed in the benefits of life assurance, but are grateful for pleasant literature; and will really serve its main object, because it will make the reader read, not toss aside this advocacy of a cause.

With the name of Birkbeck is attached that of mechanics' institutions, and hence by easy transition we pass to Mr. James Hole's *Prize Essay on the History and Management of Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics' Institutions*, (Longman and Co.) This essay is published under the sanction of the Society of Arts, which proposed the prize for the best work, showing how such institutions may be managed so as to promote the well-being and industry of the country. Our readers are tolerably familiar with Mr. Hole's writing on social and political questions; and

his position as honorary secretary of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutions, gives to his opinions a special authority on a topic like this. It is a very able essay.

The novel of *Wealth and Labour*, by Lord B\*\*\*\*\* (T. C. Newby,) would have produced a greater sensation had it appeared during the months of excitement when the great question of "masters and workmen," was directly agitating society, (indirectly it must always agitate,) but in these calmer days of prosperity and high wages, the novel must rest solely on its claims as a novel—that is to say, must take its place beside the ordinary publications, worse than many, better than most; readable, but not memorable.

A line must suffice to record the republication of Carlyle's *Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question*, (Bosworth,) as a set-off to the Uncle Tomitudes vexing the public ear. We thought it fiercely irrational when it first appeared; we now think it fierce and irrational, but welcome as a strong counter-statement. Messrs. Simms and McIntyre have added G. P. R. James's novel, *Sir Theodore Broughton*, and Captain Mayne Reid's exciting romance, *The Rifle Rangers*, to their *Parlour Library*. Messrs. Clarke, Beeton, and Co. have added Captain Rafter's *The Guards, or the Household Troops of England*; and Headley's *The Adirondack, or Life in the Backwoods*, to their illustrated library of *Readable Books*.

This list must be concluded with the announcement of Wyld's pocket map, *Plan of the Encampment at Chobham*, a very serviceable publication. And now, if the reader casts his eye over the names of the books briefly noticed in this article, he will appreciate the necessity for our brevity; fifteen books, besides five reprints, and almost every book claiming an article as long as the one we devote to the whole fifteen! When works accumulate in anything like that ratio, the Critic is forced to retire, and give place to the Taster.

## Portfolio.

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

### OMITTED PASSAGES FROM A BOY'S EPIC.

#### II.

#### LOVE AND THE FAUN.

UNDER the shadow of that antique tree  
Lounged the blithe Faun, and thus the God began:  
"There is a maiden in the Cretan isle,  
Who with her grief and beauty touches me.  
Once wilful grace was hers, with frolic love  
Of freedom, yet she listened evermore  
To gentle fears that beat about her heart,  
As some soft woman bathing in lone seas  
Hearkens to every faint and far-off sound.  
She loved; and yet I think it was not love,  
For that was never love that loveth all.  
The birds that balance on the slender spray  
Bent like a sickle held athwart the sky;  
The lamb that trackt her footsteps o'er the thyme,  
And playful followed her: the butting goat,  
With silky hair and beard of silver grey;  
Meek cow with fragrant breath, and glittering fish  
That leaps half out of his pale element,  
Were dear to her; dear every flower and tree.  
Now such a general lover pleased me not,  
A woman's heart I thought to nobler love  
Is set; to nobler love and nobler cares;  
And such a love should Ariadne know.  
Success soon crowned desire. A stately fleet,  
Led by Prince Theseus, anchored on these shores.  
And who so fit to freight young hearts with love  
As that imperial shape. For many days  
He dwelt with Minos, as kings dwell with kings.  
Meantime Love fell upon the maiden's heart,  
Like sunrise over snow. Then Life was sweet,  
And morn and eve, and every common thing  
Seemed beautiful, as if the eternal Gods  
Had newly fashioned them, and all the world  
Were only made for the fair sake of Love.  
But after rise and set of many suns,  
The Prince, impatient for heroic deeds,  
And swift and restless as the climbing flame,  
Called by the Gods, forsook the Cretan shore,  
And hopeless Ariadne sighs alone  
For Theseus and the golden days of love."

M.

## The Arts.

#### THE PROPHETE.

ON Tuesday Tamberlik played the *Prophète* for the second time, and assured his triumph; in fact he did all that was expected of him by his admirers. In the opening aria *Un' impero piu soave* he was no more to be compared with Mario than Mario is to be compared with him in the splendid declamation of the *Re del ciel* which closes the second act, where the glory and the power of Tamberlik's voice makes your heart

suspend its beating, till you can no longer contain the delight which bursts forth into applause. In the third act again, we all felt Mario was unapproached. Tamberlik is no actor—he has no inspirations—no representative power; accordingly in this great dramatic situation he is stolid, ineffective, where Mario was intense and ever memorable. In the fourth act Tamberlik again recovered the superiority, singing the rather tiresome music of the prison scene with immense success, and singing the *Beviam!* as only he could sing it.

