Hellingloy Meet, Mana outon teigh "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 crected 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."-Humbold's Cosmos. Confents. . 2 NEWS OF THE WEEK-PUBLIC AFFAIRS-PAGE State of the Russian Army A Dream-Epic The German Powers, -II. Alli-ance of England with a 'Con-stitutional Prussia." The Governing Classes. - No. XIX. His Royal Highness, Prince Albert Sti George and His Expenses ... Progress of Despotic Finance ... The Cotton Trade and Emigra-The Life of a Plant ..... Political Gatherings, 74 83 War Preparations. The North Australian Expedition 83 77 Letters from Paris...... 83 Births, Marriages, and Deaths ... Alexander\_Somerville's Charges Continental Notes Prince Albert Against Mr. Cobden...... The Lancashire Strikes and Lock-Out.-I. Piece Work ... "Church Reyival." Dreadful Shipwrecks 79 84 COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS Health of London A Benegade Democrat Miscellaneous LITERATURE-80 85 86 City Intelligence, Markets, Ad-Summary ..... 

# VOL. V. No. 201.]

# SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1854.

### PRICE SIXPENCE.

# Rems of the Week.

**DROGRESS**" in the Russo-Turkish question

L there is almost none to report. The last facts that we know are scarcely a step in advance of those that we knew last week. Count Orloff it is said is despatched from St. Petersburg with a special mission for the Courts of Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and London, and it is assumed that that mission is pacific. The presumption does not appear to be self-evident; and a contemporary makes a more probable conjecture, in supposing " that his whole and sole purpose is to persuade Austria to quit the alliance of the Western Powers, and to bind herself to Russia."

It is much more certain that the Emperor has placed himself in a position to receive a very unpleasant communication. It is announced in his official journal at St. Petersburg "that the Russian Government has required from France and England a categorical declaration with regard to the character and bearing of their action in sending their fleets into the Black Sea, and that upon that declaration will depend the ulterior attitude of Russia." The Morning Post, which gives the most distinct reports upon the subject, says that before the meeting of Parliament an answer will be despatched to the Czar "as unpalatable to Russia as it is worthy of the Western Powers, and of the great cause they are united to support." Meanwhile two steamers, French and English, have appeared before Sebastopol, and have given the Anglo-French notice to the Governor, requiring him to avoid collision with the fleets. His answer, it is said, simply amounts to a declaration that he was surpised by the notice. The news from India confirms and modifies what we have heard from Persia by other channels. It now appears that Persia had really been threatening some annoyance, but the Government of Bombay, fully alive to every chance of aggression from that quarter, had taken measures of precaution, and no doubt Mr. Thompson, the charge d'affaires at Tcheran, had been enabled not only to point out the position of Russia, isolated from the rest of Europe, but also the power which England had of annoying the Shah, particularly on his coasts. This explains how Mr. Thompson had been able to recover lost ground, although it confirms the original belief that Persia was not unwilling to play the part of an enemy.

provement has been taken by Piedmont. Some time since the Ministers issued, on the royal authority, a decree for reducing the duty on corn; and, at the opening of the present session, they constitutionally sought to get that decree, issued for a purpose of urgency, sanctioned by the Legislature, and placed upon a permanent footing. They proposed a sweeping reduction of the duties on corn ; the Chamber of Representatives referred the question to a select committee, which proposed a still further reduction; in the Chamber, however, several members advocated total abolition and Count Cavour said that he should prefer total abolition to a very small duty, if the Chamber would make good the consequent deficiency in the revenue. The Chamber at once adopted the proposition, and resolved, by 75 to 25, that the corn trade should be absolutely free; no doubt is entertained that the Senate will confirm this vote. Thus we see the Government and the representative body proceeding in harmony to improve the condition of the country, and to extend freedom in commerce as well as in politics and re-. . . ligion. the state of the s We only wish that we were equally certain of the same earnestness and resolution at home. When we reflect upon the difficulties against think of the dangers that threaten them--the hostility of Rome, possessing spies and agents in every church and convent; the rancour of Austria, anxious to expunge the audacious model of constitutional freedom, and the unhappy indiscretions of a so-called ultra-liberal party, which does not permit itself to be guided by the temperate counsels of Mazzini-we cannot fail to admire those firm and and consistent patriots of Piedmont who continue internal reform and improvement, notwithstanding such distracting circumstances. We are often told that if there were a war, our own Parliament and public would be unable to pursue Parliamentary reform, to attend to education, or even to carry out a drain. Such is the picture of Englishmen painted by themselves; yet Piedmont, her very existence threatened by traitors within and tyrants without, steadily pursues her course. Indeed so much more steadily than ourselves, that truly we are inclined to believe danger to be a stimulant and tonic rather than a disturber.

which the Piedmontese must contend; when we

Manchester, with all the standing accessories of a Manchester meeting, Mr. George Wilson in the chair, Mr. Cobden chief spokesman; the only things wanted being a great audience and the Free Trade Hall. For the Manchester party is no longer big enough to require a great hall for its gatherings before the assembling of Parliament. The Manchester people said much about Russia, something prospective about extending the suffrage, and vouchsafed a kind of lecture to a gentleman who represented the Ballot Society, how to get over the difficulties which would beset his mission; and, finally and exclusively, the great Manchester party resolved to ask for an increase of members for Lancashire-fifty at least, The meeting did not hint at any particular, measure of reform at present; the only specific proposition before the public is still that of the National Parliamentary Reform Association., The leaders of the people in free-trade matters appear to be triffing in this. They talk about war distracting minds from reform; but peace appears to have distracted other parties, perhaps war would concentrate and invigorate them. and the property Another meeting illustrates the very general want of set purpose. The scene was a meeting of the Diocesan School Society at Hereford; the purpose of the meeting was to promote education, A report read'stated how a few schools for farmers and labourers have been successful, but that an immense number of parishes in the diocese are without any school at all. Presiding over this meeting, Bishop Hampden, usually regarded as an extremely liberal prelate, uttered a sermon full of Tory platitudes, asserting that secular education is not what the people want, but something to rescue them from depraved habits; for education may only render the want more wicked. We will not say that the prelate might speak for himself; though it is strange to hear an educated man talk this Jack Cade stuff against instruction. He should not preside at a meeting of the School Association, but stick to church extension. To carry out his reason to the full, he should try what can be done by purely religious instruction. admitting the people of his diocese, from the cradle to the matrimonial altar, with no school but the parish church, to receive no tuition but from the pulpit. How would such a system work unless the pulpit were to become, what it might making them understand natural laws as illus-

be, the true instructor of the people in morals, by

Almost the converse of that proposition might be gathered from what the public is doing about Another step in the direction of national im- reform. They have just had a great meeting at | trated in fact and nature?

There is, however, in the proceedings of the week, an immense set-off against this single Episcopalist escapade. For one prelate who has erred, there are many more eminent divines, as well as laymen, who have converged upon the essential work. Meetings really in furtherance of education have been held at Liverpool. Glasgow, and Edinburgh. At Liverpool and Glasgow the object was to promote reformatory schools for juvenile delinquents; but such schools are treated very properly as being a branch of education rather than of triminal how. The object is to prevent crime rather than to punish it; and Mr. Adderley has shown that a large proportion of juvenile offenders are so from no criminal propensity, but from want of training and knowledge. At Glasgow the meeting was attended by the Conservatives and Liberals; the good effect of some charitable institutions of the city was recognised; but the necessity of reformatory schools on a public basis was distinctly asserted. The same necessity was affirmed at Liverpool, with the most remarkable combination of supporters.

The Edinburgh meeting was not less remarkable on another ground. At Liverpool the Reverend Mr. Campbell declared his belief that the religious difficulty could easily be overcome, since the essentials could be taught in schools without raising sectional differences. At the Edinburgh meeting the difference of opinion on religions subjects was recognised, not only by the speakers, but by the formal language of the resolutions; at the same time the Reverend Dr. Guthrie expressed a feeling, shared no doubt by others, when he said that religion could not be entirely excluded from Scottish schools; but the meeting resolved to suspend dispute upon details, and called upon Goremment to bring forward a satisfactory measure on their own responsibility. Government, therefore, is expected to reconcile the discordant sects. and to do for them what they cannot do for themselves-to make them agree upon the object which they declare to be necessary, but cannot agree upon :- public education with an infusion of non-sectarian Christianity.

The City Commission of Sewers make an important announcement-far more important than the report of work done - in declaring their belief that in the present year the plan of intercepting the drainage of London from the Thames. will be practically handled.

The Tayleur, an emigrant ship, containing 579 persons, has been lost upon the coast of Ireland; that, although 'not much engaged in advocating only 230 persons being saved. Fresh from the docks, with an experienced commander, the Tayleur sailed from Liverpool only to reach the bottom of the sea within forty-eight hours. Disasters amongst great emigrant ships are becoming common, and the public, both in Australia as well as in England, want to know the reason why. At present the evidence is incomplete; but there are three circumstances that demand investigation. Notwithstanding her experienced commander and fine condition, the Tayleur seems to have had unusual difficulty in beating to windward. Notwithstanding her being built of iron, which renders the use of water-tight bulkheads easy, she appears to have filled at once, like a pitcher with a hole in its side. Her crew are said to have been Lascars and other rubbish from any country, who could scarcely understand the English language or discipline. Is this the operation of free trade in our navigation laws, which permits the crews of ships to be collected from any rabble of any country? It is to be hoped, at all events, that the crews collected for our navy will be of of a better stamp, which at present the progress of enlisting the Coast Guard Volunteer Corps is promising. Captain Craigie, in Scotland, has found that the seafaring folk renfember how their forefathers were called out in 1798-a memory which to them, Mr. Cobden notwithstanding, is rather an object of emulation. They declare that they have extension of the suffrage, so as to make the bulk of the link of the power was in the hands of a separate class, the

### THE LEADER.

not degenerated; we hope and believe they have not. We have heard that the engagement of hands for the navy goes on well. But an ugly incident encurred the other day when Admiral Richard Dandas went down to meet the crew of the Thete, newly arrived in England; we do not mean his announcement that we are on the eve of a war with Russia, for we all believe that, and some of us are not sorry; we mean his announcement to the crew, that they should not be paid off, but noil down, and required to keep in service, after the plan of limited enlistment. Conduct like this, when men have been for more than six years at sea, is very like breach of the pledge. At all events, the compulsory return of the men is very like impressment, and probably will have a bad moral effect on men who have not already enlisted. Nor do we believe that there is the slightest necessity for so unfair a step.

If any inducement could be used in the shape. of increased pay or bounty to make the men come back to their ship, well and good, and there is every reason to suppose that if they had been fairly treated by their) officers, a comparatively slight bounty, with the promise of a second holiday upon the payment of the bounty, however brief that holiday might be, would secure every man of the crew.

#### POLITICAL GATHERINGS.

SHEFFIELD.-In the evening, after Mr Hadfield had rendered an account of his own private doings in Parliament to his constituents, a large and useful meeting was held in the Music Hall. As the British public likes, in quiet times, to give a convivial character to its gatherings, the speech-making was preceded by a "banquet," of which tes and coffee, cakes and fruit, formed the elements. The assembly was the more remarkable from the fact that Yorkshire and Lancashire were represented by their Liberal mem-bers. There were eight in all: Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, Lord Goderich, Mr. Hadfield, Mr. Cheetham; Mr. Crossley, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Pilkington; and two from Cheshire and Derbyshire-Mr. Kershaw, the member for Stockport, and Mr. Heyworth, the member for Derby. The speakers proposed and seconded resolutions expressing their views, which we append below. Each speaker had a separate topic, but in speaking all of them touched upon the question of Reform in general. There was only one toast given by the chairman, Mr. Alderman Hoole, of Leeds,-"The Queen, God bless her"-and then Mr. Cobden spoke.

He went over the whole ground, treating of the fitness of the working classes as depositories of political power; of the extent of the suffrage consistent with safety; of the ballot; and the influence a reformed Parliament would exercise. He contended "organic changes," yet by the free-trade triumph, the advocacy of education, and other things, something had been done to elevate the people, and indirectly to extend their political rights. "Give me," he said, "an intelligent, sober, and prosperous community, and I will defy any objearchy, or any political faction, which ever did or ever can exist, long to exclude such a community from their fair share of political power. (Cheers.) And I would say, on the other hand-and the experience of the world has lately very much proved it-you may write upon parchment whatever form of constitution you please; it may be a republic, written in characters of red ink, or it may be a monarchy with universal suffrage-whether it be in Europe or in South America, you may give such a consti-tution to those who are ignorant, debased, and degraded, and you will not make them a free people any more for that. Now, gentlemen, in having accepted this first resolution at the hands of your chairman, it may, of course, at once be believed that I consider the people of this country-a large section of the people of this country-fit to exercise and ought to have an enlargement and an extension of their political rights. I am not here speaking as an advocate of universal suffrage-I don't say that the million of agriculturists of this country are all intelligent enough to exercise those political rights with advantage to themselves or with benefit to others. I am sorry for it; I wish it were other-wise. I don't pretend to say there are not many inhabitants of our towns who are neither respectable enough, intelligent enough, sober enough, nor economical enough to render the extension of the franchise to them either beneficial to them-selves or useful to you. But I say I do believe there is a very large section outside of the present electoral pale, who are fit to enjoy the electoral franchise, and who ought to possess it; and who, if they were admitted, would tend to increase the stability of our present social and political fabric, and render it more firm and durable than the present system." .... "I am not much afraid of an extension of the franchise to a very large extent. I have never, as I have told you, been very much engaged in advocating this exten-

## SATURDAY,

householders of this country the depositories of political power, one effect of this would be, to cause the middle and the appen classes to be more in earnest in enlightening those who were thus admitted into partnership with them in directing and controlling the destinies of the empire. There-fore I believe that the measures which would by this be brought to hear, to the upraising and enlightening of the masses of the people, even if it arose from a feeling of sel-fishness and of self-preservation, would ultimately tend to remove any danger which at first sight they might be dis-posed to thick the extension of political power would lead to. L therefore, an not an alarmist. But do not fear that we shall have too large a measure of reform; we do not move be delighted to see a measure brought in by her Majesty's Ministers, that would bring a million more of the people within the electoral pale: and I say if double the present number of the electors of this country were enfranchised, I cannot doubt but good in every way would result from itgood to those who have got that number associated with them, and good to those who are elevated and enfranchised, because it would draw forth the virtues and self-respect by which they would be inspired by the possession of the franchise."

Artisans are more independent than genteel shopkeepers; but the exercise of undue influence must be prevented. "Open voting is a fendal institution in this country. It is as much a badge of feudalism as the corn-laws were. (Cheers.) It is because somebody in this country thinks he has a hereditary right to control somebody else's vote. In other countries the ballot is not a matter of controversy. There is not a party-I might say there is not an individual--in America, France, Spain, Sardinia, or Belgium, who openly advocates a return to open voting; and where men recognise the free and uncontrolled right of another to the exercise of his opinions, there is not an argument to be found against the ballot. I repeat it, open voting in this country is a badge of feudalism as much as the corn-laws were. I maintain more; I maintain that free trade was not more demonstrably proved to be sound and fair in its princi-ple by such writers as Adam Smith, M'Culloch, Ricardo, and others, than the ballot has been demonstrated by the intellectual power of Bentham, Grote, Mill, and others to be right and fair as a mode of voting at parliamentary elections. (Cheers.) I say that argument has done all that argument can do in the question. It wants organization to do it -(loud cheers)-and I will add, with all sincerity, my firm intelligent, patriotic, and independent in the country, and so far from their being deprived of their fair portion of the franchise, I say that it is to the interest of the community that they should have a larger amount than they now have, and that it should be accompanied by the ballot. (Cheers.) Then they point to the counties, and say that there have been no such scenes of corruption witnessed there as you have had in your boroughs. No; corruption and intimidation have ceased in the counties; domination has taken their place. (Cheers.) There is no electoral life at all in five-sixths-I might have said nine-tenths-of the county constituencies of the country. They are handed over from the scion of one great proprietor's house to another, in the diningroom of the greatest proprietor of the county or division. What makes me most indignant in talking of this question of the ballot is this-they refuse even a trial of it in one electoral constituency, and the very class who resist it are using the ballot themselves in all their clubs and all their societies. I am constantly hearing fresh evidence of the universality of the ballot. I knew it was in use in all our clubs, societies, and religious bodies, at the India House, and in almost all of what is called 'genteel society.' These very people, who stigmatise it as low and un-English-which is something worse than murder-(laughter)-or church burglary-(laughter)-these very people are using it them-selves in all their own societies. It was but the other day that I paid a visit to Oxford. Oxford University is certainly the very last place in the world I should have supposed to have been addicted to anything revolutionary or un-English. (Laughter.) Well, I found in all their proceedings in the University of Oxford, in all the proceedings of Couvocation, that everything they do, except in the election of members of Parliament, they do it by vote by ballot. (Hear.) The tickets with which the vote is given, recording the votes of the master of arts, are banded in to the proctor; he sums up the number of votes, and having finished his duty of scrutineer, there is a sort of brazier brought in, with a lighted fire in it. The brazier is placed on a sort of tripod or antique stand, and into this fire all the voting papers are put, and burned before the separation of the Convocation, in order that no trace or proof may be left of how the parties have voted. (Cheers.) Oh! if I were about 15 years younger, I would go through the country, and I would say, younger, I would go through the country, and I would say, let us vote as they vote at Oxford. (*Cheers and laughter.*) What I mean by vote by ballot is this: That there shall be no record kept of how a person votes. That is vote by ballot." If the franchise were more widely extended, blunders in legislation would be corrected. "We all know by reading (for we do not many of us remember the time) when the great war of the French revolution broke out, in 1793. It was a people's war. Everybody called out for war with France. We also know that when two years of experience had taught the mass of the people that war brought famine prices, bad trade, increased pauperism, beggary, and misery, masses of the people assembled round the coach of George



obligarchy; and, unhappily for this country, that class being mentary reform must be carried out on the great principles will have a fair rule of electoral power in the country, and entirely a proprietary body, and finding that war had of justice, and not to serve individual interests, or suit the caused higher prices of produce, and higher rents, they were views of party. Should the latter views prevail, the people cansed ingger prices of produce, and inght reasons duey work would not support the measure of Government, and it must terests of the great mass of the people, who, I firmly believe --though that does not exonerate them from having entered session, but they would now, in all probability, pluck up their into the war-who, I firmly believe, if they had had the power, would have put an end to the war fifteen or eighteen years sooner than it was put an end to. I think that this is, of all times, the moment when a reform in Parliament Mr. Disraeli which existed in some of their minds would may be carried out. It is a time of great political calm. It is a time (notwithstanding the adverse circumstance of a threatened war and of high priced food) of universal pros-perity. Now these are just the times when a wise Government would carry out a plan of political reform, because the people who gain an extension of the franchise will not seize upon it with avidity, to apply a remedy to a pressing evil, when under the influence of passion, and perhaps make a very bad use of a new instrument put into their power. the constituencies of the country on a question like this. He They will have time, I hope, if peace be preserved, amidst trusted, however, that the spirit which existed twenty years prosperity and comfort, and increasing intelligence-they ago in England, and caused the great reform which then took will have time gradually to accustom themselves to the exercise of political power-time to reflect, and time to judge; and though they make some mistakes, I believe, if you give to English people the ordinary opportunities of exercising extension to the constituencies, disfranchise many small the calm judgment that usually belongs to them, they will boronghs, give additional members to large constituencies, not in the long run be found to make an injudicious use of the power with which you may intrust them."

Resuming his seat amid a hurricane of plandits, Mr. Cobden was succeeded by Lord Goderich, who made a spirited and candid speech, deservedly applauded. In the course of his remarks he spoke of the constitution of the House of Commons.

"If we pass now a measure which deserves the name of statesmanlike, we may be able to take our stand upon it for some years, and give attention, with a reformed and improved House of Commons, to the settlement of other more important questions, which are every day pressing upon our attention. But it is not every bill bearing the name of a reform bill that will fulfil these requirements. I have confidence in the honesty of the present Government. I shrink from believing that they do not mean faithfully to redeem their pledge. But if they expect to satisfy the wishes of the country-to stay the agitation of this question for a moment-they must make up their minds to face it boldly, and grant reform with no niggard hand. (Cheers.) seems to me that one of the first things which this bill ought to contain is a provision by which it shall give to the work-ing classes of this country a large share in the election of members of Parliament-(cheers)-and that in such a manner as will enable them to return some member at least of their own selection to represent in the House of Commons their peculiar interests and opinions. (Cheers.) I was look. ing the other day at the analysis of the present house. found there that a very large portion of that house consisted of the sons and near relations of peers, of whom I suppose I am a most unworthy member. (Loud cheers, and a voice, 'no, no.') I found it contained a yet larger amount of men described as 'country gentlemen'-men, doubtless, well en-titled to hold there a predominant position, such as at ipresent they seem to me to do. I find that there were there manufacturers and commercial men, a good many lawyers-you seem fond of lawyers at Sheffield -(laughter) and some men of letters. But I found that there came at the end of the list one class entitled, if I recollect myself rightly, the representatives of labour, and that opposite to that name there stood a '0.' Now it does seem to me that, looking at the importance of that class-looking to its intelligence and to the position which it now holds in the country-it is a state of things which is neither safe nor just. (Cheers.) believe that men possessing ardent, though strong, political opinions, entering vehemently into political discussion, I believe it will be far better on the whole that such men should have their class represented, and discussion in the House of out saca a bill cannot be complete, for I have ever found that those classes, take them as a whole, contain men of equal intelligence, morality, and patriotism with any other class in the community. (Great cheers.) Genius and virtue are not inheritances as, I believe, of any class whatever, and they are likely to be found not less numerously among the most numerous class. It would therefore seem---looking at the vast strides which the working classes have made in the last few years-looking at the vast change which has come over them in so many respects-their increased love of order, their increased obedience to the laws, their increased knowledge, their increased morality-I believe that the time has come when it is our bounden duty to concede those rights which these classes want-(loud cheering)which other classes have won. (Great cheering.)'

spirits a little, and return together again when they found that anything seriously affecting their interests was brought forward. They would probably find that that distrust of vanish, and 250 or 260 members would be found on the Opposition side; while some of those gentlemen who had a pardonable affection for small boroughs would find themselves compelled to vote against the Government. If Government were placed in a minority they would be sure to dissolve upon it; and he thought it was very possible that a dissolution might take place on this question; for no liberal Government would lose office without testing the opinion of trusted, however, that the spirit which existed twenty years place in the representative system, would again be aroused when the occasion for its exercise arose. He believed the bill would be worth something; that it would give a considerable and create new boroughs. Now, that meeting was no proof of any spathy in Sheffield; and he believed that they might go to any other large town like that, or even to smaller places, and address meetings which would exhibit similar manifestations of enthusiasm and unanimity. He believed -and he did it with a seriousness and an earnestness that he could not convey in words, that they would watch the open. ing of the session with intense anxiety and a sleepless vigi-lance—that they would examine every feature of the bill that they would endeavour to detect the weak points and the strong points—to protest against the one and support the other. (Applause.) But, if there was any appearance of honesty in the proposition of Government, let no man or body of men persuade them, for any other purpose whatever, to withdraw their support from a Government-which proposed a measure like that, or from a measure like that, so long as it should not be enacted upon the statute-book of this country. (Loud and long applause.)

The other speakers were Mr. Kershaw, Mr. Hadfield, and Mr. Crossley.

The resolutions adopted were as follow:---

"This meeting regards with much satisfaction the ex-pressed intention of her Majesty's Ministers to bring forward, in the coming session, a measure of Parliamentary reform, and would urge upon the Government the propriety and the duty of placing the representation of the people in the Honse of Commons upon such a basis as shall do equal justice to all interests and classes of the population of the United Kingdom.

"That the extension of the franchise, however just and necessary, will not avail to bring the House of Commons more into harmony with public opinion, unless the distribution of the electoral power be greatly changed, as well by the abolition of all small dependent or corrupt boroughs, and the transference of the members of such boroughs to new and enlarged constituencies, as by giving an increased number of representatives to the large towns and populous districts in the United Kingdom.

" That this meeting is deeply sensible of the evils and disgrace which arise from the prevalence of intimidation and corruption in various forms among the county and borough constituencies of the kingdom, and would urge upon the Government the necessity of affording to the whole electoral body the shelter and protection of the mode of voting understood by the secret ballot."

MANCHESTER.—The "Manchester School" met on Tuesday. As a political gathering, it was inferior to Sheffield in numbers; but that was an accident, for, as the Free Trade Hall is not in a fit state to receive a crowd, the meeting was held at the Albion Hotel, in a room incapable of containing more than 300 people. Those who assembled, however, may be deemed the elite of the local liberal politicians of Lancashire and Yorkshire; there were ten Members of Parliament, pretty nearly the same persons as attended the Sheffield meeting, and Mr. George Wilson filled the chair. It therefore fell to his lat to open proceedings, which he did in the old League style, dealing out a fine array of figures to show that the present system of representation, whether tested by population or the rateable value of property, is unequal, anomalous, and unjust in the extreme. Then followed Mr. Milner Gibson, who made a speech not above the average, tame on the reform question, and "Manchester" on the war topic. To him succeeded Mr. Cobden, who treated all the topics he touched upon in a more trenchant way than his colleagues, and, therefore, we again take him as a representative of the meeting. He followed a certain order in his speech-only interpolating some opinions on the strike question in relation to politics, and winding up with a long dissertation on the Eastern question. The following extracts will convey a good idea of the method, and the substance of his oration :---"What we want," he exclaimed at the outset, "in the redistribution of political power, is that votes should follow property and persons. I say property and persons, because where you have votes growing rapidly in England or Scot-land—for, unhappily, in these things Ireland is always an anomaly—you will find that wealth increases in the same ratio with population; and, therefore, if you find that Lancashire is increasing in numbers five or six times as fast as the population of Buckinghamshire or Bedfordshire, you members of the boroughs proposed to be disfranchised would the rule that the voting power in this country shall follow be in opposition to the bill. The great question of Parlia- the compound ratio of property and population, then you

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so other principle than that should be tolerated as a perma nent settlement of the question." (Loud cherr.) Here followed a digression on strikes. "I speak in the presence of persons who are almost exclusively the employers of he bour, those who are above the operative class; but I say it in the full confidence that I shall meet with a response that we must not take the fact of a few thousand men, and probably, after all, but a few thousand lads and lasses, having gone wrong upon a question of political economy, as a proof that the great mass of the community could not be trusted. (Cheers.) If that rule is to obtain, I am afraid our dis-franchisement must be wide indeed. If all those who have not yet mastered all the problems of political economy are not to have votes, I am afraid we must begin by disfran chising Bucks and Dorsetshire. (Laughter.) I sometimes think we might gain much tolerance towards the working people of this country, who may still entertain some unsound theories with regard to wages or machinery, or the like, if we only bear in mind how very recently the great body of the educated classes in this country had very imperfect views on the same subject. . . . But whilst upon this subject—and I know it is tender ground, and I don't wish to be considered as a party interfering in the matter—I must say that I think a great deal too much has been made of this strike in a political point of view—that the question is as strictly of a private character between the individuals as the engaging of a butler by a gentleman who happens to require the services of one. The idea of making a political question of a struggle that takes place between two parties —one of them wishing to get a little more wages, and the other not to pay any advance-of taking it out of the usual category of business questions, and investing it with a political character, as has been done in this case-I don't see the utility of so doing. I see that a use may be made of it for the purpose of injuring and aspersing the character of a whole population, but I am firmly convinced that these questions would be settled much better for all parties if they were allowed to be treated as private and individual affirs. Before leaving the question I think we may look at what has been going on at Preston with regard to the strike, with this satisfaction, that it has developed an immense advance in the peaceable progress of the population of this conn-try. I put it to any one, whatever hard language may have been used at any time-and it is not easy to speak in the open air to 20,000 persons without using hard lan-gnage-I put it to any one, whether these has not been more of appeal to reason, more deference to public opinion, and a less disposition on the part of the multitude to resort to physical force than has ever been manifected in any prove-ment in this country." (Cherre.) Now we get back to politics. "I ant in favour of an extension of the franchise. I say I do not wish it to be extended to everybody. It is a progressive question. If you extend the franchise to-morrow progressive question. If you extend the tranchise to-morrow to one million people—and I should be glad to see it done to-morrow—we should all live in hope that one million or two million more might be added afterwards. It is only a ques-tion of time. What is coming now all the world over proves to me that the depository of political power in the country will be in the great hody of the people. (*Cheers.*) Man, as such, will have political power. The only question is how we are to come to that point? We are now advocating some extension of the franchise. We are now advocating universal extension of the franchise. We are now advocating universal suffrage. But if the Government do not extend the electoral pale, I am certain their scheme will be received with great dissatisfaction by the great body of the people. (Land cheering.) I have not altered my opinion as to the necessity of shortening the duration of Parliaments. I think a seven years' Parliament is very slow, and rather an unsafe port of settlement. We had seven years substituted for three years at a time of supposed danger to our institutions, but I do not see why we should not go back now to the good old practice of triennial Parliament. (*Cheens.*) Now, with respect to the redistribution of the franchise, I will merely add one word in illustration of a sense in which that question has not been viewed. So far from doing any

iss not b t anest harm to the morals of the little boroughs in the rural districts if you disfranchise them and give the votes to the counties-instead of inflicting any injury on the population in these boroughs, from what I have seen of places in the south of England, I believe you could not confer a greater social benefit on them than by disfranchising them; and I believe that to be the opinion of the more intelligent portion of the population in those boroughs. For what does the present system do? It invests some great patron, some large landowner in the neighbourhood of those boroughs, with supreme power and authority over them, or it gives to two men a sort of disputed right which leads to constant quarrels and contests between them. If there be only one patron, which is usually the case, and the borough belongs to him because he possesses the property in the immediate neighbourhood, it gives birth to all kinds of servility and toadyism of the most miserable character. The great men comes down once a year to his mansion, and invites three or four of the leading men of the borough to dine with him. A professional man or two struggle into the same circle. There are a score or two underneath who would do anything to get within that privileged circle, and then there are the wives and daughters coveting the great distinction of being invited to my lady's ball. (*Laughter.*) Now that state of things, founded on the desire of a family to retain political power in a borough, gives rise to the most miserable and abject state of servility which you can possibly conceive, and is most destructive to the honest, upright independence of the English character, and therefore you cannot do a better service to the smaller boroughs themselves than to deprive them of their borough franchise, and merge them in the countles. (Cheers.)

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Lord Goderich thought we should not expect too much from Government; they were pledged, and must redeem their faith; and if they do that we must be contented.

Before Mr. Bright spoke, Mr. Barnes and Mr. Cheetham made speeches in favour of a more equal apportionment of population to the large towns and populous districts. Mr. Bright spoke at great length and with great force on the injustice of the present system, making out a case for a fair redistribution of political power, and for the ballot. At the end of his speech he spoke of the measure contemplated by Government, and it will be seen that his remarks quite accord with those of Mr. Cobden and Lord Goderich.

" Let the Government bring in this measure, and it would be evident that the apathy which now pervaded the country was more apparent than real. Now, what must they do, supposing this bill to be a good one? When he said a good bill, he did not mean one including all the five points of the Charter, for it might be good without giving them everything | will find that the wealth of Lancashire has increased at least that they wanted. Don't let them be unreasonable. All the in the same proportion. And, therefore, if you lay down

Having done with internal, Mr. Oobden betook himself to the external question, and with great pains made out his views.

