

The Leader.

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

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1853.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

A WINTER campaign on the banks of the Danube, should that river be frozen over, is anticipated by the *Times*; and the undecided state in which the recent hostilities has left the position of the two parties to the conflict, renders such a campaign probable, should the weather permit. The Turks are evidently not only willing to continue the war, but ardent to do so, from motives of chivalrous indignation; and the Russian officers will be impelled by the stern orders of the Emperor, for Russia will no doubt do her best to accumulate forces, in order to retrieve the credit of her arms. The position of Turkey is now much better understood. The setting in of the rains has evidently been the more general cause why Omer Pacha has withdrawn part of his troops from the left bank of the Danube; and this must apply more particularly to the lower portion of the river, at Oltenitza. This reason appears to have been strengthened by the concentration of a very great Russian force, far outnumbering the force which Omer Pacha held, and rendering it undesirable to risk a battle at the particular point, and so to undergo a defeat without adequate motive, or without any real inefficiency in the Turkish forces generally. The whole account of the affair now shows that the Russians made enormous efforts for the purpose of driving back the Turks, and with all those efforts they could not prevent the Turks from destroying their entrenchments, and from retreating in perfect order without molestation. These simple facts imply very great ability on the part of Omer Pacha, and, of course, proportionate inefficiency on the part of the Russians, notwithstanding their efforts. The Turks remain in Lesser Wallachia, where the ground is higher, and where they have established themselves in greater force than at Oltenitza, and with complete communication across the river. The recent hostilities, therefore, leave the position of the Turks greatly improved; while the Russians may be said to have the enemy partially within their own ground, and they have suffered severely in their moral influence. The tyranny in which they still persevere,—the forced enlistments, the execution of capital punishment upon deserters, and the maintenance of martial law throughout the Principalities,—is not likely to increase their real strength; and it may be

expected that they will be harassed by many kinds of attack besides that directly brought from Turkey.

The position of Austria in many respects is becoming more equivocal, and her neutrality more than doubtful. Serbia is now understood to have declared herself neutral; and there is a probability that she may maintain that neutrality. The sincerity of Serbia is the more likely, since she might, with some degree of reason, declare herself willing to take part with Austria, whatever side Austria might take. For the Emperor Francis Joseph has been strengthening his troops on the Servian frontier, and is evidently preparing for the time when he may absorb that coveted portion of the Turkish dominions.

We speak with the more suspicion of his professions of neutrality from the part which he has taken in giving importance to the reunion between the Count de Chambord and the Duke de Nemours. The most active member of Louis Philippe's family has at last accomplished his wish, in being received by the descendant of St. Louis. They have exchanged morning calls, and the Count has introduced the Duke to the Emperor of Austria, who received the prince of the half-revolutionary house of Orleans "affectionately." The Duke had recently come from Turkey. He is a person of no importance in Europe, unless it may be as a disturbing cause, to be used against the Emperor of the French. The Count de Chambord retains some very slight hold upon the political superstition, it may be called, of the French peasantry—very slight indeed; but he is physically weak, and intellectually null. By the union the Duke attains the shadow of a position in France; and the King Henry the Fifth acquires something of personal ability; so that, clubbing together, they may hope, however absurdly, to do something in France. But what can the Emperor of Austria want with them? To damage Louis Napoleon; who is, with England, the great support of Turkey. Such is another sign that the professed neutrality of Austria is hollow, and that she is still subserving the purposes of Russia.

Meanwhile, Louis Napoleon, maintaining his alliance with England and his vigorous position in the East, is busying himself about the welfare of France. He has organized a system of medical relief for the indigent sick, and as that is coupled with relief in the shape of food and clothing, the new plan amounts to a species of

out-door relief, under the administration of medical officers. This is an economical way of meeting the severer inflictions of the coming winter. The *Moniteur* has set forth how impossible it is for the French Government to feed the people, which must feed itself by the exercise of its own productive industry. There appears no probability that the supplies of grain will be short of absolute necessity in France, and if prices are high, trade and employment are both good. An official decree in the *Moniteur* takes steps to increase the activity of industry in France, by abating the duties on iron and coal. The reductions are made in different proportions on iron, ranging from ten to more than forty per cent.; and they include pig, bar, and sheet iron, and rails. One of the greatest wants in France at present is railways, and enterprise in the construction of lines is active. The grand obstacle has been the excessive price of iron, coupled with the high price of coals. After the recent dispute with Belgium, the duty on iron and coal from that country remained at a comparatively moderate rate; but the supply has not been sufficient for French purposes. Great Britain is now placed on a level with Belgium, and ample supplies may be expected to be sent from this country, with a proportionate stimulus to employment in France. This step is very important as a commencement. The effect will be watched by the wine-growers, who have already pressed for these very reductions, and who will not fail to urge upon their own Government negotiations for a reduction of wine-duties in this country, which will probably be conceded in greater proportion than the French reduction just mentioned. Doubts have been expressed in London whether the effect of the reduction on coals would not be to increase the price, and a contemporary has shown that such a result is not probable. "Whatever effect of that kind may follow," says the *Globe*, "it will be slight in comparison to the advantage which the coal trade will receive. The increased price to the Londoner certainly arises from no limitation of the source: practically the source of coal in the North is unlimited." And the high price in London depends principally upon local duties and the imperfect means of transit. The principal effect will be to increase the commerce between France and England, beneficially for both countries; and, therefore, with the further consequence of encouraging a

still further extension. A closer alliance in friendly feeling will be an additional consequence, not less valuable than the material results.

Another effect will be to increase the activity in our own iron trade, already active. That the iron trade has been very fortunate indeed, is proved, by the comparatively small mischief inflicted under the speculative tampering with the trade. The demand for rails, in England, is great, and now there will be a demand for French rails; the demand for coals, increased by the winter claims of London, will now be increased by the French claims; and hence activity in the iron trade and its great auxiliary, will receive a new impulse. Wages, of course, must be maintained. This peculiar impulse will help to make the working-classes understand, by the force of illustration, the nature of those causes which raise or depress wages. The contrast between the iron and cotton trade, already striking, will now be rendered still wider; and those persevering in the Lancashire strike will perceive, from the facts as well as from the explanations of other trades, how much their efforts are going against the stream of natural commerce. We understand that the letter in our Open Council, by Mr. John Holmes, who has studied the subject of industry deeply, and has proved his sincerity by every test, has made a considerable impression in Lancashire, and has been extended by a special local circulation in Burnley, where the two sides are at last coming to a reconciliation, upon practical grounds of mutual inquiry. We hope that the strike will generally begin to subside. Should the "Labour Parliament," which has been talked of, at a small meeting in Manchester, be convened, we trust that its debates will turn less upon mere agitation than upon practical questions, as to the causes of value; from which the labouring classes, as well as the commercial classes, may learn the real nature of those difficulties with which they have been contending. Should it do so it will be beneficial; should it neglect that inquiry it will be useless, if not mischievous.

Coals and iron, however, have brought us home too fast. Another event has occurred abroad, which we must not overlook, although its importance has been overrated by some of our contemporaries. The Queen of Portugal is dead, and her subjects, as well as her allies, are congratulating themselves on the prospect of improvements from the change. We anticipate none. The Queen was an ill-starred specimen of royal humanity. Exposed rather than exalted, from being lifted upon a throne, and placed before the world; a woman with passions stronger than her understanding, inclined to indulgence, and obese to an unseemly degree, she might have passed, in private life, as a good-natured bustling person, liked, probably, by her immediate friends, and deserving of no very strict censure. Her faults were the effect of her position. She was called to the throne in her eighth year; affianced at that age, to her uncle, who became a rebel; and she was set upon the throne to govern at fifteen. Her reign was as distracted as her life. Let us respect the expiation. The saddest fate that can befall a woman asks for pity: in that sudden silence of the mother's pangs, relentless history holds its peace awhile.

While one prince of Coburg is busied about his new regency, another prince of Coburg, in a greater and a quieter country, has exhibited his activity in promoting education. This time Prince Albert appears upon the high theatre of Cambridge University, of which he is Chancellor, and which he exhibits to his young friend the Duke of Brabant; the Duke being made a Doctor on the occasion. The reception of the Prince showed his popularity; and he preserved a consistency with the whole career that he has marked out for himself, by paying a large share of his attention to subjects connected with practical science,—mechanics expounded in a lecture by Professor Willis, and geology, by Professor Sedgewick. By degrees, Positivism is making its way, and it crops out in all directions.

The Registrar General is explaining to us this week more of the laws of cholera. It has a fixed ratio with the lowness of the land on which dwellings are placed: and it has also a distinct relation with the impurities of water. Where water is impure cholera can exist. The disease, therefore, may be washed out; and it is from our bad style of washing, among other causes, that we are rendered liable to the visitation.

Piety may be shown as much in keeping God's elements pure for human use, as in sending up helpless prayers from the midst of disobedience. The Registrar General confirms Lord Palmerston.

The Bishop of Manchester appears at the meeting of the Bury Athenæum, to cavil at words, and insist upon "religious" education; and he may perhaps give voice to a sectarian prejudice which still commands subservience from the Administration. But the retrograde party is losing ground. It is now generally understood that Ministers contemplate a system of popular education, to be administered through the sects; as they hope, by placing it under all sects, to render it national in its scope. There are, however, great numbers, even of those who still conform and go to church or chapel, who object to every species of sectarian administration. They do not wish to have their Positive science clipped by priestly instructors. There is still much work to do; but we are making way, and it is consoling to observe how many, without being formally associated together, are working in the same direction.

A contemporary has remarked that even the offence of wife-beating may, in part, be traced to a bad sanitary atmosphere. The low neighbourhood which breeds cholera, breeds also squalor, and with physical squalor, moral squalor—contentment under brutish conditions. The cases of wife-beating brought before the police-courts, this week, have been remarkable for their number, but still more for their atrocity. One husband, who tries to kill his wife, with three knives successively, and when the knife is wrenched from him, tries to tear open her wounds with his fingers, exhibits a less refinement of brutality than another husband, who obliges his wife to strip off all her clothes, to lie upon a bed, and there beats her, successively, with a stay-bone, a hair-brush, and a thick square stick, diversifying his recreations by other acts of tyranny, and by the threat that if she cried out, he would stamp upon her till she burst. There is no doubt that this brutality is fostered by squalor; but it is also, perhaps, to be traced to a nervous excitement, incidental to bad living, and an overstrained work throughout the humbler population. The effeminacy of protracted peace has its own peculiar ferocities; and London, whose inhabitants disapprove so much of the cruelties of war, is eating its own heart with much of this domestic disease, and this nervous mania for cruel enjoyments.

We find, in the same blessed metropolis, objections to sacrificing life for expeditions in search of knowledge, and of those explorers who are missing in the Arctic Regions. Mr. Petermann, the geographer, is urgent to send out a new expedition, by way of Spitzbergen; Captain Inglefield is anxious to go out with it. But the man who sits here, in the midst of cholera and wife-beating, and disease, scruples to sacrifice life in search of science; for the science is such that it cannot instantly be sold at so much a yard.

OPINIONS ON THE EASTERN QUESTION.

DEPUTATION TO LORD PALMERSTON.

A DEPUTATION, consisting of Lord Dudley Stuart, M.P., Professor Newman, Messrs. Prout, Nicholay, Hickson, and John Wilson, waited upon Lord Palmerston, at his residence, by appointment, on the 19th instant, to submit an address for presentation to Her Majesty, agreed to at the great public meeting held at the London Tavern, in support of the independence of Turkey.

The deputation was very kindly received by his Lordship, who promised to present the address to Her Majesty, and listened attentively to various observations from the different members of the deputation on the affairs of Turkey. The address was as follows:—

"To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty."

"May it please your Majesty,—We, your Majesty's faithful and affectionate subjects, being inhabitants of the metropolis of Great Britain, in public meeting in the city of London assembled, beg leave respectfully to represent to your Majesty that the series of aggressions on the part of the Russian Government convinces us that there exists in its councils a fixed purpose not only to subdue Turkey, but to dominate over all Europe and to extirpate all freedom. We look upon this as the true reason why no diplomatic settlement of the quarrel between Russia and Turkey was or is possible; and we lament that your Majesty's Government should have wasted much valuable time, damaged the just cause of the Turks, inflicted upon commerce months of needless depression, and (which we regard as the worst effect of all) inspired universal suspicion of the good faith of England in a vain effort to negotiate with an unscrupulous and violent Power, which acted while we talked, and which, if now momentarily appeased, would only become more dangerous on some early occasion. We applaud the glorious and patriotic spirit shown by the

Turkish people at the present crisis; and should deplore any attempt on the part of your Majesty's Government to suppress that spirit—considering the many solemn ways in which England has bound herself to maintain the Turkish independence—as an act of unparalleled infamy. On the contrary, not only does the interest, but also the duty and honour of England call upon your Majesty's Government to render to Turkey, unconditionally, prompt, decisive, and effective aid. In doing this, we further beg leave to express our conviction, that it is equally the duty of your Majesty's Government towards the people of this country to discard all secret and dynastic diplomacy, and we must add that, in our opinion, Austria, by reason of her previous course of policy, and of her recent perfidious behaviour towards Turkey, ought to be regarded by us as an enemy, and not cherished as an ally; and we further beg leave to represent to your Majesty that from the manner in which this question has hitherto been conducted on the part of England, we can come to no more lenient conclusion than that the servants who have advised your Majesty are not equal to the emergency.

"Dated, Oct. 7."

Having handed in this document the deputation withdrew.

LORD DERBY AND MR. HUME.

The leader of the Tories and the veteran Radical were each invited to attend the meeting held at Manchester last week, to express sympathy with Turkey. Each was precluded from attendance; Lord Derby by illness—Mr. Hume, by the fact, that the invitation only reached him, in Norfolk, on the day of the meeting. Both have, however, recorded their opinions on the subject under consideration. Lord Derby says—

"So far as I am informed as to the merits of the Eastern question, Right appears to me to be altogether on the side of Turkey; and I believe that my opinions, as to the utter futility of the pretences put forward by Russia in justification of her acts of unprovoked aggression, are shared by the great mass of my countrymen."

Mr. Hume goes much farther:—

"The invasion of territory, and the late proclamation of the Russian Government against Turkey, must secure from all independent people, the strongest feelings on behalf of the Turks; and I hope it will be proved that our Government have been consistent in the support of the Turks. If victory is to be with those who are right, the Turks must be, as I wish them to be, successful; and it is quite possible that something advantageous to the liberty of Europe may yet spring from the hostilities now going on."

It is pleasant to find that the apostle of "economies" thinks that liberty may benefit by this righteous war.

MR. LAING AT TAIN.

Our hyperborean brethren seem no less disposed to look upon war as not an unmixed evil, if waged for European liberty and British honour. In addressing his constituents at Tain, in the North of Scotland, last week, Mr. Laing took this moderate view:—

A question of pre-eminent importance, which interested all, and which was at present uppermost in the thoughts of all, was that of peace or war. He had no sympathy with the advocates of a war policy for England. Our late war with France had cost us quite enough, without our trying to get up an agitation in favour of another. But while we should endeavour to secure peace it might become absolutely necessary for England to go to war. There was no security for peace in Europe if one nation, and that a very important one, should be suffered to tread under foot stipulations which had been agreed to among nations, and so break international treaties, which it had pledged itself to adhere to. If any country was allowed, contrary to the law of nations, to march armies into the territories of an adjoining Power, such conduct must be put a stop to. Just as if among five individuals in a room, one becomes outrageous, the other four peaceable men had no alternative but to take violent measures, and make him feel that it was as much his interest as theirs to keep the peace. That was the case with regard to Russia, for after they had escaped the horrors of a general European war for nearly half a century, and it was thought that the principles of peace might never again be infringed upon in Europe, Nicholas stepped forward, and refusing to be guided by the counsel of the other Powers, has entered into a war the consequences of which it would be difficult to foretell. The Great Powers gave the Emperor abundant opportunity to withdraw from the foolish position which he had assumed. They made the means of withdrawing so easy and honourable that it might be said they had raised a bridge of gold for him to retreat by; but he still persisted in retaining those unjust pretensions and remaining in the provinces which he had invaded, and there was now no other course but to resort to war, and bring the struggle to so speedy a termination, that it may secure us for another half century from further violations of the law of nations. (Cheers.) If, as seemed probable, Parliament would be shortly summoned together, and Lord Aberdeen came down to them and showed that the Government had done all in their power to secure peace, and that they would be obliged either to sacrifice the honour of England, or to appeal to the patriotism of the country to support them in carrying out effectual proceedings against Russia, he would give the Government all the support which lay in his power, as the representative of those whom he now addressed. (Great cheering.)

MEETING AT GLASGOW.

Glasgow has expressed its opinion, heartily and readily, for giving vigorous assistance to the Turks. At a public meeting, convened by the Lord Provost, and attended by 3000 people, held on Wednesday, the resolutions in favour of breaking the power of the Czar, and giving the Turks immediate and material

aid, were adopted. The most striking incident of the meeting, however, is the reading of a long letter from Kossuth, two extracts from which we subjoin. The letter was addressed to Mr. Buchanan, editor of the *Sentinel*.