On the whole, I prefer Mario's *Prophète*. It is inferior to Tamberlik's in some respects, but the general impression it makes is one of greater beauty and completeness. Madame Tedesco had also overcome her nervousness, and showed herself as a fine singer with a noble voice. But she has not the slightest power as an actress; does not even seem to attempt acting. Her singing of the part was finer than that of either Viardot or Grisi, because her voice is so much finer; but *only* in this respect; in respect of expression and dramatic effect she is not to be compared with them. The curse, for example, was totally ineffective.

Castellan was more prominently insipid, and more daringly out of time than usual. The choruses were slovenly—howling considerably! Formes was in excellent voice, and made the part unusually effective. Every one must have felt, however, that the *Prophète* without a fine actor, as *John of Leyden*, and a tragic actress, as *Fides*, could never produce its proper impression.

#### THE GERMAN PLAYS.

RACHEL has departed and Devrient returned; strange compensation, and one I but faintly appreciate! On Monday that inexpressive German

played Goethe's *Egmont*, and on Wednesday he was to have played *Faust*, but "sudden indisposition" prevented him. The evil of this, to my apprehension, was not that it deprived us of his feeble attempt at the character of *Faust*, but that it deprived us of Herr Dessoir in *Mephistopheles*, and forced the acceptance of a very poor actor in that immense part. A dreary performance we had of it! Herr Dessoir, who played *Faust*, showed occasional gleams of feeling and intelligence superior to Devrient's, but he was too "explosive" and stagey, and too tenor-like in deportment, for us to gather a pleasant and poetic impression from his performance.

Fräulein Fuhr, who made her first appearance here as *Gretchen*, is a charming actress, with fine eyes and a poetic feeling, which enables her to give *something* of that exquisite creation. She does not appear, however, to have studied herself into the part—to have realized in her own feelings all the immense significance of many seemingly careless touches. For example, when in that incomparable love scene she tells *Faust*, she will have the *whole* of her time to think of him—

Denkt ihr an mich ein Augenblickchen nur

Ich werde Zeit genug an euch zu denken haben!

there is expressed in one line a characteristic of woman's life, when love fills up its thoughts; *he* will have but moments to give to her, to him *she* gives a life. Something of this reflective consciousness should appear in the utterance of the verse, but Fräulein Fuhr uttered it as if it were an ordinary remark; and so of the rest. But of Fräulein Fuhr, one can say what seldom can be said of a German actress, *elle a du charme!* and that covers a multitude of sins.

VIVIAN.

## Commercial Affairs.

### MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, July 8, 1853.

DURING the week, Consols have fluctuated one per cent. The numerous reports that have circulated here and on the Paris Bourse have had a corresponding effect on the funds. Yesterday morning Consols opened 98½, and afterwards declined an eighth. After hours, it is stated by the to-day's morning papers, that they declined to 97½. Most certainly, in the Consols market there was no transaction effected at so low a price; the last price that Consols were quoted at, was 97½ 98. The prices all over the market have been affected by the Paris prices, and these again, as usually is the case, went better on the liquidation. The report on the Bourse of a difference of opinion amongst our Ministry, and the industrious efforts of the outsiders to persuade the Paris public that the English and French fleets would not act in concert, produced much perplexity over the water. All our prices changed and altered as we received Parisian messages. There has been a better feeling in heavy shares, and they maintain their prices. French shares have advanced thirty shillings and forty shillings per share; and this is particularly observable in Paris and Strasbourg, in which stock there seems a great elasticity. Land Company shares are steady. Old Australian Agricultural Shares three or four pounds per share in advance, and would go much higher if the present state of uncertainty was over, for the directors receive very good accounts of their possessions, and their increased value. Shares in mines have been almost unsaleable, the whole interest of the public is so concentrated on the Eastern question and its solution, pacific or otherwise; but with the very favourable revenue returns, and the still increasing influx of gold, it is hard to believe that we shall not see a very great rise, should Continental matters shake themselves straight; at present all are waiting. Plenty of time has been allowed the bulls to clear out; should peace on a firm footing come, the rush will be to get in again on favourable terms. The markets close at four o'clock. Consols have been, during the day, 98 to 98½. French prices rather firmer at the opening of the Bourse.

#### CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday, July 8, 1853.

The arrivals of grain during the week have been very moderate. There is rather less demand for wheat, both on the spot and for floating cargoes for the Continent, but prices are, nevertheless, firmly maintained. There is more demand for rye for the Continent, at late prices. Barley, beans, and peas, fully maintain their recent values. Oats are scarce, and 1s. dearer.

#### BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	228½	229½	229	228½	229½	229½
3 per Cent. Red.	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	shut	shut	shut	shut	shut	shut
Consols for Account	97½	98½	98½	98½	97½	98
3½ per Cent. An.	101	101	101½	101½	101½	101½
New 5 per Cents.	5½	5½	5½	5½	5½	5½
Long Ann., 1860	5½	5½	5½	5½	5½	5½
India Stock	265	shut	shut	257½	256½	256½
Ditto Bonds, £1000	25	shut	25	25	25	25
Ditto, under £1000	25	30	25	25	25	25
Ex. Bills, £1000	1 p	5 p	4 p	4 p	4 p	4 p
Ditto, £500	1 p	5 p	4 p	1 p	4 p	4 p
Ditto, Small	1 p	5 p	4 p	1 p	4 p	4 p

#### FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Austrian Rds. 5 p. Cts.	97½	Russian 5 p. Cts., 1822	117½
Brazilian 5 p. Cts.	99½	Account, July 15	40
Brazilian New 4 p. Cts.	98½	Spanish 3 p. Cts.	22½
Portuguese 5 p. Cts.	5½	Spanish 3 p. Cts. New Def.	5½
Portuguese Deferred	21½	Spanish Passive, Conv.	5½
Creole 5 p. Cts.	9½	Spanish Com. Certif. of	5½
Mexican 3 p. Cts.	9½	Coupon not funded	5½
July 15	20½	Swedish Loan	2 pm.
Prussian 5 p. Cts.	11½	Venezuela 3½ per Cts.	38½
Portuguese 4 p. Cts.	41	Venezuela Deferred	15
Burdiguan 5 p. Cts.	9½	Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	46

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## German Plays.

ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.

On Monday, July 11, will be produced a New Comedy, entitled *DONNA DIANA*. Donna Diana, Frau Stolte; Don Cesar, Herr Emil Devrient; Perin, Herr Dessoir. Wednesday, July 13, *WILLIAM TELL*. *FAUST* will be repeated on Saturday, July 16.

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

**M. JULLIEN'S TESTIMONIAL CONCERT.**—The Committee of Management have the honour to announce that the above CONCERT will take place at the THEATRE ROYAL DRURY LANE on MONDAY next, July 11th. Vocalists: Madame Fiorentini, Miss Birch, Miss Dolby, Madame Doria, Mr. Sims Reeves, and (by kind permission of the Directors of the Royal Italian Opera) Madame Castellan, Herr Formes, and Sig. Tamberlik. Instrumentalists: Messrs. Bottesini, König, Reichert, Baumann, Wulle, Winterbottom, &c. &c. The Orchestra will consist of 250 Performers, including three Military Bands. Conductor, M. Jullien.

Prices of Admission: Dress Circle, 5s. Promenade, 2s. 6d. Gallery, 1s. Private Boxes, £1 1s., £2 2s., and £3 3s.

Doors open at Half-past 7; Concert to commence at 8. Tickets, Places, and Private Boxes may be had at the Box-office of the Theatre, and of the principal Music-sellers and Libraries.

M. JULLIEN'S FAREWELL BAL MASQUE, THEATRE ROYAL, DRURY LANE.

**M. JULLIEN** has the honour to announce that, in compliance with the suggestions of several of his Patrons, he has determined to take advantage of the magnificent New Decoration kindly prepared for his Testimonial Concert at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, to give a FAREWELL BAL MASQUE, previous to his departure for America. This Grand Entertainment will take place on TUESDAY next, July 12th.

Tickets for the Ball, 10s. 6d.

The audience portion of the Theatre will be set apart for SPECTATORS.—Dress Circle, 7s.; Boxes, 5s.; Galleries, 2s. and 1s.; Private Boxes, £3 3s. upwards.

Mr. I. NATHAN, JUN., of 18, Castle-street, Leicester-square, is appointed COSTUMIER to the BALL.

Doors open at Ten; Dancing to commence at Half-past. Tickets and Places to Boxes may be secured at the Box-office of the Theatre; also at the principal Libraries and Music-sellers.

**ZULU KAFIRS.—NOTICE.**—In consequence of the increased demand for places to witness this extraordinary troupe and highly-interesting exhibition, the ST. GEORGE'S GALLERY, Hyde-park-corner, will be OPEN EVERY MORNING and EVENING. Doors open at Three and Eight.—Stalls at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 33, Old Bond-street. Descriptive Books, 6d. each, may be had at the Gallery. Admission, 1s.

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STRAND, in the Precinct of the Savoy, both in the same County.—  
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