In 1835, there was a crisis on the Eastern question, and Government increased the navy by 5000 mea. "Diversity that time following my avocation as a man of businesses." Manchester, and it was the cry then raised which learning put pen to paper and to write a pamphlet hostile to the

views of Mr. Urguhart and the press. I sailed for America, leaving the pamphlet for publication. On my return I found that my pamphlet had been greatly criticised in the news-papers of the day. I found myself, to my astonishment, no longer a private citizen engaged in my private business, but a man of some notoriety; but I did not find that the pamphlet was denonnced and stigmatised as hostile to the interests of England. That pamphlet, from beginning to end, expressed these views: Don't go to war to maintain the inde-pendence and integrity of Turkey, America is the only rival you have to fear in England. Barbarism will not overturn civilisation in these days. With our improvements in machinery, and the discovery of gunpowder, there will never be another irruption of the Goths. My arguments went to show that Turkey was a decaying country; that, for 150 years before, all the authorities that could be obtained pronounced it to be a declining and decaying country. Well, that crisis of the Eastern question blew over. There are now the same instruments at work, and the same arguments used, and we are called upon again, just as we were in 1835, to maintain the independence and integrity of the Turkish empire. But we are called upon to do more, we are called upon to make war against Russia. These are two distinct questions. Our hostility to Russia, and a determination to keep Russia within her present boundaries, is a distinct question, and whether you will maintain the Turk or Mahommedanism as a permanent rule in Europe. You might if you liked look at the map and say, 'There is Russia; we will make war against you if you remove those marks which now form your boundary upon the map.' You might make that declaration, and I don't say that it is impossible you could accomplish your object; but you might go to war for it, and of this I am certain, that it would be more possible to do that than by any process of war or diplomacy to main-tain Turkey as a ruling Power permanently in Europe. That is my solemn conviction from all I have read of the country, and upon the authority of those travellers who have visited the country within the last twenty or thirty years. The Russians do not hate the English. You will find at St. Petersburg thirty or forty English houses, great mercantile establishments, by far the most influental body of merchants to be found in any part of Europe, for our mer-chants have been declining as a body, in numbers as well as wealth and influence, in all parts except St. Petersburg. But there is no hostility in Russia towards Englishmen. They meet with no such thing. There is an English club at St. Petersburg, founded on our principles, called the English Club and conducted after the manner of your club in Club, and conducted after the manner of your club in Mozeley-street. Their horse-racing is an imitation of ours in England. You can hardly go into a nobleman's family in Russia, but you find the children given in charge to English nurses; and I do not know a finer compliment that can be

paid to you as a nation." "Now, if there is not one fact to show that the Russian people or Government entertain any hostility to the English, on what is founded that national outcry which is at the present moment raised against Russia? No doubt it is founded on the fact, that Russia is making an unjust aggression upon a neighbouring State, and upon that question of the injustice of the Government of Russia towards the Government of Turkey there are no two opinions in this country. If you ask me what my opinion of the conduct of the Russian Government or the Russian Czar towards the Government of Turkey is, Iwill say that it is unjust—(hear, hear)—aggressive —(hear, hear)—unreasonable, and insolent. (Hear, hear.) But if you ask me to go further, and to transfer that expression of opinion upon the conduct of Russia into an act by which I shall assume to myself the right and the power to chastise Russia because she is unjust and insolent to her next neighbour, then I say you have shifted your ground completely, and must show me, first of all, that I, as an English. man, am invested with the power and responsibility of acting as a policeman all over the civilised world. No, you will say, will you allow one Government, one nation, to go and take possession of another without interfering? Well, that is a principle, and I ask my interrogator in reply, are you prepared to act upon that principle? because what I ask is that our foreign policy should be settled upon a principle. If you say you will not allow an act of injustice to be perpetrated by a powerful country upon a weaker country—if you will apply the principle throughout Europe, you must begin in Italy, you must go to Rome, you must go to the Papal States, where you have a high-spirited population at this moment subjected to the yoke of intervention. Are you prepared to do this as a principle? If you are not, and I am sure you are not, then let us consider the question of Turkey not as a matter of principle, in which we are called upon to do justice to the whole world, but as a matter of interest to ourselves. Are we called upon in regard to our own safety to do it? I dismiss the question of our doing justice to all the world without reference to what may be said by a person speaking in another country, 'Physician, cure thyself'-Take the beam out of thine own eye.' Do not you talk of becoming the protector or a grand seignor in Europe, when you have knocked down one Mahommedan dynasty like ninepins in India, and have got the Great Mogul himself, who had 100 millions of subjects, shut up in Delhi, the most miserable picture of fallen greatness that was ever exhibited to the world. . . You are afraid that if Russia comes to Turkey and gets possession of Constantinople, she will become a great maritime power, will absorb all the influence of the Mediterranean, and will become dangerous to England. Very well. How will Russia, when she gets possession of Con-stantinople, acquire all this power? Constantinople itself will not give this power, or what have the Turks been doing for the last 400 years? How is it that that country has sunk to a state of miserable decreptitude, not capable of protecting its own frontier, or even of defending itself against its own satraps? What is it? Why, if Russia is to gain this power and influence at Constantinople, and become a great maritime power, it can only be by encouraging commerce and increasing her wealth through the means of manufactures and industry. Merchant vessels won't sail ready rigged and manned down the Wolga and Danube because Russia possesses this territory. (Hear, hear.) She must have a merchant navy like all other nations—like the Venetians, the Americans, and the English-she must have

injustry and energy, and accumulate wealth through her commercial energy and the skill and intelligence of her artisans; and before she can do this she must cease to be a barbarous Power. (*Hear, hear.*) But I defy her to increase her wealth or commerce from Constantinople, but through her commerce with you more than with any other nation. How has America become so great but by sending so many ships to the ports in this country, and the same process must go on with regard to Russia. When Russia shall have arrived at that state of civilisation she will have given a bond of peace that she will not go forth to devastate the world, she will have something at home that will give a hostage for her conduct to the civilised world; a country cannot become great and rich, and powerful, and remain still a barbarous and dreaded nation.

But are the Turks themselves a commercial people? Did. you ever see a Turkish vessel, owned by Turks, and manned by Turks, leaving the ports of Turkey on the peaceful er-rand of commerce to this or any other country? Never! Can they be called a commercial people when the commerce of Turkey is carried on by Greeks, who dare not carry on their commerce until they go to Russia, and, by acquiring foreign citizenship, seek to be protected from the despotism of Turkey. But we are going to put down Russia for at-tacking Turkey, and we are told it is our interest to do so, because Russia is an anti-commercial country, and Turkey promotes commerce. . . I will not go to war to lower a tariff, or to prevent a tariff being made higher. I doubt not the truth of the principles I profess, and if peace be preserved I have no doubt that the principle of free trade which has been so good for us will be found to extend itself throughout the world. I have that faith in the principle that I will not fight for it at all." (Cheers.)

Mr. Cobden contended that as we have pledged ourselves to France and Turkey we are bound to fulfil the pledge. Lord Aberdeen has acted in a manner for which all must be thankful, as he knew the cost and uncertainty of war. St. Mr. Cobden admitted that war is imminent, and recommended that if we do go to war the expenses of every year shall be paid out of the taxes of the year. "Increase the income-tax to 20 per cent., and lower the range from 100*l*. to 50*l*. a year income. It is better to raise the tax in that way than to put obstructions upon commerce by again adopting the old system of taxation. It is not my vocation to find the means to pay the expenses of this war. I cannot bring my mind to regard it as inevitable. I will not believe it until I read the bulletin of the first battle. I can scarcely think we can be guilty of such folly and wickedness as to say that having work left undone, we shall without doing it begin to talk of war. In place of war we should pay attention to the necessary domestic and political reforms that are called for throughout the country. When we find it necessary to educate the people and provide for juvenile delinquents, is it not lamentable that we should be plunging into war, when nothing will be heard of but disasters and the destruction of our enemies, and men's minds will be turned from the contemplation of benevolent objects to the indulgence of the fiercest passions of our fallen nature." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Bright made a striking speech against making war on any account, especially making war for sympathy with national wrongs. We are called upon to rush into war as if we were performing the noblest duties.

"Now, what are the facts? Russia is a great and growng empire. It is in the progress from barbarism to civilisation. It is in very much the state that all other countries have passed through. On the other hand, Turkey is an em-pire very large, and considerably populous, but still it is an empire which is on its way, not from barbarism to civilisation, but from barbarism to decay, and in all human probability to an early extinction. Well, a dispute arises between those two countries. I do not for a moment presume to differ from the general opinion with regard to the character of the dispute which, in all probability, if we had never inter- and be by arbitration decided. He believed this to be a perfered at all, nor given our advice on the question, would be settled long before this—(hear, hear)—by the concessions of greatest evil which human beings could be subject to, but as Turkey, and without war. We are asked if we will join in a calamity the full amount of which none could possibly this fray, and I ask why we are to join in it? Is it out of estimate. He knew well that an over-acting despotism and sympathy with the oppressed, or is it for any particular tyranny might produce in the end perhaps more wickedness object that this country has in it? Why, if we are to go to and more demoralisation, and infinitely more misery, than war for sympathy where will your wars end? Why did you even war itself. But with all, he did think it the duty of put an end to the last war? Did you leave freedom in Europe after the treaty of Vienna? You may commence another war to-morrow, and the youngest man living may not see the end of it. Go to war for Hungary if you are inclined in that way; or go to war for Lombardy-(Cheers)or go to war for the victim of Neapolitan tyranny-(Cheers)or go to war for those magnanimous men who were combined in the government of the late Roman republic-(Cheers)-or go to war for three millions of negroes in bondage in the United States. Look to the bedlamite consequences to which you are driven if you hold yourselves obliged to go to war for sympathy. Nothing but confusion could reign all tional honour; and if we were to have war, he was an advo-round the circuit of this planet, if that were to be a reason cate for going rigorously to work. He saw no reason why why nations should go to war.' Mr. Bright insisted that we had as good ground for going to war with the United States on account of her Mexican campaigns, or with France on account of her African conquests, as with Russia. Mr. Cheetham and Mr. Henry Ashworth addressed the meeting, and the following resolution was adopted :---

Emperor Nicholas. The meeting was convened and attended by the most respectable inhabitants of Derby. The Mayor presided; Mr. Bass, M.P. was present, Mr. Heyworth, M.P., excused himself. He consorts with Manchester. The Mayor spoke strongly in favour of supporting Turkey by war. Mr. Bates. Mr. Moss, Mr. Parkinson, Mr. Bass, Mr. Etches. all took similar views; and the subjoined hearty resolutions were unanimously carried :---

"That this meeting, in common with the great majority of the people of this country, has viewed with feelings of indignation the lawless violence manifested by the Russian autocrat in his unjust and aggressive attacks upon the rights and independence of our faithful ally, Turkey. That we consider this country bound by every principle of honour and duty, no less than by an imperative sense of what is due to our own interests, to adopt active, energetic, and effective measures (in conjunction with France) to co-operate with the Turks in destroying the fleets, armies, and fortresses of this aggresor, allowing them to reimburse themselves, at his expense, for the cost of the war, and affording to those nations, which have been by his former treachery and violence deprived of their nationality, an opportunity of recovering the same, and re-establishing themselves as kingdoms under their own national governments. That any compromising policy carried on by the aid of secret diplomacy will tend to dishonour the British nation, be destructive of her material interests, and injure the cause of liberty, justice, and humanity throughout Europe." (Cheers.)

The meeting then adopted a petition to Parliament, and an address to the Sultan. One paragraph in the former is remarkable, especially as the Rev. Mr. Griffiths took part in the proceedings. It refers to the iniquitous war now waged by Russia.

"This war is being carried on under the cleak of religion, but your petitioners believe that the real design of Russia is the conquest and subjugation of the Turkish dominions, and that if Russia succeeds in this unjust and cruel plot, Turkey will lose her nationality and her freedom; Christianity in that empire will be debased into a servile submission to the Russian despot; civil and religious liberty, the very foundation of Christianity, will be destroyed; the extensive and increasing commerce between England and Turkey will be rnined, and Europe will again be involved in a bloody and expensive war."

Mr. Griffiths called upon Ministers to state whether Prince Albert had or had not interfered unconstitutionally in the Government.

ROCHDALE.---Mr. Miall met his 'constituents on Wednesday evening. After reviewing the Session of 1853, he came to the Eastern question. He confessed that deeply as he sym-pathised with the objects of the Peace Society, he had never been thoroughly able to compreh end the soundness of their principles. He could not accept the non-resistance principle without pursuing it to its logical conclusion-the abolition of all governments. Government, as he understood it, was the application of the organised physical force of a people with a view to the administration of justice between man and man, and if that organised physical force might be pro-perly applied to right that which was wrong, then he thought it might be properly applied to resist the wrong-doing. And if we might resist, we must resist up to the amount that was necessary to overcome all opposition. But while he was not a member of the Peace Society he had taken a voluntary and active part in the Peace Congress, that is to say, he had felt it his duty to do everything in his power to teach the people the folly, the wickedness, and the miserable consequences of war; to put down as much as possible all the incitements to war; to endeavour to come to an arrangement with European Powers to diminish or to dismiss their several armaments, and to insert clauses into every treaty that questions of dispute should be submitted to arbitration, fectly rational course. He looked upon war not as the very every honest man, and of every Christian man, to beware of giving the slightest sanction to a war policy until he was fully satisfied in his own mind that the war was a matter of necessity and a matter of self-defence, which on the whole would be beneficial to the interests of humanity at large. Mr. Miall noticed the merits of the Eastern question, and while condemning the Czar as a tyrant and a bally, doubted whether we were wise in going to war in support of the Government of Turkey. If, however, this country had induced Turkey to proceed as far as she had done, he was certainly for fulfilling our pledges and maintaining the naa war should hinder us in the work of perfecting our institutions, nor why a reform bill should not be brought forward as soon as Parliament opened. Brighton.—A meeting was held at Brighton on Thursday, for "the purpose of petitioning Parliament to impress upon the Government the necessity of rendering such assistance to Turkey as shall enable her to repel the Russian invasion, and maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire." We are not yet acquainted with the upshot. The following letter has been handed to us for publication :---

" That the members and the leading reformers of the district be a committee to watch the new Reform Bill, and to secure such an addition to the representation of Lancashire as the wealth, population, and industry of the county required."

After this the meeting separated. We cannot help thinking that the speeches would have been somewhat different had the audience consisted of the public instead of the "employers of labour."

DERBY.—Derby gathered in force in the Town-hall on Tuesday to record its sense of the conduct of the | Banquet at Manchester (in reality a meeting of the Peace

"To MAJOR FAWCETT, CHAIRMAN. "MY DEAR SIR,-I regret being unable to attend the demonstration this evening in favour of Turkish independence, in consequence of an accident while hunting.

"Will you do me the favour of reading the following very brief observations to the meeting :

"I am anxious to point out that the real question is not one merely of peace or war, as Mr. Cobden, at the Reform

Society), would have us believe. The question is what policy is best adarted, compatible with the honour, interests, and dignity of Great Britain, for maintaining the peace of Europe. No humane and reasonable man can be in favour of war; but I fearlessly assert, and I believe it to be the opinion of a large majority of the people of England, that the timid, vacillating, yet, withal, rash and uncertain policy of the Coalition Ministry, has actually brought us to the sad alternative of peace with national dishonour, or of war with incalculable loss and bloodshed. Yet, can any true-hearted Englishman, even after counting the cost, and looking to the past, the present, and the future, hesitate as to his choice of evils?

"If Russia become predominant in the Black Sea, it will make her absolute mistress of Austria, Turkey, and Persia, and it will give her a floating bridge to our Eastern possessions. The only considerable railway which has been com-pleted in Russia now invests that empire with a degree of importance in Europe which she never before possessed, and which will compel all other nations to measure her political influence by a new standard.

"Our choice now lies between Turkey and freedom on the one hand, or Russia and despotism on the other. We may by war now lay a permanent foundation for future peace; or, by a dastardly submission, indefinitely prolong this great crisis of the world's history.

"I am, dear sir, very sincerely yours, "WILLIAM CONINGHAM. "Kemp-town, January 26th."

#### SOUTHAMPTON.

The most crowded and enthusiastic meeting that ever assembled within the Guildhall of Southampton was held on Tuesday, having been convened by the Mayor, in compliance with a requisition very numerously signed by inhabitants of every shade of political opinion, "to take into consideration the unprovoked aggression of the Emperor of Russia against Turkey." The spacious Guildhall was crowded almost to suffocation before the hour named for the meeting, and hundreds were unable to obtain admission.

The Mayor, Mr. J. T. Tucker, expressed his pleasure at meeting such a numerous assemblage of his fellowtownsmen. He would tell them at once that he was for peace—but not at any price. (Loud cheers.) He would not do or say anything that would tend to disturb the peaceful relations of this country with other nations-neither would he do anything to tarnish the houour of this great empire. (Cheers.)

The gentlemen who successively moved the resolutions, spoke a language in harmony with that of the chairman, expressing an earnest desire for the maintenance of peace, and a desire equally earnest for the maintenance of treaty rights and the morality of nations. The following resolutions were carried:-

"The four great Powers of Europe, parties to the treaty of 1841, having called upon the Emperior of Russia to withdraw his armies from the principalities, and he having decidedly refused to do so, those powers are bound in honour and the interests of civilisation to aid the Sultan, if necessary, by force of arms in expelling him, to require that he should pay all the expenses of the war, and also, in entering into any new arrangements, to take measures for securing the future tranquillity of Europe by a well defined treaty, which shall have for one of its conditions the opening of the Black Sea at all times to the ships of all nations."

"That the cordial union now existing between the English and French Governments, as well as between the people of those two great nations, afforded the meeting the most sincere satisfaction; and that it highly approved the decision by which the combined fleets are now cruising for the protection of Turkey in the Black sea."

A resolution was then agreed to, authorising the mayor to embody the foregoing views and expressions in a memorial to her Majesty, to sign the same on behalf of the meeting, and to forward it through Lord Clarendon for presentation to the Queen; and it was also agreed that a copy of the resolutions should be forwarded through the French ambassador in London to his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of France, and likewise through the Turkish embassy in London to the Sultan at Constantinople.

prevention of the nenewal of the treaties which have been rendered null and void by the existence of war between the Russian and Turkish Sovereigns,

"7. That, in the opinion of this house, it might be highly advantageous to the interests of her Majesty's subjects, and for the future preservation of general peace, that her Majesty's Ministers, being engaged in any negotiation that may be on foot for the restoration of peace between the aforesaid belligerents, should use their best endeavours that in any new treaties made between those Powers it should be provided that the Sublime Porte should be put in possession of the territory between the River Pruth and the River Dneister-to the south of a line to be drawn from -----, on the Pruth, to---. on the Dneister.

"8. That the said Ministers should also support the Sublime Porte in the due fulfilment of any engagement his Majesty the Sultan may have entered into with the independent Caucasian chiefs."

#### WAR PREPARATIONS.

WARLIKE activity is now observable on all sides. Exertions are being made to strengthen the artillery service by recruits, and thirty-nine parties have set out from Woolwich during the last three weeks. The report that an Irish militia will be raised has been followed by a similar statement that 10,000 Scotch militia are to be organised.

Lieut.-Colonel Vickers, and three other engineer officers have been ordered by the British Government to attend the British squadron in the Black Sea.

In the naval departments activity is unceasing. The James Watt, 90 gun screw-ship, has just been commissioned, and others will be commissioned in a few weeks. On Thursday week, the Thetis arrived at Portsmouth from abroad. Her crew were not "paid off," but "paid down;" and the reason for the step was communicated to them in an unusual way. Rear-Admiral Richard Dundas, a Lord of the Admiralty, visited the Thetis on Saturday, and all hands being piped on to the quarter-deck, the Admiral made the following speech :---

"My men,-I have come down, by request of the Board of Admiralty, to make known to you that we are on the eve of a war, and that war with Russia. My object, therefore, in addressing you by desire of their lordships, is to prepare you for such event; and I am sure you will receive this announcement as becomes Englishmen and British sailors. It is my duty to inform you that the country cannot dispense with your services, however hard it may appear after you having been away for so long a period; yet, the exigencies of the service must be paramount to all other considerations. Instead, therefore, of your being paid off, you will all be paid down. You shall have a few weeks' run, after which I feel assured that you will act as British seamen ever have done in defence of their country. I trust you will receive this communication in its right and proper light, and I make this known to you thus early to prevent any feelings of dis-appointment. I have earnestly to hope that the evil may yet pass away, but we must be prepared for any and every emergency. 'Pipe down.'"

Great efforts are being made to raise seamen on the western coast of Ireland.

Scotland will furnish 1500 men towards the coast volunteers; and Captain Craigie has been commissioned to raise them. Last Saturday he addressed the men of Aberdeen. This led to an incident at once dramatic and significant. Having described the duties, privileges, and pay of the force, Captain

THE NORTH AUSTRALIAN EXPEDITION.

At the Monday meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, the Secretary (Dr. Shaw), read a report upon the proposed Australian explorations. Our readers will remember that in May last a committee of the society met to take into consideration a proposal to explore Australia from Perth to Shark Bay and Cambridge Gulf, and thence across the great interior of the continent to the Darling or the Murray rivers. The result of the deliberations of the committee was a report recommending to the council an exploration from the mouth of the Victoria to that of the Albert, in the Gulf of Carpentaria, the means of transportation to be by bullock-drays and horses, procured at Moreton Bay, where the expedition was to be organised. The mouth of the Victoria having been selected as a starting point, it was proposed that the expedition should ascend that stream as far as its water-shed (probably about 300 or 400 miles south of Cambridge Gulf), then deflecting eastward, as the nature of the country and the facilities of travelling demanded, the explorers expected to strike the head waters of the Albert, descending with the stream to the Gulf of Carpentaria, where a small vessel would be prepared for them. This expedition, it was calculated, would cost 2500l.; but this sum might be considerably reduced if the Government were to give a free passage to the commanders of the expedition, and to lend them the arms and instruments necessary for the use of 16 men, which number it was proposed should constitute the strength of the party. At the conclu-sion of the paper, the noble chairman called on Sir Charles Fellows, vice-president, to state the result of a deputation from the council of the society which had waited upon the Duke of Newcastle on the 18th instant. Sir Charles Fellows observed that the object of the deputation was to lay before the Government a proposal for an expedition to discover the northern parts of Australia. The Duke of Newcastle received the deputation in a very kind spirit. and expressed the approval of the plan on the part of the Government, and their willingness to fall into the views of the society. His Grace expressed an apprehension that the estimate made by the society (as given by Captain Sturt) would not be sufficient, and announced that the Government intended to take the expedition into their own hands. The nobleduke also observed that, in taking this course, the Government might be charged with reaping the harvest which others had sown, but that the field was a wide one, and other portions might be explored by private enterprise. The gentleman to whom the Government looked to command the expedition was Captain Stokes, but they hoped that the Royal Geographical Society would interest itself in the appoint-ment of the other officers. They also recommended that a geologist and a botanist be appointed to join the expedition. Captain Sturt expressed the pleasure which it would afford him to join the expedition. As one of the oldest explorers of Australia, he might be permitted to say that, having examined the proposed route, he believed it was the most judicious that could be selected. No better person could be appointed to its command than Captain Stokes, and he had no doubt that the expedition would be successful, by opening up that vast and probably fertile but unexplored territory in the north-western portion of the Australian continent. It was also announced that Mr. Baines, the author of the "Sketches of South African Scenery," in the room, had also volunteered to join the expedition. [Is Mr. Ernest Haug, the original projector of the expedition, to be shelved?] After the above had been compiled, we were gratified at finding the subject had not escaped the notice of the Morning Chronicle, which thus rebukes the Royal Geographical Society for suppressing all mention of Mr. Haug:---"Some months ago, we drew the attention of our readers to the contemplated expedition for the exploration of Northern Australia-a scheme originally proposed in the early part of last summer by Mr. Haug, in a memorial to the Royal Geographical Society. All persons who have inte-rested themselves in the matter will have observed, with great surprise and regret, that, in the report of the Society's committee on this subject, which appeared in our impression of last Tuesday, all mention of that gentleman's name is studiously omitted; and the carefully framed plan which he had laid before the Society, and which has formed the basis of all the subsequent proceedings with respect to the expedition, is merely referred to as 'a proposal,' without the slightest allusion to its able and enterprising author. The motives for this strange and unworthy treatment of a gen-tleman to whom the British public, and the Royal Geographical Society itself, are so deeply indebted for successfully stirring a question alike interesting to the statesman, the merchant, the emigrant, and the man of science, we do not care to inquire. But, whatever difference of opinion may have arisen between Mr. Haug and the committee, it will be universally felt that this attempt to deprive him of the honour which is so eminently his due, is, to say the least, as discreditable to the Society as it is unjust to that gentleman. " We trust, however, that notwithstanding the injustice with which Mr. Haug has been treated by the body which professes to represent the interests of geographical science, his name will yet be formally and officially connected with

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION.

The following resolutions have been published by Lord Ponsonby, with an intimation that, if the noble lord's health will permit, it is his intention to move them in the House of Lords for adoption :---

"1. That the maintenance of the independence of the Ottoman Empire is of great importance for 'the security of some of the greatest interests of the Queen's subjects.

"2. That attacks have been lately made upon that independence.

"3. That those attacks were made with great advantage to the attackers, derived from positions they had obtained upon the confines of the Ottoman Empire by various treaties.

"4. That a war having taken place between the Sultan and the Emperor of Russia, the treaties between those Sovereigns are thereby rendered void and null.

"5. That for the purpose of giving more security to the Sultan against further attacks, it is necessary that the said treaties should not be renewed between the Sublime Porte and the Imperial Russian Sovereign.

"6. That moved by the above-stated cousiderations, this house is of opinion that her Majesty's Minisetrs who may be engaged on any negotiations for a peace between the Imperial Russian Government and the Government of the Sublime Porte, should employ all the means in their power for the | ing adjourned.

"They all knew that Europe at present was in a very critical state; the Government wished to be prepared for the worst. Should any outbreak really occur which would endanger our liberties, impressment or the ballot must be resorted to if the present proposal were not successful, for the country must be defended. To poor men the ballot was virtually the same as impressment, as they could not pay for substitutes, but the fishermen on the east coast, he felt assured, would readily come forward, and, in the noble spirit of their forefathers, enrol themselves for the defence of their country. (Cheers.) To be of good service, however, it was necessary that they should be disciplined, for all the hardy fellows before him would have little chance with even a dozen of men well trained. Had the Government resorted to the population generally, to raise the number of men required (1500), they would, no doubt, have succeeded, but as the fisherman resided on the coasts it was felt that they were most in need of protection, and it was therefore decided to give them the first offer to enrol themselves in the service; and he was glad to say that, so far as he had yet proceeded, they had responded nobly to his appeal. Though he had only begun last week, he had already enrolled 250 names the fishermen, wherever he went, being enthusiastic in the cause. (Cheers.) And he had not the least doubt but that when he returned to Aberdeen, three weeks hence, to receive names, the fine fellows before him would show the same ardour to defend the shores of old Scotland, their sweethearts and wives." (Cheers.)

George Brands, a seaman, then stood forward, and in a very enthusiastic address backed Captain Craigie's appeal. "I was out in 1798," he said, "and I can assure the young men around me, that their forefathers acted nobly; and I am sure the 'folk of Filtie' [fishermen of Foot Dee] will prove themselves worthy of being called their sons." (Cheers.) Three cheers were then given for Captain Craigie

and three for Provost Blaikie, after which the meet-

the great work on behalf of which he has so snongetically and indefinitigably laboured. The exploration of North Aus-rulis has now been undertaken by the Covernment, and we cannot evaluations, the organisation and conduct of the proposed expedition, the Colonial-office will avail itself of the knowledge, the abilities, and the seal of the man to where bisers - inbours, let us add, involving a large peon-ning appenditure the whole enterprise is essentially due. It is, we services reasons, impossible to appoint a foreigner to the assument. but we are persuaded that Mr. Haug's high chims will nevertheless be adequately recognised. We feel and that the Colonial Minister will be anxious to secure his vituable services as a member of the exploring party, in astac just worthy of his talents, his energies, his practical interviewing, and, above all, of the devoted and disinterested real which he has expended on this ment important public extrements.

#### LETTERS FROM PARIS.

#### LETTER CIX.

Parts, Friday Evening, Jan. 26, 1854.

WERE over nations so befolled as they are now by all the Governments, from that of Russia to those of Farm and London? Assuredly the entry of the figets into the Black Sea was an act of war. It was universally held to be so; the French and English Cabinets trumpeted the fact aloud. Now we find it was not an act of war at all, but simply an act of pesce. Such is the reply just given by the Govern-ments of France and England to the demand of the Czar. The Czar demanded of France and England, through his ambassadors, whether they were at pence or at war with him. These are his precise words. The two Powers lost no time in replying that they were not at war with him, but at peace. If they were paid to ive the Caar time to pour reinforcements upon the Disaube, they could not have done otherwise. Is it crudible that two complimentary autograph letters from the Emperor have, effected this momentous change of policy? At all events, a rise in the funds here, as in London, has been the result: in Paris as much as three france, in as many days. Bonaparte, ever since he get a letter calling him the "Saviour of Society," his been quite elated. A second letter of the kind would almost convert him to a Russian alliance. At the ball at the Tuileries he scarcely left M. de Kinceliff all the evening : the Russian ambassador monopolised the Imperial attentions . . . Nicholas is playing a double game. While he writes autograph, letters to Paris and London, he sends Count Orloff to Vienna and Berlin to propose an

interview at Warsaw It seems the Danube has been definitively crossed at Brailow, by General Engelbardt, of Luders' corps, on the night of the 12th, with 2000 men, who en-tranched themselves in a position for the purpose of establishing a the-de-post. Whether General Luders has crossed with 15,000 men is not yet certain. His entire corps was at Brailow and there can be little doubt of his intention to pass the river with his whole force, and to march by Trajan's Wall on Varna. This movement, which I hinted at soulong age as last May, would be decisive in breaking down the barrier of the Danube along its whole course. What will become of peace if the **Bussians** are once established in Bulgaria?

## THE LEADER.

long since solemnly proclaimed to all Europe by the pro-mulgation of the Tansimet. Moreover, should any one of those communions possess advantages unnjoyed by the others, and these desire to participate therein-the Ottoman Government-animated by sentiments of justice and impartiality, will never refuse to dispense equal rights and equal privileges to all. Neither can there be the slightest objection to notify the sincerity and loyalty of these intentions to every Government in Europe, and to furnish each-and necessarily the Cabinet of St. Petersburg-with a copy of the aforesaid firmans.

"The project of settlement, concerning the measures required to complete the decision relative to the Holy Palees, will be accepted definitively.

"Hence, the Sablime Porte is ready to conclude a treaty of peace, in the manner traced out by its august alfee-and consents, accordingly, to appoint a plenipotentiary, who, with a Russian plenipotentiary, will finally regulate this affair, and settle the terms of an armistice, in any neutral town at the choice of the Allted Powers-as soon as intelligence is received that the Court of St. Petersburg has acquiesced in these decisions.

"In consequence of the many and various relations existing between Turkey and the European states, the Sublime Porte considers itself in every respect entitled to be admitted as a member of the European federation, and conformably with this situation it will be requisite to confirm and complete the treaty of 1841, and this result it awaits with en-tire confidence in the good offices and solicitude of the great Powers.

"Forty days ought to suffice to make known the decision of the Russian Cabinet, and the Sublime Porte solicits its august allies to direct their attention to that object.

"Finally, with a view of insuring to all classes of his subjects the blessings of justice and security, his Majesty the Sultan is most anxious to see in full vigour the enactments of the Tanzimat-and to introduce into all depart-ments of state the requisite reforms and ameliorations ; and and to this end has deigned to issue orders for considering and completing that most important object. This circumstance, I feel most happy to announce, and it will afford, no doubt, the highest satisfaction to the friends and well-wishers of the Ottoman Empire.

(Signed-) "Rébiulevel, 30, 1270." " MUSTAPHA RESCHID.

Mr. John Mason, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Ple-nipotentiary of the United States of America, presented his

credentials to the Emperor on Sunday last. An Imperial decree convokes the Senate and the Legisla-

tive budy for the 27th of February. By a decision of the Minister of Finance the interest on Treasury Bonds is fixed at 44 per cent. for all bonds from 3 to 5 months of exchange; at 5 per cent. from 5 to 11 months; and at 55 per cent. for bonds of one year. The Comptoir d'Escompte, in imitation of the Bank of

France. has raised its interest to five per cent.

It is rumoured that Count Orloff has received a confidential mission from the Czar for the Courts of Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and London.

It has been reported that the reply of Russia to the last Note of the ambassadors will be an unconditional rejection of the propositions, an expression of willingness to treat directly with the Porte through Prince Gortschakoff, ap-pointed Plenipotentiary, ad hod, but an absolute refusal to depart from any condition laid down by Prince Menschikoff.