"Those mismanagers of public opinion speak to you constantly of the honourable endeavours of your Government for maintaining the blessings of European peace. Why, Sir, the time has come for declaring, in the most emphatic manner, that it is bitter sarcasm and hypocrisy to designate the iron rule of violence with the name of 'order,' and to style the oppression of nations 'peace.'

"If such a condition be the aim, Sir, for which the influential exertions of Great Britain are to be used, then, let Great Britain, at least retain the merit of frankness, if it has resolved upon forfeiting its reputation of liberality.

"Those mismanagers of public opinion go further. They consider the presence of your fleet in the Bosphorus but a means for enforcing some possibly trumped-up adjustment of the quarrel. Why, Sir, is it not the most ridiculous ignorance to believe, that the Turkish question, or, rather, the European question, involved therein, can be disposed of by some miserable adjustment, which leaves right, international law, and popular liberties in Europe, oppressed, and the field to Russia open, to become yet the master of the world, and to revive the war at a more favourable opportunity? If really such be the intention of the presence of your fleet in the Bosphorus, then, I profess, it would be better for Turkey to see the wooden walls of England steering back to Portsmouth. If, Sir, the British men-of-war would sink or capture the Russian fleet, bombard Sebastopol, land a Turkish army at Odessa, and secure the line of communications for the Turks, that would be an assistance. But the passive presence of your fleet before Constantinople is only an embarrassment to the Turks, a check to their energies, an impediment to their making use of those means of defence which every political consideration points out as the most availing and the most essential. It is, in fact, nothing else than the practical assurance that, in case of success, Turkey should be prevented from reaping such fruits of her victories as would finally settle the great Oriental question, open for more than a century; and in case of defeat, to make her die, not like a hero by a glorious death, but to pine away in consumption, brought upon her by slow, but certainly fatal diplomatic negotiations.

"It appears that, though not avowed openly, the shadows of these events are fluttering before the eyes of your statesmen. Hence it comes that, despairing of a sincere and active union with Austria in the present struggle, they quench their fears with another idea not less absurd than the first was. They endeavour to persuade themselves that, though Austria may not possibly be induced to side with the great Western Powers against Russia, she will, at least, remain neutral. Yet, an impartial neutrality of Austria is, from her very position as regards Russia, equally impossible as her siding openly with Turkey. Yet, Sir, that neutrality does not actually exist any longer.

"It is scarcely nine months ago, when Omer Pacha, at the head of only 30,000 men, was marching against Montenegro, for checking a revolt which had been stirred up by Russia, that Austria immediately despatched an Envoy Extraordinary to Constantinople, for the purpose of peremptorily informing the Sultan, that she could not allow such a large force (!) to be concentrated so near to the Austrian frontiers; that, therefore, it must be withdrawn, otherwise Austria should consider it a legitimate cause of war.

"Now, what is it that the same Austria does now? She had concentrated 90,000 men in the immediate neighbourhood of the north-western frontier of Turkey. Has she given any satisfactory guarantees of her neutrality, accompanied with such a threatening attitude? No, Sir;—mere words! empty words—words of that dynasty which never yet has held sacred even an oath! And even these empty words pledged her only conditionally, say, in so far 'as her interests will permit her to remain neutral.' Or have Great Britain and France guaranteed an impartial neutrality of Austria? No, Sir; they did not, they cannot, and they dare not do it. Therefore, what is the result? The result is, that the Turkish Government was forced, in contemplation of the hostile attitude of Austria, to garrison the fortresses of Serbia on a war footing, and to keep idle an army of observation in Bosnia. By this necessity 50,000 men have been abstracted from the active army of Omer Pacha, and this is positively so much as if Austria had sent 50,000 men as a reinforcement to the headquarters of Prince Gortschakoff. Nay, it is worse; since the sending of such an auxiliary force would have relieved the Turkish Government from the difficulties of an absurd diplomatic conference, and prevented it until now from making use of the heroic willingness of the Hungarian nation to afford such aid as soon would have made Austria unable either to harm Turkey or to help the Czar; whereas, by her false neutrality, she abstracted such a force from the active Turkish army as her open hostilities could not abstract. Therefore, please to tell me, Sir, are those diplomatic endeavours of Great Britain, backed even by a parade of your fleet in the Bosphorus—which had no other result, and no other aim, but to uphold this false position—are they of any assistance to the Turkish empire? No, Sir, it is no assistance; it is worse than indifference; it is the entry of a guest who, by his very presence, absorbs the independence of the houseowner.

"Fortunately, the force of events has so far favoured justice and right, that there can be no more harm done by professing it openly—that the Turkish empire can neither in its present struggle have a more valuable ally than the Hungarian nation, nor can its future obtain better guarantee, than the restoration of Polish nationality and Hungarian independence.

"Without this, Turkey will have always to fear that Austria might throw down the mask of her false neutrality, at a moment when the Turks though victorious, may be worn out by their very victories. It is not for the first time that Austria will have played such foul play. In 1737, in that Turkish Russian war which ended with the treaty of Belgrade, Austria took upon herself to act as a mediator between the belligerent parties. But while she was mediating at Niemeroff, she—Austria, the mediator—concentrated her armies, upon receiving the intelligence that Marshal Munch had taken Ocsakoff, and Marshal Lascey obtained advantages in Crimea, just as she does now, and attacked Turkey on the whole line from Bosnia up to Wallachia: alleging that the treaty concluded between Austria and Russia in 1726, and confirmed in 1732, obliged her not only to aid Russia in any war against Turkey, but, should Turkey be the aggressor, even to declare direct war against the Sultan.

"You are well aware, Sir, that, from the time of the wolf and the lamb, whoever is willing to commit violence, never hesitates to pervert truth. You are aware that the Czar, in his manifesto of Nov. 1st, declares barefacedly that, even now, Turkey is the aggressor in the present struggle. That treaty of 1726 is still ready for use: it may be taken out at will from among the diplomatic rubbish. The spirit of the treaty has been confirmed by the so-called Holy Alliance; and that alliance has, in its turn, been again confirmed at Sans Souci, in Prussia, after the Imperial conferences at Olmutz; it has still more forcibly been confirmed by the Russian intervention in the Hungarian war which, from an ally and possibly a rival, converted the Emperor of Austria into an obedient servant of the Czar.

"No, Sir, no imaginable diplomatic adjustment can settle the Oriental question, unless it raises a barrier between Turkey and her ambitious neighbours. So long as Austria is dependent upon the Czar, she will always be dangerous to the independence of Turkey, in the interest of the Czar. On the contrary, if we imagine her—a strange imagination indeed—-independent and strong, she will threaten Turkey on her own account. Austria, if a first-rate power, must speculate upon a partition of the Turkish empire, as well as the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. Russia is pushed to that speculation by the wish of becoming a great maritime power, whilst Austria is urged in the same direction by yet mightier reasons than those of inherited ambition. Be it that she loses hold of Italy, which sooner or later is inevitable; be it that Prussia gains an ascendancy over her in Germany, in any possible emergency she looks for compensation to the Turkish empire. Moreover, after all that has occurred in 1849, Austria can never be sure of her dominion over Hungary, so long as in her immediate neighbourhood there exists a power which, in the case of a conflict—possibly delayed yet unavoidable—must become a ready support to Hungarian nationality in all the future, as it has been in all past times, against Austria."

It is probable that Newcastle, the first to move in the spring, will shortly hold a meeting to consider the propriety of petitioning the Queen to render effective aid to Turkey.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

LETTER C.

Paris, Thursday Evening, Nov. 24, 1853.

THE great anxiety of Bonaparte just now is the *parti prêtre* and the Legitimist faction. A sort of *coup d'état* is in preparation at the Tuileries to arrest the encroachments of the one and the other. The exorbitant pretensions and overwhelming insolence of the priests increase in virulence daily: daily they impose new conditions upon Bonaparte, who having found it easy to crush all obstacles hitherto, is determined to try to crush them. It is seriously in contemplation to break with Rome and the Pope, and to create an Almoner-General of France, who would be a species of Gallican Pope or Primate, charged to confer ecclesiastical dignities. To this high functionary would revert the nomination of the whole clergy, who are now appointed by the bishops. In this new combination, they would be, in fact, nominated by the State, and being thus at the discretion of, and in dependence upon, the State, they would merge into docile instruments of its will, where they are now nothing but instruments of treason. The clergy has occupied all the leading functions in the state: and affiliated members of the Society of Jesus and of other fraternities are to be found where Bonaparte fancied he had placed his own devoted adherents. This revelation has decided him to strike a grand *coup*. Finding that the Church employs the widespread influence it has thus obtained, to carry on a vigorous propaganda in favour of Henry V., Bonaparte, we hear, is seriously meditating a complete change of policy, and instead of persecuting the Republicans, he begins to think of laying his hand heavily on the Legitimists.

But it is too late. The republican party has been too severely decimated and disorganized by Bonaparte ever to furnish him any support. One hundred thousand men, the élite of the nation, have disappeared in prisons, in Algeria, to Cayenne, in exile, or in death. The few middle-class Republicans who had survived these persecutions, have been recently removed; there remain only the working-men of Paris, of Lyons, and of a few other manufacturing centres. Now the working men are soldiers, not chiefs. There has existed a republican party, having its chiefs, its officers, its organization, its countersigns and *mots d'ordre*; such, I trust, it may exist again in the future: but now it is no more.

It is thus that Bonaparte finds himself face to face with the Legitimist and priestly party, destitute of any party of his own: he has let that party secure every strong position, fortify itself, recruit its forces, organize in every direction; and now that he is hemmed in, surrounded, pressed on all sides, he scarcely knows how he shall be able to break through. You may, therefore, think, not unreasonably be prepared for grave eventualities in France. The fusion of the two branches of the Bourbon House is accomplished. The Duc de Nemours has called the Comte de Chambord *his king*—the sole and true King of France; the Duchess of Orleans has authentically renounced the pretensions she had claimed for her own son. Next spring, perhaps, Henry V. may make his appearance in France; probably in the south or in the east, perhaps even at Lyons, which is also a city of the priests. Once proclaimed, if only two or three regiments change sides and don the white cocarde, Bonaparte will hardly hold his own.

Now, all this is known and felt at the Tuileries. They would fain provide against contingencies; but the remedy bids fair to hasten, and intensify, the disease. No sooner shall the schism between Rome and the Empire be consummated, than the priests will be up in arms, sounding the trump of defiance and alarm, frightening the women, and, through the women winning the men. In one week they will do more harm than Bonaparte in two years.

One of the latest acts of the *parti prêtre* which has enraged Bonaparte is the refusal of the Pope to send a Legate to France for the coronation of the second of December. All preparations were made for that day; but this refusal necessitates a further postponement of the ceremony. The 29th of January, the anniversary of the Emperor's marriage, is now spoken of, or the 20th of March, the anniversary of the re-entry of Bonaparte into Paris in 1815.

All these rumours of approaching troubles are not calculated to re-establish confidence. The financial crisis is getting worse every day. The Bank of France, alarmed at the void in its coffers on the one hand, and the numerous demands on the other, thought of raising the rate of discount; but an express veto arrived from Bonaparte, and the council broke up without coming to any conclusion.

There have been further arrests in the provinces this week, all owing to the imprudence of Delescluze. At Dijon, there have been nine more persons thrown into prison, besides eight previously. At Lyons, twelve working men have been condemned, as carbonari, for forming a secret society, to two and three years' imprisonment. On the occasion of their trial, the public accuser delivered a ridiculous harangue, exclaiming, that so long as there remained a single Republican—"one of those lawless and Godless men"—society would be in danger. M. Fevrier, I should add, is a furious Legitimist, and affiliated to the Society of Jesus.

Bonaparte has been giving magnificent *fêtes* at Fontainebleau: he goes to mass and a-hunting. Perhaps he might dispense with the former of these amusements. The receptions of the 22nd and the 26th were as brilliant as the preceding. At the soirée of the ambassadors of the second and third rank Vely Pasha figured among them, together with the Ministers of Sweden, Sardinia, and Greece: then came a few families of rather ambiguous distinction; and a batch of familiars filled up the circle, such as St. Arnaud, General Laurestine, commander-in-chief of the National Guard of Paris, M. Arrighi de Padoue, and Count Morny.

The most splendid weather favoured the hunting. I went, for curiosity's sake, to see the *défilé* of all those Louis XV. costumes in the forest of Fontainebleau. However silly a masquerade it might be, still it was a curious sight enough.

Nothing new this week from the East, except the fact that it was in pursuance of superior orders that Omer Pasha evacuated Lesser Wallachia, and recrossed the Danube. It seems that the Turkish Government was alarmed at the revelation which was perfidiously whispered into its ear by the Austrian embassy, to the effect that Russian strategy was endeavouring to decoy Omer Pasha into Greater Wallachia, where it would infallibly crush him. By this *fausse confidence*, the Austrian Minister saved the Russian army from defeat. The Russians would have been by this time driven out of Wallachia; it will be their turn, next spring, to drive the Turks out of Bulgaria.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

DEATH OF THE QUEEN OF PORTUGAL.

A TELEGRAPHIC despatch reached London on the 20th inst., bringing the news of the death in child-bed of Donna Maria da Gloria, Queen of Portugal, on the 15th inst. Her crown devolves on her son, Don Pedro, scarcely 16 years of age. Ferdinand of Coburg, the King Consort, has assumed the Regency in the name and during the minority of her son; and by the last accounts Lisbon was tranquil, and a general mourning prevailed.

Maria da Gloria, daughter of the late Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro I., by his first consort, the Archduchess Leopoldine of Austria, was born at Rio de Janeiro, April 4, 1819. On the death of her grandfather, John VI.,

she was designated successor to the crown of Portugal, by virtue of the act of renunciation executed by Pedro, one of the provisions of which was that, upon coming of age, she should marry her father's brother, Dom Miguel, whom it was desired, as a dangerous competitor for the throne, to satisfy by such arrangement. Another condition was, that she and her future husband should acknowledge the new constitution. When Dom Miguel had accepted of this arrangement, had sworn to the constitution, been betrothed to the child Donna Maria, and received the regency, the young queen left Brazil, in 1828, to sail for Europe. Miguel had, meanwhile (June 30, 1828), declared himself absolute King of Portugal, and forbade the Queen to land. She was now compelled to come to England, where she was received by the court as lawful Queen of Portugal, but found no actual support, the ministry of the day secretly favouring the usurper. In 1829, she returned to Rio Janeiro, with Amelia of Leuchtenberg, her subsequent stepmother, and lived there until 1831, when her father found himself compelled to resign the crown of Brazil to his son, Pedro II. She then resided in Paris, while her father waged war for her rights in Portugal. After the taking of Lisbon, in September, 1833, she made her entry into that city. On the 29th of May, 1834, Miguel renounced his claims, and retired to Italy, where he recalled his renunciation, and was acknowledged by the Pope, King of Portugal. Pedro now administered the government as regent and guardian of his daughter. His power, however, was soon exhausted; and when, on the 18th of September, 1834, he announced to the Cortes that he was no longer able to conduct the government, that assembly declared the Queen of full age, by which means the intrigues of the competitors for the Regency were defeated. Maria now occupied herself with thoughts of marriage. Her choice fell upon Duke Charles-Augustus-Eugène-Napoleon, of Leuchtenberg, who already had won her affections. On the 8th of November she was married by proxy, at Munich, to this prince; and on January 27 of the following year in person. Dom Augustus, Prince of Portugal, as he was named, was made commander of the army, and was likely to become popular, when he died suddenly, March 28, 1835. On the 9th of April, 1836, she was married a second time to Duke Ferdinand, son of Ferdinand of Saxe-Cobourg-Cohary, who upon the birth of a crown prince was named king. In the course of the next ten years the corruptions of the government which had fallen into the hands of the Cabrais, the suppression of the liberty of the press, and the increase of taxes, irritated a large portion of the nation. In May, 1846, civil war broke out in the Upper Minho, and in a few weeks several districts were in arms against the Cabral ministry. The Cabrais resigned, and retired from the kingdom. The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, the Grand Cortes extraordinarily convoked, and a number of concessions were made. The Duke de Palmella was called to power, and held office with Saldanha for four months, when his cabinet was succeeded by a new ministry under Saldanha's premiership. Civil war, meanwhile, continued. Das Antas, the commander nominated by the Juntas, and supported by Bandiera, Louli, and Fornos, gained several successes; and it was feared that the Queen and King would have to leave Portugal and seek safety in England. In November, however, the popular party were in turn defeated, and lost two whole regiments by desertion. In the ensuing year, the mediation of the British government was offered, and accepted by the Queen, but declined by the Junta. Das Antas now prepared to evacuate Oporto. The British fleet, under Sir Thomas Maitland, was off that city. Steamers belonging to the Junta were permitted to enter and embark Das Antas's troops. On the 31st of May, 1847, a corvette and three armed steamers, one barque, one brig, two schooners, transports, containing in all about 3000 troops, left the port. On crossing the bar, they were summoned to surrender to the British; and as resistance would have been useless, they did so without firing a shot. As soon as he was on board the British ship, the Conte das Antas presented to the commander a protest in the name of the Portuguese nation against this act of hostility, without declaration of war, or any pretext for the same. By these means resistance to the royal authority was suppressed. The Queen, in return for services rendered by Great Britain, signed an agreement excluding the Cabrais from power; and this was all the opponents of the court gained by the insurrection. As soon, however, as quiet had been restored, the Conde de Thomar, the elder of the Cabrais, again became premier in the face of Great Britain, and continued a career of oppression and corruption, until, in 1851, the Duke de Saldanha carried out a military revolution and reconstituted the government. Donna Maria yielded with a very bad grace to the necessities of her position. Her husband had been appointed commander-in-chief at the commencement of the outbreak, and actually advanced against Saldanha, but was forced to make a speedy and solitary retreat to Lisbon, his troops having deserted him on his march.