The Russian couriers, bringing the reply of the Russian Government to the notification of the entry of the combined fleets into the Black Sea, reached London and Paris early in the week. The Czar does not treat the entry of the fleets as a cases della. Dut ne instructs his ambassadors to ask whether the fleets of France and England intend to exercise an armed neutrality, or to lend aid to the Turks against Russis. The best answer to this shuffling evasion is, that the fleets have already convoyed Turkish reinforcements to the army in Circassia.

flag-ships, where they had a long conference with the

admira Is. The following is an extract from a letter written by an officer of the British fleet in the Black Sea :----

"We all left our anchorage in Beicos Bay on the 3rd, but did not get clear until the 4th. Fury left the fleet upwards of 70 N.E. of the Bosphorus, going between 6 and 7 knots, bound to Sinope, where they lay for two days, whilst a steamer is despatched to see if the Russians are out, a report being prevalent that an expedition is out for the purpose of taking Batoum. Retribution goes to Sebastopol to demand two English engineers detained there as prisoners. If this fleet only comes across the Russian fleet, you will have a good account of them. Fury towed Jena, French-line-of battle ship. Only Arethusa left in Bosphorus, French-Ville de Faris, Jupiter, Henry IV., Valmy, Jena, Friedland, Charlemagne, Bayard. Steamers-Gomer, Mogador, Sane, Magellan, Descartes. English-Britannia-Furious. Albion -Sampson, Vengeance-Retribution, Sansparel (screw), Rodney-Inflexible, Agamemnon (screw), Trafalgar-Tiger, Bellerophon-Fury, London-Firebrand, Queen-Terrible, Leander-Niger. Despatch beats without gans-Prome-theus, Heron. This is the line of battle in which they sail in with the steamers appointed to each ship. The following signal was made in the afternoon of the 4th from Britannia: - The ships and territories of Turkey throughout the Black Sea are to be protected from all aggression and under every circumstance."

On the afternoon of the same day on which the fleets sailed (4th), five Turkish steamers, laden with about 6000 soldiers, some guns, and ammanition, left the Colden Horn to follow in the wake of the fleet. The troops and guns are destined for the Asjatic frontier, and some of the powder for the Circassians. Three steam frigates left Trebizond for the Circassian coast a short time before the disaster at Sinope, laden with powder. Agents from Constantinople had previously warned the mountaineers, and on the firing of signal guns along the coast, a thousand horsemen dashed down be. tween the Russian forts, and in a trice each man strapped on his bag of powder, and disappeared among the mountains. The Taif steamer, which afterwards escaped from Sinope, was one of this squadron.

The Pays, alluding to the statement that the combined fleets are to be under the command of Admiral Hamelin,

two fleets as far as regards the command. The situation is very simple. On ordinary occasions each singleron will retain its independence. In case of an action, the command in chief belongs by right to the officer senior in rank. If we are well informed, Admiral Hamelin is seven yours the senior in rank to Admiral Dundas, and if the quadrons are to engage the Russian fleet, it is the French flag that will have the honour of directing the blows."

The Trebizond steamer, which reached. Constantinople on the 10th, left the sailing vessels, under Admirals Dundas and Hamelin, at Sinope; and the steamers under Admirals Barbier de Tinon and Lyons, advancing towards Batoum. When the Retribution joined the fleet she reported only five ships of the line at Sebastopol.

Upon receipt of the notification that the French and English fleets had entered the Black Sea, Prince Menchikoff, who has supreme command of the Russian marine in the south, re-issued the notification first made upon the declaration of war by Turkey. According to this document, all vessels carrying animunitions of war, and stopped by Russian cruisers in the Black Sea, will be regarded and treated as good prizes, whether belonging to a hostile or neutral power or nation.

A private telegraphic dispatch from Constantinople, of the 16th, announces that the combined fleets were making sail for Varna, and that the Russian fleet was cruising of Kalfa, at the entrance of the Sea of Azoff, The statement of the ugsburg Gazette that the English engineers made prisoners at Sinope had been given up, is not confirmed. The Oesterreichische Correspondenz declares that the report that the Austrian and Prussian Ambassadors at Constantinople had protested against the entry of the E ench and British fleets into the Black Sea was incorrect, but that those ambassadors had sent a notification to Redschid Pasha to the effect that the step taken by France and England went beyond the agreement entered into by the Four Powers on the 12th of December. The Turkish Government, on the recommendation of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, has decided on establishing a line of electric telegraph from Constantinople to Schumla. It is also in contemplation to purchase in Europe a certain number of steam-vessels.

1:110 IQ of s,000,000, cannot be negotiated in France. Colonel Fleury is in London to see what' can be done there. The financial situation is one of great embarrasement. The Bank has raised its discouns to 5 per cent. Treasury bills are at 51. Trade is paralysed, and failures are fizzing about like fireworks.

#### CONTINENTAL NOTES.

The following is the translation of the reply of the Sublime Porte to the collective note of the Four Powers :--

"His Majesty the Sultan has perused with attention the British Ambassador's note of December 12, respecting the bases proposed for a treaty of peace, and identical with those of his colleagues, the representatives of France, Austria, and Prussis, sent in collectively on the same day, and it re-sults therefrom that his Majesty the Emperor of Russia manifesta pacific intentions.

"The Sublime Porte has waged war solely in its own defence-in defence of its sacred rights and sovereignty-and as there is nothing to affect them in this proposal, it has been deemed expedient to adoptit with a view to the restora-tion of peace—his Imperial Majesty, moreover, being actu-ated in this circumstance by the highest consideration for his august allies, by an ardent desire of conforming to their wishes, and by implicit faith in their councils.

"Accordingly, on resuming the negociations, the first point to establish will be the evacuation of the Principalities within the shortest possible delay; and the second, the re-newal of the treaties to which the Sublime Porte assents, in deference to the advice of the Allied Powers, and in the undeviating spirit of moderation, by which it has been guided throughout in these transactions.

"With regard to the religious privileges and immunities of the various non-Mussulman communities, subject to the Ottoman Government, these have been accorded in ancient times by the illustrious ancestors of his Imperial Majesty, and re-confirmed by himself in virtue of a hatti-sheriff recently emanated to that effect. These grants and franchises, moreover, the Sublime Porte has been ever anxious to maintain-and will maintain perpetually-as has been

The Constitutionel puts some melodramatic bravado into the mouth of the Czar on learning the entry of the fleets into the Black Sea, and the message to the Governor of Sebastopol.

On hearing of the entrance of the fleets into the Black Sea he is said to have evinced the most perfect calmness. In the evening, when talking in his circle of courtiers, composed of the highest personages and superior officers, he is said to have remarked, after announcing to them the entrance of the fleets, "When battle is offered to Russia. she always accepts it; she can wear mourning for a fleet, but not for the national honour. I expected the resolution come to by France and Great Britain. I am not, there fore, taken by surprise; every order has been given be forehand in anticipation of an act which, by breaking treaties, releases me from the obligation of them." It appears certain, in fact, that the Emperor asked Prince Menchikoff whether he could make head against the formidable squadrons, the movement of which he expected in the Black Sea. The Grand Admiral is said to have replied, " Conquer them, no; fight and die to the last, yes!"

The reports of the state of public feeling in St. Petersburg are contradictory. While some represent the Emperor in a towering passion, and enthusiastically cheered by the populace whenever he appears, the nobility offering money and arms and volunteers, the church and the merchants vieing in enthusiasm and devotion to the holy war; other accounts represent the higher classes dissatisfied, and the Emperor indignant at those who had persuaded him to go so far, and inclined to negotiations for peace.

The day before the fleets left, Lord Stratford de Redeliffe and General Bataguay d'Hilliers, the British and French Ambassadors, repaired to Therapia, and thence on board the

Among rumours of Russian preparations for war, we may take the following items:-

The Cassel Gazette announces that the Emperor of Russia has demanded 25 millions from the Warsaw Bank, for the eventualities of war. The Vossische Zeitung of Berlin is informed, that the 50,000,000f. deposited in the Bank of France to the credit of Russia have been withdrawn. Hamburgh letters allude to reports that the Czar is about to issue paper money to the extent of sixty millions of paper roubles, to meet the war expenditure.

Private letters from Russian Poland state that the greatest agitation exists in that country, in consequence of the vio-lent measures employed by the Czar to ruise troops. As an instance, it is stated that in one village all the male inhabitants, including the pastor and the lord of the village, were soized during the night, and carried off to the interior.

Advices direct from St. Petersburg of the 17th, state that a ukase has been issued calling the seamen of the Baltic fleet to rejoin the ships by the 15th of March. The concentrations are to take place at Kronstadt, Reval, and Sweaborg.

The Russian Minister of Finance has laid his hands on the capitals of loan societies conducted by private persons.



Letters from Belgrade of the 14th, state that no such firmans as have been described by some journals have reached Servia. The Prince desires to avoid any unnecessary collision with Russia, and it is not considered probable that the Porte would adopt any measure calculated to make his position more difficult, when no tmportant end could be thereby attained

The reported movements of the Russians on or across the Dapube at Reni Matschin or Silistria are as yet of little or no importance. Two thousand Russians, under General Engelhardt, had crossed the Danabe, between Matschin and Isatcha, and set fire to two villages; and at Reni preparations were being made for crossing the river at its junction with the Pruth. Prince Gortshakoff was concentrating his forces at Radovan. The whole corps of General Aurep was concentrated in Lesser Wallachia.

The Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia have refused the Russian pensions.

Letters from the provinces state that it is impossible to form an idea of the terror which the exactions of the Russians, under the most futile pretences, have caused there. They arrest, dispossess, and seize moveable property of all sorts. Several persons of high distinction are mentioned, who, after having been stripped of all they possessed, were trembling for their lives.

The question was asked at St. Petersburg whether the Emperor Nicholas would meet the Emperor of Austria at Warsaw. The reply received was, that His Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, intended to go to the seat of war! The sarcasm contained in this answer has put the military party into an excessively ill-humour with Russia

The Patrie states that since the Vienna protocol of Jan. 13, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg has demanded of Austria and Prussia a decided and formal declaration of their intended course of action.

According to the Aarhus-Avis of Copenhagen of the 20th, the reply of Russia to the declaration of neutrality on the part of Denmark had arrived in that City. Russia refuses to consent to that neutrality, and calls on Denmark to take one side or the other. The envoys of Austria and Prussia were sent for by the King. The ministers of England and France had previously had an audience relative to the same matter

In the sitting of the Danish Folkething of the 17th, the Government announced that it intended adjourning to better times the presentation of the common constitution for the whole monarchy, in the hope that in the interim irritation and prejudices would have calmed down.

The Swedish Diet, in its sitting of the 15th, had proposi-tions presented to it by the Government making modifications in the customs' tariff in a free trade sense. Reductions on several articles and protective duties are proposed, instead of the prohibitive duties which before existed.

The Second Prassian Chamber of the 21st inst., in secret sitting, adopted the treaty concluded with Olderburg for the cession of a territory situate on the banks of the Jahde, and destined for the establishment of a Prussian military port. Only the Polish deputies voted against the treaty.

A Russian bulletin published at St. Petersburg, states that the Russian army in Asia is in winter quarters, and its operations suspended.

Prince Woronzoff's resignation has not been accepted.

The aspect of affairs is said to have completely changed in Persia. The British Minister, after acquainting the Shah with the alliance of England and France against Russia has regained his ascendancy.

The first regiment of the Christian Cossacks formed by Zadyk Pasha (Charkowsky), and mostly composed of Bul-garians, has joined Omar Pasha.

The Piedmontese Government is making preparations for war. The Piedmontese Chambers have improved upon the free-trade tendencies of the Ministers by an amendment abolishing the duties on corn.

exciting sympathy in the public mind, has been the occusion of showing the feeling of the public, and placards posted up by night in various quarters of Madrid rudely, but it is to be feared too truly, express their profound disgust. The wretched Ministers tremble at the idea of losing their places, and, instead of arresting the danger which menaces the Crown, glory in the degrading and mercenary protection of the favourite, whose will they do not resist. The man who owes all he has to the press, and who, but for it, would be the same penniless adventurer he was when he first lounged among the hungry idlers of the Puerta del Sol, is the first to crush it. Generals, to some of whom Queen Isabella is indebted for the crown she wears, are banished to distant garrisons for no crime but that of having keenly felt the degradation to which royalty is reduced in Spain, and endeavoured to save it from the consequences of its own vices. If a collision take place few will pity those who have provoked it."

The Gazette of Baden announces that the negotiations begun between the Government and the clergy have failed, the Archbishop of Freiburg having declared that he would not give up any of his nights.

#### MR. JAMES WATSON'S FAREWELL.

On Monday evening the farewell to Mr. James Watson, late publisher of Queen's Head-passage, was celebrated at John-street Institution, on the occasion of his transferring his business to Messrs. Holycake, 147, Fleet-street. Mr. Robert Le Blond presented 'an address to the following effect :---

"We take the occasion of your retirement from the profession of publisher to express the estimation entertained by your friends of your long and important services to the cause of free discussion. You who have ever regarded publicism as consisting in work to be done, not in inflated talking thereof, will see in the brevity of our address a sincere and definite appreciation, though clothed in few words.

"Since the days of Richard Carlile, into whose service you volunteered when imprisonment was the known and certain consequence of standing on the side of free inquiry, you have maintained the publication of the works of Thomas Paine, whose clear and penetrating genius gave an impulse, in the old world and the new, to political and religious freedom. In maintaining a character of honour and integrity, in with-standing the efforts of bigotry on the part of the Church and the Crown to suppress free discussion, you have promoted it both by your conduct and war big it both by your conduct and your life.

"In acknowledging this, we put upon record the highest compliment in the power of your fellow-citizens to pay you. Distant friends, not able to be present on this occasion, share these sentiments, both in Great Britain and America, and join us in sincere wishes for the happiness both of yourself and Mrs. Watson."

Mr. Watson replied by detailing, in a simple and manly narrative, the struggles of his useful and honourable career. The other speakers were William John Birch, Esq., of Pudlicote-house, Thomas Cooper, Richard Moore, Esq., the Re-verend H. N. Barnett, and Mr. G. J. Holyoake. W. Devonshire Saull, Esq., presided.

#### DREADFUL SHIPWRECKS.

ANOTHER splendid vessel has gone to pieces on the Irish coast, and out of 660 souls on board, only 282 have been saved. The ship was the Tayleur. She left Liverpool on Thursday, for Melbourne; the wea-

"Even the recent death of the Royal infant, so far from sciting sympathy in the public mind, has been the occusion howing the feeling of the public, and placards posted up abowing the feeling of the public, and placards posted up rest of the people, appeared utterly paralysed, and un-able to do anything to save life. The people crowded together to the head of the vessel, which was high out of the water when the stern went down; but the waves continued to wash over them, and each wave carried away some of the unfortunate passengers. The sea was so boisterous among the rocks that he does not think any of those who fell into the water were saved; and in about forty minutes after the vessel struck the whole of the wreck went down, leaving the masts over water, and all who were then clinging to the wreck perished, with the exception of one man, who got into the rigging, and remained there until next morning (Sunday), when he was got off by the coast guard.- The reason nobody else sought refuge in the rigging was, that all were endcavouring to get near the rope and the plank, which could save very few at a time. There were about 200 women at a rough guess and periods for about 200 women, at a rough guess, and perhaps 50 children on board, and all of those, with the exception of two women and one child, perished. In fact, all the weak and helpless were lost, and nobody who was not able to make an effort for himself was saved. He saw the second mate perish, and also the doctor, the latter having made gallant efforts to save his wife and child, both of whorn were lost, only for which he might have saved himself. His child was at some which he might have saved himself. His child was at some distance from him, and in endeavouring to reach it he lost his own life. No assistance in saving life could be rendered from the land, the only persons there being the coast guard men, who knew nothing of the affair until they were told of it by the black sailor, and as all was over then, they could, of course, do nothing. They remained by the wreck until about three o'clock, when it was too late to attempt to cross to the main, and by the coast-guard's boat, and the first-communication to the mainland was not sent off until about six the next morning. During the night they suffered a great deal from the wet and cold. It is a lamentable cir-cumstance that the greater number of the passengers were cumstance that the greater number of the passengers were Irish. There were also several foreigners among them."

The name of the second narrator is not given, but his story gives additional facts of great interest.

"We were off Lynas Point about 6 o'clock in the evening. when the pilot left; and almost at the same instant's squall came on, when orders were given to shorten sail. No sooner was this done than it became evident to those who were at all acquainted with nautical affairs, that the crew were totally incompetent to manage the ship. The mate could not get any one to go on the yards to shorten sail, and the ship was completely at the mercy of the wind and waves. Some idea may be formed of the incompetency of the crew when it is known that it took nearly three hours to take in the mizentopsail, and nearly one hour and three-quarters to take in the foretopsail, and neither the maintopsail nor the lower sails could be got in at all. We, however, stroggled through the night, our sails flapping and beating in a frightful manner. The boatswain and third mate exerted themselves a great deal, but the men did not appear to know their work. It immediately began to be whispered about that we should never reach the end of our voyage, the crew being a mixed medley of many nations, having a very imperfect acquaintance with the English language, and being consequently unable to understand the captain's orders. About midunable to understand the captain's orders. About mid-night we passed within a stone's throw of some light and land, which the passengers supposed to be Holyhead. The weather continued rough, and our confidence in the crew decreased every minute, though we saw we had a splendid vessel under us. A more beautiful ship, I believe, never sailed the seas. During the night of Friday the weather moderated a little, and when we came on deck next morning we found the ship with topgallantsails, topsails, and hower sails set. A person who came from Devoport with me sails set. A person who came from Devonport with us, Mr. Nicholls, said to us, 'The captain is doing wrong in hoisting so much sail; we shall have more wind, and the crew will not be able to take in sail should any en avise.' The weather, as the day wore, became boisterous and hazy, and about, I think, 10 o'clock, the log line was thrown, when it was said we were going five knots an hour, steering south-west by west. About 12 o'clock a friend came down to the cabin where I was, and said, 'There's land close to us, and they are afraid the ship will go ashore.' I proceeded on deck, where a horrible scene of confusion met my eye. Before us, at a short distance, rose the bleak and rocky island of Lambay, round the base of which the waves were dashing furiously, while the vessel, quite unmanageable in the hands of her crew, was drifting towards it with fearful rapidity. The deck was crowded with passengers, male and female, who, perceiving their danger, were in a state of almost frantic terror. The captain attempted to wear the ship, but she would not pay off, but continued to drift towards the rocks. He then ordered the staysail and, I think, the spanker to be set, which was done. The mate then directed the man at the helm to keep her full, but it was of no use. Just at that moment I heard the chain running out with the anchor; the first mate called out, 'Hold on,' but both anchors were let go-they snapped like glass. And now began a scene of the most frightful horror-some running below to get what they could, others praying, some taking leave of their friends, wringing their hands, and beseeching them for help. The vessel after striking lay so close abon the rocks that several persons attempted to jump ashore. The first person who jumped on the island struck his head against the rocks, and fell jumped from the vessel made good his footing, and was fol-lowed by several others—I believe the Chinese and Lascars belonging to the crew. They also succeeded in making good their landing, and, as soon as they had done so, scampered with all haste up the rocks, never attempting to assist those on board. Several now swung themselves on the rocks, which were but a few feet from us. I managed to swing myself on shore, and retained the rope in my hand; I passed the end of it up to some of those behind, and by this alone, the single rope and the plank, were many lives sub- | means a great many were enabled to come on shore. To

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An American steam-frigate has put into Port Mahon, en route to Constantinople with the new American Ambassador.

Captain Ingraham was expected at Genoa, where abun-dant honours awaited the deliverance of Kossta from the Austrians, and the assertion of American nationality.

Admiral Corry was expected to go to sea from the Tagua with the squadron under his command on the 19th, and his orders were to return to Spithead.

The Banshee arrived in the Tagus on the 17th with Admiralty despatches in little more than three days from Portsmouth, and went on to the Mediterranean on the 18th.

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Political affairs are becoming daily more critical in Spain, and a revolution is almost inevitable. The Ministry, which came into power with professions of legality and attachment to the constitution, has already begun a coup d'état. It has banished the leaders of the Opposition who had signed their names first to a memorial to the Queen, representing the situation as full of danger, and demanding the immediate assembling of the Cortes. The Marquis de Gerona, Minister of Justice, has resigned. Generals Manuel de la Concha and Leopoldo O'Donnell have been exiled to the Canary Islands; Generals José de la Concha and Facundo Infante to the Balcario Islands; and General Armero to Leon." Lord Howden and Mr. Otway were among the persons of distinction who went to see Generals Concha and Infante off for their places of banishment. It is expected that several other political oppoments of the Ministry will be sent away. Orders have been sent off, it is said, to General Prim, forbidding him to return to Spain. It is believed that, among the measures which will be adopted, the proclamation of the state of siege in the capital and province of Madrid will be one of the first. The Senate will be suppressed, and several notabilities of the Opposition will be exiled. The liberty of the press will be diminished or altogether suspended.

The correspondent of the Times writes as follows :----

ther was rough, her crew were incompetent; she got out of her course, and in broad daylight ran on to Lambay Island, near Dublin. We have before us some accounts of the catastrophe, written by passengers, and they detail the harrowing scene better than we can hope to do. The first extract is from the account of Mr. W. Jones, of London, a highly intelligent and respectable gentleman.

"The Tayleur sailed from Liverpool at five minutes to twelve on Thursday forenoon, with passengers and crew amounting in all to about 650 souls, including children. For several hours they had a fair wind, and about eight o'clock that evening they were off Holyhead. During the whole of Friday and Friday hight they struggled with an adverse wind, and on Saturday morning were endeavouring to make the north channel, not being able to steer to the south. Heard on board, and has no doubt of the fact, that several hours before the vessel struck, the helmsman informed the captain that he saw land; but the course of the ship was not altered. About a quarter before twelve on Saturday, the passengers were able to discern the land, the weather being at the time thick and hazy. The land must have been then very close to them, for they ran upon the rocks just under the cliff, as near as he could say, about half-past twelve. It was his opinion, and the general feeling on board all along, neither speak nor understand English, and, as he thought, were inadequate to work the ship. The vessel, owing to a vain attempt to keep off the land when it was too late, went broadside upon the rocks, and immediately after the stard began to sink. So close were they to the rocks, that a black sailor at once jumped on shore, and five or six of the men immediately after followed his example. A rope was then got from the ship to the shore, and made fast, and the third mate managed to put a plank from the ship to the rocks, so close were they, and by these means, and these means

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would be impossible-wives clinging to their husbands, children to their parents, women running wildly about the deck, uttering the most heartrending cries, many offering all they possessed to persons to get them on shore. Among some of the earliest who attempted to get on shore were some young Irishwomen. Most of them lost their hold of the rope, and fell into the sea. The doctor of the ship, a most noble felllow, struggled hard to save his wife and child; he had succeeded in getting about half-way to the shore on a rope-holding his child by its clothes in his teeth-but just then the ship Inrched outwards, by which the rope was dragged from the hands of those who held it on the lower rocks, and was held only by those above, thus running him high in the air, so that the brave fellow could not drop on the rock. Word was now given to lower the rope gently, but those who held it above let it go by the run, and the poor fellow, with his child, was Duried in the waves; but in a short time he again appeared above the water, manfully battling with the waves and the portions of the wreck that now floated about him. He at length swam to a ladder that hung by a rope alongside the ship, and got upon it. After he had been there a minute or two a woman floated close to him. He immediately took hold of her, and dragged her on the ladder, tenderly parted the hair from her face, and appeared to be encouraging her, but in another minute she was washed from his hold, and sank almost immediately. He then got up again into the ship, and tried to get his wife on shore, but they both perished. He deserved a better fate! The scene was now most truly awful. The most desperate struggles for life were made by the wretched passengers; great numbers of women jumped overboard, in the vain hope of reaching land; and the ropes were crowded by hundreds, who, in their eagerness, terror, and confusion, frustrated each other's efforts for self-preservation. Many of the women would get half way, and then become unable to proceed further, and, after clinging to the rope for a short time, would be forced from their hold by those who came after them. Three women only, out of 200, were saved. One of these had got part of the way across when her legs fell, and she hung some time by her two hands over the foaming waves; her husband then came on the rope, and managed to assist her to the shore. Two men came on shore with children tied to their backs; but of the whole who fell into the water not above five were saved. I saw one fine girl, who, after falling from one rope, managed to get hold of another; which was hanging from the side of the ship, and which she held on to for more than a quarter of an hour, the sea every moment dashing her against the side of the ship, but it was impossible for us to lend her any assistance. Some one got a spar out, by which several got on shore; but it soon broke, and now might be seenhundreds hanging to the bulwarks of the ship, each struggling to get on shore. I saw one young woman hanging on the middle of the rope for some time by her two hands, but those pushing to get on shore soon sent her to her doom. The ship's stern now began to sink; the ship made a lurch, and all the ropes were snapped asunder. The scene now was most harrowing. Every wave washed off scores at a time; we could see them struggle for a moment, then, tossing their arms, sink to rise no more. At length the whole of the ship sunk under water. There was a fearful struggle for a moment, and all, except two, who were in the rigging, were gone. The coast guard, who had been apprised of the wreck, now came up, but all they could do was to attempt to save the two who were in the rigging. They managed to get a line to one of them by fastening two lines, at the end of each of which was a piece of wood, to a single liné, and guiding it from the rock to the spot where the poor fellow was, so that he could reach it. They then dragged him ashore. There was one fine young man left in the top, but they could not reach him, and when he saw them going away his cries were heartrending. About 2 o'clock the next morning the coast guard managed to reach him, after he had been in the top 14 hours. You may fancy the poor fellow's joy at his deli-

# THE LEADER.

attempt to paint the heartrending scene on board the ship bility of any immediate assistance being rendered, but the Three Bells lay to in sight of the sinking vessel until the gale moderated, on the 3rd, when the ship Antarctic, from New York to Liverpool, have in sight, the ships at that time being in lat. 39 41, long. 62. Both vessels then ren-dered prompt assistance, the *Three Bells* taking off between 180 and 200 passengers, with whom she then set sail for New York, and the Antarctie received on board the following :-- James T. Watkins, commander, and servant; T. L. Schell, purser; C. F. Barton, third officer; John Mason, fourth officer; and W. Duckett, carpenter; also Lieutena nt C. S. Winder, United States' Artillery, and servant; Lieu-tenant J. G. Chandler, Mr. W. J. Rankin, 145 United States' troops, and 19 women and children, all of whom were landed here last evening in safety, and speak in the highest terms of the treatment they have received from Captain Stouffer and his officers.

"From the foregoing it will be seen that out of the 750 souls known to have been on board, only 450 are reported to have been saved, leaving 300 persons to be accounted forof those 149 are known to have been washed overboard, and 59 died, leaving 92 persons of whose fate we are unable to make any report.'

In connextion with the loss of the Tayleur we beg to call attention to a suggestion made by Mr. J. Pope Culverwell, in a letter to the editor of the Dublin Freeman's Journal:---

" 'That half an hour prior to the advertised time of sailing every passenger vessel, the crew (at the signal of the whistle) go through the formality of lowering and manning the boats belonging to it.

"'If public opinion approve of this suggestion, and if every person interested in the preservation of life will use his influence to induce the adoption of this course, the safety of travelling by sea will at once be increased."

"Such a simple precaution would inspire confidence in the minds of the captain and his crew. Each man would know beforehand not only which boat was confided to his care, but the exact operation he had to perform, and would then feel confident that any other operation would be equally attended to. Thus, in time of danger the order to lower the boats could be instantly and quietly obeyed, and the knowledge that each boat had its detachment of crew to protect it would aid in restraining the premature excitement of the passengers.

" Many captains of vessels will, doubtless, oppose such a suggestion; and as familiarity begets a false scourity it will be thought useless and vexations to go through this operation daily. If, however, such objections are allowed to have weight, this suggestion will, of course, fall to the ground, and the safety of the public may again be sacrificed to indolence or prejudice."

#### HEALTH OF LONDON.

#### (From the Registrar-General's Return.)

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THE Registrar-General reports that the health of London has experienced a favourable change. A milder atmosphere has reduced the deaths from 1492, registered in the preceding weck, to 1195 in the week that ended on Saturday. A rise in mean temperature from 29 deg. in the last week of 1853, and 30.2 deg. in the first week of the new year, to 37.5 deg. and 42.2 deg. in the last two weeks, has been followed by a decrease in the mortality of about 300.

In the ten weeks corresponding to last week of the years 1844-53, the average number of deaths was 1142, which raised in proportion to the increase of population, becomes 1256. The return of last week gives a result less by 61 than the calculated amount. Last week the births of 845 boys and 855 girls, in

ll 1700 children, were registered in London.

well that he should be known for what he is worth to the people of this country.

The last grand manusuvres of the Imperial Guards and the corps of the Grenadiers in the plains of Krasnoe Selo [Red Village] were very brilliant, and attracted a great number of German Princes, with some English lords and other distinguished foreigners. During one of the final days of this gathering there appeared among the resplendent cortège of the Emperor, mounted on a horse from the Imperial stables, a short, thick-set individual in a black frock coat and black hat-in a word, dressed like a simple civilian, or pekin-accompanied by a high official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the full embroidered uniform of a Coun-cillor of State. Both came from the house kept there by the Emperor for distinguished visitors, and joined the numerous suite of the Czar. Everybody was puzzled at this unwonted spectacle. But what was the general astonishment when, towards the end of the parade, the Emperor, himself a giant, mounted on a gigantic horse, politely approached the black-coated little civilian, and bending down to the neck of his steed, began a conversation in English, of which, having gathered several sentences, I am able to transmit them to you:-

"Very happy to see you, Mr. Douglas," began the Emperor. "You come from the south, from Odessa, and have

traversed Russia. What are your impressions?" "Your Majesty," answered the black man, whom we had now discovered to be an eminent American senator, "I have seen your empire, and I have also seen the west of Europe. There I saw the past, and here I see the future." Not so bad for a republican. "You come from Constantinople," said the Czar. "They speak badly of me there. Do you bring from there peace or war?"

"Both are in the hands of your Majesty."

The Emperor, in the most amiable and enchanting manner. excused himself for not receiving personally in St. Petersburg the distinguished senator from a country which he admired. But he several times said to his guest that if he wished anything specially, he (the Emperor) would be very happy to oblige him, and that orders had been given that every object which the senator might desire to visit or see, should be opened to him. The conversation lasted for twenty minutes; and seldom has the Czar been more gracious to any visitor, no matter what his rank. As I afterwards ascertained, this interview was specially arranged by Count Nesselrode, who also procured permission, asked of him by Mr. Douglas, to appear in a black suit before the Autocrat. This was not considered objectionable by either the minister or the Sovereign, on the ground, as I learn, that Americans, when visiting their President, wear no uniforms. It was by the order of the Emperor that rooms were prepared in Krasnoe Selo for the reception of this gentleman. I am told that he was very much pleased with his visit in our dear Russia, and, among other things, found a great resemblance between our plains and the west of America.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen gave another theatrical display this week. The entertainment consisted of Tender Precautions and the Bengal Tiger. Among the guests at the Castle have been the Duke of Cambridge, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke and Duchess of Argyll, Lord and Lady Palmerston, Lord and Lady Hardinge, Lord Malmesbury, and the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Her Majesty sat on Thursday to Mr. J. E. Jones, commissioned to execute a bust of her, for Mr. William Dargan.

Count Walewski has had two interviews with Lord Clarendon; and M. Fleury, aide-de-camp of the Emperor, has had an interview with Lord Palmerston.

Of the passengers 225, and of the crew, including the captain, and two officers, 57 were saved.

verance."

Captain Noble complains that his compasses varied; he states also that when the man at the helm declared that he saw land, the watch at the bow could not see it; and that at the time the ship neared the coast it was impossible to see a cable's length ahead.

sea. together with a large number of her passengers. Some of the persons saved were brought to Liverpool in the Antarctic, and from them this account is drawn.

"The San Francisco was a new vessel, and was chartered by the United States' Government to convey eight companies of the United States' Artillery to California, where they were intended to be stationed.

"The eight companies consisted, including officers, of 514 men, with whom were about 200 women and children. making, with the crew of the steamer, altogether about 750 persons.

"The San Francisco sailed from New York on the 21st of December, and enjoyed favourable weather at the commencement of the voyage; but during a severe gale which she encountered on the 23rd the piston of the pump broke, and the engines were disabled. Next day the upper saloon, promenade deck, and about 50 feet of spar deck were carried away, and all the ship's boats were swept off immediately after. The vessel had also sprung a leak, and the utmost exertions of all hands on board were necessary to keep her afloat. This state of things continued up to the 28th, when the bark Kilby, from New Orleans to Boston, fell in with the disabled steamer, and took off about 100 of the passengers. A quantity of provisions having been furnished to the *Kilby* from the stores of the San Francisco, she was ordered to the nearest American port. By the remaining portion of the crew and passengers the vessel was still kept affoat till the 30th, when the British ship Three Bells, of Glasgow, bound to New York, hove in sight. There was a heavy gale blowing at the time, which prevented the possi-

11 the nine corresponding weeks of the years 1845-53 the average number was 1451.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.881 in. The reading of the barometer decreased from 29.64 in. at the beginning of the week to 29.56 in. by 10h. 30m. a.m. on the 15th; increased to 30.05 in. by 9h. a.m. on the 18th; continued at this reading through-The Steamer San Francisco has also been lost at out the day; then decreased to 29.82 in. by 9h. p.m. on the 19th; increased to 30.16 in. by 9h. a.m. on the 21st; and decreased to 30.06 in. by the end of the week. The mean temperature of the week was 42.2 deg., which is 5.8 deg. above the average of the same week in 38 years. The mean daily temperature was above the average on every day of the week, except Thursday; the excess was 6.2 deg., 10.3 deg., 8.6 deg., 7.7 deg. and 8.5 deg. respectively on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. The highest temperature was 52.3 deg. on Friday; the lowest was 31.9 deg. on Thursday. The mean dew point temparature was 40.2 deg. The wind blew from the south. The mean temperature of the water of the Thames at Greenwich was 40 deg. On Friday and Saturday the temperature of the Thames rose to 43.5 deg.