The government has since been conducted under the presidency of Saldanha.

It cannot be said that the reign of the late Queen was popular; it was barely constitutional: but the fault was not so much the Queen's as the nation's. The domestic life of the court at least has been free from the disorders and disgraces of Madrid. Her melancholy fate, which had been apprehended on more than one former occasion, in consequence of her increasing corpulence, seals the political errors of her distracted and disappointed life with forgiveness; and we are not surprised to hear that at Lisbon all other feelings are for the moment merged in pity and regret.

The Queen was to be buried on the 19th. The son she gave birth to is dead. The Prince and Princess de Joinville (sister of the late Queen) arrived at Lisbon from Cadiz 24 hours after the Queen's death. The King Consort had issued the following proclamation:—

"Portuguese,—God has been pleased to call to his glory to-day, at half-past eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the Queen Lady Donna Maria the Second, my much-loved

and highly-prized spouse,—a severe loss, which plunges me and my dear children in the deepest grief, and fills the sensitive and faithful Portuguese nation with mourning.

"In these sorrowful circumstances, obliged to fulfil those sacred duties imposed upon me by the law of the 7th of April, 1846, confirmed by the additional act to the constitutional charter of the monarchy, I take upon myself the exercise of the regency of these kingdoms, and, in conformity to the said constitutional charter, I swear to maintain the Roman-catholic apostolic religion, the integrity of the kingdom, and to observe and cause to be observed the political constitution of the Portuguese nation and other laws of the kingdom, and provide for the general good of the nation to the utmost of my power.

"I also swear to preserve fidelity to the King, Lord Dom Pedro VIII., my above all much loved and highly prized son, and to resign the government to him immediately on his attaining his majority."

According to the old law, Dom Miguel would be the rightful regent, but the law of 1846 and the constitutional charter exclude his claims. It is not improbable, however, that a Miguelist struggle, aided by the discarded factions, may take place, as legitimist pretensions are getting into fashion again, and Portugal has not derived much benefit from her so-called constitutional rulers. It will be the policy of the regency to abbreviate its own existence as much as possible, and with the consent of the Chambers, to anticipate the period of the King's majority.

THE FUSION OF THE BOURBONS.

It was at three in the afternoon of the 17th, that the Duke of Nemours arrived on a visit to Frohsdorf. He was received very cordially by the Comte de Chambord; and there can be no doubt that a reconciliation of the two branches has been effected on the following terms. Should the Duke of Bordeaux die without heirs, the Comte de Paris will be declared his legitimate successor to the throne of France; the Duchess of Orleans resigning any pretensions of her son, founded on the revolution of July.

Accounts differ as to the interview between the Duke of Nemours and the Duke of Bordeaux: one rumour stating that the conversation was purely on domestic matters, eschewing politics; another, that the Duke of Nemours emphatically recognised Henry V. as the only rightful king of France. The Legitimists say that the Orléanists have made an unconditional submission; while the Orléanists pretend that the Comte de Chambord is to abdicate in favour of the Comte de Paris. On the part of the present French Government, the *mot d'ordre* is to treat the matter with indifference. It is not likely the journals will be permitted to discuss it.

The Spanish Cortes were opened on the 19th by commission. The Senate adjourned till Monday, but the Congress proceeded to the election of its president and other officers. 190 deputies voted at the election of president. The government, by adopting Senor Martinez de la Rosa, and the vice-presidents, &c., of last year, evinced a desire to avoid a party contest on this occasion. The Progressistas present voted for Senor Santa Cruz. Senor Martinez de la Rosa was elected present by a majority of 100.

A letter from Naples, of the 19th, mentions the return to that city from Rome of M. de Maupas. The unpleasant incident which occurred has not produced any other result than the temporary absence of the French Ambassador.

It has long been the custom for the Naples Mint to receive foreign money and uncoined metal, for which bank bills were given without any limit. But now the Minister of Finance has prohibited the Mint from issuing these promissory notes on the bank, because they cannot, they say, coin money sufficiently quick to meet the present demand. The result of this is, merchants have so much difficulty in cashing bills at the bank, that the exchanges have fallen ten per cent. Trade therefore suffers immensely, as merchants cannot afford the loss originating from depreciated foreign money.

The motive for sending for Count Walewski to Fontainebleau, is believed to have been the Emperor's wish to entrust to his ambassador certain documents of a private nature on the Eastern question, which may render it necessary to call for explanations from Austria.

It was reported yesterday that the French government still contemplates a loan, as it will be very difficult to meet the enormous expenses incurred till next spring.

The Council of State has voted eight millions of francs to pay the legacies left by the Emperor Napoleon, by the will which he made at St. Helena.

THE SEAT OF WAR.

The latest news from the seat of war is comparatively scanty and unimportant. According to the latest telegraphic despatches, it appears that the Turks have quitted the island near Oltienitz, and retired to Turtakai. Their camp there, from the 16th to the 21st, has been almost deserted. General Dannenberg, in consequence, left Budeschti on the 22nd with the chief part of his force, leaving 1200 men and eight cannon behind. Unimportant skirmishes excepted, there is now a cessation of hostilities along the whole of the Moldo-Wallachian line.

Wallachian artillery has been sent to Brailow, only one battery having been there previously. Other Wallachian troops, horse and foot, await marching orders. The native militia are co-operating with the Russians—but their co-operation is believed to be forced.

A telegraphic message from Constantinople of the 14th, states that the Hungarian General Klapka had been refused a command by the Porte.

The Spanish Government objects to General Prim taking an active part in the military operations.

The news of Omer Pasha's victories, and of the approaching arrival of a military ambassador from France, produced great excitement in the Turkish capital.

The combined fleets had all anchored in the Bosphorus. The last vessels were towed in on the 9th. A new division of the Turkish fleet was to sail on the 11th for the Black Sea, to intercept the Russian ships proceeding to the coast of Asia. It was reported that a Russian man-of-war had been captured by the Turks.

The Grand Duke Michael has been appointed to command the Russian army of reserve, for service in the Caucasus.

Western diplomacy still persevered in notes of pacification; the last, however, was withdrawn by the British Ambassador, as the Porte was indisposed to accept the draft.

The *Press*, of Vienna, under date of Constantinople (7th), states that some engineers have been sent to Adrianople to make preparations for the reception of the Sultan, with an army of 60,000 men, which will be concentrated in that city under the orders of Ruschti Pacha, General of the Imperial Guard.

A certain Ali-Nek Scherif Zade, who is described as a rich and strikingly handsome young man, has been appointed the leader of the Contingent from Aleppo. The Pacha girded a splendid sabre round the waist of the new chief, and the Grand Sheik blessed his flag.

From St. Petersburg we learn that at the church of Tsarskoé Selo, a splendid religious service was performed in the presence of the whole Imperial family, for the purpose of asking God's blessing on the Russian arms, and the victory in the Turkish war. The Court has gone to Gatchina, and will return from thence to St. Petersburg on the 6th December.

The *Patrie* of Thursday evening states, on the authority of a letter from Vienna, of the 21st, that the Russian army in the Principalities has received orders to assume the offensive, and that it is to cross the Danube and march towards Adrianople. If this be true, the British and French fleets will, without doubt, enter the Black Sea, and French troops will be sent to assist the Sultan.

The *Constitutionnel* of Thursday contradicts the report of the entrance of any portion of the combined fleets into the Black Sea.

The Servian Government resists the passage of Turkish troops across the frontier, while it refuses its *exequatur* to the Russian Consul at Belgrade. Austria is increasing her military cordon on the Transylvanian frontier. The men on furlough belonging to the regiments under marching orders, have been recalled, and the state of siege in the Hungarian provinces is even more rigorous than it was in 1850.

The situation of Austria in the present European question is thus plainly stated in the *Berlin Wochenblatt*:—"We have often pointed out," says that journal, "the serious embarrassments with which Austrian policy is surrounded. By the slightest movement Austria runs the double risk of being obliged either to go to war with Russia and to see Hungary rise at the same time, or to be attacked by France, with a rising in Italy. She has consequently been compelled to abstain from any movement whatever. Having anxiously cried 'Peace at all price,' she is now reduced to endeavours to limit the conflagration which she can no longer quench, and at which she must look on without stirring. Austria is not neutral, but neutralized. This position, however, was not the sole motive of the mission of Baron Prokesch. It is not a secret for any one that the finances of Austria are in a desperate state. A new loan was imperiously necessary; and the Cabinet of Vienna applied to the great banking-house which, in its quality of one of the most considerable creditors of Austria, finds itself always in the alternative either to suffer at once a severe loss or to postpone it by giving additional aid. This experienced physician felt the pulse of his patient, and avowed that he was very hard up indeed; he nevertheless offered to come once more to his relief, provided he would follow implicitly the prescriptions he should order. These prescriptions concerned the reduction of the army, and a declaration of neutrality on the part of the German Diet. The first of these measures has been carried out; the second has not, because Prussia has refused to consent to it."

The long expected decree, reducing the duties on coal and iron, appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 22nd inst. The following explanation of the modifications it introduces into the French tariff we take from the *Times*:—Coal formerly paid a duty of 4s. 7d. a ton, when imported by sea from Dunkirk to Sables d'Olonne, in the department of Vendée. This is now reduced to 2s. 9d. The former duties of 2s. 9d. a ton when imported between Sables d'Olonne and Bayonne, and 1s. 4½d. when imported by the Mediterranean ports, have been consolidated at the lower charge. The duties on importation by land, varying from 1s. 4½d. to 1s. 0½d. per ton, have been retained. Coke formerly paid twice the duty on coal; now it only pays one-half more than the reduced duty. These are the duties by French ships. By foreign ships they are higher; but, as English ships employed in the trade between France and England have been since 1826 assimilated to national ships, the distinction is of no practical importance to this country. This being the case generally, it will only be necessary, as regards iron, to place the former duties in comparison with those now to be paid on importation by French vessels, English vessels being in the same category.

	Former Duties, per ton.	Duties, per ton, (till Jan. 1, 1853.)	After Jan. 1, 1855.
Pig iron	£ s. d. 2 16 8	£ s. d. 2 4 0	£ s. d. 1 15 4
Iron in bars, according to dimensions	{ from 6 12 0 to 8 4 10 }	{ 5 5 10 to 7 0 10 }	{ 4 8 0 to 6 3 4 }
Rails, the same as iron bars, according to dimensions			
Iron plates	17 12 0	11 0 0	9 10 0
Steel, in bars:—			
Cast	20 8 0	17 12 0	13 4 0
Wrought	52 16 0		

On the 8th of November Sadyk Pacha (the Polish Michel Czajkowski), who became a Mussulman to escape the persecution of Russia, has been invested by the Porte with the command of all the *Cossacks* on the Turkish territory, and with the rank of Pacha.

A Transylvanian newspaper—the *Hermanstadt Journal*

—says, "A highly creditable letter of the 11th, from Jassy, says that the corps of Osten-Sacken, which was 35 days' march distant when the order to advance was given, cannot reach the Pruth before the 1st of December. In Jassy the Russians openly pressed a number of Jews, who could only escape the military service by paying a considerable sum. It is rumoured in the Wallachian capital that the son of Prince Vogorides, who was married, and settled at Bucharest, had been sent in chains to St. Petersburg, as a consequence of his correspondence with Omar Pacha, in which the movements of the Russian troops were made known, having been intercepted. Six Boyards were also said to have been sent to Siberia for keeping up a connexion with Omar Pacha."

The Piedmontese Chambers have been dissolved, in consequence of the defeat in the Senate by a majority of four votes of the Bill presented by the Government for transferring the custody of the funds of the State to the National Bank. The elections will take place on the 8th of December, and the new Chambers are to meet on the 19th. The ministerial defeat is an intrigue of the reactionary and priestly party, to whom certain members of the ministry are particularly obnoxious.

Letters from Bologna state that several of the deputies of the Roman Constituent Assembly, belonging to that province, have received an amnesty from the Pope.

Lord Malmesbury has been invited to Fontainebleau.

The Superior Court has given its decision in the affair of the foreign correspondents. It confirms the decision of the Imperial Court of Rouen, which is to the effect that the Prefect of Police has the right to seize and open letters which have been entrusted to the Post-office.

Letters from Egypt of the 17th inst. state that the prohibition to make shipments of corn had come into effect, 400,000 ardebs having been already exported. Vessels half loaded with wheat were unable to complete their cargoes.

COLUMNIES OF THE "TIMES."

THE other day the *Times* had a fierce article, accusing Mr. Mazzini and the National Party of advocating plunder and assassination, and quoting, incorrectly, some "rules for the national bands." The whole article breathed a bitter spirit of hostility. Mr. Mazzini has sent the following letters to the papers. The *Times* of yesterday did not contain the rectification forwarded to it.

To the Editor of the *Daily News*.

Dear Sir,—The following has been sent by me to the *Times*, perhaps you will oblige me by inserting it in your valuable paper.—Yours faithfully,

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

To the Editor of the *Times*.

Sir,—In your very excited article of the 22nd on the Italian question you have quoted three lines of mine. It seems but fair that you should grant insertion to the first articles of the "Rules for the National Bands," which were seized on by my friend Felice Orsini. They bear my name.

You may—unless you feel decidedly pledged to the system of Fouché—"give me three written lines of any man and I shall lead him to the scaffold"—verify the authenticity of the extracts at the Sardinian embassy.—I am, sir, with due respect,

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

Fulham, Thursday, Nov. 24.

Extract from the "Rules for the National Bands."

The warfare carried on by means of national bands may be regarded as the first stage of a national war. The bands must therefore be organized in such a manner as may prepare and facilitate the formation of the national army.

The general rules of the organization, the authorization of the chiefs, the moral and political instructions which shall govern the conduct of those bands towards their country and towards individuals, will therefore proceed from the centre of action, which, from some point of Italy, will combine and unite in a common military plan, the apparently unconnected action of each individual band.

The political mission of the national bands is the armed apostolate of the insurrection. Every band must be in itself a living programme of the morality of the party. The most severe discipline is at once the duty and a necessity for every band, a sacred duty towards the country, and a necessity for the band itself, which could not long exist, should the conduct of the soldiers alienate the sympathies of the people of the country.

Respect to women, to property, to individuals, and to the harvests, is the first duty of the soldier of the national bands.

The national bands are the precursors of the nation, and call it to arise: they are not the nation, and have no right to substitute themselves to it. To the nation alone belongs the right of declaring its own belief. Toleration—the consequence of liberty of conscience—is among the first virtues of a republican. The bands must therefore respect the churches and the symbols of Catholicism, and the priest, so long as he maintains his neutrality.

To the nation alone belongs the right of administering the highest justice on those guilty in the past—expiation. The vengeance of the country cannot justly be entrusted to the judgment of individuals, whomsoever they may be.

In every band there will be a commission elected by suffrage among the soldiers, and presided over by the captain, to watch over and maintain the inviolability of these rules. The names of all soldiers punished or dismissed for transgressing them, shall be transmitted by the

captain to the centre of action, to be published at a fitting moment.

The captain of every national band is responsible to the centre of action for the conduct of the band. Should the captain himself be guilty of unworthy conduct, the centre of action will dismiss him, and appoint his successor.

Whenever collective or repeated misconduct shall have proved any band unworthy of representing the national cause, the centre of action shall publicly proclaim its dissolution. Should it not dissolve, it shall from that time forward be regarded as a mere body of men without a banner, and without a mission. The right of every band is to watch over its own safety, and to promote the insurrection.

Every act of aggression or resistance, every information given by the country people to the enemy, every hostile attempt on the part of individual Italians, will be speedily and severely punished by the national bands.

To compromise the large cities, and protect the smaller localities from the fury of the enemy, must be a general rule for the national bands. In traversing the smaller localities, and the defenceless parts of the country, the captains will not excite but repress all revolutionary demonstrations on the part of the inhabitants.

AMERICAN NOTES.

WE have some news from Washington, which we reprint from the *New York Herald* as we find it, with a caveat. That journal, of course, has the interest, common to all papers, of coming as near the truth as compatible with the means at command; but it is also interested in decrying the Government of General Pierce. However, we see no decided symptoms of hostility in the subjoined summary of the probable character of the Presidential Message shortly to be delivered.

"It is understood the President in his Message will speak out pretty definitely upon the subject of the Pacific Railroad, and in such a manner as to satisfy the strictest constructionist. He has declared that the project, as pressed in the last Congress, 'Senator Gwin's Bill,' never could have his sanction, and he has intimated pretty clearly that if such bill is passed by Congress during his Presidency it will have to overcome a vote before it becomes the law of the land.

"The President's feelings upon the subject of internal improvements by the general Government may be gathered from the facts, that he declares he sees no reason now to change the views he formerly held on that question, and that his votes in Congress at the time show his present position.