#### A RENEGADE DEMOCRAT.

THE New York Daily Tribune prints a letter from St Petersburg, detailing an incident the reverse of complimentary to one who claims great credit for his democratic politics in the United States. We have reason to believe the anecdote is authentic, as it accords very well with what we have heard of the "American Senator,"-the man in black. And as he makes a great noise sometimes in his efforts to

Last Saturday a Cabinet Council, at which all the Ministers were present, sat four hours and a half.

Another Cabinet Council was held on Tuesday, and sat four hours, The Marquis of Lansdowne alone was not present.

A third Cabinet Council, attended by all the Ministers, sat for two hours and a half on Thursday.

The Address in the House of Commons will be moved by Viscount Castleton, and seconded by Mr. Thomson Hankey, jun.-Globe.

Sir, William Heathcote, it seems, has quieted all opposition—even from the Low Church party—and he will probably be elected member for Oxford University, soon after the meeting of Parliament.

The following letter has been addressed to the Morning Herald :---

" Claremont, Jan. 21. "Sir,-A letter, purporting to have been addressed by her Royal Highness the Duchess of Orleans to the Dake de Nemours, appeared in your columns of the 16th inst.; and as the authenticity of that letter has obtained some credit, 1 received his Royal Highness's commands to acquaint you that such a letter has never existed.—I am, sir, your obedieut servant, "J. GAUTHIER."

The strikes continue. Some of the Preston masters have opened their mills at "Blackburn prices;" and Mr. Hollins has some looms at work. But there is no prospect of a general cessation of hostilities. The masters met on Thursday, and resolved to adjourn to the 23rd February, without coming to any arrangement.

Throughout the county of Devon a general movement has been commenced to alleviate the sufferings foment a bitter feeling towards England, it will be | of the poor, and at some of the public meetings held

#### LEADER. THE

for that purpose the wages paid to farm labourers have formed the topic of discussion. At a meeting held last Thursday week in the town of Dawlish, where liberal measures were adopted towards relieving the distress of the poor, the subject of labourers' wages was much discussed, and some important observations were made. Mr. P. Hoare sent a donation of 10l. towards the relief fund, but accompanied it with a letter in which he stated that the present distress was owing to the low rate of wages prevalent in the western counties. It was then remarked that it was impossible for a labouring man to support himself and family upon 9s. or 10s. per week. Mr. Snevd observed, that even this amount was not paid wholly in money, for it was a general practice to pay part in money and part in drink. It might happen that the labourer was a strong man, to whom the drink did no injury; but in other cases it not only did a positive amount of harm, but deprived his wife and children of that benefit which they otherwise might enjoy were the wages paid wholly in money. He believed the system to be a bad one, and that those who kept it up were causing a deal of mischief, and doing that which tended to the pauperizing of the district. Indeed, he did not know whether they were not liable to be punished for it, under the Act for the Suppression of the Truck System. The farmers were now a thriving class, and he considered that they should pay their wages in money, and in such an amount as would enable their labourers fairly to support themselves and families. It was the general opinion of the meeting that the present rate of wages paid to agricultural labourers was insufficient for the maintenance of their families, and that much distress, sickness, and suffering prevailed among them. Mr. Palk stated that a case had come before him, as a magistrate of the district, in which a man had stolen some bread from his employer. In this case the man was receiving but 8s. per week, out of which a weekly proportion was stopped for his cottage amounting to 4l. per annum. This, together with a stoppage in the pay for something else, reduced his wages to 6s. per week; and on this he had to support his wife and two children.

After some discussion, it was resolved to adopt measures for the relief of those who needed it, and the meeting broke up.

A vast number of agricultural labourers have emigrated from Devonshire during the last few years, and it is evident that, if farmers do not remunerate their labourers better, they will not be able to get men to do their work after a short time. Farmers now obtain for their wheat 10s. and 11s. per bushel; barley and oats in proportion; for their cattle, 10s. 6d. per score; mutton 6id. per Ib.; pork ditto; butter, 1s. 5d. per lb.; and poultry, equally high prices.

Two seats in Parliament have lately become vacant, both by death. Brecon by the death of Mr. Morgan, and South Shropshire by the death of the Honourable H. R. Clive.

Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton delivered an address to the Leeds Mechanics' and Literary Institution in the Music-hall of that town, on Wednesday. The occasion was a soirée, on the plan of the yearly displays at the Manchester Athenæum.

The Lord Mayor of Dublin, Sir Richard M'Donnell, gave his inaugural banquet on Monday. It was attended, among others, by the Lord Lieutenant and Mr. Recorder Shaw, who both agreed that prosperity has at length of

tion, and is universally beloved and esteemed.-Turin Paper.

Monday's journals contained the following statement:-" A deputation from the Peace Society has just left England for St. Petersburg to endeavour to induce the Czar to come to terms with Turkey. The deputation consists of Mr. Henry Pease, of Darlington, Mr. Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, and a gentleman from Bristol whose name we have not heard.' The next day Mr. Richards, Secretary of the Peace Society, wrote to say that the gentlemen must have been deputed by the Society of Friends; they had no commission from the Peace Society.

An important meeting was held at Edinburgh, on Wednesday, Lord Panmure in the chair, to come to some conclusions on the question of National Education. As usual the settlement of the question is hampered by religious difficulties. The Established Church put in a claim to control the schools. That great offshoot, the Free Church, whose representatives composed a great part of the meeting, also puts in its claim to a share. The meeting did not decide the point as to who should control the schools; but the tenor of the meeting was in favour of local rates, local management, and liberty of conscience.

The Rev. Hugh Stowell presided over a Protestant demonstration in the Manchester Corn Exchange, on Monday, when the following resolution was adopted :---" That this meeting regards the proposal to appoint and endow Romish priests for Government prisons as altogether unfair-unfair to the National Church, and no less unfair to Christian bodies in general; that the design to endow priests for our prisons is signally impolitic, as likely to foster, not abate crime, and hinder, not further, the ends of justice; and that the Home Secretary's scheme is fitted to provoke Almighty God, and to involve our Protestant faith in glaring inconsistency." It has been resolved to establish a girls' reformatory school

at Birmingham. Mr. Mason, of Elkington and Mason, has offered 1000*l*., and a donation of 100*l*. a year towards the project; and Miss Burdett Coutts and Mr. Chance 100*l*. a year each.

The members of the Islington Parochial Reform Associa-tion dined, spoke and danced, at Highbury Barn, on Tuesday to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the association.

A public meeting was held in Exeter Hall, on Thursday, to support the proposed Cosmos Institute. Mr. Hyde Clarke explained the objects of the institution to be the acquisition of the "Great Globe," Leicester-square, and the collection of maps in the possession of Mr. Wyld; and, secondly, the establishment of a library and reading-room for colonial newspapers and information. Further, it was proposed to establish an ethnological museum, and, in short, generally to aid the diffusion of knowledge on colonial and geographical subjects. The remainder of the address referred to the details by means of which the design was to be carried out. Mr. Digby Seymour, M.P., and Captain Inglefield supported the project. Lord Stanley, formerly chairman of the society, has withdrawn from it.

By the enterprise of Mr. Francis Cadell, the noble river Murray, connecting South Australia with Victoria and New South Wales, has been opened to steam navigation. He first took a boat inland, and made a voyage with a volunteer crew of diggers down the stream for 1300 miles. Next, in spite of the bar, he entered the Murray from the sea, in the Lady Augusta steamer, built in the colony, and when last heard of he was at Swanhill, 1300 miles up the river. There he had been joined by Sir John Young, and was going further upwards.

Barracks for the Norfolk Militia are about to be erected at Great Yarmouth, at an estimated cost of 12,0001.

The Dean and Chapter of Peterborough are making extensive alterations in their grammar-school, which is about to be re-opened on an extended scale.

The Great Northern Railway Company are about to establish a circulating library along their line.

The Sheffield Board of Guardians project the

quarter on Thursday, and inspected the Printfield Works, presently standing unemployed, for the purpose of ascertaining if they were snitable for turning into a manufactory for small arms. A powder-mill, we believe, is also contemplated in the same district.—Aberdeen Herald.

The British fleet in the Tagus put to sea on the 19th, under Admiral Corry.

The present high price of coals in the metropolis is rendered almost inexplicable by the enormous increase in the quantities delivered. The railways brought up 629,712 tons in the course of the past year, against 377,908 tons in 1852, showing an increase of no less than 251,804 tons, or 40 per cent. This increase was not confined to the first half of the year, for in the last six months the delivery was augmented to the extent of 134,829 tons. The quantities brought by canals show a slight decrease, but the falling off is too small to have any appreciable effect. How prices can have ad-vanced, in the face of such immense supplies, is hard to be understood, for it is impossible that the legitimate demand can have increased in an equally rapid ratio: and if the consumption has been mainly speculative, a glut in the markets may be speedily anticipated. Already, indeed, it appears to have arrived.

An establishment for the manufacture of oil from the cotton seed has been started in New Orleans. It is asserted that the oil is of a bland pleasant taste, possessing all the qualities of olive oil, that it burns with great brilliancy, and is peculiarly fitted for using upon machinery, on account of not gumming or drying. If the oil is really valuable, the manufacture will soon become an important one, for the quantity of raw material is unbounded.

There were twenty-five deep sewers substituted last year for shallow ones in the city; 280 houses were drained, making a total of 11,794, and 4206 still undrained. The engineer and surveyor of the City Sewers Commission recommends that the churchyards now closed should be paved, and where practicable turfed and planted with trees, to prevent foul exhalations from causing disease.

On the 1st of January 1854 there were 15,510 miles of railway open for traffic-an increase of 2194 since 1853.

The City Commissioner of Police has declined the testimonial contemplated by the men of the force, as he may have to punish some of the subscribers themselves in the execution of his duty.

In 1850, the number of children educated in fixed schools in Sweden was 143,526; in 1853, it was 152,039. The number in ambulatory schools was in 1850, about 126,000; in 1853, about 132,000. In the public gymnasia were edu-cated, in 1850, the number of 6228 children; in 1853, 6292. In private schools, 17,465 children were taught in 1850, to 17,856 in 1853. In 1850, 128,996 were educated at home, to 136,736 in 1853. In 1850, about 14,280 children were left untaught; and in 1858 only 9669. The number of letters, delivered in the United Kingdom in

1853, was 411 millions—an increase over 1852 of 314 millions and over 1851—the Exhibition year, of 50, millions

Mr. E. T. Smith, the lessee of Drury Lane, is about to build a large theatre at the East end of London.

The Californian papers, in their announcements of births, add to the sex of the child its weight !

The statistics of play-going in Paris exhibited a largely increased attendance in 1858 over 1852.

There were eighty-one convicts set free by tickets of leave in 1853.

William Cumming, the seaman who murdered his wife, was hung at Edinburgh on Wednesday. From the scaffold be made a speech against drunkenness.

The soldier M'Donnell was on Thursday week last taken from the military prison at Devenport (where he is undergoing punishment by sentence of court-martial), and marched under an escort of soldiers, to Roborough-down, to afford him an opportunity of pointing out the spot where he had deposited hom he still per ists in declaring he has murdered. Mr. Giffard, chief of the Devonport police, and other persons, were on the spot; but after the day had been passed in a fruitless search for the alleged "body," the escort returned, tired and jaded, fully impressed with the conviction that they had been hoaxed. The fellow has borne a most disgraceful character in the regiment from the time he entered it. The first piratical expedition to Lower California has been suppressed; a second started, but we have not heard of its fate. A seaman, named Archibold, and a boy have performed a gallant action. They were left behind in a vessel, when the master and crew deserted her in a storm, cooped up below. The master did not know they were there. Archibold cut his way out from below, and safely carried the ship to Hartlepool. He is to have 1001. A terrible fire has destroyed a new large structure at New York, known as the Laffarge Hotel. It is estimated that no less than seventy-five vessels, of 20,000 tons in the aggregate have been lost during the past year; and that the losses by land and sea to the United States amount to fifteen millions of dollars. Mr. Thurston, a nursery gardener, of Brockford, in Suffolk, has been accidentally shot dead. He put a loaded gun in an oven to dry it, and when he went to withdraw it the charge exploded, and passed through his body. The Volcano steam-vessel, Commander Robert Coote, has brought home intelligence of the murder of Acting Second Muster Carr, a fine young officer, who was turned over from the Prometheus steam-sloop to the Myrmidon steam-vessel. still serving on the west coast of Africa, as she has six months of her time to serve on that unhealthy station. The murder was brutally effected on the 28th of November, at an island called Kanzabac, one of the Bijonga group. Mr. Carr had landed on some rocks, intending to spear fish. He had not been on the rocks ten minutes when he was fired at from the ready on the 7th, and the other for Geelong for the 10th bush, and he either tumbled or jumped into the sea. The savages instantly made their appearence, and one of them ran the well-known author of "Le Mie Prigioni." Since his liberation in 1830 he has led a retired life, and has never taken any part in politics. He is a man of most anniable disposi-other officers of her Majesty's service, Woolwich, visited this and the African then soft him through the head. The whole

America and a second

upon Ireland.

A temporary pedestal will be erected in front of the Mansion House, to try the effect of the statue of Peel which the city of London is about to set up.

The statue of Richard Cour de Lion has been set up, temporarily, in Palace-yard, to test the fitness of that site.

The New York Tribune announces the receipt of private letters from M. Kossuth, stating his intention of leaving on the 23rd ult. for Constantinople.

Sir Robert Peel delivered a lecture, on Monday, at Derby, in aid of the Midland Counties' Association of Mechanics Institutes.

It is stated by a local paper that the late Marshal Beresford has bequeathed his estates, in the county of Carlow, together with a sum of 15,000L, to the eldest son of one of his gallant companions in many a hard fought field, the late General Sir Denis Pack, of the county of Kilkenny. The money is to be expended in building a suitable residence on the property.

James Macfarlane, a young man in the humble ranks of life, is about to publish a volume of poems of great mark and likelihood. Andrew Park purposes issning a collection of ail his works. Rumours are abroad of a new University Album, got up under the auspices of the Liberal students; that genial and most lovable of our local ramblers, "Caleb," will shortly bring out his delightful wanderings round Glas gow in a neat little volume ; while Young Glasgow has made quite a sensation, and has created no small amount of wrath amongst those parties whose toes have been trampled on. With regard to Alexander Smith, it is said that 18,000 copies of his book have been disposed of in the United States, for which, we are told, he never received a single penny .- Glasgow Miscellany.

Mr. Alexander Smith is now claimed as another "Ayrshire Bard." He was born at Kilmarnock in 1829.

M. Victor Hugo is about to leave Jersey with his family, to reside in Portugal.

We regret to hear of the dangerous illness of Silvio Pellico, the well-known author of "Le Mie Prigioni." Since his

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ment of an Industrial Training School in connexion with the workhouse under their jurisdiction.

The ratepayers of King's Lynn have rejected, by a large majority, the proposal made to them to erect baths and washhouses in the town at the public expense.

A new landing pier was opened at Billingsgate on Wednøsday.

Great efforts are being made in many of the metropolitan parishes for the relief of the distressed poor, in addition to the workhouse relief.

The receipts of the various railways do not appear to have been diminished by the impediments to locomotion occasioned by the late extraordinary snow-storm to the extent which might have been anticipated. For the week ending the 7th inst, in the course of which the traffic of some lines was wholly suspended, the incomes of the eight companies having their termini in the metropolis fell off 96411. only; and in the following week the comparison of their revenues with those of the corresponding period of last year presented no unusual features. When the character of the weather at the commencement of the month is remembered, this result must be especially gratifying to railway proprietors; at any rate, it indicates an extraordinary possession of physical courage and energy on the part of their countrymen.

Many of the servants of the Great Western Railway Company have signed the following pithy declaration:--"We, the undersigned, feeling the force of the arguments adduced by the Daily News and other journals in favour of beards, and the abolition of the razor as an instrument of torture to the face, hereby forswear the use of the same, and intend for the future to appear as nature intended us to do.

Her Majesty's Commissioners of Emigration continue to give periodical notice of their readiness to receive tenders for the supply of vessels to carry emigrants to Australia. They require two more for Victoria, one for Geelong to be March.

#### LEADER. ТНЕ

transaction was done in so short a time, that as a gun was fired from the ship the murderers retreated into the bush again. A boat was instantly sent to the rocks the bash again. A boat was instantly sent to the rocks but the tide had flowed so rapidly that no traces of Mr. Carr's body could be seen. On the following day the body was found in the water, of course quite dead. The first shot had hit him in the abdomen, and was an awful wound, which would of itself have caused death. The second shot which would of itself have caused death. The second shot passed in alongside the nose, destroying the upper jaw and lodging in or close to the brain. The officers and crew of the Marindon were burning for revenge, for the foul and un-called for murder, but they could do nothing, as there are no towns near the sea, and to advance into a country thickly inhabited with armed men, was not warranted with the small disposable force serving in the Myrmidon. There are about 150 miles of paper, five feet broad, made every day by the paper mills in the county of Edinburgh alone; and it is computed that the 360 machines at work in Hritain produce about 2160 miles of paper daily. The texture of the new summer trousers for the infantry

The texture of the new summer trousers for the infantry will be the same as those hitherto in use-the colour only being changed to dark blue, with a red stripe down the seam.

#### 111.1 JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

Two important meetings have been held this week one in Liverpool, the other in Glasgow; both carrying on the great work of establishing reformatory institutions for juvenile criminals. The Liverpool meeting took place on Thursday,

and was very remarkable, inasmuch as the heads of the various religious bodies in the town, were upon the platform, and took part in the proceedings. Indeed, such a scene may perhaps never occur again. There was, for instance, the able Protestant leader, Dr. M'Neile, and the coadjutor Roman Catholic bishop in Liverpool, Dr. Gorst, advocating resolutions bearing upon the same point. The Mayor (Mr. J. B. Lloyd) presided, besides whom we noticed Mr. W. Brown, M.P., Mr. Horsfall, M.P., the Reverend Archibald Brooks, the Reverend Rector Campbell, Mr. Mansfield, the stipendiary magistrate; Mr. Joseph Pollock, judge of the County Court, &c. Letters were read from Mr. Liddell, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Secton, the Earl of Harrowby, and Lord Stanley, explaining the reasons why they had been unable to avail themselves of the Mayor's invitation to attend the meeting. The Earl of Derby's communication stated that, owing to the near approach of the meeting of Parliament, and the consequent occupation of his time, he found it impossible to comply with the request.

The Rev. Rector Campbell, after entering into a statement showing the extent of juvenile crime in the country, and to the expense it entailed upon the nation, moved a resolution to the effect: "That the large increase in the amount of juvenile destitution, ignorance, and vice existing in this country, demands the most serious consideration of a Christian people, producing an amount of positive and professional crime for which the present prison discipline has been found inadequate to remedy, and that it is therefore necessary to provide additional means to this end." He expressed himself in favour of the establishment of reformatory schools, observing that he saw no reason why the religious difficulty should stand in the way, for every essential truth might be taught in them without raising the opposition of any section of the religious portion of the community. Mr. W. Brown, M.P., in seconding the resolution, expressed an opinion that the most effective mode of meeting the evil would be by the establishment of reformatory hulks at every seaport, in which the juvenile delinquents might be trained as seamen, and of reformatory schools in inland towns. The Rev. Mr. Carter, chaplain of the Liverpool gaol, in supporting the motion, for the purpose of showing the working of the present system of dealing with juvenile criminals, traced the history of a boy who was first committed to the borough gaol for throwing stones. Before entering within the precincts of his prison-house, he manifested great fear at being sent to prison; but on his admission all fear left him. He had since then been in gaol about a dozen times for various offences, the last time being on no less a charge than that of murder. If, continued the chaplain, that boy had been arrested in his course in time, and not have been committed to gaol from time to time, he would in all probability have been saved, and a great expense to the country would have been prevented. The resolution was carried unanimously. Mr. Horsfall, M.P., moved the second resolution, to the effect, "That the establishment of reformatory institutions in lieu of prisons for children convicted of any offence is desirable; and that it is the opinion of this meeting that no measure will be effective or satisfactory to the country which does not also provide for the better training and protection of those children." Mr. Mansfield, stipendiary magistrate, seconded the resolution, which was supported by the Rev. C. M. Birrel (Scotch Baptist), and carried. Mr. Joseph Pollock, judge of the Liverpool County Court, moved a resolution to the effect, that reformatory schools for juvenile delinquents be established with the sanction of Government, and that

Dr. M'Neile seconded the proposition, which was carried.

Mr. J. Cropper proposed, and the Rev. James Martineau (Unitarian minister) seconded a resolution to the effect that, in cases where recoverable, the parents be required to pay for the maintenance of their children at the proposed reformatory esta-blishments. The Rev. Dr. Gorst, coadjutor Roman Catholic Bishop in Liverpool, supported the proposition, which was carried unanimously.

A petition to both Houses of Parliament, embodying the resolutions, was adopted; and it was decided that the Earl of Harrowby be requested to present the one to the Upper House, and the members for the borough the one to the Lower House.

The Glasgow meeting, also attended by men of all parties, equally insisted on the necessity for meeting the evila of juvenile criminality by reformatory institutions. These are great steps onward.

#### EMILIA MANIN.

EMILIA MANIN, the only child of the President of the Venetian Republic, has been taken away from her father, of whose lonely exile she was at once the affliction and the solace. It may be remembered that Daniel Manin, after the heroic capitulation of Venice, chose France for the land of his exile. He was accompanied by his wife and only daughter. At Marseilles he lost, almost suddenly, the devoted companion of all his troubles, and he came to Paris a widower, with one care and one consolation only, his daughter; and she was almost bedridden with a nervous malady, oceasioned by the excitement of the last days of the independence of Venice. Between the solicitudes of a constant and devoted watchfulness by the side of the beloved patient, and the noble necessities of a laborious poverty, the life of the exile was one of austere and dignified humility, chastened by grief, ennobled by patriotic recollections, and cheered by the sympathy of inspiring friendships. His alien home is now more darkly sad, and his loneliness more profoundly desolate; but he is rich in the affection and esteem of all who in days of degradation honour courage, patriotism, and virtue.

On Wednesday last many of the highest names in the political world, in letters, and in art, were present to render homage to the career and conduct of the great citizen of Venice, by offering the last respects to his departed child. Among these admirers and friends there were many who had personally known and appreciated the gentle and beautiful character. and the exalted qualities of Emilia Manin. Throughout the dreary hours of her exile, doubly embittered by affliction, she had but one thought, and that was Venice ! Only a few hours before death, when she was already speechless, she mutely asked for a pencil, and with a dying hand just traced these words-" Pauvre Venise, je ne te verrai plus." In the crowded and distinguished cortege which pressed around the tomb of the daughter of one of the most illustrious patriots of Italy, with intense emotions of respectful compassion, were M. Montanelli, General Ulloa, MM. Cernuschi-Lúgo, Ary-Scheffer, Emile de Girardin, Bastide, Eugène Pelletan. Ferdinand de Lesseps, Garnier-Pagès, Goudchaux, Chambolle, Carnot, Charton, Jules Simon, Henri Martin, Alexandre Ney, Duclerc, Viardot, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, Peauger, Madier de Montjau.

gorical, explanations" demanded by MM. Kisseleff and Brunow.

"To demand," he writes, " of England and France to define the nature of the action which they intend to exercise in the Black Sea is a puerility or a duplicity. An action which is self-demonstrative has no need of definition. The definition would be worth less than the demonstration. Russia is perfectly well aware that the Anglo-French squadron en-tered the Black Sea after the disaster of Sinope, first, to prevent the Russian squadron giving a second representation of a spectacle in which fire and blood played the most sinister part; and secondly, to oppose, if necessary, force by force. Russia knows well enough that the entry of the Anglo-French squadron into the Black Sea is war... unless Russia, daring all as long as she is the strongest, dares nothing as soon as she finds herself the weakest. If such a demand be not a puerility, it can only be a duplicity, a new means of gaining one month more, during which Nicholast rusts that General Gortschakoff, having received reinforcements, will be sole to rout the Turkish army and enforce upon Omar Pasha the conditions rejected by the Divan. What would, what could, France and Great Britain do then? After the Sinope disaster, these two Powers had it in their power to order their fleets, anchored at the month of the Black Sea, to weigh anchor; but after a disaster which would be on land what the Sinope affair was at sea, time would fail to France and England, if they had the will, to send an expe-ditionary corps by land to the succour of the Turks after a decisive defeat. It would only remain to France and Great Britain to accept the fait accompli, and to persuade the Porte to resignation,

"Such is, I will not say the probable, but the evident, calculation of the Emperor Nicholas, adroitly served by Austria, who perhaps hulls and soothes France and England. "The whole question now is to know if it becomes France

and Great Britain to accept the situation which Russia and Austria are preparing for them before Europe and before History.'

Let it not be forgotten that while Downing-street and the Tuileries are exchanging mystifications with MM. de Brunow and Kisseleff, Admirals Dundas and Hamelin are scouring the Black Sea with impatient crews and double-shotted guns, and that a good look out is being kept for Russian ships. Perhaps the categorical explanation may come from sixty-eight pounders. Perhaps, too, the near approach of Parliament may strike vigour into the pulses of Downing-street.

The strong tendency of Consols to rise deserves to be noticed. Peace and war are now trembling in the balance: the slightest hopes of peace send up prices 14 per cent: all the probabilities of war can scarcely force them below 90. A caution to speculators.

By letters from Lemberg and Cracow, we learn that Austria has established a military cordon between Gallicia and Hungary, of extreme severity-opening all letters, and scrutinising all travellers with merciless rigour. Any conversation on the subject of the operations on the Danube is absolutely forbidden. In Gallicia, Austria is pursuing her old detestable policy of sowing hatred between classes; sparing the peasantry and taxing the nobles with exacting importanity. Letters from the Turkish to the Austrian bank of the Danube are carefully intercepted: by Omar Pasha to preserve the secrecy of his movements, by Austria to prevent correspondence with the numerous refugees in the Ottoman army.

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#### SATURDAY, January 28.

DIPLOMACY occupies the foreground of events again this week. Russia plays fast and loose with France and England. As long as indecision and timidity prevailed in the councils of the Western Powers, Russia replied to notes and protocols by the incorporation of provinces and the destruction of fleets and arsenals. On the first sign of resolute action in Paris and London, the Czar declines to take offence, and while the Anglo-French squadron is in full occupation of the Black Sea, and convoying Turkish reinforcements, he politely asks for explana. tions, and despatches confidential envoys to propose the terms of a mutual accommodation. If our experience of Russian tactics has not taught us to treat this new "moderation" for what it is worth, Russia deserves to accomplish all her purposes, and to retain all her material guarantees. The trick of gaining time is no new phase in a Russian question. All this while Europe is suffering and paralysed: Turkey is exhausting her energies in the struggle of selfdefence. Emile de Girardin, with his usual incisive they be supported by the public funds. The Rev. brevity, penetrates the whole mystery of the "cate-

#### NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Cheltenham."-If our correspondent who writes on the subject of the "Strikes" under this signature, will con-form to our rule, and authenticate his letter, we shall be dispend to incert it. disposed to insert it.

#### TO OUR READERS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

PARLIAMENT SKETCHED ON THE SPOT. "THE STRANGER" will resume his sketches of Parliament. in the "LEADER" of next Saturday, the 4th of February, and will continue them weekly during the Session.

The following is an extract from the last number of

#### THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW:

"The author, who does not give his name, seems to have the most perfect familiarity with Parliament and Parlia-mentary matters; and, indeed, appears to have set in the House of Commons every night during last session. His observations there, and his reflections on what he saw and heard, he published from week to week in the form of news-paper articles in the 'LEADER' The papers as they first paper articles in the 'LEADER.' The papers, as they first appeared, attracted a great deal of notice in London, both from the freshness of their information, so different from the matter served up in the ordinary Parliamentary reports. and from the wit and stinging sarcasm with which they commented on the men and the events of the day.

Never before has the public had such an opportunity of seeing things as they actually are in Parliament, and of knowing the physiognomy and habits of that great assembly. In this respect the book, small as it is, is worth files of all the Parliamentary reports of the last ten years. Add to this that, in point of style and literary execution, the book is equal to the very best newspaper-writing of the day, while yet it is distinctly original in its spirit. Shrowdness, sense, and satire are its characteristics; but there are touches of something higher. The author does not write as a Whig, a Tory, or a Radical, but sketches Parliament, as he himself says, 'from a hitherto unoccupied point of view,' 'What Thackeray is to social snobbism in general, this

author is to Parliamentary snobbism; and we are much mistaken if the terror of his satires has not already had some wholesome effect oven within the walls of St. Stephen's. We sincerely hope he may continue to 'take notes and print them' during the coming session; and we believe that so decided a talent in so important a department of literature, will not remain long anonymous.



MR. COBDEN purports to be the representative of an Englishman. No doubt he is in a minority at present; but he regards the majority as being under some abnormal and absurd hallucination. All who differ from him he dismisses with some contemptuous or disparaging remark. Public writers whose advocacy is not at present conscientiously consistent with unconditional peace-since there are higher things than peace -he dismisses as "the scribes," or "silly peo-ple, who now cry out for war," "the foolish people who spout at public meetings," and so forth. He admits that Russia is unjust, aggressive, and insolent; but why should we resist the wrong? "for," he says, "we are not bound by treaty with Turkey." He does not, therefore, think it necessary to resist injustice, aggression, and insolence simply on the ground of hating injustice, aggression, and insolence. "Noblesse oblige;" but Mr. Cobden characteristically recognises no obligation.

Until apparently it presents itself in the form of material advantage. He "cannot believe in such folly, such wickedness, as going to war;" "for," he asks, "have we no works at home which will be checked if we begin to talk of war?" A just crusade is a thing which cannot enter his imagination, as it might interrupt business.

In his arguments against that which he calls wickedness, he cannot avoid appealing to the meaner passions. He professes to be scandalized at those who are making war a question of pounds, shillings, and pence; but even this allusion is a misrepresentation. He and others had said that England would suffer, commercially, by war: the argument has been exposed, since not only has war its own peculiar profits and perquisites, when it is properly conducted by statesmen who understand the interests of their own country; but in this particular instance it would be a war against a Government which cramps commerce as much as it can. Because, therefore, Mr. Cobden's argument of pounds, shillings, and pence was contradicted, he says that his opponents put

legitimate pretext would constitute relief nearly proportionate to the difference between an annual charge of 301. and a total disbursement of 3001. in a lump. So that, if St. George were not to interfere, there would be a positive commercial advantage in applying to the transaction of the dragon and the virgin the principle of laissez aller.

In addition to this calculation, it would be quite fair if St. George were to take into account the damage to his own armour; and as that would presumably be of a superior kind, the chances of sources. being scratched and bruised, with the consequent necessity for repairs, or perhaps replacement of some seriously injured portion, would represent a sum too considerable to be despised.

It is true, says Mr. Cobden, that Russia is unjust, aggressive, and insolent; true that in Russia merchants, excepting the first class, are liable to corporal punishment; true that the people are sold with the property; but such was formerly the case in this country, and Russia is so powerful! His admissions remind one of the young lady who remarked that she could not tell why people spoke so against Lord Byron, since he was "only immoral, debauched, and an atheist." Russia is Mr. Cobden's pet, and he cannot tell why silly Englishmen abuse her. Turkey is decaying, says Mr. Cobden, and therefore England ought to abandon her to decay; exactly the argument of some Red Indian tribes, who, when their old men get useless, leave them behind in the march. In Christian and chivalrous countries it has been thought pious to assist the aged, even, if necessary, as Æneas did, to take up the helpless man upon the shoulders of the son; but, says Mr. Cobden, in the case of Turkey, old men do not pay; and it is far better to take the side of the unjust and powerful.