"The Garay and Tehuantepec grant will be endorsed by the Administration, and the treaty negotiated by Judge Conkling, recognising the Sloo grant, will not be noticed in any way, on the ground that there was no authority given to Conkling to negotiate a treaty, and that the Sloo grant is a diplomatic fraud to get rid of the Garay grant.

"The President will recommend a general system of reciprocal trade with the provinces of all articles the growth and product of each country, and the admission of fish duty free, upon our fishermen being permitted to fish unrestrictedly on the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

"The proposition of the English Government to permit colonial vessels to obtain American registers will not be opposed, but the suggestion to throw open the coasting trade of California will be rejected as unconstitutional.

"A complete revision of the tariff will, it is confidently stated, be suggested, and with this view the Secretary of the Treasury is busily engaged in preparing voluminous data to show the consumption of the several articles of trade, and will suggest important modifications in all such articles as come under the head of necessities.

"It is yet doubtful whether any material modifications will be made in the duty on iron, but, notwithstanding the most urgent remonstrances of the manufacturers of railroad iron in the United States, it is believed a repeal of the duty on that particular article will be recommended.

"The secretary of the navy will recommend an entire revision of the personnel and matériel of the navy, being fully impressed with the worthlessness of the existing system. A retired list and an increase of pay to the sailors will form a prominent feature in his report. Perhaps the most important feature of the Message will be its allusion to the position of the Sandwich Islands and the bold avowal of their being annexed to the United States. Depend upon it, the President will take this ground, and it will probably be the immediate cause of parties resolving themselves back to their original elements, the Secessionists and the Abolitionists flying off again as they did in 1850."

Other statements, also contained in the same paper, have their special interest.

"Mr. Crampton, the British Minister, had a long interview with the President, which was particularly in reference to the recent savage and ridiculous attacks on the British Government and British policy in relation to Cuba. Mr. Crampton denied positively that the British Government had any idea of authorizing the slave trade in Cuba for any length of time—or, in fact, had any other designs on that dependency of Spain than those which were guided by philanthropy and humanity. At the British Legation it is declared positively, that there is not the slightest truth in any of the dreadful description of British intrigues in Cuba which have been recently put forth in the *Union* and other journals; and the British Minister is very indignant at the imputations cast on his Government through the organ.

"The same day, also, Chevalier Hulsemann called on Secretary Marcy, and had a long conversation with him. A Government courier from Vienna has arrived in town, and immediately proceeded to the residence of the Austrian Minister. I have not the slightest doubt but that the recent arrangement in respect to Koszta,

between the American and Austrian Governments, has been induced by a spirit of policy of both Austria and Russia towards the United States, in order to detach the latter from the great maritime confederacy of Western Europe in favour of Turkey. In the Austrian and Russian Embassies here I have heard frequent intimations, that if the American Government and its influence were thrown into a neutral position, or in favour of Russia in the Eastern question, they would not care for all the doings of the English and French Governments in that matter. It is believed, therefore, that, under the influence of Russia, Austria may be endeavouring to get back into the good graces of the United States, in order to neutralize that Power in the approaching great contest in the East."

From the Sandwich Islands we hear that a decided step had been taken towards annexation to the United States. The French and British Consuls had protested to the King against such an act; and the American Commissioners had replied in a firm but dignified manner. This movement had caused the greatest excitement in the island.

The Government of the United States, upon the representation of Dr. Black, has determined to despatch the sloop of war *Cyane*, Captain Holmes, immediately, as a part of the home squadron, to Caledonia Bay, to convey a surveying party, under the command of Lieutenant Strain, United States' Navy, for the purpose of making a thorough survey of the route from Caledonia Bay to San Miguel, in order to settle the question definitely as to the practicability of the proposed oceanic ship communication between the Atlantic and Pacific. This is done on the part of the Government, without reference to the execution of the work by any particular company, but as a subject deeply affecting our own commerce, and the defence of our Pacific States.

PRINCE ALBERT AT CAMBRIDGE.

PRINCE ALBERT, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, accompanied by the Duke of Brabant, set out for that seat of learning on Tuesday. His main object in going seems to have been to confer a degree of Doctor of Laws upon the Duke of Brabant, and to show him the architectural beauties of an English University. The Royal party reached Trinity College about eleven o'clock, and Dr. Whewell, the Master, and Professor Sedgwick received him at the lodge. The day was industriously spent by the Prince and Duke. They were edified by a lecture on the fossil animals of a former era of the world's history, and learnt that the megathiria of that day were sloths,—a species of animal not yet extinct, and to be found even in England. They went to St. John's, the college which so hotly opposed the election of Prince Albert in 1847, but which now made up for adverse votes, by crowding around the Prince, and dodging him about, and making a loyal uproar through the enveloping fog. They also visited Jesus, and Sidney, and Catherine Hall, and Peterhouse; the Prince held a reception in the evening, and finished up the day by dining with Dr. Whewell.

But the great doings were on Wednesday, when the Prince presided over a congregation held in the Senate-house, for the purpose of conferring the degree on the Duke of Brabant. The undergraduates seemed to have especially distinguished themselves in making a noise, as is their wont on these occasions. They cheered and groined, and bellowed at their favourites and foes. The oddest effect was produced when Dr. Whewell entered, whose name is said to be more easily whistled than spoken, and accordingly the whole gallery whistled at once as he came in. There were groans for the Emperor of Russia, and cheers for Turkey. Meanwhile the area gradually filled, and presented a striking appearance, and Prince Albert's entrance changed the indescribable uproar, so well sustained by "the gods," into general and hearty cheers. The ceremony of granting the degree we need not describe. After they left the Senate-house the Prince and the Duke visited some more of the lions, and then returned to Windsor.

THE BURY ATHENÆUM.

BURY has had an educational or literary institution ever since 1837. But she had some time since outgrown its dimensions, and in 1848 a new one was projected, larger and more comprehensive in its scope. In 1850, matters had so far advanced that Lord Derby came down to lay the foundation-stone, after having been a munificent subscriber; and now, on the Wednesday of this week, we find Lord Stanley fitly presiding over the ceremony of the opening. Lord Stanley, in his opening speech, treated of education as the most important question of the day, and he declared that, in the name of his father, no man is more desirous of diffusing education and raising the working classes in the social scale, than Lord Derby. Lord Stanley very properly said, that the object of Athenæums must not be to make Baccus and Aristotle, but smooth the path of the ordinary student, and give to persons engaged in other affairs a taste for the pleasures springing from the culture of the intellect. At the close of his speech he dilated, in admirable taste, upon the so-called dangers of education; and concluded, that man had a thirst for knowledge which must be gratified, that intellectual pleasures are among our chief consolations,

and that it is better to give men education than keep them without it.

"If there is a cause for apprehension in regard to education at the present day, it is rather that we may perhaps be laying too much stress upon what may be called the purely utilitarian and material part of education. I do not mean to deny that every invention and every discovery by which a man increases the power of mankind over nature, is a great result not only to the individual but to the world, but the number of such discoveries is comparatively small, and to each man, I believe, the great end of education should be, not the vague and uncertain prospect of obtaining future results for the world at large, but that certain reward which he himself will reap, in the increase of the intellectual powers, and consequently the augmentation of happiness. I don't believe that any man has ever obtained great results in literature or in science who did not love literature and science for their own sakes. (Applause.) I believe it has occasionally been urged against institutions like the present, that those who promote them attach, in the scheme of life, too great and exorbitant a value to these as compared with other matters. I think we must all feel that to any man knowledge cannot be everything; that knowledge is power, but that power may be dangerous. Knowledge brings responsibility; and for him who errs with the power conferred by knowledge it had been better that he had remained in ignorance. But these results are not in our hands, and all that we say is this—that the desire for knowledge is natural to man—that it is one of the strongest instincts implanted in him by the Author of his being; and that, being so, it is an impulse which he is bound to follow, and that we are bound, so far as in our power lies, to aid him in following it. That is the object we propose to ourselves,—to remove out of the path of the student, especially the poor student, all those material obstacles which would encumber and retard his progress. The results must be left to the efforts of the individual himself, and you may be content to leave them contentedly and cheerfully in the hands of an overruling Providence. (Loud applause.)"

The Rev. Mr. Thorburn then read a report, giving a history of the origin of the institution. The site of the present building had been gratuitously granted them by the late Earl of Derby, who had enhanced the gift by a donation of 100 guineas. Might such liberality ever distinguish that illustrious house, and bring down upon it, to the latest posterity, the compensations of Providence and the benedictions of society. The building had been erected at a cost of 4875*l.*, and this had been met by subscriptions up to 4481*l.*, leaving a balance due to the treasury of about 393*l.*, which it was hoped would soon be supplied by further public contributions.

The Bishop of Manchester here rose, and observed that, while he did not wish to depart in the slightest degree from acknowledging the liberality of the house of Derby, and was perfectly willing to hope and pray that the blessings of Providence might rest upon them, he could never consent to adopt the form that the "compensations" of Providence may do so; and he trusted, therefore, that he might not be called upon to move an amendment to substitute the word "blessings" for "compensations."

The Rev. Mr. Thorburn said, as far as he was concerned, the alteration might be made at once; he believed the word "compensations" had simply been adopted from some of Bishop Butler's arrangements.

The Bishop of Manchester, Dr. Vaughan, Mr. Cheetham, M.P., and others, also addressed the company. The building has been erected at a cost of 5000*l.*; of that, nearly 1200*l.* was subscribed by twelve persons, and a little less than one-half the whole was furnished in sums exceeding 5*l.*

"MR. WASHINGTON."

In the New York correspondence of the *Times* this week occurred the following paragraph:—

"Severe strictures have been passed upon Mr. Thackeray for saying, in speaking of a certain event that occurred, 'When Mr. Washington was heading the American rebels with a courage, it must be confessed, worthy of a better cause.' It was hoped that a man of so much perception and sagacity as Mr. Thackeray has had credit for, would have avoided any of those offensive flings which have too often appeared in the works of foreign writers when speaking of the United States. That single passage lost Mr. Thackeray a great many friends in America, and they were friends who admired his genius, but who love their country a great deal better than him, or any other writer. Nor is it supposed that such expressions fall gratefully upon the ears of intelligent Englishmen. Those things may seem very trivial to an author who writes voluminously, but no Englishman who is looking for lasting fame among the Anglo-Saxon race, should forget that already the majority of his readers are found on this side of the Atlantic; and writers who have their eye fixed upon the future should, above all others, remember that in a humane and an enlightened age like this, any disrespectful or malignant word dropped against an entire nation will 'return to plague its inventor.'"

It is not strange that the New York correspondent of the *Times* should see an "offensive fling" in these words. He generally sees things that do not exist. Mr. Thackeray has, however, condescended to notice the absurd interpretation put upon the passage alluded to in the following letter to the *Times*:—

"SIR,—Allow me a word of explanation in answer to a strange charge which has been brought against me in the United States, and which your New York correspondent has made public in this country.

"In the first number of a periodical story which I am now

publishing, appears a sentence, in which I should never have thought of finding any harm until it had been discovered by some critics over the water. The fatal words are these:—

"When pigtailed grew on the backs of the British gentry, and their wives wore cushions on their heads, over which they tied their own hair, and disguised it with powder and pomatum; when Ministers went in their stars and orders to the House of Commons, and the orators of the Opposition attacked nightly the noble lord in the blue riband; when Mr. Washington was heading the American rebels with a courage, it must be confessed, worthy of a better cause—there came to London, out of a northern country, Mr., &c."

"This paragraph has been interpreted in America as an insult to Washington and the whole Union; and, from the sadness and gravity with which your correspondent quotes certain of my words, it is evident he, too, thinks they have an insolent and malicious meaning."

"Having published the American critic's comment, permit the author of a faulty sentence to say what he did mean, and to add the obvious moral of the apologue which has been so oddly construed. I am speaking of a young apprentice coming up to London between the years 1770-80, and want to depict a few figures of the last century. (The illustrated head-letter of the chapter was intended to represent Hogarth's industrious apprentice.) I fancy the old society with its hoops and powder—Barré or Fox thundering at Lord North asleep on the Treasury-bench—the news readers at the coffee-room talking over the paper, and owning that this Mr. Washington, who was leading the rebels, was a very courageous soldier, and worthy of a better cause than fighting against King George. The images are at least natural and pretty consecutive. 1776—the people in London in '76—the Lords and House of Commons in '76—Lord North—Washington—what the people thought about Washington—I am thinking about '76. Where, in the name of common sense, is the insult to 1853? The satire, if satire there be, applies to us at home, who called Washington 'Mr. Washington,' as we called Frederick the Great 'the Protestant Hero,' or Napoleon 'the Corsican tyrant,' or 'General Bonaparte.' Need I say that our officers were instructed (until they were taught better manners) to call Washington 'Mr. Washington?' and that the Americans were called rebels during the whole of that contest? Rebels!—of course they were rebels; and I should like to know what native American would not have been a rebel in that cause?"

"As irony is dangerous, and has hurt the feelings of kind friends whom I would not wish to offend, let me say, in perfect faith and gravity, that I think the cause for which Washington fought entirely just and right, and the champion the very noblest, purest, bravest, best of God's men."

"I am, sir, your very faithful servant,

"W. M. THACKERAY."

"Athenæum, Nov. 22."

CORPORATION REFORM.

In his evidence on Tuesday before the Commission, Mr. Bennoch went through the accounts.

I have gone over the corporation accounts with great care, and I think it right to say I have not discovered any instance of malversation or peculation on the part of any member of the corporation. The expense of administering the affairs of the corporation is, however, reckless and extravagant to a degree. The whole income of the corporation in 1852, as shown by the blue book, is close to 400,000*l.*, and the expenses of administering the fund is 107,874*l.*, which includes salaries, 38,672*l.*; legal ditto, 14,700*l.*; law costs, 4600*l.*; pensions to retired officers, &c., 3644*l.*; pensions to relations of Aldermen, 580*l.*; Parliamentary expenses, 1467*l.*; committees, 2900*l.*; expenses by doorkeeper, 4000*l.*; &c. The result of the whole appears to be that the corporation pays 107,874*l.* for administering the balance of 255,327*l.* The disbursements by the hall-keeper include a sum of 133*l.* for cloth supplied to her Majesty's Ministers, 126*l.* for writing and emblazoning a vote of thanks to Alderman Sidney, a further sum of 262*l.* for emblazoning an address presented to the city of Paris, and various other very large sums for apparently small services. I have prepared an account, showing in detail the various heads of expenditure and the sources of income. I find in the account a sum of 19,000*l.* for lodging-houses for the labouring poor in Finsbury; but the foundations of the buildings have not yet been laid. The money, I suppose, is reserved for the purpose.

Mr. Labouchere.—Has the City expended anything in baths and wash-houses?

Mr. Bennoch.—Not a penny, except an occasional subscription of 50*l.* to institutions of the kind in the neighbourhood of the City.

Mr. Labouchere.—Have they taken any means to improve the dwellings of the poor?

Mr. Bennoch.—By no means; and in cases where they have pulled down the houses of the poor to make new streets, they have done nothing to supply them with better dwellings.

Mr. Bennoch advocates a great reduction of salaries and offices, and on this head, also, his evidence is valuable.

"I have got a statement showing the population, number of houses, and municipal charges of London, Liverpool, Manchester, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, and I have compared them, with a view of showing the relative positions of all towards each other. I find that the City of London has a resident population of 127,000 persons; Liverpool of 376,665; Manchester of 316,213; Edinburgh of 160,302; and Glasgow of 329,097. The aggregate of salaries for analogous offices in London is 31,787*l.*; in Liverpool, 9865*l.*; in Manchester, 6774*l.*; Edinburgh, 1789*l.*; and for Glasgow, 1075*l.* I find that the expenses of salaries in London, taken in proportion with the population of Liverpool, should be 3354*l.*; with the population

of Manchester, 2335*l.*; with the population of Edinburgh, 1428*l.*; and with the population of Glasgow, 418*l.* The aggregate expenditure of the corporation in connexion with their offices exceeds that of the whole Federal Government of the United States."

But the most striking part of his evidence is an original scheme for the government of London by municipalities. It has already attracted a good deal of notice, and we append it in full.

"SCHEME."

"1. That the representative system be maintained in its full integrity.

"2. That the metropolis be divided into nine municipalities.

"3. That each municipality be divided into wards.

"4. That each ward have one alderman and six councillors.

"Taking the City of London as an example, which contains:—

	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total Persons.
Within the walls ...	7174	26,550	28,152	54,702
Without the walls, including				
Inner Temple, Middle do.				
Barnard's Inn	7408	36,147	37,020	75,167
Sergeants' do.				
Clifford's do.				
Thavies' do.				
part of				
Furnival's do.				
	14,580	62,697	65,172	127,869

The number of persons rated at and above 10*l.* is 16,761, which, when divided into twelve wards, gives an average of nearly 1400 constituents in each ward; these would return 12 aldermen and 72 councillors—in all, 84 representatives. Although about 130,000 appears to be the number of inhabitants who reside in the City of London, it is estimated that, during the day, at least 250,000 more pursue their avocations within its limits; it is therefore clear that the larger portion of its population is contributed by the surrounding districts; thus, it differs from all others, and cannot, in this respect, be taken as an example. In this scheme 300,000 is taken as the average of the City.

"5. The municipalities into which it is proposed to divide the metropolis are:—1. City Proper; 2. Tower Hamlets; 3. Finsbury; 4. Marylebone; 5. Westminster; 6. Kensington; 7. Lambeth; 8. Southwark; 9. Greenwich and Deptford.

"6. Each municipality to have 12 wards, 12 aldermen, and 72 councillors, as proposed for the City Proper.

"7. All councillors to be elected on the same day; one-third to retire annually, but qualified for re-election.

"8. All aldermen to be elected on the same day; one-third to retire triennially, but qualified for re-election.

"9. That the aldermen and councillors be elected by the registered ratepayers.

"10. That the mayor be elected annually by the Aldermen and councillors, and have an allowance of 500*l.* per annum.

"11. That each municipality appoint four aldermen and 12 councillors to form a central council, which would thus consist of 144 members, viz., 36 aldermen and 108 councillors.

"12. That each municipality in rotation have the right of nominating the Lord Mayor, and that he be elected by the whole constituency of his municipality, but not necessarily from the body of aldermen.

"13. That the Lord Mayor preside over all meetings of the central council, and reside at the Mansion-house, with an allowance of 5000*l.* per annum.

"14. That each municipality in rotation have the right of nominating the Sheriff of London; that he be elected by the whole constituency of his municipality, have an allowance of 1000*l.* per annum, and be *ex officio* a member of the central council.

"15. That the Sheriff of Middlesex be nominated by the Crown; the two sheriffs to have the care of prisoners, &c., as at present.

"16. That should any municipality decline to nominate or elect the Lord Mayor or Sheriff, the right shall fall to the next municipality in rotation on the list; such list in the first instance to be determined by lot.

"17. That the central council have the general management of all lighting and police, water and sewers, river and bridges, improvements and streets, finance, rates, and rents, general purposes, education and charities, under the immediate superintendence of committees, which might bear names analogous to the duties to be performed.

"18. That each municipality carry out the various works to be executed within its own limits which may have received the sanction of the central council.

"19. That for the more perfect sanitary condition of the metropolis, the whole district of London, within a radius of ten miles from St. Paul's, be surveyed, and no streets be laid out or houses built unless approved of by the central council, and certified by the surveyor as capable of being thoroughly drained.

"20. That the construction of all bridges or steam ferries across the Thames be under the control of the river and bridge committee of the central council, and paid for by a general rate; all bridges to be free, but on all ferries a toll be charged, just sufficient to defray expenses and ensure their proper maintenance.

"21. That all persons occupying premises and paying rates have the right of voting, and none other.

"22. That the expenses of the local council or municipality be raised by a rate levied on the inhabitants of its own district.

"23. That the expenses of the central council, and the cost of all works of a general nature executed through it, be met by a general rate levied on the inhabitants of all the municipalities.

"24. That the Central Criminal Court be under the management of the aldermen of the central council (who shall be magistrates), and the expenses borne by a rate on the whole metropolis.

"25. That, after the general Act of Incorporation, all commissioners exercising the functions of commissioners of improvements, sewers, &c., be abolished, and the works placed in the hands of the central council.

"26. That the Mansion-house, Guildhall, and such premises as might be required by the central council, be valued and paid for by the united municipalities.

"27. That all funds left in trust to the City of London be held sacred to the purposes for which they were so left; that all charities be consolidated and administered by one committee; that all property left by individuals, or arising from property granted by charters, for services rendered or money paid in times gone by, so soon as the obligations are cancelled for which they have been mortgaged, be appropriated to improvements within the City. In like manner, the Bridge-house estates, when relieved from their present burdens, be devoted to the purposes of maintaining the old, and building new, bridges over the Thames—thus fulfilling the original intention, and observing the corporate right of property as jealously as the property granted to private individuals for similar services rendered in times of national peril. Under such a system—a system calculated to benefit the entire community of the metropolis, from the squares of Belgravia to the docks of Limehouse, embracing the whole valley of the Thames, and the Thames itself—we may fairly conclude that the nobleman taking any interest in his neighbourhood, and the merchant desirous of extending the commerce and trade of London, would willingly and cordially associate to carry out an enlightened system of independent municipal government, which could only be secured by the highest intelligences heartily co-operating. With such a corporation, far removed from paltry bickerings and petty jealousies, we might, in a few years, see the Thames embanked from Putney to Blackwall—its waters purified, new streets opened, bridges constructed, sewers perfected, and the whole metropolis exhibiting a striking contrast to its present aspect under conflicting jurisdictions.

"While the establishment of a central authority is advocated in the foregoing scheme, it is centralization springing out of, and controlled by, the principle of representation, and not that dreaded system of centralization—the tool of individual will or arbitrary power.

"Officers of new municipalities need only be—Town clerk (a solicitor), 1000*l.*; treasurer, 500*l.*; mayor, 500*l.*; committee, clerks, &c., 500*l.*; total, 2500*l.*

"The officers of the central council must be determined hereafter in accordance with the duties that have to be performed when they are definitively known; but the judicial functions of Recorder, Common Sergeant, and Judge of Sheriffs' Court, as at present understood, should be transferred to judges appointed by the Crown. The Lord Mayor, aldermen, and councillors of the central council, should continue to possess all the rights and privileges now enjoyed by the Corporation of London—viz., the Lord Mayor to be *ex officio* a Privy Councillor; the right to approach the Throne with addresses; the right to petition both houses of Parliament through their sheriff; the right to be represented in Parliament by an official, and such other privileges as may have been granted by charter for services rendered to the Crown in bygone days; that two stipendiary magistrates be appointed by the Crown, and paid by the municipality of the City of London."

Complaints were made before the Commission on Thursday, by oyster traders against the metage portage and City dues they have to pay for sea-borne oysters, while their competitors who get oysters by rail are subject to no such charges; and by the parish of Marylebone against the injurious operation of the coal-tax (20,000*l.* annually) on that district. Mr. H. Bateman presented a scheme for a series of municipalities with a central council selected from them, as a municipal corporation for London. It is not as complete and sound as Mr. Bennock's plan, but proceeds on the same principle.

WHO IS TO HAVE THE SANDWICH ISLANDS?

THESE islands, so important as a naval station in the Pacific, are at present under the government of King Kamehameka III., whose Ministers or Minister is an American. A movement in favour of annexation has been begun there by some American merchants and others, with a view of inducing the King to alienate his sovereignty, and negotiate a treaty of annexation. The British and French Consuls have remonstrated against this. They lay down these doctrines:—

"We consider it our duty to remind you that Great Britain and France have entered into solemn treaties with the Sandwich Islands, by which treaties your Majesty, your heirs and successors, are bound to extend, at all times, to French and British subjects the same advantages and privileges as may be granted to subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation, and that the joint resolution of England and France, of the 28th of November, 1843, was founded upon the clear understanding that your Majesty was to preserve your kingdom as an independent State. Therefore we declare, in the name of our Governments, that any attempt to annex the Sandwich Islands to any foreign Power whatever would be in contravention of existing treaties, and could not be looked upon with indifference by either the British or the French Government. We beg further to observe, that, in accordance with the Hawaiian Constitution, your Majesty could only alienate your sovereignty and islands under certain circumstances, which circumstances have not occurred; and that no monarch whatever, according to Vattel, and other writers on international law, has a right to alienate his kingdom,

or to enter into a negotiation with that view, without the concurrence of his people. We, therefore, consider that the time has arrived for us to remonstrate; and we do hereby remonstrate against your Majesty becoming a party to the scheme recently got up, or to any other project which existing treaties and the Hawaiian Constitution do not sanction."

This remonstrance was submitted to the King in Council, on the 1st September; and his Minister, Mr. Wyllie, returned a reply, promising the royal consideration.

The Consuls published their document in the *Poly-nesian*; and the American Commissioner, Mr. Luther Severance, has replied to it, giving the same publicity to his answer. We subjoin the essential parts of his reply to the Consuls:—

"You are aware that the Government of the United States has never made any propositions to His Majesty's Government to annex the islands, though the matter has undoubtedly engaged the attention both of citizens of the United States, and of subjects of the King. To me it is not surprising that the 'merchants and landed proprietors,' whether Americans or others, should perceive great commercial advantages in such a connexion, considering that the principal part of the commerce of the islands is with the United States, and that the islands must look almost exclusively to the Pacific coast of the United States for a market for their products, and the means of paying for their heavy imports. I perceive, therefore, nothing very extraordinary in the project remonstrated against. And if now, or at any future time, it shall be found to be decidedly for the interest of both countries to unite their sovereignties, I am unable to perceive any treaty or moral obligations on the part of either to forbid the desired union, or any good reason for foreign interference to prevent it.

"French and English subjects might still be entitled to the privileges of the 'most favoured nation;' and on the score of commercial advantages, cannot well complain of being subjected in these islands to the revenue laws of a country which consumes and pays for French manufactures, and other products, to the amount of forty millions of dollars annually, and of British goods to the amount of one hundred millions annually—the revenue laws of a country rapidly growing, and whose trade is now of more value to Great Britain and France than that of any of their colonies, if not, indeed, of all of them added together, vast as English colonies are.

"The right to cede or acquire territory, or to unite two independent nations by compact, is regarded as inherent in all independent sovereignties. It has certainly been practised from time immemorial. The Power which can cede a part can cede all the parts. Modern history abounds in examples, and none more than English and French history. Annexation is neither a new thing nor rare in our day, as the Turks and Arabs of Algeria, the Caffres of South Africa, and more than 130,000,000 of people in India, can testify—people, it is hoped, who may be benefited by the change; but whether so or not I cannot admit that annexation by voluntary consent is any more illegal or reprehensible than annexation by conquest; but whether it be done by one process or the other, the Government of the United States can have no colonies. Whatever territory is added is but an integral part of the whole, and subject to the same national constitution and laws.

"The agreement or joint declaration of the 28th of November, 1842, that neither Great Britain nor France would take possession of these islands as a protectorate or otherwise, was creditable to those Powers. The Government of the United States was not a party to the engagement, neither was Kamehameka III., so far as appears. The parties to it, by their naval forces, had both made hostile demonstrations upon the king's sovereignty.

"The United States has not, but both before and since, though their interests were far greater here than those of any or all foreign Powers, they have constantly respected the Government of the King. They have never sought to limit the right of his Government to frame its own system of finance, enact its own revenue laws, regulate its own system of public education, establish its own judicial policy, or demanded any special favours, and they were the first to recognise the complete and unqualified national independence of the kingdom, by the treaty of the 20th of December, 1849.

"The treaty having been faithfully observed, there is nothing in the policy of the United States towards these islands which requires concealment or demands explanation—nothing to disturb the harmony which happily exists between the United States and the great commercial Powers of Europe."

Some Protestant missionaries are accused by the Consuls of being mixed up in the American agitation, but they have publicly denied the charge.

OUR SANITARY STATE.

THE mortality for last week (according to the report of the Registrar-General) shows but a small reduction on the previous return, which was rather high. In the week that ended on Saturday the number of deaths registered in London was 1162. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1843-52 the average number was 1023, which, if raised in proportion to increase of population, becomes 1125. Therefore the actual mortality somewhat exceeded the estimated amount.

It is satisfactory to perceive that the mortality from cholera was not so great as in the four previous weeks, the number of deaths having fallen to 72, while that from diarrhoea was only 36. In the three weeks of November cholera carried off 102, 98, and 72 persons. The mean weekly temperature, which rose so high as 55.5 deg. in the last week of October, declined in the

two subsequent weeks to 48.9 deg. and 45.7 deg., and last week fell so low as 38.5 deg. Of last week's deaths from cholera, 5 occurred in the west districts, 11 in the north, 3 in the central, 20 in the east, and 33 in the districts on the south side of the river.

To this report he has added an important supplement, showing that impure water supply and cholera are to be found together; that there was a certain proportion between the deaths from cholera and the water supply in 1849; and that that supply is still from the same sources.

In 1849 the mortality from cholera was lowest in districts which have their water chiefly from the Thames, so high as Hammersmith and Kew. The mortality was greatest in districts which derive their water from the Thames so low as Battersea and Hungerford-bridge. The districts of the New River occupy an intermediate station. In six districts supplied from Kew and Hammersmith 15 in 10,000 inhabitants died, and the mortality ranged from 8 to 33. In 20 districts supplied from the Amwell, the Lea, the Ravensbourne, 48 in 10,000 inhabitants died of cholera, and the mortality ranged from 19 to 96. In the 12 districts supplied from the most impure part of the river between Battersea and Waterloo-bridge 123 in 10,000 died, and the mortality ranged from 28 to 205. Elevation or depression of site co-operated with the quality of water to produce these relative results; the mortality of the third group of districts was three times as great as in the second, though the density of population in the third (73 persons to an acre) was little more than half of what it was in the second.

The cholera, although it has not ceased, is sensibly abated in the country. In London, the number of deaths last week fell to 72. In Scotland, we still hear of its ravages in Dundee, but they are not greater than we should expect from the filthiness of the town. Elsewhere the deaths occur few and far between.

THE STRIKES.

THE operatives of the north seem to be fast reverting to their original position. Preston, it is true, is still firm, and the contribution last week amounted to 2200*l.*, a large amount than any they have yet received. Meanwhile, however, great hardships are endured by the people earning nothing. Indeed, the distress is so great at Burnley that it has attracted the attention of the Board of Guardians, and they have written out a statement of the case to the Poor Law Board.

The Guardians "feel they have entered on a period when those who either on account of misfortune or improvidence have failed to make any provision for their families, will gradually exhaust such resources as can be raised by selling and pledging clothing and furniture. The number of such cases of destitution must, from week to week, increase and become complicated with sickness, aggravated by insufficient food, clothing, and fuel. Your authority extends not only to the definition of the law, but to the regulations of the proceedings of Boards of Guardians, even in their most ordinary duties. In circumstances so extraordinary as those in which this Union is now placed, we therefore feel that you and not this Board of Guardians have to define to what extent rateable property within the Union is liable to the support of the working-classes who are now destitute of employment. When a felon is sent to gaol, or when a drunkard wastes his resources, the law does not suffer a drunkard to perish of hunger, though it does not intervene until a degree of indigence has occurred which no right-minded man will voluntarily suffer his dependants to encounter. In clearly marked cases of indigence, in which not only weekly wages have ceased, but all other resources arising from the sale of furniture and clothing have been exhausted, are we right in conceiving that the Board of Guardians, without reference to the origin of the indigence, are bound to extend relief administered in strict conformity with your General Order? Such cases are obviously more urgent when complicated with sickness. In this class of cases we conceive that we recognise the operation of the principle which provides security for life, without which there can be no security for property. On the other hand, if there be any cases short of this degree of indigence caused by the suspension of employment in the cotton fields of this district, for the support of which the rateable property of the Union is legally liable, you are requested clearly to define them for our guidance."

Lord Courtenay has forwarded a brief but full answer from the Poor Law Board, in which the doctrine of relief in the cases alluded to is laid down:—

"In reply to the question submitted to them in that communication, as to the principles by which the Guardians ought to be guided in treating applications for relief from the Poor-Rates; I am directed by the Board to state, that they consider those principles to be few and simple. It will be for the Guardians to apply them, after a careful inquiry into the circumstances of each particular case. In each the question will be, whether the case is one of actual destitution. Where the applicant has the pecuniary means of subsistence for himself and his family, from whatsoever funds those means may be derived, or where he may, if he pleases, immediately obtain work, and so earn the means of subsistence, the Board are of opinion that he ought not to be considered as actually destitute. If on the other hand, he has neither money nor work, and is really without the present means of obtaining either, so that aid from the Poor-Rates is absolutely necessary for the subsistence of himself and his family, the Guardians ought to relieve him,

Every case, as the Board have already stated, ought to be carefully investigated in all its circumstances; and the Board confidently trust that the Guardians will make such investigation with patience and firmness, and in the calm and equitable spirit especially befitting such an inquiry."

By the existing relief orders labour must be given for relief granted; and the Guardians have resolved—"That in consequence of the Law not allowing relief to be given to the able-bodied without being set to work, that steps be taken by the Guardians, in accordance with such Law, to provide work for such able-bodied persons to be set to."

The Associated Spinners and Masters of Burnley have issued an address to the operatives. They state that to prevent severe destitution they are willing to re-open their mills even at a loss to themselves, on condition that no collection be made among their workpeople for the support of other turnouts.

"We do not intend to exact any promise to that effect from any individual, but we plainly state, that we shall resist such a course by all the means in our power, even to again having recourse to the total stoppage of our mills. We cannot, without a great change in our prospects, hold out the expectation of working full time, but so long as a reasonable spirit is manifested by the operatives, we have every wish to do what we can, to prevent distress and to promote their prosperity. We think every one must see that nothing is gained by these combinations and counter-combinations, and we hope that mutual good understanding and enlightened views will lead both parties to rely solely on that system of individual arrangement which is indispensable to long-continued prosperity. This, we imagine, is the good which may be extracted from the evil, which we have all so much deplored. It is our intention, if our views are agreed to by a number of workpeople sufficient to carry on each department of employment, to open our mills on the 28th instant."