If you begin to chastise Russia, he argues, on grounds of public virtue, you will have to chastise Austria, and where will you stop? So, because Russia has hitherto been successful in insolence and aggression, Mr. Cobden counsels non-interference with her career! The satirical dramatist describes the footman Mascarille as refusing to pay his chairmen, until one of them takes up a pole of the chair, and threatens to cudgel him. The dramatist satirises that submission under a mean fear; but Mr. Cobden, putting the satire to an unwonted purpose, takes Mascarille's act as the principle of a national policy. It is just the converse of those statesmen who take Macchiavelli's Prince as the vade mecum for legitimate government. The party of order do their best to keep to the satirist's picture of a tyrant, and Mr. Cobden recommends the country of St. George to adopt for its national standard, in lieu of the invocation "England expects every man to do his duty," the principle of the coward Mascarille.

#### PROGRESS OF DESPOTIC FINANCE.

THE finance departments of the great despotic Governments, which must be considered our chief things to the standard of pounds, shillings, and adversaries, continue to deserve close attention. pence. And then he himself again puts it to that low standard. ward a statement in reply to more than one advanced by the masters, giving their reasons against the again detected in a surreptitious attempt to raise proposed reduction of 10 per cent. in Preston. It the wind. Reports have for a long while been is to be observed that these arguments are partly circulated that the Emperor possesses immense local, and so far do not tell upon the business at hoards of specie, and these reports are now renewed large. They are mainly these : - That twelve in larger phrases than ever. The latest report is employers have continued working their mills in that in the citadel of St. Petersburg he possesses 22,500,000% sterling, a statement quite incompatible with the many attempts recently proved against the Government of endeavouring to raise or save money even in paltry sums. It is but a little while since the Emperor was taking away 800,000*l*. from this country. Some imputed the step to "spite," but the idea of injuring a country like England by withdrawing such a sum as 800,0001. from the ments are above the average; and that the prices public funds is not a spite likely to occur to the paid by the different manufacturers in the town mind of a monarch who is very flush of cash. The vary so much, in many instances by 10 or 20 per statement respecting this great foundation of bullion is accompanied by an assurance that the hitherto been mere toys for any speculator to traffic paper circulation does not exceed 35,000,000l., an in. assurance as much questioned as that about the but in the East very passable Georgians and bullion, especially since both assurances are put forward to soften the effect of a new device for 22nd of October, he professes to have paid to raising the wind,—an increase of 9,500,0001. in E. Mason, a female weaver, the sums 18s. 5d., the paper circulation, to meet the cost of the 9s. 21d., 12s. 91d., and 16s. 2d.; whereas she armaments in progress. Austria, also, is resorting to some new trick. On the other hand, something would be gained It is discovered in Vienna that there is a rise in four weeks; but it is explained that she succeeded the price of silver; and it is announced that the on the 1st of October to a "cut" at the price of amount of silver in the bank is to be greatly in- 5s. 6d., which was only a few hours short of being creased. How this is to be done we do not know. complete at the close of the previous week, so that vant, is equal to an annual charge of about 30*l*. Perhaps the "Wizard of the North" might be 5s. 6d. belonged to a previous week; secondly, But it will be observed that, in a country toler- able to throwsome light upon the move, especially that the week ending October 22nd the works

of the scheme. The state notes, amounting to about 150,000,000 floring, are all to be withdrawn from circulation, and the bank notes, about 185,000,000 florins, are to be increased propertionately; the state-railroads and domains serving as security. If we can penetrate this proceeding, it means that Austria, unable to obtain loans or to raise the wind in any of the legitimate modes, is now pledging her railroads and lands, or more probably mortgaging the revenue from these re-

But what is the value of the pledge? We have already seen how Austria has been racking the tax-payer in Hungary, where the tax-collector is the great missionary of sedition. The incessant rise of provisions throughout the Austrian dominions increases the discontent. Thus Hungary, one of the chief sources of Austria for wealth, is but an indifferent pledge. Italy, which used to supply a quarter of the Imperial revenue, has cost almost as much as it has yielded since 1848, for machinery of military tyranny to keep it down; and some new manœuvres in this province also indicate the degree to which money desperation is driving the Government into dishonest courses. It has been proclaimed that all persons whose property had been sequestrated and wanted to reclaim it, must return. One gentleman did so, proved that he had no participation whatever in the riot of February, and at last recovered his property; but Government did not yield up a considerable sum of ready money seized at the time, nor the rents received during his absence! Undisputed claims on the property of exiles, which took effect before the sequestration, have been put off and refused satisfaction. In the mean while, the agents appointed to take the charge of these properties are committing wholesale waste, cutting down and carrying off everything that can be removed to raise ready money. The proceeds of the property are to be treated according to the professions of Government with peculiar honourableness-invested for the interest of the ultimate claimants; but the manner of ordering the investment stultifies it. The capital is to be invested in mortgages at 5 per cent.; but as 41 per cent. is the highest that has been given on mortgage, the curators will find themselves compelled to adopt the other alternative allowed by Government, namely, to deposit the money with the Austrian Minister of Finance, and while Austria is thus rack-renting, and wasting, and robbing the property of the Lombards, the Government, anxious to keep some heart in so tax-paying a province, is continually putting forward promises of "an amnesty." And this Austrian Government is one of the anointed Saviours of order-one of the legitimate authorities who preserve "security of property."

THE COTTON TRADE AND EMIGRATION. THE power-loom weavers of Preston have put for-Preston, of course with an advantage to themselves; that at Blackburn, Bolton, Oldham, Stockport, &c., an advance is paid at a higher rate than the Preston masters were paying in October; that Mr. Hollins gives tables of weavers' earnings which are in themselves fallacious; that he and other gentlemen make fabrics which require a superior class of workpeople, and therefore that their paycent., as to prove that the working classes have The explanation about Mr. Hollins's statement amounts to this :-- For the four weeks ending on the actually received 18s. 2d., 9s. 1d., 12s. 91d., and 16s. 2d. This shows a difference of 41d. on the

The "silly people," he says, "who now cry out for war will be the very first to turn round and denounce the Minister for bringing distress and suffering upon them;" and in order to expedite the reaction against a spirited national conduct, he calls upon Government "to pay the year's expenses of the war by taxes raised within the year." It is very good advice, in which we should join, without at all believing in the effect which Mr. Cobden anticipates. The English people has not shown that it would give up a war the moment that it should prove expensive. It is the Cobdenic St. George alone that puts his enterprise to that test.

For on the showing of  $\pounds s. d.$ , St. George might fairly have declined to rescue the virgin whom the dragon required. It would be a very simple matter of account. It is difficult to estimate the price of a virgin in Western Europe, others can be procured for comparatively moderate sums. But take a liberal margin, and let us suppose that the virgin required for the dragon might be set down at 3001. : that would appear to be the loss of the community on the transaction. by the saving of the keep of a virgin. In this country it is calculated that the outlay upon the least costly specimen of womankind, a maid serably populated, the extinction of a virgin on a as a sort of shuffling of cards seems to form part closed, and that Mason, with some others, was

#### LEADER. THE

allowed to continue working until Saturday, rendering that week three days longer than usual. On these two accounts should be deducted 5s. 6d., and 5s. 2d., in all 10s. 8d. ; and this would reduce the average to about 11s. 6d. a-week. Now that is just the sum which Mr. Hollins pledged himself that his hands could earn upon two looms in his mill.

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The power-loom weavers observe, that they have been challenged to prove that the masters are in a position to pay the October prices, on which they say :

"We are not in a position, nor are we allowed the opportunity to open our employer's ledgers, and enter into all the minute details necessary, to prove it, and we presume it would be out of our province to do so; but we have this proof—that other employers working the same fabric, placed in a similar position as regards locality, state of their ma-chinery, and the markets both for buying and selling the manufactured materials, are paying not only the October prices, but in many instances far superior prices."

In a subsequent speech we observe Mr. Cowell saying, that, by deducting a farthing per "cut" in the dresser's room, a manufacturer has been known in one day to produce a collossal fortune by the end of the year; and we see him scouting those who recommend working people to study the doctrine of political economy. He says, "the sooner we can rout political economy from the world, the better it will be for the workingclasses ;" for "political economy is buying cheap and selling dear; a doctrine irreconcileable with the divine precept, 'Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you.'" Now even in that definition political economy is not irreconcileable with the divine precept. To buy in a cheap market and sell in a dear market, as the precept is meant by political economists, is to seek what you want in places where it is abundant, and therefore cheap; and to offer what you have in places where it is much in request, and therefore -dear ;-a process which makes the merchant help to benefit mankind by more equally diffusing the advantages peculiar to different places over the whole. Political economy, however, does, not mean that single precept; it means a knowledge of the natural laws by which labour works out the produce of the land, and by which commerce effects such exchanges. Political economy is no artificial code of statutes to compel people to do anything, but it is a scientific inquiry into the laws under which inevitably they must work ; such as the law, that the labourer cannot produce without he be kept in health by food, clothing, and shelter. The working-classes will not improve their condition by "routing political economy," but they will by understanding it. They are not, it is true, bound to show that their employers could afford to pay the October prices; but unless they "Cobdenic Policy the Internal Enemy of Engcould succeed in doing so they do not make out a land." case. At all events, they confess that they have been submitting to prices 10 or 20 per cent. thy with Mr. Cobden; but we cannot forget the under those which have been obtained for the same work; their acquiesence, of course, dependent upon their ignorance; although it is probable that the master also calculated those various rates under some ignorance of their own. Upon the whole, the state of the cotton, trade suggests a remarkable confirmation of the advice which we recently ventured to throw out-that emigration is the best form of strike. We are inclined to take the allegations of both sides as being in the main true; and putting the facts together, we find that even an honest and generally successful manufacturer like Mr. Edward Hollins cannot undertake to secure for the general run of his working hands more than 11s. 6d. a week at weaving. Now this is unquestionably a low rate of wages. Weaving is generally considered a light work, and so it is; but there is yet a great deal of bodily fatigue in being on the feet for ten bours a day in one spot, rarely still for many seconds together; and what is the chief strain upon the faculties—in being constantly on the watch to prevent the breaking of a thread, or to obviate the fine for "ends out." The hours used to be much longer, but there are few men capable of following the dogs with the gun for hours together, or of long continued intellectual labour, who would not find that restless confinement to one spot, and that ten hours' watch over the individual threads in two sheets of cloth, a very trying exertion. Now, a stonemason can make more wages than a weaver; carpenters and painters have been earning 5s. or 5s. 6d. a day; yet weaving used to be one of the best paid occupations in the country. The condition of the working people he speaks of his own punishment as a soldier in a

masters allege that their own condition is declining; and we believe it. Although the exports have increased in gross quantity, the price is not proportionately increased; and as the numbers of masters have considerably increased, profits have proportionately diminished. This would imply that the trade is overdoing itself; and so it appears from , the facts, since no exertion at home or abroad produce any corresponding increase of advantages to masters or men. The prosperity of last summer, which gave such an immense increase to the wealth of the country at large, did little for the cotton trade. This is a great fact. There appears to us, then, to be but one course of improvement which can materially benefit the trade. It lies in reducing the cost of production, by further improvements in the method of production. One kind of improvement, evident enough in its general nature, would greatly increase the power and efficiency of production by using a better kind of labour. But the same process—as we are presuming that no very striking increase can be made to the quantity of goods sold-would involve a diminution in the number of labourers. Now this would throw great numbers out of work; and they would have "to transfer themselves to some other kind of employment." Yet there is no kind of employment so generally accessible to the labourers in any trade as colonial employment; because while trades at home are settled down to peculiar methods not always easy for adults to learn, and while they are all sufficiently manned, the peculiarity of colonial employment is to be less hardened into an ancient system, and to be undermanned. Perhaps if the true circumstances of the cotton trade were thoroughly explained and laid bare to perfect knowledge, it would be found that the machinery of the trade might be considerably improved ; that a higher and better paid class of labour could be cultivated out of the present corps of workpeople; but that the same process would cause the trade to require a smaller number of hands. The facts already known indicate such conclusion; and it follows that emigration is not only the most effectual of strikes for the purpose of enabling masters to know that their hands are in earnest, and for the purpose of raising the value of labour, but also that it is the true auxiliary to any effectual reform of the stagnant condition of the cotton trade in Lancashire.

#### **ALEXANDER SOMERVILLE'S CHARGES** AGAINST MR. COBDEN.

It is with the greatest reluctance that we at last resolve not to set aside the pamphlet recently published by Mr. Alexander Somerville, entitled

We have in many respects an imperfect sympaservice which he did for the country as an expositor of the doctrine sustained by the Anti-cornlaw League, and as one of the agents most successful in promoting the Free-trade, which was so admirably propounded by Perronnet Thompson years before, and so effectually consummated by Sir Robert Peel. Nor is that gratitude for the past without the "lively sense of future favours" which Mr. Cobden may confer upon his country, as one of the promoters of public Education, or of Parliamentary Reform. There are, however, some subjects more important than Reform, and the peculiar course taken by Mr. Cobden in the most urgent of all subjects at present, makes us feel that we should fail in our duty if we were to neglect any means by which, as a public man, he can be rendered more intelligible and appreciable. Hence our dislike to meddle with a pamphlet which casts so deplorable a slur upon his reputation,---a dislike increased rather than diminished by the remembrance of our own strong opposition to him,-gives way to a sense of duty. We will confess also another reason why we desire to avoid this pamphlet. We remember Mr. Somerville as an injured man, a victim under the tyrannical application of degrading punishment. We had read with pleasure some of his writings, especially those signed "One who has Whistled at the Plough," in which he showed how protection, by its mischievous operation upon working agriculturists, marred the opportunities of this beautiful country, and prostrated the industry of the Englishman. But in this volume, while he appears as the servant turned informer against his employer,

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who had misled him into politics, declaring that his punishment did him good, and praising the officer who punished and disparaged him-as if he rather kissed the cat-o'-nine-tails. By this manner of treating the subject, Mr. Somerville stultifies any attempt to rescue him from the degradation of the punishment, by representing him as a sufferer. On more than one occasion he actually turned accuser against the Liberals who had engaged him. He repudiates the character of a martyr, and goes back by preference to that of the degraded soldier. Kindly ideas would have induced us not to assist Mr. Somerville in exposing himself along with Mr. Cobden, but we have no right so far to judge for our readers, and to withhold from them a subject of the day.

Mr. Cobden will always be remembered as one who held the most conspicuous post as spokesman for the Anti-Corn-law League. The public history of the League is tolerably well known; the object of this pamphlet is to show that in the conduct of that agitation the leaders habitually resorted to false appearances, and that they took unfair advantages,-Mr. Cobden especially being the chief in these as he was in the more public operations of the League. With Mr. Cobden's advocacy of Russia, which the writer drags out of the pamphlets by "The Manchester Manufacturer," we need not meddle much. Mr. Cobden praises that country for "love of improvement," for "security given by law to life and property," and, "above all," for "encouragement of commerce," speaking thus of a country where he confesses that merchants, save those of the first class, are liable to corporal punishment, where the bulk of the population may be sold with the land, and where to this day the tariff is all but prohibitory !

Mr. Somerville also draws out from these pamphlets constant attacks by Mr. Cobden on "orators, journalists, reviewers, and authors," "writers and speakers," "Turkish and Russo-maniac writers," whom he accuses of ignorance, prejudice, dishonesty, bigotry, and cant; asking more than once "how long will such political quacks be permitted, uithout punishment, and with no better distinction than the plea of ignorance, to inflame the minds and disorder the understandings of a whole nation?" Mr. Somerville insinuates that this language is dictated by self-interest, Mr. Cobden having, as a calico-printer, business connections with Russia. But for our own part, we do not believe that simple self-interest can beget enthusiasm and eloquence, which Mr. Cobden undoubtedly enjoys. We ascribe the prejudice rather to honest delusion. It is evident, from the whole tenor of his language, that those who have different views and objects from his own he regards with contempt. Men who think that there may be worse things than war, who desire to arrest Russia in her advance to universal dominion in Europe, who cannot regard peace and cotton manufactures as the chiefest objects of mankind, who pursue other sciences and arts with more devotion than political economy and commerce, seem to be regarded by Mr. Cobden with a contempt which is too consistent not to be genuine. The repeated headlong zeal with which he has staked his reputation on a proposal to cut down the expenditure to the model of 1837, without reference to events abroad, and notwithstanding his repeated failures in that path, shows that his deficiency in this matter at least is less in the heart than in the head. We do not believe that he could mislead his country into disarming itself. simply with the intention of carrying on his trade in peace; but we believe that his desire to do so is purely honest, and that, incredible as it may seem, he is not so much the agent of Russia as the victim of hallucination. For it must be remembered that Mr. Cobden's works do not include treatises which imply the possession of intellectual powers beyond the one power of exposition on a comparatively limited range in matters of fact. The nearest approach to intellectual subjects which he has yet made has consisted in his speeches on the subject of education. The most telling part of Mr. Somerville's pamphlet is that which exposes, not Mr. Cobden's mistaken views about Russia, which could now do comparatively little harm, nor his supercilious contempt for "writers and speakers" in general, with his naïve hint at punishment for writers and speakers who differed from him ; but certain facts, certain matters of conduct in the management of the Anti-Corn-law agitation. We take some instances as they occur in the book. A paper of Conservative and Protectionist politics appeared in the cotton trade, therefore, is declining. The manner the most revolting-whining about those to be rather taking the side of the farmers, as dis-

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tinct from the landlords, and Mr. Cobden writes to Somerville-" It would be a great move if we differences with the League; they not paying could purchase a share and put you on it;" presuming Mr. Somerville's co-operation in what would have been an act of deception. In another letter, dated October, 1842, Mr. Cobden instigates Mr. Somerville to "put some fresh disguise," and " to get letters or arguments" into certain journals. In another place, he suggests that he should not use palpable noms de guerre, but sign "A Westmorland" or "Leicestershire farmer;" and in another, he suggests that Mr. Somerville should seem a native of the South. At one time Mr. Cobden suggests "satirical story-telling sketches," "not too broad caricatures," sketches which Mr. Somerville provided at his own expense, but which, he says, were not accepted by the League, because he did not make caricatures of the landlords, land-agents, and farmers.

During part of Mr. Somerville's career as writer and agitator, he wrote the letters which were signed "One who has Whistled at the Plough," for which he was paid three guineas a week; subsequently, for articles in the Morning Chronicle and in the League newspapers, he was paid four guineas; but while he was paid in this manner for the League, he was employed to a great extent by Mr. Cobden in collecting facts, and in arranging them for Mr. Cobden's use as a speaker, sometimes being suddenly summoned for the purpose. These facts appear under Mr. Cobden's own hand, in letters quoted by the writer. For example :---

"March 13, 1843.—Saturday Night. "DEAR SIR,—I am going down to Southampton to-morrow, to attend a meeting there on Monday, and shall be back on Tuesday. I shall be glad if you can meet me at three o'clock on that day. And I shall be glad to have your three o'clock on that day. And I shall be glad to have your facts in a condensed form ready, as it is expected that — will exhibit himself [in the House of Commons], and I should like to be prepared for him. . . The whole of the papers collected at the Conference at Manchester, re-specting the condition of the agricultural districts, have been brought to town by Mr. Greg, and are left by him for my address at Mark Phillips's. I shall want them in a digested form in the rural counties [for speeches]. Can you assist me in arranging them? you assist me in arranging them?

# "Yours truly, "RICHARD COBDEN."

"Of course," says Mr. Somerville, "I could" arrange these speeches. "Of course I could; and of course it was done to the advantage of his popularity, and reputation for excessive industry; while I, being paid only for articles to newspapers, got neither reputation nor a shilling, or a shilling's worth of reputation for it."

Another service which Mr. Somerville did for Mr. Cobden obtained a curious requital :--

"At Manchester, Mr. Frederick Cobden was sent to take me in a cab to Richard's house. When closeted with the latter he told me how much he had suffered in business by devotion to the League; how greatly mistaken people were who called him a rich man; how his father died leaving a family unprovided for, and that the charge of them all devolved on him, and whatever the country might do for him (a testimonial was then whispered) it would fall short of what he had lost by serving the country; and so forth. "I did not mistake the purpose of his repeating all this now, he having on several occasions introduced the subject before. I asked if I might, in communicating that he in-tended to retire from Parliament — [he showed me the manuscript of his retiring address]—add something about his losses in trade by devotion to public business; and so disabuse the public as to his personal wealth. He said he could trust to my discretion in putting those facts to a proper use. " I put them to the use intended; sent them to London, from whence they went into nearly every provincial news-paper in the kingdom--Protectionist as well as Free-tradist, and stimulated, as designed, the public to get up a liberal fund as a testimonial. "About 80,000% were collected. The expenses were heavy; but so far as I was concerned, my pen and newspaper influence then and after were given freely to the object, I not expecting, not asking, not receiving payment to the amount of a penny."

At a subsequent date, Mr. Somerville fell into 651. which he claimed from them for work done. The League had come to its euthanasia by the official consummation of its policy; the dispute was referred to arbitration; the arbitrator had great difficulty in getting replies from "parties in Lon-don," and ultimately Mr. Somerville was awarded 501. Subsequently to this dispute, Mr. Cobden re-opened communications from Mr. Somerville, suggesting that he should write against Louis Blanc, and reminding him of "the blood of noblemen, citizens," &c., as telling incidents in the drama. But here again we come upon Mr. Cobden's political opinions, which are by this time perhaps sufficiently understood. Enough has been said. We have seen one attempt to counteract the effect of the pamphlet. Mr. James Acland, himself a lecturer under the League, addresses a letter to a weekly contemporary, to state that Mr. Somerville, while employed by the League, was not always sober. This is rather a painful retort, but it is one that does not meet the statements in the pamphlet. Whatever may be Mr. Somerville's weaknesses-and they are exposed quite as much in this pamphlet as in Mr. Acland's letter-it is evident that he was an able, active, and zealous workman; that he was largely employed to get up and arrange the materials of those speeches which went so far to win Mr. Cobden's reputation; that he was not paid for these services; save by that indirect payment of the League, and that very insufficently; that he was frequently incited to indirect or deluding stratagems; that he assisted in raising the 80,000% gift which the country bestowed upon Mr. Cobden, and that his requital lay in those disparaging phrases levelled at him as a "hired writer" by the brother of the man whom he had served. It is a painful exposure, an humiliating "behind the scenes" of a great political theatre; and we only hope that it will have the sole moral effect that could excuse it, by purifying the next political movement from anything so mean as the incidents which appear to have difigured the Anti-Cornlaw League, its course of agitation, and its leading stump-orator and hero.

#### THE PRINCE-CONSORT QUESTION.

THE publication of the surpressed pamphlet alluded to in Mr. Coningham's letter last week, proves that no additional evidence lay concealed in that production against the Prince Consort. The whole of the subject remains without any additional light this week. Nothing further is adduced to make out the charge of objectionable communications to foreign courts; nothing to refute the more tangible assertion, that Prince Albert had unduly interfered with the ministerial business executed by her Majesty's responsible advisers. We have received a second letter from Mr. Coningham, showing that writers who had commented on the former letter had mixed up his plain description of the pamphlet, which he gave on the authority of the writer, with additions and interpretations by others. This is true; but the publication of the pamphlet itself renders Mr. Coningham's disclaimer unnecessary. We have no desire to meddle further with the unauthentic discussion of the subject, which must soon be placed on a more certain footing. Our object in alluding to it at all has been to bring the discussion to a definite point; that has been done, and we have now nothing to add to what we said last week on "The Common Sense of the Prince Albert Question," as a question in truth of Ministerial responsibility. That point will no doubt be raised in Parliament, and we shall then learn how far, if there has been the necessity, Ministers have vindicated the freedom of action to which the responsible servants of the Crown have a right, under the usage of our constitution, and which has been entrusted to the present Ministers for transmission, unabated and uninjured, to their successors.

with the professed object on the one side of forcing down, and on the other side of forcing up this rate of computing the value of labour. It is, therefore, highly important that some clear principles should be ascertained and popularized with regard to the nature of piece-work, and as to how far it should be suffered to fluctuate with the continual variations of trade.

Piece-work is a method of computing the true value of a day's labour, by fixing the rate to be paid upon a certain quantity of work completed. It is resorted to in order that the master may pay for no more than the exact quantum of labour expended upon the manufactured article, and furthermore that he may estimate the value of labour as a marketable commodity, when he fixes the price at which he can afford to compete with the foreign manufacturer. The operative has also the benefit of this mode of computation, because it enables the dexterous and the industrious to earn more than the clumsy and the slothful. It will be readily understood that where there are ten picks to the quarter-inch in one fabric, and forty in another (in other words, where the shuttle has to fly through the warp, leaving its thread of weft behind it, ten times in one case and forty in another), the rate of piece-work for the latter should be considerably more than for the former; firstly, because it takes a greater length of time to make the same quantity of cloth, and secondly, because the finer fabric requires greater care and attention. Make some abatement in consideration. of the better yarn being less ligble to accident, and we have all the elements upon which a manufacturer calculates the prices of piece-work for his various sorts.

The rate of piece-work paid by different (even neighbouring) manufacturers varies very considerably. Superiority of machinery, additional processes for facilitating the work, and better materials used (all of which circumstances greatly assist the operative in getting out a larger quantity of work), justly cause very important differences in the prices of piece-work. So sensible have the operatives generally been of the advantages of working in a well-appointed mill, that instances may be quoted where they have been content to receive smaller wages in consideration of the mere physical comforts by which they have been surrounded. In the case of Messrs. Horrockses and Miller, the largest employers of labour in Preston, (whose name and stuffs are known and quoted in every draper's shop throughout the kingdom) the rate of wages, and the average of earnings, have hitherto been inferior to those paid by other masters in Preston who manufacture the same sorts; and this is chiefly to be accounted for by the fact that their mill is considered a model mill, the workrooms and weaving-shed being very light, spacious, and airy; and all the wants and comforts of the work-people very well attended to. The machinery is not understood to be superior to many others that could be named, so far as real working excellence is concerned, but then it is kept very bright and clean, and the ornamental fittings are lustrous and tasteful; all which has a certain influence over the fancy and predilections of the operatives. It is but fair to record that this firm bore, up to the time of the "Lock-out," the highest character among the working-classes generally for the certainty of the work; whilst their own operatives looked up to them with a sort of feudal attachment, and prided themselves upon the extent of the business, as reflecting credit and honour upon themselves. Never had this firm run short time, never had it resorted to those indirect means of lessening production which manufacturers, not so fortunately situated in their trade relations, are sometimes driven to adopt: this had its influence over the minds of the operatives, and the whole case affords a very strong proof of how far ex-ternal circumstances will weigh with the workingclasses, albeit not connected with direct gain, but the contrary. As I have before stated, there are three circumstances which justly depress the prices of piecework; superiority of machinery, additional processes, and better materials. Superiority of Machinery.-It may be taken as a rule that all permanent improvements in machinery (I speak of cotton-manufacturing machinery) have had the effect of economising labour :-- they have enabled the workman to turn out more work with a less expenditure of labour. It is a well known fact that many of the most important suggestions in this way have emanated from the operatives themselves, which would not have been

The article is quoted, and certainly it is sufficiently delicate in its language, although done with all Mr. Somerville's force.

"Within a few days of the time when my article just quoted appeared in the newspapers, Mr. Charles Cobden, a younger brother, met me and spoke to this effect :---

". That is a disgraceful article 'you have written about Richard 1'

" ' What disgraceful article have I written?'

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" ' Nay, you need not deny it; though there be no name

to it, I know it must be yours; you need not deny it.'

I deny nothing, Sir; I have nothing to deny.

" ' I know it is yours, and you cannot deny it, because it refers to matters which Richard told you in confidence, never dreaming that you were to make trade of them in the newspapers. It is disgraceful; but it is just like you hired writers, you write anything for pay It is most offensive to our family. Our sisters are married to some of the first men in Manchester; what are those gentlemen to think of us when they find our family history and private conversasations sold by hired writers to the newspapers.' '

### THE LANCASHIRE STRIKES AND LOCK-OUT.

#### I.

#### PIECE-WORK.

It may be taken for a fact that all the disputes which have arisen between the employers and the employed throughout the manufacturing districts, since the repeal of the Combination Laws, have been grounded upon disputes with regard to the price of piece-work. Ever since masters and men have enjoyed the privilege of being able to combine against each other legally, they have done so

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the case if the improvements had not lightened their labour. Some very beautiful examples of this economising tendency are to be found among that class of inventions which make the machines self-acting; especially those which stop the action directly the work goes wrong. A machine called the Drawing-frame, a process which precedes spinning, throws itself out of gear directly one of the weak slivers of cotton breaks in passing through it, and this is managed by the simplest contrivance possible. Each sliver supports a small iron roller, and, when the sliver breaks, the roller falls upon a catch, which instantaneously throws the mechanism out of work. But the Power-loom itself affords the best example of this principle. The four most important improvements in the Power-loom of late years have been the Self-acting Temple, the Weft-motion, the Patent Ficking-motion, and the Break. The common temple is a piece of wood, with brass pins at each end, used for stretching the cloth to its full width ; it requires shifting every few moments by the operative who tends the loom. The Selfacting Temple consists of a stationary roller, round which the cloth passes, and it requires neither attention or interference from the commencement to the conclusion of the web. The West-motion is of other causes. an ingenious piece of mechanism for stopping the loom directly the weft breaks. There is a sort of fork which catches each pick as left behind by the shuttle, and if it fails to catch it throws the loom out of gear. The advantage of this to the operative is immense. Without this motion, it not unfrequently happens that the weft breaks, the shuttle makes several passes, and the roller winds the cloth a little further before the weaver has discovered this mishap. The damage then caused takes some time to rectify; the loom has to be put back, and it is fortunate if the stuff is not materially injured; but the Weft-motion renders it absolutely impossible for the shuttle to make another pass, or the roller another movement until the weft has been pieced, and the loom started by the weaver. The Patent Picking-motion is a movement for directing the flight of the shuttle, insuring greater precision and regularity than can be otherwise obtained. The Break, acting upon the same | nery is worn out and old fashioned : besides lacking principle as the railway break, effects the stoppage of the loom without any concussive jar; in connexion with the weft-motion it prevents any accident arising from the sudden action of the latter. It is impossible that even those most ignorant of mechanism should fail to perceive how materially all these improvements must facilitate the labour of the weaver, and how greatly the productive power of the machinery must be increased by them.

The rapid strides made in the improvement of spinning machinery furnish results still more convincing and astonishing, and as they are susceptible of proof by direct calculation, they will, perhaps, be more appreciable by the non-technical nind. In the year 1824, the average number of spindles upon a mule was 366, and it was then have attained the very minimum of wages; a minithought impossible to exceed that to any very important degree. In 1836, the average was about 650 spindles to a mule. In 1853, the average was about 1000, and in some instances they are made to contain as many as 1300 spindles. But consider now the different speeds at which these spindles revolved. In 1824, it was thought a great performance for a spindle to make 3800 revolutions per minute; they now make from 6000 to 7000 per minute. The tangible results of these immense improvements are, that whereas in 1824 a spinner could spin 17,600 draws\* of 30's weft in twelve hours, he can now spin 24,000 draws of the same count in ten hours : and when this difference comes to be multiplied over all the extra spindles, it is enormous. Yet it is an unquestionable fact that the management of the newer and larger mule is attended with less labour to the spinner than that of the smaller. A few more piecers may be required, but the task of the spinner is absolutely easier. Additional Processes.- As I am fearful of becoming too technical for the general reader, I will content myself with one example of the advantages derived from certain additional processes. The one I am about to specify is used only by a few of those who manufacture the finest fabrics. So doubtful is it whether the whole of the advantage derived from this process does not tell in favour of the operative that many manufacturers refrain from using it lest it should not even repay them

for the outlay. The process is called spooling, and it consists in winding the cops of weft upon bobbins. The common practice is to use the yarn precisely in the form it bears when it comes from the spinner. The advantages of spooling are :first, that the winding by machinery insures very great regularity, and it is impossible for the yarn to become entangled in the shuttle; secondly, it tests the strength of the yarn before going into the loom, and renders a breakage of the weft very rare indeed. In weaving with wet weft,\* this process is considered very advantageous to the work-people, and when they have once become accustomed to it, they are not satisfied to return to the ordinary method.