On the other hand, the National Association of United Trades have issued an address, calling upon their members to support the Preston men with a national contribution. There is also a project on foot to organize a "Labour Parliament," the chief end of which shall be "to propound a means by which labour may be emancipated from the undue influence of capital, and become independent, self-employing, and remunerative, without the necessity of strikes."

DESTRUCTION OF A COLONY.

A NEW ORLEANS paper quotes an account of the destruction of the French colony at Jicaltepec, in Mexico, by a terrible hurricane, which occurred on the 28th August.

On that day, which was Sunday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, a norther commenced blowing, heavy clouds which hung above the horizon began to spread, and flew over the sky with incredible swiftness. Then the rain commenced falling with extreme violence. The norther continued blowing all night till the following morning, without, however, having anything alarming about it, the rain continuing, in the meantime, to fall in torrents. At daybreak the wind changed its direction, veering round to the east, and suddenly commenced blowing with unparalleled impetuosity. In less than half an hour, the whole village, and the residences in its environs, forming the French colony, were completely destroyed, the houses falling as it were by enchantment, with a shocking crash.

It is impossible to picture the general desolation which presented itself to sight during the frightful raging of the unchained elements. Distracted families, finding themselves without shelter, saw themselves every moment threatened to be crushed under the falling materials which were sent flying through the air, or else to be thrown into the river by the gusts of this terrible hurricane, the like of which has never been seen in these parts. Not only did it not spare houses, but rushing with fury over the country and forests, it tore up everything in its passage—chocolate, corn, coffee, sugarcane, &c.—in such a manner that the eye a few minutes afterwards could see nothing but immense plains where virgin forests had stood. The largest trees, such as cedars, oaks, and fig-trees of immense size, were broken and torn branch from branch. To add to the miseries thus caused, the rain not having ceased to pour down in torrents since the previous evening, a sudden overflow of its banks by the river ensued, and rising twenty-five feet above its natural level, it rose over the quay of Jicaltepec, and entirely inundated the opposite bank, and the greater part of the French dwellings of the colony. Houses, and the few estates which the hurricane had spared, were thus carried away by the waters. This was a most trying and desolate moment for all the families of the colony. Without shelter, and dreading with reason the continuance of the inundation, some were obliged to construct rafts to provide for their safety, while others, endeavouring to get to a neighbouring hill, found themselves constrained to traverse inundated low spots, where the water reached to the waist. And there they were, with the fruit of twenty years' labour and perseverance destroyed, annihilated in less than an hour.

This destructive hurricane did not extend beyond fifty leagues on the coast and thirty in the interior. Intelligence of the disaster was prevented from being conveyed earlier in consequence of communication being intercepted by the fallen trees, &c., and at length was only conveyed with great difficulty, machete in hand.

MURDER IN NORFOLK.

A VERY barbarous murder has been committed, on Monday, between Wellingham and Tittleshall, West Norfolk. The victim was a silversmith, named Lorenzo Belia, a native of Baden-Baden, who, some years ago, settled in Norwich. He had two assistants in his shop at Norwich, to whom he left the care of his business, while he travelled

through the country to obtain orders and to sell his jewellery. He usually carried a box of jewellery, gold and silver watches, &c., in a bag suspended from a stick on his shoulders. He sold his goods to country people, and his custom was to take payment in small instalments. Among other places which he visited at regular intervals, were Wellingham and Tittleshall, villages two miles apart, situate near Fakenham, in West Norfolk.

Last Friday Mr. Belia was walking from Wellingham to Tittleshall, about one o'clock in the day, when he was last seen alive by two labourers who were ploughing in an adjoining field. He had at that time, according to the calculation of his assistants, about 30*l.* in money, which he usually carried in a double purse, besides his box of jewellery, and a few watches which he was accustomed to carry in his pockets. Midway between Wellingham and Tittleshall there is a plantation on each side of the road, and on one side the plantation ends on a common. Between one and three o'clock several persons passed along the road at this spot on their way to Dereham-market, and observed a quantity of blood in the middle of the road, but, having no suspicion of a murder having been committed in the middle of the day, on a spot so much frequented, continued their journey without stopping to make any inquiry. At half-past three o'clock, however, on the same afternoon, John Robinson, a butcher residing at Tittleshall, who had walked over to Wellingham, reached this spot on his way back, and his attention being arrested by the great quantity of blood on the road, he stopped to look at it. He observed that some portion of the blood had been partially covered by dirt and sand scraped from the road. Just at this moment the sons of the Rev. Mr. Digby, of Tittleshall, came riding up on ponies, and two ladies in a gig, Mrs. Digby and Miss Sheppard. The whole party stopped, and their attention was directed to the blood. One of the young gentlemen observed that there was a trail of blood from the road to the hedge, and the butcher, standing on the hedge, saw that the trail was continued through the fence into the ditch of Tittleshall-common, on the other side, where a horrible spectacle was presented. The body of Mr. Belia was found with his legs towards the hedge, and the coat-collar up, as if the murdered man had been dragged by his coat-collar through the fence. Beside the body lay Mr. Belia's box of jewellery unopened, but taken out of the bag; his stick and umbrella, and also a large hatchet, such as is used for felling timber. The blade of the hatchet was covered with blood and hair, and it was evidently the weapon by which the unfortunate man had been murdered. The pockets of his trousers had been turned inside out, and rifled; but an account-book was found in his pocket, and in his waistcoat-pocket a watch, still going. His head had been nearly severed from his body by a blow at the back of the neck, and there were four deeply-cut wounds across the temples and face, any one of which would have caused death. The right eye was driven inwards to the depth of nearly an inch; indeed, the poor man appeared to have been felled like an ox, and dragged into the ditch. The party of ladies and gentlemen returned to Tittleshall, and gave information of the murder to the rector, who sent a cart to the spot, and, with the assistance of the butcher, and two ploughmen before-mentioned, the body was conveyed to the Griffin Inn, Tittleshall. No suspicion was entertained as to the perpetrator of the murder till late in the evening, when a man named William Webster, a butcher, who was driving in his cart from Tittleshall to Wellingham, about one o'clock on the same day, said he saw a man in the plantation adjoining the ditch where the body was found, and he observed that on his approach the man stooped down to hide himself. Webster mentioned this circumstance at Wellingham, as soon as he heard of the murder, but he did not state that he knew who the man was. At ten o'clock at night, however, he felt uneasy, and went to the house of John Hooks, a parish constable, and gave information that the man he had seen in the plantation was William Thompson, a labourer, residing with his father at Tittleshall, and who was frequently employed in felling timber. Mr. Hooks and Mr. Moore, another parish constable, immediately proceeded to Thompson's house; they found him in bed, and ordered him to rise and dress himself. He did so, putting on different clothes from those he had worn during the day, with the exception of a slop. The constables found on the bed a pair of trousers, the legs of which, and the left pocket, were soaked with blood. In the lower room they found a pair of highlows, with blood on the laceholes. They asked Thompson for his hatchet, but he could not produce it, and he made no statement in explanation. He was apprehended and taken to the Griffin Inn, at Tittleshall, there being no police station nearer than Fakenham. On the following day Webster identified the prisoner as the same man that he had seen in the plantation just before the murder was committed, and two men named Roper, who were at work near the plantation, stated that they met the prisoner coming from the direction of the place where the body was found. He seemed to be in great haste, and perspired profusely. They asked him what o'clock it was. He pulled out a hunting-watch from his trousers' pocket, and said it was half-past one o'clock.

Various additional evidences tending to confirm the strong suspicion of his guilt have since been discovered at his house; and the coroner's jury have returned a verdict of "wilful murder" against him.

JOURNAL OF RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.

Tuesday.—Two accidents. The first occurred near the Knottingley Junction on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway. The Parliamentary train from Leeds, due at Knottingley at 8.20 a.m., arrived there at about the proper time, and the passenger carriages having been attached to others from York, the united train was proceeding on its way to Doncaster, when, in crossing the junction with the up-line to Goole, about 200 or 300 yards from the station, a goods train from that town, which arrived at the point of intersection at the same moment, dashed through the passenger train, cutting it in two about the middle, and knocking off the body of a third-class carriage, containing

about twenty passengers. The vehicle rolled over on its side, amid a terrible screaming from the persons in it, while the wheels and under part of the vehicle remained standing on the line. No one was seriously hurt, we are told. The driver and stoker of the goods engine received no injury, although they remained on the engine; indeed, they had no alternative in the matter, for the dense fog prevailing at the time prevented them from seeing the passenger train until they had run into it, and the signals were totally invisible.

The second accident was also due to the fog. A passenger train from Doncaster dashed into a train of empty trucks near Conesbrough station. The passengers, of course, were "not much hurt," only bruised!

The fog, no doubt, prevented the light signals from working; but why were the obstructions in the way?

Wednesday.—As the guard of the goods train from Derby to Birmingham was unhooking a van at Wooden Box station, whilst the train was in motion, owing to the frosty state of the buffer, he slipped off, and the next carriage went over his thigh, and otherwise injured his body. He shortly after died. On the same day, a person attempted to cross the line to get to the platform at which an approaching train would stop. He leaped on to the platform, but fell back, and the train went over him.

THE WIFE-BEATING MANIA.

THE severity of Lord Palmerston's new law for the punishment of aggravated assaults, does not seem to have operated as a check upon the propensity of the lower classes of London to beat their wives. It would indeed seem time that some medical inquiry into the circumstances should be instituted, and that the physician as well as the magistrate should look into the causes of these sickening phenomena. Between the 1st and the 19th of November no less than sixteen assaults of the worst character have been brought to light. We have recorded most of these in previous weeks, but the four latest came before the Courts on Monday.

The worst of the new cases was that of William Curtis, a tailor, living in the unhealthy locality of New-court, Gravel-lane. The story as told by the wife and a policeman who interfered is very striking.

Emma Curtis said: On Sunday morning, between three and four o'clock, he made me go to bed stark naked, and he ripped up my stays with a penknife, took the bone out of it, and beat me on the body with the bone till it broke in three pieces. He was quite sober, and so was I, for I never drink. He had been out, and I was afraid to go to bed till he came home. After he had broken the bone he beat me with my hair-brush. He then dragged me out of bed, made me make the bed three times, tried to strangle me with his hands, and with the large square cut stick the policeman now has in his hand, struck me several times. I did not call out, for he said if I did he would dance upon my body. After having beaten me severely, he went down stairs and to the bottom of the court, but he immediately returned and began beating me again with the stick, and then the officers came into the room.

The Lord Mayor: How often has this occurred?

Mrs. Curtis: Ever since we were married, in January last. A month ago he gave me two black eyes, and he has frequently used that stick upon me. He has also thrown boiling water from the tea-pot upon me. I am in the utmost danger, and I throw my life upon your lordship's hands, for I believe it is his intention to kill me.

Policeman 28: I was informed that a man had locked up his wife in the house No. 14, in New-court, and I went there with another officer, and upon listening in the passage I heard a noise of tremendous blows as if they were given with a kick upon the naked flesh. I heard the prisoner say, "If you halloo out, I'll dance your guts out." I then broke open the door. The woman was naked on the bed, and the prisoner had his shirt sleeves tucked up, and was in the position of a person who had been inflicting blows. I immediately seized and dragged him away. He was perfectly sober at the time.

The Lord Mayor asked the complainant to what she ascribed this horrible treatment? The complainant said she had made an observation upon her husband's taking a young woman who had been working with them to a public-house, and he was enraged at the liberty she took in doing so; but he was in the habit of knocking her about without the least provocation. Curtis said his wife was the person most in fault.

He received the full sentence of six months' imprisonment.

James Wright, another tailor, living in a similarly unhealthy locality—Goodman's-fields—was charged with beating his wife.

Ann Wright, his wife, said:—Yesterday, (Sunday,) he said he would be hung for murdering me, as the man that was sentenced to be hung this morning would be hung. He hit me twice on the head with the sleeve-board, and cut open my skull in two places. I bled very much. He also struck me with his fist in the face, and continued to knock me about for three or four minutes. I called out for assistance, and people came, and I went to a doctor to have my head dressed. I have been married to the prisoner three years, and he has beaten me every month since I married him.

The Lord Mayor: Is there any cause for this conduct? Mrs. Wright: Drink is the cause, my lord. I believe he married me in a wrong name, and I have asked him to marry me in his right name. I left him a month ago on account of it, and he said he had already murdered one woman, and that I should be the next, and I have no doubt of the effect of his future violence, if I have no protection from your lordship.

The policeman who took Wright into custody said: that when going to the station-house, Wright said he was a fool for letting me apprehend him; and swore that as soon as he should get over this, he would smash his wife's brains out.

The Lord Mayor sentenced him to hard labour in Holloway prison for six calendar months.

James Crosby, 36, an ill-looking collier, residing at Pye-street, Westminster, was charged with assaulting his wife, who is at present an inmate of the London Hospital. It appeared from the evidence of a woman named Valentine, that on the previous evening, as the prisoner and his wife were passing through Cottage-row, Commercial-road East, he told her to make haste. She replied that she was going as quickly as she could, on which the prisoner took up his stick and gave her a dreadful blow across the face, which witness believed broke her nose. In a moment the poor woman was covered with blood, and the prisoner was given into custody. The injured woman appeared to be perfectly sober. Mr. Yardley said it was a very bad case, and inflicted the full penalty of six months' hard labour.

Grinney, the man who pretended to be jealous of his wife and tried to murder her, has been committed for trial. The case occurred last month. Mrs. Grinney has been for nearly a month in the hospital. But she appeared in court this week and told her story.

Having to go to my sister's that morning, I got up soon after six o'clock and went down stairs, leaving my husband in the bedroom. He came down stairs and joined me in the back room, and while I was dressing I called out to him and asked what o'clock it was, and he replied, "It's close upon seven, my dear," and was at this time in the act of coming down stairs, and came close to me on my left side. I was in the act of putting my brooch into the front of my dress, when my husband, who had his right hand in his trousers-pocket, pulled out a black-handled table-knife, exclaimed "Now is the time, you —," instantly grasped me by the back of the neck with his left hand, and commenced cutting my throat. He gave me one cut before I could protect myself, and inflicted the larger wound in the upper and front part of my throat. I raised my hands to protect myself, and, having got hold of the knife by the blade, succeeded in getting it out of his hand, and threw it away. He then laid hold of me by the hair, and dragged me across the room into the passage, and forced me on the ground. He here drew a second knife from his pocket—the same trousers-pocket from which he had taken the first—and again commenced cutting at my throat. He endeavoured to cut me on the left side downwards, but I struggled very violently with him, and called to my daughter to open the parlour window, and cry out for assistance, as my husband had secured the door. I was fortunately enabled to defend myself by putting my hands up, and thus prevented my throat from being cut. As my daughter was passing us to get into the parlour, my husband made a desperate thrust at her back with the point of the knife, and if she had not fortunately stumbled at the instant, the knife must have gone through her, as she had nothing on at the time but her chemise, and when he saw her open the window, he exclaimed, in a savage manner, "You —, I will pay you out for this." I here, by great exertion, succeeded in getting the second knife from my husband, but in accomplishing this I received some severe cuts on my hands, and threw it away also—I threw it into the passage. When deprived of this knife, my husband forced the tops of his fingers into the wounds in my throat, and not only endeavoured, but succeeded, in tearing them larger. My husband by some means got a third knife, and having succeeded in dragging me into the front parlour, and drawn my head towards the cupboard, must have, in my then exhausted state, succeeded in cutting my throat had not assistance at that moment arrived and released me from him. I then ran out as far as the front gate, and have no recollection whatever of what occurred until I found myself in the hospital.

Mr. Norton to Mrs. Grinney: Had any other conversation passed between your husband and yourself than that you have stated, on the morning of this desperate attack on you?—Mrs. Grinney: Yes. I recollect his asking me if the youth Tone and Lee were not in the front room, and I said, "Why, Philip, you must be foolish, for you to talk so, you know you let them out at four o'clock." He then said, "We are all alone now;" and I replied, "Well, there are as many as are wanted. There are you and I, and our three children." Immediately upon this, it was, that he said, "Now is the time, you —," and commenced the attack on me. The witness here went into a lengthened statement of the conduct of her husband towards her, produced in a great measure, as it appeared, from his jealousy, not only of Lee, but her own brother.

There was one thing most remarkable in the proceedings, and that was that, during her lengthened examination, Mrs. Grinney did not, from beginning to end, betray the slightest emotion; and her daughter, a nice-looking girl of eighteen, sat by her side all the time, and appeared as if the dreadful detail referred to the most common-place affair; and even the prisoner heard the evidence with the utmost nonchalance.

Another case was brought to light on Thursday, making the seventeenth in twenty-five days. Margaret Rogers, reluctantly deposed, indeed the evidence was wrung from her, that her husband, John Rogers, had been for the last two years in the habit of beating, kicking, and cutting her with knives at intervals. On one occasion he thrust his hand into her mouth and tried to tear it open! He was sent to prison for six months, and at the end of that time find bail for good behaviour.

John Ralph, a seaman, hired a boatman named Bolas to take him across the river, and then wanted him to row a long distance for sixpence. Bolas refused. Whereupon Ralph savagely attacked, flung him into the river, and tried to murder him. Fortunately another boatman came up, and Bolas was saved. Ralph is committed for trial.

Last week a policeman named Hume, charged one Twitty, a cattle dealer, with assaulting him, and three other policemen swore to the fact. This week the superintendent of the division appeared in the Wandsworth Police Court with evidence—the written confessions of the men—that the three had sworn falsely. The five men were drinking together, when Twitty began "larking"

with Hume, who instantly took him into custody. The men are suspended.

The burglary at Peckham has taken a mysterious turn, and its dramatic incidents have been further developed this week in the Lambeth Police Court. The constables ascertained that Mr. Young's servant had been frequently seen with a noted "swell mob'sman," and she admitted the fact. In reply to the questions of the magistrate, she said that about four months ago she was accosted by a "gentleman" in Peckham, who invited her to take something to drink, and she had a glass of gin and water with him. After that she had frequently seen the same "gentleman" and drunk with him, and she ultimately invited him to see her at the house of her master. He had been there three times at least, and on every occasion but one he had been seen by other persons besides. He represented himself to be a stationer in the City, dressed like a gentleman, wore a gold watch and chain, and said his name was Taylor.

Mr. Norton: Has this person ever taken improper liberties with you?—Witness: No, sir, never.

Mr. Norton: And for what purpose do you think this "gentleman," as you call him, visited you?—Witness: I thought he wished to keep my company, but I might be silly for thinking so (laughter).

Mr. Norton: Then he has made love to you, has he?—Witness: Yes, sir, he has.

Mr. Norton: It is much more likely that his love was directed towards your master's plate chest (renewed laughter).

Two men were arrested on suspicion, but the girl could not identify them, and they were liberated.

A very dirty and drunken specimen of feminine humanity was charged with a sudden assault upon another woman. Here are her reasons: "Why, on Saturday night I came across Mary Parsons, who'd been a challenging me for the last six months, and bouncing about what she'd do when she laid hold of me. So I says, 'Now, Mary, let's have it out, a fair stand-up fight, and whichever gets licked, not to police the other.' For she ain't no woman as wouldn't fight it out there and then, if so be as how she has a quarrel with another woman." She was sent to prison for a month.

STEALING A MISTRESS.

VINCENT LAMBERGER, a Polish refugee, was summoned for an assault upon Ivanhoff Wellinski, his fellow-countryman. The case was heard at the Guildhall, and out of it rose a singular scene.

It appeared that the complainant, who was a medical man, received 5*l.* from the defendant, who alleged it was by way of loan. The complainant, however, stated he had a claim against the defendant for medical attendance exceeding that amount, and on meeting him in the street a demand was made for money, which complainant refused, denying that he owed defendant anything, upon which he struck complainant.

Alderman Humphery said: The question of debt you must settle between yourselves, but an assault has been committed, though not of a serious nature, and I shall, therefore, have the defendant bound over in his own recognisances of 25*l.* to keep the peace towards complainant and all her Majesty's subjects for twelve months.

Mrs. Wellinski: Can you not do anything else to protect my husband? Mr. Lamberger has assaulted him before, and threatened to run him through the body.

Alderman Humphery: I have bound him over to keep the peace.

Mrs. Wellinski: But who is to keep me, if he kills my husband?

Alderman Humphery: You have nothing to fear from him now. I have given your husband all the protection in my power.

Mr. Holland, of Great Tichborne-street, here came forward, and said: I wish to ask your worship's advice. Mr. Lamberger has taken away my housekeeper, who has robbed me of some of my goods.

Alderman Humphery: Were you living with your housekeeper then?—Mr. Holland: Yes, sir.

Alderman Humphery: How long have you been living with her?—Mr. Holland: About nine years and a half, sir.

Alderman Humphery: I cannot help you. You should not keep a mistress.

Mr. Holland: I only do that which many in the higher circles of society do, and I don't see why I should be thought worse than them for so doing.

Alderman Humphery: But I have no doubt they suffer as much as you from the impropriety of their conduct.

Mr. Holland: That man (pointing to Mr. Lamberger) is a rogue and a vagabond in this country, for I took him in without a rag to his back, and kept him from starving. He lodged with me, and I now consider I am not safe, as he has threatened to take my life with a sword-stick that he generally carries about with him.

Alderman Humphery: Very well, then, if you will bring him up the first time he repeats that threat, with a sword-stick in his possession, I'll punish him; but at present I can only bind him down to keep the peace towards you. With regard to Mr. Lamberger's robbing you of your mistress, what are your respective ages?

Mr. Holland: The lady was 36 years of age, and I am nearly as old; but Mr. Lamberger was only 24 years old.

Alderman Humphery: I suppose the lady preferred the younger man. Is she present?

Mary Hume (a very unprepossessing-looking female) here came forward and said she left Mr. Holland because he ill-treated her, and she had to keep him.

Alderman Humphery: How can you do that?—Mary Hume: I receive an allowance from a Member of Parliament.

Mr. Holland: Yes, sir; Sir John M^cTaggart allows her 50*l.* a year.

Alderman Humphery: Did you live with Sir John M^cTaggart?—Mary Hume: Yes, sir.

Alderman Humphery: And does he know that you have been living with these men?—Mary Hume: I believe not.

Alderman Humphery: I suppose not, or he might perhaps stop the allowance. But it was not altogether right, after living with a man nine years, to leave him to go with another. Are you living now with Mr. Lamberger?—Mary Hume: Yes, sir; but he did not take me away from Mr. Holland. I left him voluntarily.

Alderman Humphery: Well, Mr. Holland, I cannot do anything to punish Mr. Lamberger for robbing you of your mistress. At present he is bound over to keep the peace towards all parties. If you will keep a housekeeper you must take better care of her, or put up with the consequences attending such immoral connexions.

All parties concerned then retired.

MISCELLANEOUS.

WHILE Prince Albert and the Duke of Brabant were visiting Cambridge, on Tuesday and Wednesday, the Queen, with the Duchess of Brabant, came to London, on the latter day, and visited Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament. A privy council was held, at Windsor, yesterday. The Queen was to leave for Osborne, to-day.

The telegraphic despatch, from Trieste, stating the contents of the Indian mail, arrived, yesterday. New wars, in Burmah, are expected; and there has been fighting in the Nizam's dominions. The news from China adds nothing to previous accounts.

The new Indian appointment continues that series which testifies the desire of the Indian Government to promote practical improvements. Mr. Thomason is succeeded in the government of the North-west Provinces by Mr. J. R. Colvin, one of the judges of the Bengal Sudder Adaulut. Mr. Colvin is not an unknown man; he was Mr. Thomason's junior by two years, and he has served with distinction. It is said of him, that not one of his decisions has ever been reversed. All the services in India will look upon this selection with pleasure, and those who have compared the successive appointments since the passing of the "Government of India Bill," will recognise in this important addition to the series a new proof of the spirit by which the Government is actuated.—*Globe*.

The Tynemouth Bribery Commission continues its sittings; but the existence of corruption has been so generally ascertained that these inquiries have no interest.

The Scottish Rights movement has extended to Glasgow, where a meeting, under the presidency of Lord Eglinton, will be held on the 15th December.

Apparently Ministers have yielded an instalment to the "Scottish Rights" cry. A Scotch contemporary says, "we believe that in a few days steps will be taken by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to re-floor the Picture Gallery in Holyrood Palace, it being at present in so rotten and unsafe a condition that the greatest caution requires to be exercised on occasion of any great assemblage, such as at the election of a representative peer."

Sir Robert Peel has consented to deliver a lecture in five or six towns of the Midland district, in aid of the fund being raised to employ a paid lecturer in connexion with the Midland Union of Mechanics' Institutes.—*Birmingham Gazette*.

The Archbishop of Dublin has taken away the licence of one of the curates in his diocese. The offence is signing a document, condemning the conduct of Dr. Gobal, Bishop of Jerusalem, for proselytising among the Greeks.

Doctor Seve, of Cannes, has addressed the following letter to the *Union du Var*:—"In a former number of your estimable journal it is stated that 'Lord Brougham appears to have retired from public life, and to have fixed his residence at Cannes, in order to devote himself to the care of his broken constitution.' It is my duty, as the physician of the Brougham family at Cannes, to correct an error calculated to afflict the numerous friends of the noble lord and the entire scientific world. Never did Lord Brougham enjoy more perfect health during the twenty years which he has visited our country."

Cardinal Wiseman is still at Rome, whither he went from Paris, after attending at the translation of the relics of St. Theodosia, at Amiens, and it is considered more than probable that he will not return again to England. His health is said to have suffered considerably from the severity of his labours in England since the establishment of the Papal hierarchy; and a growing opinion is, we understand, prevalent in Roman-catholic circles, that the Pope will employ him in some high diplomatic post at Rome, instead of sending him back to superintend the affairs of the Roman-catholic church in England.

Mr. Apsley Pollatt, who addressed his constituents, on Tuesday, announced himself as in favour of a distinct corporation for the borough of Southwark.

Mr. J. R. Hope Scott, of Abbotsford, Q.C., delivered the introductory lecture to the Galashiels Mechanics' Institute on the 8th inst.

Sir Edmund Lyons touched at Lisbon, on the 12th, on his way to the Dardanelles in the steam-ship *Terrible*.

The *Impériuse*, 50, screw, Captain Watson; *Valorous*, 10, paddle; *Desperate*, 8, screw, proceeded to sea at four o'clock, on Tuesday, under steam and sail. The *Agamemnon* has been victualled for months; and, after touching at Malta, will proceed to the Dardanelles. The others are to rendezvous at Malta, but will probably join Admiral Corry's squadron shortly.

It was understood, says the *Times*, on Tuesday, that Messrs. Baring are remitting 300,000*l.* in half-imperials to St. Petersburg, on account, it is presumed, of the Russian Government. The additional shipments by other firms were to the amount of 80,000*l.*

The Brussels Chamber of Commerce has decided that the government should be petitioned to admit foreign cast iron intended for the construction of machines free of duty. The Chambers of Commerce of Antwerp, Liège, Mons, Namur, Verviers, and others, have come to similar decisions.

The Swedish Government has decided on a vast system of railways, the execution of which will be confided to an English company.

A School of Mines is about to be established in Cornwall.

The New York Crystal Palace is to be kept open through the winter.

Lord Shaftesbury, in a letter to the journals, holds up Manchester as an example to our corporate towns. "I am just returned," he says, "from a short visit to that town, where I heard and saw the many improvements that had been instituted by that public-spirited body. Vast thoroughfares are opened in many parts; the streets, courts, and alleys, are regularly cleansed; pavements are almost everywhere laid down; the smoke nuisance is in rapid course of abatement; public drains and sewers are constructed; the cesspools that remain will, I hope, be speedily removed; and an abundant supply of good and soft water is so admirably distributed, that, in a short time, the smallest tenement will enjoy an unlimited quantity at an almost nominal price. The benefits to the mass of the people are quite incalculable."

It seems just possible that Clonmel will elect Mr. John O'Connell after all. The election committee have decided in his favour. A fortnight will elapse before the election takes place.

For the second time a resolution to admit the Sisters of Mercy as visitors to the Castlebar workhouse has been unsuccessful. On the last occasion, the numbers for and against were equal, but the chairman (Mr. Neal Davis) having voted for the exclusion of the sisterhood, the former resolution was declared to be affirmed.

The property of the convict Kirwan, consisting of a rent-charge on lands in the county of Longford, and houses in the city of Dublin, was sold by auction on Tuesday in Dublin. The attendance was extremely numerous, and the biddings brisk. The whole realized the sum of 450*l.*

A scheme for building extensive lodgings for the poor of Dublin has been set on foot.

The fog settled down upon London this week with great determination. It was very dense on Tuesday night, so much so, that traffic, though not interrupted was greatly obstructed. The next morning it was tolerable, but gradually thickening during the day; it became denser than ever just about sun-set, and continued so until nine o'clock. For some time the omnibuses and cabs preceded by links, made head against it, but finding their progress very slow and dangerous, the former gave up running altogether. Between eight and nine the streets looked like those of a city whose inhabitants had fled from an enemy. A woman was killed in Carey-street, and several persons were knocked down. On the river the steamers and other craft came to an anchor where they could, and barges drifting against the bridges sustained some damage.

The fog has been pretty general over the country. At Stourbridge four persons got into the canal and were drowned.

Mr. Hesketh, the Blackburn manufacturer, whose rusty old engine exploded the other day, killing several persons, and the engineer, have been committed for manslaughter on a coroner's warrant founded on a verdict of a jury. The inquiry has been very searching, proving the absolute unfitness of the engine.

The master of the ship *Guiding Star*, which went into Belfast with cholera on board, has been fined for infringing the Passenger Act, by the Liverpool magistrates. The charges against him were that uncooked provisions were given to the emigrants; that a number of waterclosets had been cleared away, leaving fewer than required by law; and that the bulkhead dividing the male from the female passengers had been removed after the ship left port. For the defence it was proved that the hospital was not removed until the return of the vessel, that the four closets in question had become a nuisance, and that the surgeon had ordered them to be removed when the cholera broke out. A surgeon, who was examined, gave his opinion that if the *Guiding Star* had not put into Belfast there would not have been twenty persons alive when she reached New York. Mr. Mansfield, in deciding the case, said that the removal of the bulkhead and waterclosets had been considered necessary to the health of the passengers, but the law was imperative, and he was obliged to convict.

The general receipts of the company that carries on the gaming-house at Spa, have this year amounted to 504,000 francs, and the expenses of the establishment to 120,000 francs, leaving a net profit of 444,000 francs, of which 195,000 francs goes to the government, and 186,592 francs to the shareholders, after deducting from the profits, the charges of the administration, the portion of the hospitals, and that of the charitable fund for the poor of the commune.

Mobbs, the man who murdered his wife so brutally, was hung, in front of Newgate, on Monday.

A gang of Spaniards were ill-treating a woman, at Deptford. Two men ran to protect her, when the ruffians attacked, and stabbed them. One of the men is fatally wounded. The Spaniards fled.

Two constables have captured a cart containing smuggled brandy, and two smugglers in charge of it, at Hayling Island, in Hampshire. A second cart and its driver escaped.

Six youths have been killed and four wounded, two fatally, by the fall of two houses at Plymouth. The houses had been purchased and dismantled for improvements; boys were playing in them when they fell in.

A woman, named Hayes, at Kilbrittain, near Bandon, has been committed for trial, charged with manslaughter, she having inoculated four children with small-pox matter, two of which subsequently died from the disease thus conveyed into their systems. It was reported that numerous other deaths had previously resulted in her practice.

The Master of the Morpeth Workhouse was charged with indecent conduct towards the female inmates. The evidence taken before an Assistant Poor-Law Commissioner was transmitted to the Central Board, and Lord Courtenay wrote back, that, although the evidence was not altogether satisfactory to the Board, still there was sufficient to show that the master had been guilty of much impropriety, and that he had better resign.

A most wanton and unjustifiable outrage has been perpetrated on a Protestant church at Warmsworth, between two and three miles from Doncaster. The occurrence took place some time during the night of Wednesday last, and those who committed it commenced their attack on the building by first throwing stones at the windows from the outside, a number of which they broke. They then proceeded to force open the church doors, as is indicated by footmarks about the place, but, not succeeding, they went to a window on the north side of the church, broke the glass, tore away the lead from the squares, and removed the casement, by which they were enabled to creep through. Having thus obtained an entrance, they pulled down the communion rails, and demolished the stone font. Nothing but the base of the font remains to indicate that one stood there. The velvet cushion on the top of the pulpit, and the one on the clerk's reading desk, as well as a great number of the cushions and hassocks in the pews, were cut and torn, and the stuffings strewn about the church and graveyard. Some wood-work near the communion table was also pulled down and broken. The stone near the same place is also pulled up. A number of the books belonging to the congregation have been torn and otherwise damaged, and thrown about the church. Several loose seats used by the poorer class of the congregation were broken and piled one over another. After they had broken or damaged everything they could come in contact with in the sacred edifice, they proceeded to remove the lid or top stone of a tomb, which they rolled over in the churchyard, and left it there. It is not possible at present to estimate the amount of damage done to the church property, but it must be considerable. It is pretty evident that the object of the depredators was to gratify some private feeling of revenge, and not to plunder; for, although there is a blue cloth missing, there were articles of value in the church which could have been taken away without much difficulty. The present is not the first time that the property of the church has been damaged, but not to such a serious extent. The Rev. C. E. Thomas, the incumbent, who is much respected by his parishioners, is instituting vigorous measures for the apprehension, if possible, of the depredators, but the fellows have shown so much tact and dexterity in the execution of their work that we fear the authorities will have great difficulty in bringing them to justice. A reward will be offered for the apprehension and conviction of the offenders.