Better Materials.—Very little argument will be necessary to prove that better materials enable the workman to turn out more and better work than one who is not so well supplied. Two manufacaurers may be weaving the same sort of cloth (that is, cloth similarly reeded and with the same number of picks); but one may use a very inferior description of yarn; to the weaver in one mill, the work will be easy and expeditious, while the weaver in the other is suffering constant delays from weft breaking, ends dropping, and a variety

It is manifest, therefore, that when a master provides his operatives with the best facilities for work-when he incurs a great outlay by the purchase of the best machinery-when he gives them the advantage of every process that can lighten and expedite their labour, and when he uses the best materials that can be obtained, he ought not, indeed he cannot pay so much for his piece-work as the master who provides none of these things. But it must not therefore be supposed that the earnings of the operatives are diminished by this reduction in the price of piece-work, for the very contrary is the fact. Enter an ill-conducted factory, and ascertain the state of things there. The rooms are ill-lighted and ill-ventilated. The looms are so crowded that there is scarcely room to move about. Many of the weaving-rooms are upon upper stories, where the tremulous motion of the floors renders steadiness impossible. The machiall the improvements specified above, it is constanly getting out of order, and has to be handled very gingerly, lest it break down altogether. When anything goes wrong the means are not at hand for instantly repairing it, and the activity of the workman is suspended for an indefinite time by circumstances which he cannot control. The overlookers have so many looms under their superintendence, that the numerous delays are considerably prolonged. After witnessing all this, to what purpose is it that the manufacturer takes you into his counting-house and assures you that his rates for piece-work are very high indeed ! You quietly ask him how much per week his weavers earn upon an average, and he mentions a sum which proves to you that his operatives mum, too, which is earned amidst discomfort and all the elements that breed discontent. Go now into a first-rate factory, and consider the state of things there. The weaving-shed is like a court of the Crystal Palace, roofed with glass, and fixed upon a solid basis. The looms are ranged in due order, with sufficient space between them to allow of perfect freedom of action. The mechanism is all of the very best description, and in perfect condition. Each overlooker has no more looms under his care than he can readily attend to, and when an accident does occur the tackler is at hand to remedy it without delay. If a piece of mechanism should break, its duplicate is ready to take its place. The weavers handle their looms with confidence, as knowing their excellence. In fine, every expedient that can facilitate work is there. If we inquire into the price of piece-work we shall here be told that it is very much under that paid by the master of the former mill; but we shall not be surprised to learn that the average weekly earnings are sufficient to enable the hands to live in comfort, or even in comparative luxury. These are by no means over-charged pictures : in Preston alone I could produce several examples of both classes of mills. These facts, added to the state of the labourmarket, and the relative cheapness of living in different localities (both which important conside-

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rations it will be hereafter necessary to consider), prove the absolute impossibility of adopting a uniform standard list of prices. I may be asked how then does it happen that throughout the Blackburn district a standard list is adopted? My an-swer is that it is not adopted.\* I know and can prove the fact that there are masters within the Blackburn district who have lowered their scale below the standard list, upon the introduction of improved machinery, and what is more, their hands have consented to the reduction. Nor can this be otherwise, without effectually stopping the progress of improvement, and offering a premium to those masters who are so near-sighted as to refuse to take advantage of inventions for facilitating labour. The agitators contend that the master is sufficiently paid by the increased amount of work he obtains; but this is simply absurd. The price of the manufactured article allows a certain margin for the cost of production; whether that cost is expended directly upon the operative in piece-work, or indirectly for his advantage in purchasing improved machinery, it should not exceed a certain proportion of the value, and it would be unreasonable to expect the manufacturer to keep his rate of piece-work unaltered, while he was laying out vast sums in the purchase of expensive patented machines.

All that the operative has to consider is, whether his weekly earnings are rendered better or worse by the change, and if better, there can be no sound reason for complaint. Generally speaking, masters do not refuse to concede to the hand a share of the advantage derived from improved machinery ;- but this must rather be considered an act of grace, and the result of a commendable desire to make their operatives sharers in their prosperity, than the recognition of any right or claim. The argument that improved machinery takes more work out of the bones of the operative is utterly fallacious, and, after what has been stated, needs not to be refuted. I believe that it can be satisfactorily shown that in every case the effect of improved machinery has been to lighten labour, to depress piece-work, and to increase the average weekly earnings. JAMES LOWE.

#### "CHURCH REVIVAL."

How strangely, how ominously, when upon all sides we hear the click of the mason's chisel as he fashions the stone-work, and the sound of the carpenter's hammer as he fixes the pulpits of new churches, comes upon our ears the earnest cry for a "Church Revival Society!" Could there be a stronger contrast ? What, more churches, when those already built have room to spare for worshippers ! More churches, when the anarchy of the church itself is so patent as to need a mighty re-organisation! More churches, when the actual existence of the Church itself, as a State Establishment, becomes more problematical every year! Indeed it is time to cry aloud for a revival; to cry earnestly, and work earnestly; to destroy much, and conserve much; to root out abuses, and change a system; to inspire the laity with true convictions respecting the religion they profess, and to raise the character of its ministers from that of a profession, to that of a calling, if the Church is to be saved. Why is it that Parliament is for ever invoked to use its temporal power for the removal of abuses? Is it so long since the Gorham case was before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; since Dr. Hampden went before Sir Herbert Jenner Fust; since Dr. Newman and his host left the Church on one side, Mr. Baptist Noel on another, and Mr. Foxton on a third, that these things are forgotten? Why is it that, unable to bear in silence the heavy yoke upon their consciences, hundreds demand Convocation as a remedy? Why is it that another plan is just now put forward by "a Country Clergyman," not at all an advocate for Convocation, for a "Church Revival Society?" + Without, the Papacy eats into its

\* A draw is a journey of the mule backwards and forwards. It becomes shorter every time, until the cops are finished.

• Wet weft is weft that has been boiled and saturated with soap and water. It is used in weaving superior fabrics, where the picks are required to be very close. The soap and moisture act like-starch, holding the threads closer togethor.

\* The working of these standard lists may be very well exemplified by a statement made to me the other day. It ap-pears that the coal-masters are in the habit of meeting for the purpose of fixing the prices of coal. After one of these meetings a manufacturer was waited upon by an extensive coal owner, whereupon the following dialogue ensued :--

Coal-owner-I've come for an order for slack. Manufacturer-Well, what's thy price?

(Coal-owner names his price.) Manufacturer—Why A. B. (naming another associated coal-owner) offers to supply me at so much less. Coal-owner—Doos he so? Then thou shalt have it at so

much (naming a price still more reduced). I'll not be done

out of an order by such a wastrel as A. B. + The Knot of to-day, and a Hand to undo it. By a Country Clergyman. Scoleys, Floot-street. 1s. 6d.

heart; Nonconformity assails its treasury and steals away its flock; science saps its foundations. Within, the strife of faction breaks its harmouy with discords; simony stains its mantle with corruption; love of gold makes some of its servants rather ministers of Mammon, striving for the "great prizes," than ministers of Christ, absorbed in saving souls : its dignitaries are rich, its workmen sunk in poverty; and State tutelage, pressing upon the whole body like an incubus, weakens, degrades, enslaves its ministers. Is this picture too highly coloured? Let those who have studied the facts judge for themselves. With the facts before us, it is impossible that we can be surprised by a cry for revival.

This latest plan is set forth in an able little work, written with earnestness, eloquence, and candour, tearing aside all concealment, probing and making manifest many of those "sores and ulcers" Mr. Gladstone spoke of, and aptly entitled "The Knot of to-day, and a Hand to undo it." The author, sternly in earnest, and feelingly alive to the dangers which beset the Establishment, without and within, proposes to revive the Church by founding a grand Society, which shall operate at once against the Jesuits, the Nonconformists, and those who belong to none of the sects of the day. He calls upon the laity and clergy to watch and frustrate Romanism; rather to seek for the common grounds of agreement between the Church and Nonconformity than the grounds of difference, and to relax her rigid system so far as to admit to spiritual functions all kinds of sincere men available for missions, scripture readings, street preachings, and the like. In short, he proposes to set in motion a society, the effect of whose success would be to enlarge the pale of the Church of England, and make it something like a Church of the People. Does not this show clearly enough how deeply a sense of the scandalous dis orders of the Establishment has eaten into the hearts even of its ministers?

We shall probably notice this significant little book again. At present, and on the eve of the meeting of Convocation, all we wish to do is to. point out its existence, as the initiative of a movement quite distinct from the demand for the free action of the Church's Parliament; as a movement requiring full consideration not only from Churchmen of all parties, but from those who are without the Church also.

#### RELIGIOUS EQUALITY NOT CIVIL EQUALITY.

LAST week we published the case of Mr. Alexander, of Edinburgh, who was sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment, as a penalty for having conscientious scruples against oath-taking. This is pretty well in a country where we are assured that religious equality prevails. From this case we find the operation of the law to be such that if a thief has a pique against a conscientious tradesman, he may gratify his acquisitiveness and diers discharged after terms of service, varying his malice at once. He may take the tradesman's from six to fifteen years, the effective of the army property, and afterwards give him thirty days' imprisonment for appearing to prosecute. An instance of a similar kind was very near occurring to a tradesman in the City of London. A person found his way into the house of Messrs. Holyoake and Co., Fleet-street, and stole therefrom the stereotype plates of a new work, entitled "Pel Verjuice, the Wanderer," broke the plates up and disposed of them as old metal, ---an operation effected with considerable ingenuity. The plates were traced, and the thief detected, and brought to Messrs. Holyoake's, but the principal of the firm, warned by his recent treatment at the hands of his Honour, Commissioner Phillips, found it impossible to protect himself by prosecuting. Catechetical examinations, insult, and probable imprisonment of himself, instead of the thief, would have been the result. This state of things may be religious, but it certainly is not religious equality. We believe Messrs. Holyoake intend bringing that disability before Parliament in the form of a petition, praying the Act that enfranchises the conscience of the Quaker, the Moravian, and the Separatist, may legalise affirmations in the part of the Secularist.

whalebone and crenoline, which are the death of girls and the armoury of despairing coquettes. Perhaps it is to this diseased vanity that we owe much of the cruelty and heartlessness of the man who holds the fate of Europe in suspense. Perhaps, too, if Russia has an Emperor of wadding, she may be found to have an army of paper and parade. At all events, we hear such alarming accounts of the military resources and preparations of that enormous empire, that it may be well to inquire with some particularity into the accuracy of the reports which from day to day are trumpeted by the continental press, with all the mendacious minuteness of official statistics and impossible figures. The Court of St. Petersburg has so many lying tongues and purchased pens at its service in every European capital, that we cannot accept the ingenious mystifications of pamphleteers with more confidence than the bulletins of unpronounceable Generals whose invention knows no defeat.

We are threatened with the mobilisation of the entire Russian army, which is to bring up the forces of the Czar to the stupendous effective of 2,226,000 men. All public works are to be suspended, and the workmen to be turned into soldiers. The Russian clergy, burning to plant the cross once more on the Mosque of St. Sophia, have devoted to the holy war twenty millions of roubles (about 3,200,000*l*.); and recent letters from St. Petersburg announce that 3000 retired officers have demanded to be restored to activity, and that 300,000 discharged men have already been recalled to the orthodox standards.

Let us examine these terrifying rumours with disinterested calmness. We follow the investigations of M. Leouzon Leduc, a gentleman who, from his long residence in an official position in Russia, and from his proved intimate acquaintance with all de-tails of the Russian administration, is entitled to be considered an authority on the question. He has contributed to our able French contemporary La Presse a succinct review of the military resources of a power which seems equally made up of violence and cor-

On what branch of the forces, he asks, is this mobilisation to fall? Not on the guard, which is always on a war footing, nor on the army of the line, which never suffers reduction. Guard and line to-gether scarcely make up a total of 800,000 men, or, according to official documents, 11,00,000 men; certainly an enormous figure, but far below the 2,200,000 of the mobilisation. M. Leduc inclines to believe this mobilisation a fable, and nothing more in fact than the annual conscription which takes place at the close of the year. The military forces of Russia are divided into three distinct armies; the active army, the reserve, and the local army. The first, a force varying from 250,000 to 300,000 men, and the second about half that effective, are destined for foreign service; the third, of equal strength with the first, guards the frontiers, and preserves order at home. Not a man could be spared from these troops without danger to the Empire.

Supposing these figures to be exact, does it follow that the troops are really in a condition for active service? All that we know of the Russian administration would make us hesitate to accept such a conclusion without considerable qualifications.

Supposing the mobilisation to refer to the sol-

The population of Finland is little more than half the population of London, and of these 1,500,000 perhaps 2000 are soldiers and sailors. Were Finland to rise in arms as a nation, it would surely be at the call of Sweden, not of her oppressor.

The mobilisation must then fall on the orthodox Russians, and here the difficulties of the Imperial Government are manifold. Even if the communes could afford these extraordinary levies, would the lords consent without murmurs to strip their lands of labour, and to sacrifice their property, the merfs, to the state? Even Catherine, in the war against Sweden, was compelled by the resistance of the lords to desist: will Nicholas be more fortunate?

Even if these levies were realised, what would an army of raw serfs be worth in a campaign? The Russian peasant, says M. Leouzon Leduc, is not a bern soldier: he abhors the conscription, and only after years of iron discipline becomes a dogged brute machine to stand fire, and rot in hospitals; he is not a fanatic; he is merely superstitious. As to the suspension of public works, they are

necessarily suspended during half the year; the workmen are discharged soldiers; as for the money diverted from these works to the war, we know enough of Russian finance to understand the ingeni-ous idea of Prince Gortschakoff, who pays for pro-

visions and munitions in hills payable at convenience. It is said that the inhabitants of the Baltic pro-vinces have offered their services. We ask again, the Lutherans or the Orthodox? The functionaries have offered a tithe of their salaries. Considering that these functionaries subsist on peculation, we are not surprised to bear that these offers have been generously declined.

The orthodox clergy have advanced 20,000,000 silver roubles. No doubt their sympathies are due to the holy war. But where does the money come from? Peter the Great and Catherine II., we know, stripped the churches and the monasteries, and appropriated the revenues to the State. The bishops and priests of the Russo-Greek Establishment have long been dependent on the charity of the State, and on the superstition of the faithful. And yet we are to believe that these pauper priests and begging bishope have advanced a sum exceeding the contribution of the merchants of Moscow. Enough of these ridicu-lous parades and mystifications. While the Western Powers vacillated, Russia persisted in diplomatic treacheries. As soon as they fesolve on action, she seeks to terrify us with impossible arrays of paper armies. No one presumes to say that Russia is a power to be despised; by land and sea and deserves to be en-countered with all the might of France and England: but, as cowards are apt to shout in the dark to conquer fear, all her hyperbolical exaggerations, all her flourishes of trumpets about armies, fleets, and funds that have no existence only serve to disguise a secret apprehension, and, it may be, at last to cover a retreat.

It may, however, be useful to resume briefly the actual condition of the Russian army. English travellers who return from St. Petersburg, daizled by the splendid appearance of the picked Imperial Guard, know as little of the Russian army as fo-reigners who have only seen our Life Guards know of our troops of the line who conquer India, and protect our colonies,

It has been said that Russia wants generals; and a good general is worth an army. An Austrian marshal said of the Hungarians: "They are 8000 men, it is true; but Bem is worth 60,000 men." Napoleon said to an aide-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander, in 1812, "You have no generals." Yet the cause of national independence created men like Koutouzoff, Koulneff, Dokhtoroff, Bagratim, Yermoloff, and Wittgenstein; not to mention Barclay de Tolli: all Russians but the two last named. It is also said that Russia has only good generals of division. Paskiewitch is a sufficient refutation of that assertion. But like Radetsky, his Austrian brother in years and services, he is of extreme age, as is also Rüdiger, who is now reposing in the Council of the Empire, and Woronzof, who has lately resigned his command in the Caucasus. Lüders is reported to be the ablest Russian general capable of active service; but neither Andronikof nor Bogowout can be cited without respect. On the whole, it may be said that the Russian generals are capable of coping with those of any European army when their action the commissariat as the weakness of the Russian as that of clothes and provisions, and through the same causes. The Russian sabres are more apt to fly in splinters than to cut, while the Turkish steel is, we know, the pride of the Mussulman. In an engagement with Russian troops more skulls are broken by the butt-end of guns than bodies pierced by sword-blades. The clothing of the troops is very defective; the helmet is too cold in winter and too hot in summer. The cloaks are too big, and in the cavalry only the non-commissioned officers are decently armed and clothed.

STATE OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY.

WE have heard of kings of "shreds and patches:" perhaps the present Czar of all the Russias may be described as an Emperor of-wadding. Not content with the munificence of nature, which has bestowed on him a commanding stature and fine proportions, splendid physical conformation, by those artifices of 'to their patriotism ?

would not be increased, as these men are retained on the rolls; and as the greater portion of the reserve was called out in 1848 and 1850.

What sort of troops, it may be further asked, would this reserve supply? What becomes of the discharged soldiers? They are said to return to their usual occupations, but such a description is very far wide of the truth. They enter the army as serfs, they are discharged free men, with neither homes nor master, nor means of livelihood, and fit only to serve as drudges, or to steal as vagabonds.

The Government is so well aware of the false and precarious condition of all discharged soldiers, that it offers a premium to the generosity of the lords of the soil, by considering every discharged soldier taken into service and furnished with the means of livelihood, as equivalent to a recruit. But this exemption diminishes the real effective of the army. If the discharged soldiers are unfitted for civil occupations they are equally unfitted for military is not hampered by contradictory orders from St. service again, after a dreary interval of starved and Petersburg. We have on a former occasion described vagrant pauperism. They have lost the habits of order and discipline, the organised activity and the army. We believe the supply of arms is as defective esprit de corps so painfully acquired by years of service in barracks and in the field.

Where, then, are the two millions of conscripts to come from ?

From the Kirghises, the Kalmouks, the Tartars, and other Asiatic hordes of predatory marauders? Or from the hardy and peaceful Finlanders, whose simple Lutheran faith has withstood alike the threats and the cajoleries of political and religious missionaries, and who refuse to sink into the degraded idolatries of the Russo-Greek Church ? Are these the crusaders of a holy war, and of an orthodox his imperial corpulence seeks to improve upon a crusade, repugnant at once to their conscience and

Many officers of rank and family have quitted the service in disgust during the present roign, and their

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places are filled by men for whom the army is a means of existence.

The artillery is much improved since the Polish war, and in the Hungarian campaign proved superior to the Austrian.

The cavalry is generally well mounted.

The introduction of rifles has effected an important change in the infantry, and has been found a valuable support to the artillery. Since the Hungarian campaign the flint has been to some extent super-seded by the percussion-cap.

The Russian soldier makes up for clumsiness by dogged endurance. Napoleon said, it was not enough to kill him-you must knock him down.

The flower of the Russian troops is in the Caucasus, inured to hardship, and disciplined by incessant operations.

The grenadiers are the most national corps of the Russian army; the troops in Poland are called the active army; the fifth corps is reputed the worst; and the Imperial Guard is enervated by residence in the capital.

on paper the Russian army amounts to 800,000 men: but 400,000 is the very utmost force that could be employed on a campaign, and France can exceed that effective at a day's notice.

The staff leaves much to be desired. The officers, who are educated in the corps of Cadets, are not worth much. The navel coups de cadets, however, is an exception to this statement. The Russian army absorbs half the revenues of the Empire, and almost all the honours. Russian Generals are Cura. tors of the Universities: a General "commands" the operations of the Holy Synod. Destroy the army, and the Imperial system is a wreck.

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ALLIANCE OF ENGLAND WITH A "CONSTITUTIONAL PRUSSIA."

THE world wants to be deceived; let it be. Perhaps this was the device with which Count Pourtales, envoy of the King of Prussia, arrived in London some weeks since, charged with a mission to "study the dispositions of the public and of the principal statesmen of England in the Eastern question." This mission of the envoy of Frederick William IV, seems to be a sort of preface to an understanding between the Courts of Windsor and Berlin in the event of a general war. We foresee an attempt to continue that game which has been played hitherto by the Conference of Vienna against the interests and the honour of the British nation, by means of a patched up alliance between Great Britain and a soi-disant" constitutional Prussia."

We are sadly afraid that Count Pourtales, oppressed with Russo-Turkish notes, may have forgotten to pack up certain documents which would throw light upon the constitutional efforts of the Hohenzollern dynasty. On the other hand, the Chevalier Josias Yon Bunsen, Prussian Ambassador at the Court of Queen Victoria, is probably too busy with biblical philology to find time to give the English public a succinct abstract of authentic documents explaining the constitutionalism of his Government. Let us complete the mission of the Prussian envoys. After a study of the documents in which the real

tem, the other by the ultra-Royalists, and by Chambres introuvables. But after the dethronement of Charles X., and the carrying of the Reform Bill, we find in the state papers exchanged between the Cabinets of Berlin and St. Petersburg, a marked hatred of English and French constitutionalism, the fruits of successive revolutions. In the royal family of Prussia there prevailed so inveterate a repugnance, so envenomed a disgust for the new spirit which had grown up in France and England, that after 1830 and 1831 negotiations were actually opened between Berlin and St. Petersburg "for resisting, even by war, the propagation of Anglo-French constitutional principles." (Memoir on the state and the future of Germany, written under the dictation of a minister at St. Petersburg, and communicated confidentially to the Prussian Government.)

After 1848 it is evident that the British Court, alarmed at the progress of the democratic movement, joined the Prussian alliance, for the purpose of aiding the subjugation of popular tendencies in Germany. Proof of this exists in the letters of the Earl of Westthoreland, addressed to General Jochmus, Minister of the German Empire. These letters contain reports of the interviews of the British Ambassador with the Prussian Court, concerning the armed attack against the Revolution and the German Parliament.

A glance at a few documents distinctive of the three epochs will explain how Prussia came by the surname of "liar." We shall see that the promises of a constitution made by the Prussian Government in 1813, 1815, 1819, up to 1823, were from first to last nothing better than premeditated cheats, the sleightof-hand of barefaced swindlers. We said "liar;" the word is too weak. For it is difficult for Englishmen to conceive the abyss of abject baseness and dishonour which the notes drawn up "by the orders of the King of Prussia" disclose. They discover the whole occult machinery of the acts of Government. Any man who has not utterly lost all moral sense revolts at the memoir (to cite an instance) addressed all Europe in its backward course. to the Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs by Count Von der Golz, Ambassador of the King, to the Diet | expressed. of Frankfort. What bitter irony, what profound contempt for the people, what a hideous jest of royalist roues ! "In 1813," says this diplomatic paper, "ideas of liberalism and general utility were found necessary to be invoked, because it was only by the highest patriotic exaltation that the people could be roused to make the sacrifices necessary for the emancipation of Germany. The Prussian Government satisfied this momentary necessity because it could not do otherwise. Now that the end is attained, we can dispense with those ideas." . . . .

Good-natured beast of a people that is coaxed to work by a bag of hay held before its nose, well out of reach of its mouth! But a most miserable beast of a people which believes that the subjects of a king have a right to things which are of "public utility." What a demagogy!

We have selected one out of a thousand examples. Similar revelations are to be found in all the Prussian circulars, protocols, and memoirs relating to the Absolutist Congresses of Aachen, of Carlsbad, of Troppau, of Laibach, of Verona, and of Vienna, from 1813 to 1834. In the Prussian papers we encounter occasionally, under the apparently smooth and innocent expressions of a finished diplomatist, poignant sarcasms, highly flavoured bon-mots, merciless raillery of the duved canaille. In the Austrian documents, on the contrary, the prevaling tone is a certain affectation of probity, a stern seriousness, and a paterna bonhomic. And this is natural: the Hapsburgs have always openly exercised their absolutist profession; their language accorded with their acts; while the blies." The document containing these words was Camarilla of Berlin sought relief, as it were, from the rôle of liberal which it assumed on occasion in the secret indulgence of a sneer at its dupes. It is an inconceivable mistake to suppose that a constitutional thought ever entered the brains of the Prussian dynasty. The representative system, according to an expression much relished at Potsdam, is "an exaggeration, a pernicious consequence of France and England" (we quote textually) "assumes Protestantism." The maxim of divine right has always guided the Crowns of Berlin and Vienna: only the Prussian Crown acts like a hypocrite and a cheat, the other to combat ideas. As to the mateby surreptitious means. Its views are ambitious, rial combat between armies, it is subject to the its paths tortuous. It has tried to supplant Austria, "to invest with her political and military organisation the North and South of Germany, and as such a result would be for Germany, it is even to surround all Germany as with a chain." (Prussian Memoir of 1822.) Listen to what this honest which the triumph of Anglo-French constitutional Government says of itself in a note drawn up in 1822, by order of the King. "By common accord with Austria (thus reasons the Prussian state paper), "the Prussian Government will apply itself to destroy throughout all Germany the representative system. But it will take care to leave to Austria the initiative of of her enemies. It is now understood by all Governrestrictive measures. The petty sovereigns are alway jealous of their sovereignty; they regard with distrust the intervention of the Great Powers in their affairs. Unable to prevent this jealousy, it will be prudent to give it vent against Austria. By this the documents we have cited, we note three points. policy the influence of Prussia will be more securely I. Constitutionalism in the eyes of the King of prepared."... "The only form of government," Prussia is a revolutionary principle: unlimited

says another passage, " which can assure the grandeur and the influence of Prussia, excludes for ever constitutional ideas. We must therefore not only combat the representative system prevailing in the South of Germany, but discredit by every means political writers attached to the constitutional principle. It is only in this manner that authors who write in the Prussian interest will be able to make Prussia universally distinguished as the model State destined to assume the Hegemonia over Germany."

The Government of Berlin, while thus pursuing its ambitious projects, proclaimed, nevertheless, the necessity of "coming to an understanding with Austria about a vigorous military constitution of Germany," in order that "in case of an European revolution, the German thrones might be powerfully armed" against external and internal dangers.

After the fall of the Legitimist throne in France, and the increase of power in the middle classes in England (1830-1831), the Prussian Government set about elaborating a plan of resistance to the invasion of the liberal spirit. At that time of excitement the possibility of a general war was presumed at Berlin and St. Petersburg. The Absolutist Powers sought to concert a common plan of operations against England and France, where, in their opinion, "the revolutionary element" had gained the upper hand. No one not decorated with a Prussian or Russian order will pretend that the middle classes, who stopped short at a Reform Bill, and raised Louis Philippe to power, were very flerce revolutionists. But by a Court like that of Prussia, every constitution is regarded as "either the end or the beginning of a revolution." The British nation would perhaps do well to learn by heart the documents concerning the Austro-Prussian intrigues after 1830. This country means now to go to war with the Czar; we may soon hear of the Prussian Government offering us its alliance. Let us remember in good time that the Prussian dynasty is only a feeler thrown out by Russia-that crab-like monster, which would entangle

Three citations will illustrate the opinion we have

A diplomatic paper of the year 1832, addressed by the Prussian General Von Borstell to the Adjutant-General of the King of Prussia, says:-" The security of the State is never guaranteed by constitutional forms, or representations of the people; everywhere, on the contrary, it is endangered by Constitutionalism." (Memorandum containing propositions on the manner of treating legislative assemblies and the Liberals of Germany.) Another document of the same date, drawn up by the Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Von Bernstorff, speaks of the measures which will have to be taken in case of a war with England and France. In this project, liberal promises are again recommended as a means of inflaming among the German people, in case of an inevitable war, a general enthusiasm, which will greatly contribute to alleviate the burden of sacrifices they will be called upon to bear." Recalling sarcastically the value of promises which are not to be kept, the Note adds, that by a skilful policy "His Majesty will be able again to produce the same results as were effected by the Manifesto of 1813 and 1815."

About 1834 the Prussian Government was so entirely in accord with the policy of the Emperor of Russia, that in a State paper now before us, we find the Hohenzollern emphatically lauded at the expense of the House of Hapsburg. The Czar Nicholas congratulates Frederick William III. that, in consequence of the efforts of the Cabinet of Berlin, "all the petty states of Germany are now assisting Prussia to restrict more and more the rights of legislative assemframed for the eventuality of a war, and was designed to form the basis of a negotiation for an alliance between Russia, Prussia, and other German Courts, against England and France! What noble projects were then entertained by the Czar and the King of Prussia! Listen to one of the most curious passages :- "A war of Germany against in our time a double character. On the one hand it has to combat bayonets and cannon-balls, on chances of war. . . . . Let us suppose the case of Germany succumbing. . . . Deplorable not to be compared to the pernicious consequences principles would inflict upon the German Confederation collectively, and upon each state individually. Hence Germany, in case of a rupture with France and England, must direct her attention chiefly to the struggle she will have to make against the principles ments, that the greatest dangers by which they are threatened come from that quarter." We flatter ourselves we have learned to read. Well, in perusing with the most diligent attention

# SATURDAY,

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Prussian policy is mirrored we remark three distinct epochs, corresponding to the years 1813, 1830, and 1848 .....

From the close of the wars against Napoleon to the French Revolution of July, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, united in the Holy Alliance, turned their attention to the liberal ideas of Germany without a thought of France and England. At home, in Germany, they perceived an imminent danger in that popular movement which they had been forced to avail themselves of against Napoleon. It was the interest of the Czar to prevent the contagious example of representative constitutions which had been exhibited after 1813 in the charters of a number of German States from spreading towards the frontiers of Russia. The Hapsburgs were concerned that the monarchical principle, by which alone they held together their incoherent dominions, should not again be endangered. The Prussian dynasty, not less ambitious than absolutist, was anxious that no other Government should appear more liberal than itself. The Court of Berlin sought indeed to extend its dynastic influence, but it would not do this at the cost of its own unlimited sovereignty. It held in equal horror the Revolution and Constitutionalism. At the Congress of Carlsbad (1819), convoked by Austria and Prussia, Count Bernstorff, the Prussian minister, drew up with Prince' Metternich the following statement:-"Representative constitutionalism is in contradiction to the principles of the German Confederation; no prince is competent to accord rights which limit the princely sovereignty; constitutionalism is but the end or the beginning of a revolution." (Sitting of August 13, 1819.)

Between 1813 and 1830, the Holy Alliance, we were saying, was little apprehensive of the institutions of France and England governed as they then were, the one by the Tories after the continental sys-

I. Constitutionalism in the eyes of the King of

monarchy is the only sufficient guarantee of the safety of the throne.

II. Liberal promises, under the constitutional mask, are held to be useful as means of obtaining from the German people the sacrifices necessary to the safety of the thrones.

III. The immutable object is the annihilation of the constitutional principle: if there be no other possibility, by war against constitutional Powers. l'erish Germany that the right divine may be saved!

Such was the policy of the Prussian Court from 1815 till shortly before the Revolution of 1848. In a third article we shall describe the Prussian policy since the German Revolution; glancing, by the way, at the singular activity of the Minister of the British Court to the King of Prussia in 1849,

[Errata.-In the first article on "The German Powers," first column, last line, instead of " unofficial," read " semi-official." Second column, line 22 from below, instead of " Prussian," read " Russian." Fourth column, line 25, instead of "near neighbours," read " near royal neighbours."]

### THE GOVERNING CLASSES. No. XIX.

H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES. WE all know the story of the child, who governed the mother, who governed the minister, who governed the mistress, who governed the king. In some such way, the Prince of Wales, though at present but a gentle and beautiful boy of twelve, may be properly included among the Governing Classes. Is that an indecorous suggestion of Court influence?

Horror of Court influence is at present very popular; and, among the people, not very comprehensible. We can understand the aristocracy, or a section of the aristocracy, cultivating a dread of Court influence. We can understand the motives of the Whigs dethroning James II., conspiring against William III., converting the two first Georges into Doges, and crushing the third George into insanity. But for the British people of this generation to be shrieking at Court influence, is about as judicious as it would have been for the British people of the last generation to have mobbed William IV. when he was hurrying down to Palace-yard, to intimidate the British aristocracy into a Reform Bill. Yet, very curiously, the present agitation against Court influence originates in newspapers indisposed to the supremacy of an aristocracy. The Court is railed at by the ingenuous democrats of ludicrously liberal journals, as though it were a notorious fact, familiar to ourselves, and patent to Europe, that we are an elaborately self-governed people. The Liberalsthose who, not enjoying its advantages, would break down the Venetian constitution-might have some slight excuse for their simple terrors, if the House of Commons, which can at least ask questions, though they are never really answered, were now sitting. But a recess, in which the only topic is our foreign policy, is a period in which secret diplomacy has full swing; when a Government, which consists exclusively of the aristocracy, or of their champions, governs absolutely irresponsible. With the conduct of the British Government in the East, the British people has as little to do, as has the Russan people with the conduct of the Russian Government in the East; if there is any difference in the respectability of the position of the two peoples, it being in favour of the Russians, who at least cheer their Czar, while the English, with the degraded hamour of impotent spite, caricature their Prime Minister. In a recess, in regard to foreign policy, the English aristocracy enjoys all the dignity of a sway of Absolutist Government; the people's privilege of a free press, not considerably affecting the aristocracy's independence, since there is only one national daily paper with a circulation of above four figures, and that paper is the organ of the Governing Classes. Under such circumstances, it might be supposed that the British people : who for some years have idolised their Court, and with more justice than a loyal people ever yet had; who must believo that in a Court there must be more noble nationality than in a class: would have rejoiced upon being assured that a Court whom they trusted was tempering the policy of a Prime Minister whom they suspected, and of a Foreign Secretary whom they contemned. But no: the British people trades on in the conviction that they, and not a bureau, are negotiating with Russia; and their enlightened morning press, which they never happen to read, writes doughty inuendoes, that this is a limited monarchy, and that-O, amazing democrats!---the aristocracy must not be interfered with! In the history of Political literatureand that of this bewildered country is often very funny-never was there anything so sublimely silly. These surprising journalists would, however, urge that their restricted raid is not against the Crown, but against Prince Albert; convicted of imbecility, it is, in fact, their defence that they are impertment to the Prince because they are so loyal to the Queen. They leave us to infer - generous journalists-(though, why a dull dog with a thousand readers

tongue, is not easily to be ascertained)—that even should her Majesty determine to interest herself in her people, and to stand between her people and the bureau, they would not demand her abdication. They believe, so vast is their confidence in the caste which plunders them, and which accords political votes to 1,000,000 out of a nation of 30,000,000, and which sustains a House of Commons, into which any man can buy his way, but in which only themselves can hold place, that the Queen ought to reign, not to govern; and there is some national understanding that the nation is to be loyal, on condition of the Sovereign being a nullity-an ingenious arrangement adroitly effected by our chivalrous aristocracy.

"The appearance of power," said Fox, in a dictum which has been cherished by the Whigs, "is all that a Sovereign of this country can expect;" and though it has been now and then ascertained that her Majesty, at intervals, insists upon such precautions as may prevent the honour of her name and nation being tarnished by the tricks of foreign secretaries revelling in the cheats of secret diplomacy, the little liberal journalists magnanimously consent to overlook such manifestations in the perhaps not altogether authorised assurance that these are unaccountable episodes-not an organised system. But what the little liberal journalists, speaking in the name of the people which never heard of them, will not stand-this they distinctly declare in italics-is, that Prince Albert should have any influence over the monarch who is permitted now and then to govern; and even that great national journal (which is horrified at the immoral inconsistency of the career of Mr. Disraeli, but which ingenuously contradicts itself every other day) which has undertaken the defence of the Prince from a newspaper screech that has found no echo whatever in the country, has accompanied its vindication with a menace, and has proved that the Prince has not exercised power because, being a foreigner, England, which governs itself, would not allow of foreign intervention. The confusion of constitutional principles, exposed in such a controversy, is a curious illustration of the marvellous perfectibility arrived at in our century and in our country.

This controversy, however, being serious, with probable effects, which may outlive the day, upon Crown and aristocracy, it might be worth the effort of Great Britons to struggle out of shams and to face facts. When the Crown and the people do not thoroughly understand one another, as surely they should in such a reign as Queen Victoria's, both suffer, and only one party gains-the aristocracy. There is much talk of her Majesty's "discretion," and of the Prince's "good sense:" is it then true that the proper working of our glorious constitution is left to the chances of individual proprieties? It might be shown that it is not the interest of the British people to suppress their Sovereign, when their Sovereign is a splendid and a good Sovereign. But, assuming the political wisdom of gagging the Queen, for the comfort of the aristocracy, a practical question would be this:--If it be true that the Ministers are responsible to the House of Commons for the public actions of the Government, what matters it what the Sovereign chooses to do privately? The question implies that the Sovereign is always in favour of a policy which is not the policy of the House of Commons; and the constitutional safeguard is supposed to be, that as a Ministry cannot do what the House of Commons objects to, a Ministry, selecting between Crown and Commons, will resign rather than oblige a Sovereign who has determined on an unpopular policy. "The power," says Lord John Russell of George the Third's influence over Lord North, "of a single will was indeed conspicuous; but the constitution afforded ample means of overruling that will had the Minister obeyed his own convictions, or had the House of Commons been true to the people they represented." But what of a case in which the individual will backs the popular will, and seeks to constrain into right action a bureaucratic aristocracy, governing by force of a corrupt, or corruptly-elected, House of Commons? That may or may not be the case at present: it may, however, be the case at some future period, as it was in 1830, and at some future period the people may miss the support the present Court might be inclined to give. But at the present period, what if Queen Victoria does write private despatches, and the Prince telegraphs to King Leopold, and nudges Lord Aberdeen? The House of Commons governs us, it is supposed; at least, that is the constitution: and relying upon our independent representatives, we shall be strong enough to treat Court machinations as the burly husband treated his Xantippe who beat him-it amused her, and did not hurt him. And, if on the other hand, Court influence does affect the course of human affairs, and Court influence is not approved of, should not some better machinery be resorted to for constitutional preservation than that of journalists, who, however they rave, cannot get should dictate in politics, while a Prince, with a is in favour of a policy which is not an English [reputation.-ED. "LEADER."]

great position and a great intellect, is to hold his policy-a supposition which must of course be insane-then the snarls of inconsequent democrats and impatient Tories would but produce this effect: -compress Court influence into more caution, and make it only the more powerful. If the Great, Britons are in earnest in their admiration for their Queen, they might, one would think, confide in her so far as to believe that she prefers England to Russia. If they do not confide in her, they might be less vehement in their loyalty.

The affectation of distinguishing between the Queen and the Prince is hardly worthy of so peculiarly free a people as we are, with so outspoken, though so limitedly circulating a liberal press, as we enjoy. The Prince is the Court; and what the Court has done in British politics, must have been done at the instance of the Prince. No one knows what the Court has done; not till 100 years after his death will this enlightened nation know anything of the precise policy of the great Prince Albert, who, as his special mission, undertook to soften the manners of the English with ingenious arts. But that he has a precise policy, is very probable; it would be very odd if a man, with such a position for observation, with such universal knowledge, and with such philosophical sympathies, had not very strong, and very compact views, upon the best methods of benefiting the English nation; and for my part, I think-I, who do not perceive the advantages of the British constitution-that he would be unwise, and ungenerous, if, having powers of doing good, he hesitated to exercise them, out of an apprehension of the bad grammar of Mr. Grunt, who, as editor of the "Dribble," regards himself as legitimate guardian of our noble institutions-which he has not the least idea of. The objection to Prince Albert seems to be an objection offered upon a sudden discovery of the Prince's ability; and the rage of the Tories at the Prince Consort suggests a reminiscence of the mortification of the Cardinals, who lifted into St. Peter's chair the Pope who had only affected caducity. Prince Albert did not show himself to the English people until two or three years ago; and the great powers, statesmanlike and administrative, which he then, and has since exhibited, instead of being the occasion of national pride, would seem, both with the aristocracy and with the journalists, who can't get to Court, to have inspired disgust and distrust. Unexpectedly a great man presented himself, and so complete is the decay of hero-worship, that instead of being wel-comed, there is some danger that terrified Mediocrity will succeed in inducing us to repudiate him. The Grunts of journalism mumble that he is a foreigner. As if there was nationality in England! Scotchmen and Irishmen, hating one another, and both detested and despised by Englishmen, rule the English press; the first man in the House of Commons is a Spanish Jew; and our royal house does not boast, or has not to deplore, an ounce of English blood. It is because Prince Albert is a foreigner that he is so enlightened. it is because he has no connexion with, and cannot know sympathy with, the British aristocracy, that the people should trust him, and, by the influence of that trust, wean him from possible family follies and dynastic delusions into a Court Championship of popular rights.

The heir do the throne must just now be hearing a good deal of the civilised manner in which o enlightened press is bullying our beloved Court. The Prince of Wales has very much Master 10mbey's cast of countenance : and ponders probably upon the peculiarities of a press, supposed to represent the public, which cheers one year and hoots the next year the same personage, that personage re-maining in the interval unchanged in character. The Prince of Wales enjoys, in tutors and in books, a royal road to learning; but does not contemporaneous experience suggest the advantage that it would be to him, and to the people over whom he is one day to reign, if he were supplied with a definition of the royal prerogative ? At present the popular notion seems to be this : that because the people are impotent, therefore the Crown should be impotent. Fortunate aristocracy, which can induce such a Realm to have faith in such a Royalty!

#### NON-ELECTOR.

[At the conclusion of this series of articles we desire to warn our readers: that "Non-Elector " has taken the foreign view of English politics and English politicians: that we invited his dissertations simply out of a desire to see the judgment of that Posterity which is supposed to be encountered in contemporaries, -- out of a desire, in fact, to adhere to our rule of hearing all sides:-and that, therefore, we are no more to be held responsible for the writings of " Non-Elector" than for the writings of any other correspondent.

We believe the series is shortly to be republished in a collected form. Assuredly the independent and original thought, the vigorous and trenchant style, and the fierce earnestness of purpose, read ? Were it indeed a fact that the present Court entitle "Non-Elector" to a more than cphemeral

# Titerature.

litter 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.

WE had occasion recently to speak of the Rewards of Literature, and this week a curious illustration comes to hand. Let a man win a victory or so, and his descendants will sit in the House of Lords to give the nation the entailed benefit of their unwise counsel. But let him win never so many victories over ignorance-let him teach and delight millions-he founds no family, he leaves no fortune. From obscurity he sprang, into it his family vanishes. It was but the other day that a descendant of the great CORNELLE was discovered in France. The Emperor, knowing his countrymen, immediately pensioned her. Will our Government pension the descendant of Dr For, recently discovered? Our Government can, from its niggard stores allotted to Liteature, Science, and Art, pension widows who have houses in Belgravia, and live "in the first circles," but if it finds one penny for a greatgrandson of DE Fox, the amazement of the nation will be immense.

Yes, it is true, and think of it all ye readers of Robinson Crusoe ! the greatgrandson of the man whose imagination has enchanted you, whose creations have been the long familiar household words of Europe, is now alive, destitute, seventy-seven years old, with a wife aged sixty-nine, and five children alive out of fifteen, one of whom helps the mother in her washing, the others not able to do more than support themselves.

The first public intimation of his existence was made in 1830, in Wilson's Life and Times of Daniel De Foe, from which we borrow an extract :--Life and Times of Daniel De Foe, from which we borrow an extract :-- " "From information communicated by the representative of the family in the male line, it appears that De Foe had a grandson named Samuel De Foe, but from which of his sons he descended, is, it seems, uncertain; although most likely from the one who continued in England. Upon the lot of April, 1743, he was put apprentice to a calico-printer in London, and afterwards followed the business upon his own account; but marrying a person who hept the Royal Tun, at West Ham, in Enger, he removed thither, and conducted the con-corn antil the death of his wife, when he retarned to calico-printing. He afterwards mar-ried a second wife, proved unfortunate in business, and dying at Pediar's acre; in November, 1783, was buried in Lambeth churchyard. By the first marriage, he had three sons: Samuel, who died young; Richard, bred a carpenter; and Joseph, who came to an un-timely end. By his second wife, but ran away and went to sea. He afterwards became cook on board the Samue story of war, and was living; in that employment, in 1787. Samuel has been dead some years. Joseph was brought up a caulker, and went to sea. He mar-ried, and had two unlikers; one of whom, bearing his own name, is still living. James, the younger sea, is fixing at this time, a box-maker and undertaker, in Hungerford-market, London: He has had a family of eight children, of whom two are now living, James and Princilla." Priscilla."

Mr. Witson gave a copy of his book to this James De Foe, having established his identity. And CHABLES KNIGHT-ever ready when generous work is to be done-has satisfied himself of this identity by examination of his account books and marriage certificate. In 1846, JAMES DE FOE, then in business in Bedford-street, failed, and was compelled to divide his effects among his creditors. Since then he has struggled against poverty, bearing a most excellent character.

We have stated briefly the few facts within our knowledge, and now leave the matter with the Press. Our brethren need not be told that the author of Robinson Crusse was also a journalist; for the name of DE FoE is enough in itself to move every English pen in behalf of his descendant.

The oft-quoted phrase, "Knowledge is power," attributed to BACON, has

approacheth nearest to the similitude of the divine rule; that the sovereignty of man lieth commandment over the reason, belief, and understanding of men; that there is no power on earth which setteth up a throne in the spirits and souls of men, but knowledge and hid in knowledge; and that the true end of knowledge is a restitution and reinvesting, in great part, of man to the sovereignty and power; can it be contended, we repeat, that Lord Bacon could have meant anything else than that 'knowledge is power?' We have some reason to suspect that Sir Edward Bulwer did not examine these passages for himself, and in this instance fell into 'the error of the would-be scholar,' which he se gravely rebakes, and quoted himself 'second-hand,' or, at least, finding, or being informed, that Lord Bacon did not use the specified words, which he regarded as an important discovery, he hastened, without due examination, to a conclusion, against the plainest import of very plain English words, as they appear to us. Our author seems to be in earnest in this matter. He is not willing to trust the discussion to Dr. Ricabocca and the parson alone. He adds to the text

but with so many explanatious and distinctions, that nothing could be more unjust to his general meaning than to attempt to eramp into a sentence what it cost him a volume to define. Thus, if in one page he appears to confound knowledge with power, in another he sets them in the strongest antithesis to each other, as follows:—"Adeo, signanter Deus opera potentia et sapientia discriminavit." But it would be as unfair to Bacon to convert into an aphorism the sentence that discriminates between knowledge and power, as it is to

convert into an apherism any sentence that confounds them.' Book iv. chap. xix. "We do not perceive why Sir Edward Bulwer quotes, in the above note, a Latin passage from the treatise on 'Advancement of Learning,' when that treatise was written, not in Latin, but in English. He gives no note of reference to the passage, but it is evidently the same which we found with some difficulty, and which most clearly has a meaning far dif. ferent from that which it might appear to have, when torn from the context, and in a Latin dress.\* In the passage referred to, it is most evident that Lord Bacon did not intend either to confound power and knowledge, or to place them in opposition to each other. He first attempted to show the difference between human learning and 'sapience,' or divine wisdom. He then draws a distinction, in the works of the creation, between those which he refers to power and those to wisdom, and concludes, as stated in Bulwer's Latin quotation :---'Such a note of difference it pleased God to put upon the works of power and the works of wisdom."

In the Scottish Review, a temperance organ of great ability, there is an interesting paper on Shakspeare's Sots, although, we fancy, none but temperance advocates will see more in it than a literary paper. There is also a good article on Chloroform, which, as the writer justly says, affords one of the flat contradictions to the old cry about novelties being rejected by the medical profession because they are new. Chloroform was at once put to the test of experiment, and at once adopted. Opposition there was, but it was not formidable from the medical side. Here-as ever-Religion was made the great obstacle to progress. The writer of the paper under consideration has grouped together a series of illustrations of the blind bigotry which has from time to time endeavoured to obstruct progress :---

"The establishment of the Royal Society was opposed because it was asserted that 'ex-perimental philosophy was subversive of the Christian faith,' and the readers of D'Israeli will remember the telescope and microscope were stigmatised as 'atheistical inventions which perverted our organ of sight, and made everything appear in a false light.' What ridicule and incredulity, what persevering opposition greeted Jenner when he commenced the practice of vaccination! So late as 1806 the Anti-Vaccination Society denounced the discovery as of vacchation 1 So late as 1806 the Anti-Vacchation Society denounced the discovery as 'the cruel despotic tyranny of forcing cow-pox misery on the innocent babes of the poor—a gross violation of religion, morality, law and humanity.' Learned mon gravely printed statements that vaccinated children became 'ox-faced,' that abscesses broke <u>out</u> to 'indi-cate spronting horns,' that the countenance was gradually 'transmuted into the visage of a cow, the voice into the bellowing of bulls,'—that the character underwent 'strange muta-tions from quadripedan sympathy.' The influence of religion was called in to strengthen the prejudices of ignorance, and the operation was denounced from the pulpit as 'diabolical,' as a 'tempting of God's providence, and therefore a heinous crime,' as 'an invention of Satan,'a 'daring and profane violation of our holy religion,' a 'wresting out of the hands of the Almighty the divine dispensation of providence, and its abettors were charged with the Almighty the divine dispensation of providence, and its abettors were charged with sorcery and atheism.' When fanners were first introduced to assist in winnowing corn from the chaff by producing artificial currents of air, it was argued that 'winds were raised by God alone, and it was irreligious in man to attempt to raise wind for himself and by efforts of his own.' One Scottish clergyman actually refused the holy communion to those of his parishioners who thus irreverently raised the 'Devil's wind.' Few of the readers of 'Old been, as our readers know, rejected by Burwas in My Novel, on the ground Mortality ' will forget honest Mause Headrigg's indignation when it was proposed that her son Cuddie should work in the barn wi's new-fangled machine for dighting the corn frae the chaff, thus impiously thwarting the will of Divine Providence, by raising wind for your leddyship's ain particular use by human art, instead of soliciting it by prayer, or waiting patiently for whatever dispensation of wind Providence was pleased to send upon the sheeling hill.' A route has just been successfully opened by Panama between the Atlantic and Pacific. In 1588 a priest named Acosta wrote respecting a proposal then made for this very undertaking, that it was his opinion that 'human power should not be allowed to cut through the strong and impenetrable bounds which God has put between the two oceans, of mountains and iron rocks, which can stand the fury of the raging seas. And, if it were possible, it would appear to me very just, that we should fear the vengeance of Heaven for attempting to improve that which the Creator in his Almighty will and providence has ordained from the creation of the world.' When forks were first introduced into England some preachers denounced their use 'as an insult on Providence, not to touch our meat with our fingers.' Many worthy people had great scruples about the emancipation of the negroes, because they were the descendants of Ham, on whom the curse of perpetual slavery had been pronounced. Many others plead against the measure for the emancipation of the Jews, that the bill is a direct attempt to contravert the will and word of God, and to revoke his sentence upon the chosen but rebellious people."

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that he not only never did use the phrase, but that he was "the last man in the world to have said anything so pert and shallow." As a matter of fact BACON did not use the phrase; but the phrase is, nevertherless, the abbreviated formula of several passages in his writings. The idea is BACONIAN, if not the phrase. General D. F. JAMIESON, in the January number of the Southern Quarterly Review, noticing My Novel, has discussed this point with such completeness, that we borrow the whole passage :--

"No one, we presume, will affirm that Lord Bacon used those very words, the discovery of which fact seems to have ' astonished' Lenny Fairfield so much-or deny that they were used by the maker of the index to his works, in giving a summary of the author's views on the advantages of learning; but it is somewhat surprising to see Sir Edward Bulwer gravely contest the propriety of using those words as expressing Lord Bacon's meaning in the passages to which they refer. They certainly mean that, or they mean nothing. ""From moral virtue," observes Lord Bacon, 'let us pass on to matter of power and

commandment, and consider whether in right reason there be any comparable with that wherewith knowledge investeth and crowneth man's nature.' (And after certain illus-trations to show what he means by commandment over the will, he continues,) 'But the commandment of knowledge is yet higher than the commandment over the will, for it is a commandment over the reason, belief, and understanding of men, which is the highest part of the mind, and give the law to the mind itself; for there is no power on earth which setieth up a throne or chair of state in the spirits and souls of men, and in their cogitations, imaginations, opinions, and beliefs, but knowledge and learning; (and further on he adds,) 'So the just and lawful sovereignty over men's understandings is that which appeareth nearest to the similitude of the divine rule.' (In a different essay he observes,) 'The sovereignty of man lieth hid in knowledge,' (and in still another essay he says,) 'And therefore, it is not the pleasure of curiosity, nor the quiet of resolution, nor the raising of the spirit, nor the victory of wit, nor faculty of speech, nor lucre of profession, nor ambition of honour or fame, or inablement for business, that are the true ends of knowledge; some of these being more worthy than others, though all inferior and degenerate; but it is a resti-

tution and reinvesting, in great part, of man to the sovereignty and power.' "Can it be seriously contended, that when Lord Bacon uses such language as this-let ns consider whether in right reason there be any comparable with that power wherewith knowledge investeth and crowneth man's nature—that the commandment of knowledge is a learning; that the just and lawful sovereignty over men's understandings is that which

\* The author of the "Analysis" to the "Advancement of Learning," uses for the same passages, an equivalent expression, "Learning is power."

From the same article we borrow a passage respecting the safety of Chloroform :----

"The most serious objection to the use of Chloroform, whether in surgery or midwifery, is the danger which is supposed to attend its use. In several cases death has followed the use of Chloroform so closely that the drug has appeared to be the sole and direct cause of more than 400,000 doses have been sold by the druggists to the surgeons of that city, and only ong death from its use has resulted—when we reflect how generally it has been used in all parts of the world by persons who had to obtain their knowledge of its effects by experiment, and were therefore unskilled in its administration-romembering also that it has very frequently been used in an impure state, and combined with deleterious substancesthe wonder is, not that some few deaths may be traced to the use of a new remedy, but that they should have been so few. Considerable doubt still hangs over the few exceptional cases,

<sup>\*</sup> The word sapienties, in the quotation in the note, does not mean "knowledge," as he supposes, but wisdom." We have no means at hand of referring to a Latin translation of the Advancement of Learning, but if there is any other passage than the one we have sup-posed, it has escaped our recollection and our closest scrutiny.

for death will sometimes occar in the most unexpected, inexplicable manner under the most trivial operations. Patients have died suddenly just before some contemplated operation was commenced, and had Chloroform been given, it would assuredly have been set down as the fatal agent. Several such cases may be found in the pamphlets of Dr. Simpson, two of them being capecially remarkable, as they, by what might be termed a mere accident, narrowly escaped being the first cases in which Chloroform was tried; death followed a simple puncture in one case, a simple incision in the other, and in both without any apparent cause. Had Chloroform been given to these patients, death would doubtless have been attributed to its influence, and probably its use would have been entirely abandoned."

We have to correct an error in our last number, which may have a determining influence on purchasers. In the review of TUEREBMAN's Month in England, the price is stated to be ten shillings; the price is six shillings. Ever since the advertisement duty has been removed, we have consulted the wants of our readers, and added the prices of books noticed whenever we could conveniently ascertain them.

#### A DREAM-EPIC.

Baller. Part the First. By the author of "The Boman." Smith, Elder, and Co. THIS is unquestionably a bad poem, and yet it is a poem which more than any we can name deserves the critic's attention, touching, as it does, either directly or indirectly, all the questions which philosophic criticism is called upon to discuss. It is the work of a post, and therefore not to be disregarded; it is a mistake, but the mistakes of poets are lessons to critics. It has the one primary requisite, the one fundamental characteristic of all true poems, but it has at the same time nearly every vice and every failing which ingenious failure can congregate into a volume : it is false, foolish, dull, obscure, vague, purposeless, incoherent. Harsh words these, but we cannot soften them in presence of so ambitious a failure.

We have said that the author of Balder is a poet. It is impossible to open this volume at any page, and not perceive that a genuine faculty is throwing out musical images as a plant throws out its buds and flowers, easily, spontaneously, abundantly. The creative play of imagination is not to be mistaken. And therefore, if a poem were made of "passages"-if elegant extracts were to determine judgment-one might say of Balder, as was said of Death's Jest Book by Beddoes, "Here is a new and marvellous poem!"—and the extracts would seem to justify such a verdict. It is not so, however; it is "quite the reverse of so." The reading of this volume is a labour. Through pages of musical imagery and incontinent splendour, the fatigued and baffled mind moves with a sort of exasperation at the purposeless absurdity forming the substance of the poem. The musician preludes always, and never plays. His fingers wander among the chords, producing every now and then some fragment of melody so ravishing that the greedy ear listens in expectation, but the melody is never continued; instead of a symphony, we have monotonous fragments. That the poet's imagination is active-active to the point of disease-is but too evident; and those poets and critics who talk so grandly of Imagination as the " beall and the end-all" of poetry may see here the reductio ad absurdum of their creed. For, although it is indisputable that the creative "shaping" faculty of Imagination is the necessary complement and crown to all the poets faculties, it is also true that the crown without a kingdom is but a glittering bauble. The poet is not great by the unrestricted activity of Imagination, but by the plastic power which shapes realities into forms of beauty.

To make this clearer, let us glance at dreams, wherein Imagination is actively shaping images, fantastic and congruous, out of its own self-supplied materials, unrestricted by any confrontation with realities. The same activity prevails in Reverie. The mind moves along with easy swiftness through the strangest combinations, one suggestion linking itself on to another in vanishing sequence of thought, not in the sequence of reality. In proportion to this oblivion of reality is the uncontrolled ease of thought. But you do not call dreams poems—you do not accept reveries as philosophy. The power of the poet and philosopher is shown not in this barren activity of unwedded thought, but in the fecundity which issues from the actual embrace of thought with reality. It is not in the thinking—*that* may be " but an idle waste of thought"—but in the co-ordination of thoughts confronted with realities, that the real value and vigour of the poet and philosopher are shown. Balder is a dream-epic. It professes indeed to be the autograph of the poet's history:

the death agony—a story capable of intense poetic treatment. But Balder uses his crime just as one in a dream would use it—a fantasy leading to no result, colouring no after thought. He was incontinent of speech before, he is incontinent after; we see no change. The whole volume consists of thousands of lines of unrestricted talk; metaphors and descriptions, evanescent shades of thought, bold apostrophes, and grand-sounding verses, all linked together by no stronger bond than the suggestion of the moment, nowhere gathered up into even episodes of substantive unity.

We have described the story of Balder. Slight and fantastic as it is, the machinery is still slighter. It amounts to the wearisomely ludicrous to see page after page the constant iteration of "Scene—A Study. Balder solus," followed as it always is by "Scene—The vacant study. Through the half open door is heard the voice of Amy." The first two and twenty scenes, occupying eighty-three pages of the volume, are in sober seriousness nothing but an alternation of these two forms. Balder is always solus, either writing or in the attitude about to write; and Amy is always solus, either writing or in the attitude about to write; and Amy is always singing through the half open door—which the impatient reader fain would shut. Now, if there is any "design" under this tediousness, we beg to assure the poet that the design is quite obscure, and not at all compensatory of the tediousness. Our business with it is of another kind. We point to it to show how unskilful and how thoughtless he has been with regard to the tissue of his work; as if embroidery were the all in all.

Tried by any test known to us, Balder is an immense mistake. It is very dull; one reads it with severe labour. It is very obscure in passages. As far as we can understand its drift, the philosophy of it is simply foolish. The fault there may lie in us; but we have cracked hard nuts in our time, and if we fail to understand the poet's meaning, it is not immodest in us to suppose that a vast majority of readers will be in somewhat the same condition. Be the story charged with what meanings it may, the poet has told his story so badly as to be both unintelligible and uninteresting.

We are obliged to return to our starting point: it is a dream spic. What dreams are to life, this poem is to poetry. But having thus indicated its great faults, let us before concluding dwell upon its undeniable merits. It has dream-activity of thought and imagery—and dream-beauty too. The poetic faculty—the faculty of song—is there. Imagery novel and prodigal, music varied and sustained, power of expression quite remarkable, prevent our throwing the volume aside, as its defects would otherwise suggest. It is laborious reading, but we pick flowers by the way. Such as this pretty thought so finely expressed :—

| " Murmurs music sad and low                                                                                           | Ny.   | • . • |     | ,   | •   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|-----|-----|-----|
| So sad and low as if this tower did keep                                                                              | , .   |       |     |     |     |
| The murmur of the years as a sea shell<br>The sea."                                                                   | ÷     |       | •   |     |     |
| Or this :                                                                                                             | • •   | · ·   | . • |     |     |
| "As the earth                                                                                                         |       | •     |     | •   | ٠.  |
| Revolves, and we behold the vanished stars                                                                            |       | •     |     |     | . • |
| Of yesterday, that, being fixed, remain<br>To gladden lands beyond us, so in thee                                     | •     |       | •   |     | •   |
| Immortal) this our Present wondering comes.                                                                           | ·.    |       |     | •   |     |
| Round to the sight of long lost Paradise,<br>And all the primal act."                                                 |       |       |     | · . |     |
| Or this fancy :                                                                                                       |       |       |     |     | •   |
| "I see the Poet's heart                                                                                               | 1 . · |       | ••• | •   | :   |
| Is but a gem whereon his wee doth cut                                                                                 | , ·   |       | 1   | • : |     |
| Her image, and he turns upon the world                                                                                |       |       |     |     |     |
| And sets his signet there in high wild shapes.                                                                        |       |       |     | •   | •   |
| The necessary convex of a wound<br>As miserably deep."                                                                |       |       |     |     |     |
| This is very fine :                                                                                                   | ·     |       | •   | •   |     |
| "Hast thou no guess                                                                                                   |       |       | ;   | : . |     |
| Like the dim pictures of a blind man's brain,<br>Or as altho' thou touch me in the dark<br>I know the hand is thine." | •     | •     |     | · , |     |
|                                                                                                                       |       |       |     |     |     |
| This is like a strain from our old dramatists :                                                                       |       |       |     |     |     |

"Oft have I admired

#### "I have fived what I have sung And it shall live."

But men believe in the reality of dreams—until they wake, and then, being same, they know them to be dreams. This author has not awoke yet; no, not even in reading over this immense reverie, not even in coldly correcting the proof sheets does he appear to have come to the consciousness of the vague and foolish tissue upon which he has embroidered such abundant imagery.

If we take up *Balder* as a poem, telling the story of a life, or symbolically unfolding some truth, what do we find? A story that is pitiable, if taken literally, and if taken symbolically, too obscure for interest. Balder is a poet who has written a new epic—one that shall regenerate the world. He has sounded the depths of all knowledge, though you wouldn't know it unless he told you so; he has drunk experience to the dregs, if you believe him, which you can't. Only one great experience remains—only one last thing to be known—and that is Death. Now, reader, what do you fancy this Faust-Manfred in his exhaustive wisdom resolves upon as the means of satisfying his huge lust for Death? Suicide? That were a common-place. He has a more cunning scheme. He murders his baby—and then the wife he loves. Is it not a true dream-conception?

We do not pause to make the many prosaic objections such an incident suggests as to how murdering his child can bring him nearer face to face with Death, than seeing a child die in a hospital, or as to what more than the experience of murder is to be gathered from such a deed. We only point to it as essentially the phantasm of a dream, not the conception of thought impregnating reality. There is a fine and well-known story of a painter who stabled his friend that he might paint the actual lineaments of When the poor waynerer on whom she looked Clothed in his tattered fortune did take rank A moment in her smile, and could not ask The alms his famine craved; the passing thief Had virtue in her service, and the clown Grace to be hers. The mained who chanced to meet Her far-off beauty on the way, aside Drew into shadow till she passed, nor begged Aught that might turn the light of her fair face. On the too conscious fault; and Lazarus Covered his sores with deeper sense of ill."

And here is a passage showing how old metaphors are grandly clothed :---

"Like a sailing eagle old Which with unwavering wings ontspread and wide Makes calm horizons in the slumbrous air Of cloudless noon and fills the silent heaven With the slow circulation of a course More placid than repose, this shining still And universal day revolves serene Around me, hasting not and uncompelled. But the tumultuous thought within my head Is a poor captive beast, that to and fro, Wild in the trepidation of mad pain Beats its red bars in blood. Gods ! how it climes This throbbing dungeon, leaps and falls and leaps In strong attempt, and strains a battered face Against the narrow outlets, gnaws the holds Of iron and shakes loud with desperate will The adamantine doors.

We will close with one of Amy's quaint wild strains :---

#### SCIENE II.

"The same. From the adjoining room, through the half-opened door, are heard the rocking of a cradle, and the voice of AMY.

> "Amy. The years they come, and the years they go Like winds that blow from sea to sea; From dark to dark they come and go, All in the dew-fall and the rain.

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Down by the stream there be two sweet willows, -Hush thee, babe, while the wild winds blow,-One hale, one blighted, two wedded willows All in the dew-fall and the rain.

- " She is blighted, the fair young willow, -Hush thee, babe, while the wild winds blow,-She hears the spring-blood beat in the bark ; She hears the spring-leaf bud on the bough; But she bends blighted, the wan weeping willow, All in the dew-fall and the rain.
- "The stream runs sparkeing under the willow, -Hush thee, babe, while the wild winds blow,-The summer rose-leaves drop in the stresm; The winter oak-leaves drop in the stream; But she bends blighted, the wan weeping willow, All in the dew-fall and the rain.
- "Sometimes the wind lifts the bright stream to her, -Hush thee, babe, while the wild winds blow,-The false stream sinks, and her tears fall faster; Because she touched it her tears fall faster: Over the stream her tears fall faster,
- All in the sunshine or the rain. "The years they come, and the years they go; Sing well-away, sing well-away! And under mine eyes shines the bright life-river; Sing well-away, sing well-away! Sweet sounds the spring in the hale green willow, The goodly green willow, the green waving willow; Sweet in the willow, the wind-whispering willow; Sing well-away, sing well-away ! But I bend blighted, the wan weeping willow, All in the sun, and the dew, and the rain."

Such extracts might be multiplied to any extent, for there is assuredly no want of " beauties" in the volume ; and poetical readers, when they have got over their profound disappointment, will afterwards turn over the pages for the "passages" until perhaps they forget how intrinsically poor a performance Balder is.

#### THE LIFE OF A PLANT.

Botanical Letters. By Dr. F. Unger. Translated by D. B. Paul. (Highley's Library of Science and Art.)

The Microscope, in its Special Application to Vegetable Anatomy and Physiology. By Dr. Hermann Schacht. Translated by F. Currey. (Highley's Library of Science and Art.) S. Highley.

THESE two admirable works commence the series we mentioned some time ago as planned by Mr. Highley. They may be noticed together, not only to save space, but also because they are closely related, and after reading Unger's Botanical Letters (which the most unscientific may read with interest) we advise an attentive study of the latter portion of Schacht's treatise on the Microscope.

In these Botanical Letters you will meet with no alarming details of Monandria, Dodecandria, Apetalæ, Monopetalæ, with all the terrible array of Latin and Greek words hiding the significance of very familiar objects; but you will be able to penetrate into the secrets of plant-growth and development, so as to gain a clear definite idea not only of the Life of a Plant, but also of those more general laws of life which are common both to plant and animal. You must make up your mind to hear a great deal about "cells." It can't be helped. You will find, however, that there is nothing really alarming in these cells-little marvels as they are, science has come to a to. lerable understanding with them on the capital points, and Dr. Unger's exposition is as clear and untechnical as could be desired. When you have followed his exposition, the result will be a grasp of this subject so incessantly recurring-cells and cell formation-which will greatly aid you in all subsequent excursions into biology.

And what is a cell? A delicate membranous vesicle or closed sack, imperceptible to the naked eye, requiring, therefore, the Microscope's aid; this membrane contains a "nucleus" of partly liquid partly solid substances in one case, and in another a hollow space surrounded by a membrane almost stone-like in its hardness, the one being gradually produced from the other. "How easy it is thus for the plant, by an appropriate distribution of these elements, so dissimilar in firmness, to employ the one here, the other there, according as it may be requisite ; and thus on the one hand the firmness and durability of the plant, on the other, its constant increase and growth, are rendered possible. The threads which are employed for making linen and other woven fabrics, the wood of trees, the hard shells of many fruits, consist of such old, indurated building-stones of the plant, while the younger and still soft cells, with their juicy and granular contents, frequently serve as the food of animals and of men." Although a cell has a shape of its own, you must not suppose that it preserves this shape; by pressure it becomes flattened; by development it becomes cylindrical, and so forth; thus the cells according to their figure form a kind of masonry, sometimes compact, sometimes porous, consisting of rounded, square, columnar, or plate-shaped cells. They are the bricks of which the structure is built. Anatomists call these cells so woven together into a tissue by the name of "cellular tissue." "From the term cellular tissue which has been applied to the masonry of the plant organism, it is very probable that those who have not had an opportunity of examining it by the aid of magnifying lenses, will form the erroneous opinion that it has in reality a greater resemblance to a tissue than to a piece of masonry. This, however, is not by any means the case. It is well known to every one that the peculiarity of a tissue consists in its being composed of a number of thread-like parts running in one direction, and united by similar ones running transversely. There is no kind of cementing substance, but the compactness and strength of the tissue are solely and alone determined by the interlacing of more or less uniform fibres. No such arrangement is found in the so-called tissues of the plant. Its elementary parts are, without any exception, microscopic; they are simply situated beside and above each other; they are not interlaced, not even those which are tubular, except sometimes in mosses, algae, &c.; consequently the mass which they form resembles masonry rather than a tissue. We have got the bricks; but how about the mortar? All these cells have to be cemeted together, otherwise the first gust of wind would blow them into space. To provide against this there is "intercellular substance," which is secreted through the cell walls, and is transferred from the inside to the outside, where it adheres to the external walls of the adjoining cells.

language far from accurate. There is one capital distinction between the cell and the brick, viz., that the cell is, so to speak, its own hodman, makes its own bricks, and carries them to the required spot.

"Each vesicle which is employed in the building up of the plant is, without exception, formed in the interior of an already-existing cell; when its formation is complete, it is at once pushed out, and laid in the place which it is destined to occupy. Neither windlass nor pulley is requisite; the whole operation takes place so readily, and, as it were, spontane-ously, that we may well be astonished that such a thing is possible. We will now examine how this is accomplished.

"First, the old cell swells up considerably, increases in circumference, grows; but it must be remembered that it is not a mere growth that takes place here. As in a pregnant animal, new cells are formed in its body; when these have advanced so far in development as to possess all the organs requisite for their independent existence, they are set at liberty; and the mother-cell which, during the continuance of these processes, not only devotes the whole of its contents to the formation of the brood of daughter-cells, but likewise suffers a diminution of its membranous envelope in consequence of the progressive enlargement, continues in a kind of dream existence, and is at last entirely consumed.

"Even while in the mother-cell, the position is determined which the secondary cells are to occupy; therefore after their separation, no further displacement is necessary. If every cell, besides the capability of producing new cells, possessed sufficient energy to do so, only an irregular heap of cells would be produced; and, according to the fecundity of one or other of them, a larger accumulation of cells would be formed at certain points than at others, and the whole would thus acquire a disfigured appearance. It is only owing to the single circumstance that this capability of production is limited, that order and regularity are maintained, as it were, spontaneously in the formation of the plant organism.

"Two facts here present themselves: on the one hand, it appears to be a constantly-prevailing normal condition, that almost all production is limited to the minimum which consists in the capability of the mother to produce only two secondary cells; while, on the other hand, these cells possess altogether different characters, if not in the first, at least in the last generations; so that while the one is active and vigorous, soon producing a new genera-tion, the other in modest retirement passes a mere passive existence. Cells of the latter kind do not contribute to the increase in size of the plant structure, but by virtue of their more permanent character determine the duration of the plant, while cells of the other are soon consumed; consequently it is of the former cells that the plant is essentially composed. The arrangement of these cells, their maintenance of this permanent character, or the occasional cessation of it, attended by a renewed capability of reproduction which may go on indefinitely, determine that part of the whole phenomenon which refers to the dimensions. and forms of plants."

Said we not these cells were little marvels? One marvel we have not touched upon-their alchemy. They can transmute one substance into another in their little laboratories, making the Miracle of Cana an everyday occurrence. But here we must enter a caveat against a statement made by Dr. Unger:

made by Dr. Unger: "These protein substances are not only of great importance in the general process of plant formation, giving rise to every operation, and regulating its progress, being, as it were, the actual machinery, without which there would be no activity, but they are at the same time the substances without which animal life cannot be conceived, inasmuch as muscle, blood, milk, &c., the substances by which animals are distinguished from all other beings, are in reality not made in or by the animal itself, but are derived ready formed from plants." The error requires only a little attention to dissipate it. Blood, milk,

and muscle are formed in the animal, and are not found at all in the plant: the substances of which they are formed are found in the plant, but the elaboration of these substances into proximate principles takes place in the animal alone. It is now known that animals form even their own fat and their own sugar.

We cannot follow Dr. Unger through the various phases of plant life has described; enough has been done if we have stimulated the reade curiosity to get a book we cordially commend. It is excellently tr lated by Mr. Paul, and is illustrated with numerous woodcuts.

#### THEATRES.

In spite of crowded houses, in spite of prosperous Pantomime, managers, with no regard for my leisure, are sounding loud notes of "forthcoming novelties" and irresistible attractions. The Haymarket has Miss Cushman to play a round of characters (she has already appeared in Bianca and Mrs. Haller); it has also a two act comedy in rehearsal. Drury Lane is again to resound with G. V. Brooke, who plays Brutus on Monday next, and Mr. E. T. Smith,

"The great placarder of the walls of town," invites with advertising eloquence to this "great lyric occasion." Why lyric? Is G. V. Brooke to sing the part, or, instead of striking the tyrant, is he to strike the lyre? At the Olympic we hear of a five-act play, of high pretensions. It is time the Camp at the Olympic and the Wandering Minstrel vanished from the bills. May one and all be successful! The wish is selfish ; but after all is there so much harm in selfishness as moralists proclaim? If we didn't take care of ourselves would the moralists undertake that agreeable yet onerous task? Not they. Take care of your souls they will; at least, as far as threats of damnation go. But take care of your comforts, wishes, interests-I should like to see them at work ! It strikes me-but I am frivolous, you know, and can't get to the depths of things-that this crusade against Selfishness-good, cosy, careful, farthoughted, wise Selfishness-is but another form of man's discontent, his bla sphemy against what is, under the guise of

In using the terms bricks and masonry, we have, of course, been using

### " Devotion to something afar

#### From the sphere of our sorrow."

The Golden Age is always the age in which we don't live. The thing we desire is always the thing we haven't got. Critics tell you to write for "Posterity," forgetting, as Goethe says, that somebody must amuse the Present :

#### "Wer machte denn der Mitwelt Spass?"

Forgetting, as I often say (which, as they never heard it, they have no right to forget), that Posterity is but an unborn Present, which, when it comes, will be contemptible. In the same spirit moralists warn you against Selfishness because it is, because it is a reality, an active, healthy, vigorous thing, which you are told to give up for unselfishness-a figment, a possibility, a thing to be.

Now consider the selfishness which prompted the wish just uttered, that all the plays would succeed. From my point of view, it means increased leisure, in which to cultivate (not coddle) my immortal soul in activities more congenial than criticism. From the other point of view, it means gratification of hundreds, success to authors, money to managers. And thus, you see, good, honest Selfishness issuing into beneficence |

Therefore, beloved reader, be selfish-you will, wont you ?- from this day forth ! VIVIAN.

#### BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

#### BIRTHS.

- CALEDON.-Jan. 28, at 5, Carlton-terrace, the Countess of Caledon: a son.
- LEICESTER .- Jan. 24, at Holkham, the Countess of Leicester : a daughter.
- MAROCHETTI.-Jan. 22, at Onslow-square, the Barouess Marochetti; a son.
- SEYMOUR.-Jan. 23, at 29, Thurloe-square, the wife of William Digby Seymour, Esq., M.P.: a son.
- TURNER .-- Jan. 22, at Grange-road, Kingsland, Mrs. Godfrey Turner : a daughter.

#### MARRIAGES.

- BRAYBROOKE-ELHART .- Jan. 24, at St. Luke's, Chelsea, William Braybrooke, Esg., surgeon of Her Majesty's Fifty-ninth Regiment, to Rhoda Mary, youngest daughter of the late Major Elhart, of the Seventy-second High-lauders, and Commandant of York Hospital, Chelsea.
- DAY-LEE.-Jan. 3, at St. John's Church, Holloway, John Bellenie Day, Esq., of Gate-street, Lincoln's-inn, to Isabel Rose, youngest daughter of the late William Lee Rees, R.N.
- LEEDS-SPEARS.-Jan. 21, at All Saints' Church, South-ampton, by the Venerable Archdeacon Wigram, Edward Montagu Leeds, Esq., son of the late Sir George Leeds, Bart., to Jessie, daughter of the late Thomas Spears, Esq., of Kirkcaldy, Fifeshire, and niece of George Dunlop, Esq., of Southampton.

#### DEATHS.

- CARROLL.-Jan. 21, at Loughton, Essex Maria, the beloved daughter of Sir George and Lady Carroll, aged twenty.
- TERRY.-Jan. 23, at 9, Pelham-road, Brompton, of con-sumption, Cristina Grace, the wife of George Wilkins Terry, artist, and youngest daughter of Charles D. W. Terry, Esq., of 16, Montpellier-square, aged thirty-one.
  - Commercial Affairs.

#### MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

#### Friday Evening, January 27, 1854.

THE activity of business during the past week in the Stock Exchange has been very notable. Consols, which opened on last Friday at 911 92, have been done as low as at 891. The various contradictory rumours that have been current of Ambassadors having left—the possibility of a collision be-tween the Allied Fleets and the Bussian Fleet in the Black tween the Allied Fleets and the Bussian Fleet in the Black Sea—the speech of Admiral Dundas to the crew of the *Thetis*, and of which the *Globe* tried to turn the edge, and not put too fine a point on—all have lent their weight to make things look gloomy. The desperate attempts over the water to raise the price of Rentes succeeded, for on Wednesday they sent them up two per cent. The Queen's Speech next week, and the possible departure of Baron Brunow and M. de Kisseleff from London and Paris arrive, will send down the Funds two per cent., I imagine. Of course an unexpected naval fight in the Black Sea would have the most decisive effect, for there would be the certainty of not being able to diplomatise away such an affair as that. All other Stocks and Railway Shares have been lamentably weak. Russian Fives are 105 107. French Railway Shares very shaky; Australian Banks weaker. Mines nearly deserted as specu-lative operations. The Times this morning having thrown out a faint hope that Count Orloff's mission to Vienna may be of an amicable nature, the other semi-Government organ, the Morning Post, speaks out much more manfully as to the probable pith of the speech from the Throne, and of the categorical answer given to the Czar; but, in the ab-sence of anything certain, the Funds opened much better, and have been done at 914. Some men are inclined to be-lieve that even were we to be plunged into a war, that the Funds would keep up to 68 or so-nous verrons. It seems almost impossible that any doubts now existing on either side should not) be cleared up by next Friday. 4 o'clock.

cheaper in proportion than those from the Baltic; the con-trary is now the case, and purchases may now be made in Hanover and the lower Baltic ports at prices which would leave a fair margin on importation into this country. At Amsterdam, prices are still too high for the English markets.

FLOATING TRADE.-The arrivals of Wheat off the coast this week amount to twelve cargoes, of which eight were sold previously to arrival. The trade has been quiet, though the prices actually paid for cargoes have in some instances been higher than before. The English markets, though dearer, have been devoid of animation, owing partly to increased supplies from the farmers, partly to the circum-stance of some re-shipments from France to this country, and offers of more both from that country and Belgium, and also, no doubt, partly to the caution which present high rates naturally produce. In Ireland, prices continue on the advance, and from most of the principal markets we hear that the stocks of fine Wheat, especially, are very light.

### BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

### (CLOSING PRICES.)

| • •                  | Sat.            | Mon.            | Tues. | Wed.  | Thur.       | Frid.           |
|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------|-------|-------------|-----------------|
| Bank Stock           | 216             | 215             | 215   | 216   | 215         |                 |
| 3 per Cent. Red      | 92              | 903             | 891   | 901   | 901         | 91 <del>1</del> |
| 3 per Cent. Con. An. | 91 <del>1</del> | 901             | 893   | 90    | 904         | 905             |
| Consols for Account  |                 | 90 <del>1</del> | 90    | 90    | 904         | 90              |
| 81 per Cent. An      | 93              | 91              | 91    | 91    | 917         | 92              |
| New 5 per Cents      |                 |                 |       |       |             |                 |
| Long Ans. 1860       | 5 3-16          | 415-16          | 5     |       | 5 3-16      | 5 3-16          |
| India Stock          |                 |                 |       | ••••• |             |                 |
| Ditto Bonds, £1000   |                 | par             | 4 p   | ••••• |             | 4 p             |
| Ditto, under £1000   |                 | 4               | 4 p   | par   | •••••       | par             |
| Ex. Bills, £1000     | . 7             | 10 p            | 9 p   | 10 p  |             | 12 p            |
| Ditto, £500          | 10              | 6 p             |       | 10 p  | <b>11</b> p |                 |
| Ditto, Small         | 10              | 7 p             | 10 p  | 10 p  | 11 p        | <b>8</b> 10     |

#### FOREIGN FUNDS.

#### AAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING MUTDONLY DW

| THURSDAY EVENING.)                                                                                |                                                                                                        |  |  |  |  |  |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| Brazilian Bonds                                                                                   | Cents 1822 105<br>Russian 41 per Cents 90<br>Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def. 191                             |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mexican 3 per Cents 23<br>Mexican 3 per Ct. for<br>Acc., January 31<br>Portuguese 4 per Cents. 37 | of Coup. not fun 4<br>Venezuela 34 per Cents. 274<br>Belgian 44 per Cents 88<br>Dutch 24 per Cents 603 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Portuguese 3 p. Cts., 1848 34                                                                     | Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif. 914                                                                          |  |  |  |  |  |

**DOYAL OLYMPIC THEATRE.** ROLAL OLIMPIC THEATRE. Lessee, Mr. ALFRED WIGAN. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday will be performed THE FIRST NIGHT. Principal characters by Messrs. A. Wigan, Leslie, H. Cooper, Miss Wyndham, and Miss P. Horton. After which THE BENGAL TIGER (as performed at Windsor Castle). To conclude with THE WANDERING MINSTREL. Jem Baggs, Mr. F. Robson. On Thursday; Plot and Passion, the Lottery Ticket, and the Wandering Minstrel. On Friday and Saturday, the First Night, the Bengal Tiger, and the Lottery Ticket.

# WEDNESDAY EVENING CON-CERTS.-EXETER HALL.

On Wednesday next, for the BENEFIT of the ROYAL WESTMINSTER OPHTHALMIC HOSPITAL, A NIGHT WITH BEETHOVEN AND MOZART. After which, Selections from popular English Composers, Glees, Ballads,

Songs, &c. VOCALISTS.—Mdlle. Rita Favanti (her first appearance in London since her Provincial Tour), Madame Newton Frodsham (late Mrs. Alexander Newton), Miss Grace Al-leyne, Madame F. Lablache, Miss Rebecca Isaacs, Miss New Augustus Braham. Mr. Lawler, and Fanny Ternan, Mr. Augustus Braham, Mr. Lawler, and Signor F. Lablache.

SoloiSTS.-Grand Pianoforte, Miss Ellen Day; Harp, Mdlle. Louise Christine; Violoncello, Mr. Horatio Chipp. UNRIVALLED BAND.-Conductor, Herr Meyer Lutz; Leader, Mr. Thirlwall; Director of the Music, Mr. Box.

Th

WESTMINSTER ABBEY or VIC-W LOTINITIASTER, ABBEY or VIC-TORY.-NELSON at the BATTLE of ST. VIN-CENT.-LEGGATT, HAYWARD, and LEGGATT beg to inform their patrons and friends, that T. Jones Barker's last grand historical PICTURE of NELSON RECEIVING the SWORDS from the vanquished officers on the quarter-deck of the SAN JOSEF, on the memorable 14th of Feb-ruary, 1797, at the battle of St. Vincent, is NOW ON VIEW at their Gallery, 79, Cornhill.

and the second secon

Court Circular, Nov. 24, 1853.—Windsor.—"Messrs. Leg-gatt had the honour of submitting to her Majesty and his Royal Highness Prince Albert, Barker's painting of Nelson receiving the swords of the officers on the quarter-deck of the San Josef after the battle of St. Vincent."

In consequence of the unfavourable state of the weather, the picture is exhibited by gaslight, and may be viewed from 10 till 6.

AXES ON KNOWLEDGE.-A Soirée. AXES ON KNOW LEDGE.—A Sourée, in honour of the Repeal of the Advertisement Duty, will be given by the Association to T. MILNER GIBSON, M.P., on Wednesday, February 8th, 1854, at the Whittington Club, Arundel-street, Strand. Sir John Villiers Shelley, Bart, M.P., in the Chair.—The Meeting will be addressed by Richard Cobden, M.P.; T. M. Gibson, M.P.; and by other Gentlemen.—Appropriate music by professional vocalists.— Single tickets, Is. 6d., and double tickets (to admit two ladies, or a lady and gentleman), 2s. 6d., may be had of J. A. Novello, 69, Dean-street, and 24, Poultry; at the Whittington Club; and at the Office of the Association, 20, Great Coram-street, Brunswick-square. street, Brunswick-square.

#### LLSOPP'S INDIA PALE ALE. IN CASKS OR BOTTLES.

PARKER and TWINING (late Harrington Parker); 5], PALL-MALL, are now delivering the October Brewings in casks of 18 gallons and upwards.—Also in bottles, Impe-rial measure—Quarts, 8s.; Pints, 5s.; Half-pints (for luncheon), 3s. per dozen.

ORANGES, Lemons.-100 of the very best LEMONS for 6s., or a case containing nearly 500 for 25s.; real St. Michael Oranges, 4s., 5s., and 6s. per 100, or 228. per case.

Delivered in London, and sent to all parts of the kingdom on receipt of a post-office order for the amount, by WIL-LIAM DEEKS, 7, Bow-street, Covent-garden. The trade supplied.

#### CHEAP MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

WILLIAM SPRACUE has a LABCTE STOCK of PATENT HARMONIUMS, from Eight Guineas to Fifty Guineas each: Sole Manufacturer of the Unique Folding Scraphine, from Six Guineas. Also, the Organ Harmonium, with German Pedals, suitable for Places of Worship, price Twenty-five Guineas. Harmonium and Scraphine Notes supplied to order. An extensive Assortment of warranted Fianofortes, including a variety of Cheap Instruments, suitable for learners. Sprague's Concertinas, from Two Guineas each. "Price-lists free. Manufactory and Show Rooms; 7; Finsbury Pavement. WILLIAM SPRAGUE, Proprietor. ILLIAM SPRAGUE has a LARGE

NSURRECTION IN CHINA.-TEAS are advancing in Price, and from the disturbed state of the producing districts, the well-ascertained shortness of supply, and the increasing consumption, there is every pro-bability of a considerable rise. We have not at present altered our quotations, and are still selling

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Consols close at 904 90<sup>#</sup>. The meetings of the shareholders in United Mexican Mining and Imperial Brazil Companies have taken place this week, and very favourable results may be looked for from the reports of their respective agents.

Consols, 904, 91; Caledonian, 258, 254; Chester and Holy-head, 14, 16; Eastern Counties, 124, 134; Great Western, 804, 81; Lancashire and Yorkshire, 614, 624; London, Brigh-ton, and South Coast, 98, 99; London and North Western, 100, 1014; London and South Western, 364, 37; Midland, 604, 614; North Staffordshire, 54, 44 dis.; Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, 33, 35; Scottish Centrals, 89, 91; South Eastern, 53, 60; York, Newcastle, and Berwick, 62, 63; York and North Midland, 45, 46; Antwerp and Rotterdam, 3, 2 dis.; East Indian, 24, 34 pm.; Luxembourg, 84, 84; Northern of France, 293, 30; Paris and Lyons, 13, 134; Paris and Orleans, 41, 43; Paris and Rouen, 37, 39; Paris and Strasbourg, 294; 294; Sambre and Meuse, 74, 8; West Flanders, 8, 4; Western of France, 2, 3 pm.; Australasian, 75, 77; London Chartered Bank of Australia, 4 dis., 4 pm.; Oriental Bank, 44, 45; Union of Australia, 71, 72; Agua Frias, 4, 4; Brazil's Imperial, 5, 6; Colonial Gold, par 4 pm.; Great Nugget, 4 dis., par; Mariquita, 8, 4 dis.; Linares, 9, 10 pm.; Ditto (New), 8, 4 pm.; Nouveau Monde, 1, 14; United Mexican, 3, 34; Wasternhofs, 1-16, 3-16 pm.; Polit-mores, par 4 pm.; Obernhofs, 1-16, 3-16 pm.; Polit-mores, par 4 pm.; Australian Agricultural, 40, 42; Peel River, 5, 4 dis.; North British Australasian Land and Loan, dis., 1-16 par; Scottish Investment, 18, 14; South Australian Land, 36, 37; General Scrow Navigation Company, 5, 4 dis. Consols, 904, 91; Caledonian, 258, 254; Chester and Holy-

#### CORN MARKET.

#### Mark Lane, Friday Evening, Jan. 27.

t:

LOCAL TRADE.-The supplies of all grain are small, especially of Oats. There is a very slow trade in Wheat and Barley at Monday's prices. Oats held for higher prices, but little doing. No alteration in Beans and Peas. F. O. B.—The complete disappearance of the frost raises

expectations of an early opening of the ports in the North of Europe. Already there is more Wheat offering, and more disposition on the part of buyers to commence operations, as soon as the navigation is free. Some time ago we directed attention to the fact, that Mediterranean Wheats were

Managing Director, Mr. W. Willott. Admission, 1s., 1s. 6d., 2s 6d.; and Stalls, 5s. Tickets to be had at the Hall, and at the Royal Ophthalmic Hospital, King William-street, Strand.

### **WHITTINGTON CLUB and METRO.** POLITAN ATHENÆUM.-Weekly Assemblies for Music and Dancing, Lectures, Classes, and Entertainments. Dining, Coffee, Smoking, and Drawing Rooms.—Library, Reading, and News Rooms, supplied with 30 Daily and 100 Weekly and Provincial Papers. Subscriptions, Two Guineas the year; One Guinea the half-year. Ladies half these rates. Country Members, One Guinea the year.

Members may join and subscribe from the first day of any Members may join and subscribe from the first day of any month. No entrance-fee. A 'Prospectus, with a complete list of Lectures, Classes, and Entertainments for the en-suing quarter, may be obtained of the Secretary. Lecture, Thursday evening, Feb. 2nd, Carl Theodore Körner, his Life, Genius, Works, and Contemporaries, by SHIRLEY HIBBERT, Esq. To commence at eight o'clock. Members free, with the usual privilege for their friends. Non-Members 18 Members, 1s.

HENRY Y. BRACE, Secretary. 37, Arundel-street, Strand.

#### PHRENOLOGY.

ARYLEBONE LITERARY INSTI-IVI. TUTION, 17, Edward-street, Portman-square. Mrs. HAMILTON will lecture on WEDNESDAY EVENING, February 1, commencing at eight. Tickets and Programmes may be had at the library of the institution.

Analyses of Character, 2s. 6d., 5s., 10s., and upwards, by Mrs. Hamilton, at her rooms, Phrenological Publication Depôt, 492, New Oxford-street (two doors from Holborn).

#### PHOTOGRAPHIC SOCIETY.

**ΜΕ ΕΧΗΙΒΙΤΙΟΝ ΟΓ ΡΠΟΤΟ-**GRAPHS and DAGUERREOTYPES is now open, at the Gallery of the Society of British Artists, Suffolk-street, Pall-mall, in the morning, from 10 a.m. to half-past 4 p.m.; and in the evening, from 7 to 10 p.m. Admission, 1s. Catalogues, 6d.

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

All goods delivered by our own vans, free of charge, within eight miles of London. Parcels of Tea, and Coffee, of the value of Two Pounds sterling, are sent, carriage free, to any part of England.

#### CULLINGHAM AND COMPANY,

Tea-merchants and Dealers.

#### 27, SKINNER-STREET, SNOW-HILL, CITY.

#### **`EAS** and COFFEES at MERCHANTS' PRICES.

| Congou Tea                 | 3s., 3s. 2d., 8s. 4d. |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Rare Souchong Tea          | 3s. 6d., 3s. 8d., 4s. |
| Best Assam Pekce Souchong, | 8                     |
| very extraordinary tea     | 4s. 4d.               |
| Prime Gunpowder Tea        | 4s., 4s. 8d., 5s.     |
| The best Gunpowder Tea     | 5s. 4d.               |
|                            |                       |

Prime Coffee, at 1s. and 1s. 2d. per lb. The best Mocha and the best West India Coffee at 1s. 4d. Teas, Coffees, Spices, and all other Goods sent carriage free, by our own vans and earts, if within eight miles; and Teas, Coffees, and Spices sent carriage free to any part of Eng-land, if to the value of 40s. or upwards, by PHILLIPS and COMPANY, Tea and Colonial Merchants.

No. 8, KING WILLIAM STREET, CITY, LONDON.

A general Price-Current, containing great advantages in the purchase of Tea, Coffee, and Colonial Produce, sent post free, on application. Sugars are supplied at Market Prices.

VARICOSE VEINS, &c. - HUXLEY'S SURGICAL ELASTIC STOCKINGS, KNEE-CAPS. &c., are still recommended in all cases where a bandage would formerly have been applied. They are light, durable, and more economical than any article yet produced. SPIRAL STOCKINGS at a great reduction in price; Abdominal Belts on a new principle, weighing only four ounces.

Particulars, Lists of Prices, and the articles forwarded by post, on application to HUXLEY and CO., 5, VERE-STREET, OxFORD-STREET. Hospitals supplied on favourable terms.

# THE LEADER

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### [SATURDAY,

COVEREIGN LIFE ASSURANCE THE UNITED MUTUAL LIFE AS. VHE BEST SHOW of IRON BED-STEADS in the KINGDOM is WILLIAM S. HUR-TON'S. He has TWO YEEY LARGE ROOMS, which are levoted to the exclusive Shew of Iron and Brass Bedsteads COMPANY. SURANCE SOCIETY, 54, Charing-cross. 49. ST. JAMES'S-STREET, LONDON, Policies indisputable. Assurances effected on the lives of persons about to reside [BSTARLISHED 1845.] and Children's Cois, with appropriate Hedding and Mat-treases. Common Iron Heddicads, from 15s. cd.; Portable Folding Hedstends from 12s. cd.; Patent Iron Hedstends, Attad with dovskill joints and patent sacking, from 21s.; and Cots, from 21s. each. Handsome crasmental Iron and Brass in Australia on equitable terms. TRUSTEEA: THOMAS PRITCHARD, Resident Director. The Right Hon. the Earl Sir Cloude Scott. Bart. Talbot The Right Hon. the Lord de Mauley Henry Pownall, Esq. Money received on Deposit at Five per Cent. Bedsteads, in great variety, from 22, 198. to 132, 138, Interest, payable half-yearly, on the 1st of THE PERFECT SUBSTITUTE FOR THIS OFFICE PRESENTS THE FOLLOWING AD-VANTAGES-April and 1st of July. L SILVER. The BEAL NICKEL SILVER, introduced twenty years ago by WILLIAM S. BUBTON, when PLATED by the patent process of Messrs. Elkington and Co. is beyond all comparison the very best article next to sterling silver that can be employed as such, either usefully or promementally as he popossible test can be disting TOUSE HOLDERS' LIFE ASSUR. The Security of a Large Paid-up Capital. Very Moderate Rates for all ages, especially Young Lives. No Charges whatever, except the Premium. ANCE COMPANY, 15 and 16, Adam-street, Adelphi, London. All Policies Indisputable. Capital £250,000. or ornamentally, as by no possible test can it be distin-guished from real silver. Advances made to Assurers on Liberal Terms. TRUSTBES By the recent Bonus, four-fifths of the Premium paid was The Right Hon. T. Milner William Ashton, Esq. Gibson, M.P. J. Walbanke Childers, Esq. William Bulkely Glasse, Esq., O.C. B. Bullock Webster For Thread or Fiddle Pattern King's in many instances returned to the Policy-holders. Thus:-Brunswick Pattern On a Policy for \$1000 effected in 1846, Premiums amount-William Bulkely Glasse, Esq., Q.C. The funds of the Company being advanced upon freehold and other Securities of a like nature, accompanied by an assurance on life, yield a high rate of interest, and afford a Tea Spoons, per desen 18a, 268, 328, Dessert Forks 36a, 408, 468, Table Forks 408, 568, 643, Table Forks 408, 568, 643, Table Spoons 408, 582, 663, Tea and coffee sets, waiters, candlesticks, &c., at propor-tionate prices. All kinds of re-plating done by the patent ing to #153 8s. 4d. had been paid, while #123 7s. was the Bonus added in 1853. A WEEKLY SAVING OF FOURTEEN PENCE will secure to a person 25 years of age, the sum of £100 on his attaining the age of 55, OR AT DEATH, should it occur perfect security to its members. previously. Rates are calculated for all ages, climates, and circum-stances connected with Life Assurance. Prospectuses, Forms, and every information can be ob-tained at the Office, 49, St. James's-street, Lordon. Prospectuses and information can be had on app lication to R. HODSON, Secretary. Drocens. CHENICALLY FURN NICKEL NOT PLATED. Fiddle. Thread. King's. SOUTH AUSTRALIAN BANKING Table Spoons and Forks, HENRY D. DAVENPORT, Secretary. COMPANY. full size, per dozen..... Dessert ditto and ditto... ... 288. ... 308. 128.10s. ... 21s. ... 25s. Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1847. Tes ditte angester 58. ... 118. ... 129. ESTABLISHED 1851. The Court of Directors grant LETTERS of CREDIT and BILLS at 30 days' sight upon the Company's Bank at Ade-laide. 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