A HALF-NOISY THOROUGHFARE. — On Monday evenings there was a horn; after which (separate concern) a German band; organs; boys whistling "Pop goes the Weasel." Tuesday, Ethiopian serenaders; organs; boys whistling "Pop goes the Weasel." Wednesday, a detached performer on the bones; a brain-crushing machine drawn by a donkey—a man on a platform grinding all our heads in it; other organs; band of Scotch fiddlers, scraping and scratching hideous strathspeys with unrosined horse-hair; boys whistling "Pop goes the Weasel." Thursday; ophicleides, cornopeans, and trombones; Indian beating tom-tom; acrobats and two drums; organs; boys whistling "Pop goes the Weasel." Friday, Ethiopian serenaders; psalm-singing by an old man playing the violoncello, with two girls in white tuckers, every two lines first read by the old man, and then sung by the whole strength of the company; organs; boys whistling "Pop goes the Weasel." Saturday, street fights and shouts; extra carts (butchers' carts very aggravating); German band; Ethiopians; hurdy-gurdy; harps and accordions; brain-crushing machine; knife-grinder (most excruciating); Finnan haddocks; hearthstones; and "Pop goes the Weasel" until eleven o'clock at night. — *Dickens's "Household Words."*

The Leader.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1853.

Public Affairs.

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

THE BAD BOURBONS CONSPIRING AGAIN.

How long is the patience of the world to be wearied with the most elaborate arrangements, the wildest sacrifice of nations, in order to secure the interest, or even the crotchets, of particular families, and those families none of the best in Europe? The question is one which is important, and even urgent, to the people of Europe, and particularly to the people of England at the present moment; for it is evident that great dynastic intrigues are now actually on foot. The Duke de Nemours meets the Count de Chambord at Frohsdorff; one makes a morning call upon the other and the call is returned; and that paltry fact is counted so important—is, indeed, by favour of human weakness, so truly important, that it is telegraphed throughout the whole of Europe within a few hours. And who are those two persons who thus meet? One, the Duke de Nemours, is the astutest surviving son of Louis Philippe, not the most favourable specimen of a king, nor yet the worst, as kings go. Louis Philippe, the son of Egalité, the debauched Duke of Orleans, who coquetted between royalty and democracy—played the adventurer through the early part of his life, now acting schoolmaster in Switzerland; now courting a Princess in Naples; then seeking to attain a military position in Spain; travelling and courting in America, or living in fussy retirement in England; returning to France with the restoration. Brought to the throne by a revolution and Lafayette; endeavouring to rest his power on the trading classes alone; unable to comprehend the national forces by which he was surrounded; kicked out of power in his old age; accepting at last edicts of abdication from a newspaper editor; he fled to England under the name of Mr. William Smith, and left behind him a large cellar of wine and private debts of long standing. He had a various family, that citizen king—the gallant but not intellectual Orleans; the sailorly and deaf Joinville; the military and active Aumale, said to be his father's favourite, and the Duke de Nemours, with whom scandal has been more busy than history. Of his life we know nothing, but the busy tongue aforesaid ascribes to him some of the most humiliating incidents related of our George the Fourth in his scapegrace youth; and it was stated on the trial of the Duke de Praslin, who murdered his wife under circumstances so strange, that amongst his friends was this same Duke de Nemours.

And who is the other young man? He is the grandson of Louis XVIII., bearing, it is said, a remarkable resemblance to the degenerate line of Bourbon, with much of the *bonhomie* and dignity of his line, a wen upon his neck, and the dream upon his mind that the sacred legitimacy of kings is to be restored; with an incapacity for dealing with affairs as they really are. We have in England scarcely anything with which we can compare this person. Only one parallel occurs to us—that is, a gentleman now living in this country, who has destroyed documents relating to the life of Cromwell, because he regards it as a public offence to do anything which can impede the restoration of the Stuarts. And our old protectionist may present the idea in another English form. Henri Cinq may be called a monarch who is impossible, a vagrant apostle, of the right divine *in partibus*, and a sickly gentleman of feeble mind, whose ambition is fit only for an antiquarian museum. It is a meeting of this mild antiquity, and this perhaps reformed *mauvais sujet* that the telegraph proclaims throughout Europe!

The two meet for some practical purpose. Both have competed for the throne of France—both have hereditary claims to it—Henri Cinq being

the true heir, the Duke de Nemours the son of the last of the Bourbons. They have united claims of course for the purpose of re-occupation. Now we never countenanced the claims of Louis Napoleon, nor on the other hand are we prepared to deny that in many respects his present policy appears to be advantageous to France and to Europe. It is conceivable, indeed, that a truly patriot party might set him aside, and might establish some better rule in that great country. But the idea of disturbing him—a man at all events of vigour, of sagacity, and of a large ambition, in order to replace him either by the friend of the Duke de Praslin, or by the young gentleman with a wen upon his neck and a very ancient bee in his bonnet, would be about the silliest and wickedest act that could be committed. Yet there is reason to suppose that such a substitution is not only in the mind of both those gentlemen, but in the minds of others who possess some power to bring it about!

The claims of the two men are not quite so competitive as might be supposed. Sacred as he may be, Henri Cinq is now understood to anticipate that he can have no issue. Should he attain to the throne it will be but a personal occupation, no son of his succeeding. The Duke de Nemours is not heir of Louis Philippe, though he is the most ambitious and astute man of his family. We do not know whether he is acting for himself—it may be for his nephew—his own share of the proceeds being a regency. It is thus apparent that the claims of Chambord, Nemours, and the Count of Paris, are all reconcilable. Now by whom is the meeting of these two worthies countenanced? They meet on the territories of the Emperor of Austria, who professes to be partly in alliance with France,—that is, the Emperor Napoleon—on the subject of Turkey and the peace of Europe. Yet that same Emperor affectionately receives this insidious Nemours, introduced to him by the legitimate Chambord. The fusion of the two branches of the Bourbon was, if not originally proposed by M. Guizot, vehemently advocated by that statesman-historian. M. Guizot was the minister of Louis Philippe, and we never shall forget the cold reprobation which he cast upon the people when they shook off the rule of the king of the umbrella. The coldest man in Europe is M. Guizot, and the harshest calculator. He has recommended this fusion, and he conducts that paper in Paris called the *Assemblée Nationale*, which is the devoted organ of the Russian policy. From this we have indications of a conspiracy, which comprises the heir of Charles X., the heir of Louis Philippe, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the doctrinaire party in Paris. The fusion has also been supported in London by journals which have been distinguished for the consistency with which they have magnified the merits of Russia and disparaged the rights of Turkey—journals which are understood to represent the views of our prime minister, “*ce cher Aberdeen*” of Louis Philippe.

While some dynasties revive, others fall. The unhappy Queen of Portugal has just gone to her account, and we trust that she will be able to put in many a plea of “extenuating circumstances;” for she has been indeed an ill-used woman, the sport of dynastic intrigues and national revolutions, of ill-regulated passions, and official manœuvres. It is calculated that since Portugal is relieved from a queen who was fat but neither fair nor forty, its fortunes may be redeemed by the worth and abilities of her son, Pedro V.—a youth sixteen years of age. Upon such sorry bases do dynastic politicians found their calculations. Now, instead of anticipating salvation for Portugal from the accession of a boy, we rather anticipate new intrigues, and therefore new disturbances—the more since King Ferdinand has proclaimed himself regent, has already been feebly dallying with intrigue, if not coquetting with revolution. That king, however, is a prince of the Coburg family, cousin to our own Prince Consort, and it would be consistent with usage in such matters that the people of England should be called upon to provide ships, men, and money, to rescue from the consequences of his own statesmanship the Portuguese King Consort, should he be in trouble. We have before sustained the throne of that country, which we enrich by taking its wine, though it refuses us even an equitable tariff.

We can only guess at these things. We observe that wretched families, allied by marriage here and there with princes who could not keep their thrones, like Charles X. and Louis Philippe;

or with hereditary idiots like the hereditary perjurer of Naples, are manœuvring to keep or recover their footing upon the necks of nations. We know that professional diplomatists, form the love of art, and trading statesmen, from the love of lucre, will help them. We know that great armies are at the service of Bureaux and Princes, and we know, as we deplore, that the educated classes in most of the European countries, who might, if they pleased, control this universal mal-appropriation of public means, look on in positive supineness and wink at the confiscation of States for the benefit of kings and their creatures. To set up a young gentleman with a wen on his neck, or a friend of the Duke de Praslin's, not only may France be disturbed by civil war and invasion, but Europe may be convulsed, and the people of England may find their means, their power, and the pride of their country sacrificed. They may find it out when all is done—for the arrangements carried on to these ends are always conducted in secrecy under the double veil of official and confidential diplomacy, and we never know what England has been doing until the mischief is irrevocable. We only know that members of this intriguing Orleans family have been received at our court, and that we are still in alliance with that Emperor of Austria, in the precincts of whose authority these two men have met.

CHURCH POLITY: OUR POSITION.

WE have been accused, with some show of plausibility, of refraining, through fear, from making attacks upon high churchmen and high church absurdities, and our advocacy of high Church claims has been set down to the mean desire of compensating for our heterodox opinions, by tagging ourselves to a “respectable” cause. It may also be urged that our course has been destructive; that under the pretext of combating for high Church rights we have really contributed somewhat towards the destruction of the Church; and that we have nothing to offer in its stead. Of the former accusation we should have said nothing, had not respected correspondents drawn our attention to it; of the latter we have something to say, in order to obviate the necessity of future explanations, and to set down a brief outline of our point of view in matters theological.

Had we desired to be trimming and “respectable” we should have imitated journals like the *Guardian* and the *Oxford Herald*, and have advanced principles which we should shirk in the hour of trial. We should have urged the revival of Convocation as desirable in itself, and talked big about Church principles, but when Convocation was sitting we should have given it the cold shoulder, alarmed at the thunders of powerful journalists. We should have contended that clergymen ought to be judged for heresy in some fitting Court of the Church, but when Mr. Maurice was dismissed for heresy we should have endorsed the decision of Dr. Jelf, and admitted the competency of the petty Sorbonne at King's College. We should sneer at the Evangelicals one week, and defend Dr. McNeill from the *Edinburgh Review* the next. In fact, we should trim.

Such has not been our course. We lent our humble support to the demand for Convocation in 1851, because we believed that the State Church had a right to her Parliament, while a State Church she remained; and because we believed that such was the only honest policy for churchmen. We believe so still. The Church is one, or she is not at all; the Church has doctrines or she has not. If she be not *one* but many, then she is a pretence; if she have not one homogeneous doctrine, or set of doctrines mutually dependent on each other, but several incompatible doctrines, then she is an imposture. National health demands that she should be honest and consistent above all things; for she is still the perplexed Queen of millions of consciences, and her example is fatal to national honesty; for if the spiritual guides err why may not the flock follow? She is a state establishment not in unison with the state authority; for are there not Catholics, Nonconformists, Unitarians, and what not in the Supreme Legislative Assembly of the realm? It is not fitting that the mixed secular assembly should take thought for the Church. She ought to have a Court of her own. Her wide-spread rankling discords are known from the meanest hamlet up to the mighty metropolis. Why does she not set herself straight with the nation, or

perish in the attempt? Why does she permit the charge to go unanswered, that her strongest bond is property? Perhaps she cannot answer it; perhaps she finds the state-connexion convenient, inasmuch as it secures the property; if it were not so, would she not sever her connexion to-morrow? It is for the Church to show that this reproach is unjustly levelled at her, by asserting her independence. It is for the Church to show that she is independent, by obtaining unity at all costs. If she cannot do this, still it remains our duty to urge it upon her; and if she fail to do it, still we are bound to insist upon her endurance of the consequences. And it is because there is a party in the Church anxious to assert her independence, thus making the bond something more than property, and willing to take the consequences, that we have supported that party. And on the same principle we give, and shall give our support to whatever party may endeavour to infuse honesty into our national life, to promote out-speaking, and to make practice accord with profession.

In material affairs, in war, in trade, in politics, it is permissible to look to consequences before commencing actions; but compromise in morality and religion is not permissible. Professor Maurice must believe as he does, and publish his belief; and Dr. Jelf must eject him for the same. It is not permitted either to Mr. Maurice or to Dr. Jelf to calculate the consequences of their conduct. It is wicked to talk of compromise where absolute truth is at stake. The Church of England must reconcile herself to herself, must suppress or cast out what is alien to her doctrines and rites, or surrender for ever the claim she so ostentatiously makes to be the only true Church of Christ. In no other way can she fling back the flagrant reproach so justly aimed at her, that she is a fascicle of sects, whose only bond is property, whose prestige is the tradition of an elder Church, and whose internal contests are the scandal of the age.

Thus we have not proceeded with merely destructive views. We do not pretend to predict the consequences which may ensue from their accomplishment; sufficient be it that they are right. All we desire is, that truth may prevail, and with it a spirit of meekness and charity. We hold ourselves bound in duty to accept and follow out that truth wherever it may lead. If it should turn out that the doctrines of the Church of England, and the other forms of those doctrines existing collaterally with her, are not reconcilable to truth, surely every single-minded man will rejoice that truth is found, conscious that no institutions, no forms, no faiths, are of the least moment, in comparison with the truth.

But as it is only from outspeaking and honest speaking that the truth can be ascertained, we look with less regret at the spectacle of religious dissension before us. All we would stipulate for in the conflict is, that the speaking be free, and the opinions spoken honest. And thus, in this profoundly discordant period, in and out of the Church of England, we find the best guarantee of the future.

Looking deeply into the heart of the matter, we shall see that the conflict is imposed by inevitable necessity; and that it is a conflict of which none now living will see the end. As the art of printing, the study of the Bible, and the corruption of the Papacy, made Luther find the dogmas and the system of Rome too narrow—that is, not sufficiently true for him, so the thoughtful and the single-minded of the present day, living as they do in a flood of intellectual light, compared to which the brilliant age of the Reformation was darkness, find the basis of the religion of the sects too narrow for them. They feel as Professor Maurice appears to feel, perhaps unconsciously, that religious truth is not to be ascertained while the dictates of the great heart of our common humanity are excluded and condemned. The modern system of belief dethrones the human heart, and proclaims the sovereignty of the intellect; for does not the body of religious doctrine consist of logical inferences from a supposed revelation direct from God? Whatever is contrary to those inferences, although it be supported by the strongest testimony human nature is capable of comprehending, is declared untrue; and thus religion is crystallized, and remains in a mechanical shape, producing no practical effect upon the mass of men; belief, vital belief, is replaced by a form of words, mechanically repeated and mechanically assented to,

instead of being the fervid expression of vital truths, welling up from the heart, and moulding the conduct of a life.

From our point of view, the attempt to fix and crystalize religious truth in creeds and articles of faith is not only a vain work, but a blasphemy on humanity—a violation of the broad right of private judgment, which all sects claim for themselves, but not a few deny to their neighbours. The attempt to arrest religious truth at a certain point, and to limit its source to one book, is one of the highest flights ever made by human arrogance. If science and thought in all ages have made one thing more certain than another, it is this: that truth comes to us, not alone from books, not alone from traditions, not alone from the intellect, not alone even from the heart. It enters through all the inlets of our physical, mental, and spiritual being; and how arrogant the effort of the sects to confine it to a set of fragmentary chronicles of the history of an eastern tribe, and the subsequent struggles of a rising faith! Who knows not the limitations of logic, and who has not felt how short is the distance which it carries us out from "that side of our nature which is in contact with the infinite." Religious truth, in all its fulness, cannot even be expressed in words—it can only be *felt*; and the utmost we can do, through the imperfect medium of language, is to set down approximations to the truth we feel and apprehend. The dogmatic religious sects, however, totally disregard this cardinal fact, attempt the impossible task of expressing absolute truth in approximate language, and then demand our absolute assent to it. The inevitable consequence of taking verbal standards is that which we now see—universal contention respecting their correct interpretation.

Nor will that contention cease, until, through long and painful conflicts, men discover that religious truth is not limited to one book, but makes itself apparent coming in upon us on all sides, and approving itself to the highest and holiest dictates of the human heart. In those days there shall be no mechanical religions.

AGRICULTURAL STATICS.

MR. COBDEN tells the English manufacturers and operatives that they run a chance of losing trade in the competition with America, because the Americans are better educated. But how much more the same remark must apply to the condition of our agricultural labourers. There is an education which precedes even that of the school-master—a training of the mind and limb, which renders both efficient for the work in hand. Our agriculturists have heretofore relied upon the artificial protection of exclusive duties, and upon the natural protection which proximity to the home market gives them. The latter they retain; but how can they take advantage of it? It has been their custom to consider that they could not "live" unless wheat were 64s. or more, and they actually have contemplated leaving this wealthy country to be supplied by wheat from abroad; as if their natural protection were no real advantage to them! It seems never to have occurred to them that if they made a smaller percentage on a smaller price, still their income might be compensated by an increased gross amount, and by diminishing the cost of production. Their conduct has been such as almost to imply that they *desired* to make the produce small and the cost great. In order to reduce the cost of production labour must be rendered as efficient as possible, and the produce must be large in proportion to the field whence it is derived. The practice has been for the farmer to occupy more ground than he had the capital and the skill or the industry to work thoroughly; and he has treated his labour as if he did not care whether it were efficient or not. Amongst the subjects of the statistical enquiries promoted by Lord Ashburton and Mr. Philip Pusey, none can be of greater importance to the development of agriculture and the prosperity of the farmer and landlord, as well as the country, than the state of the agricultural labourer.

In order to render a man efficient to his work, he should be strong in limb, quick in his perceptions, and trained in the skilful use of his implement, if not instructed also in such science as enables him to appreciate the natural difficulties with which he must contend. What is the state of the agricultural labourer? We have accounts from all parts of the country: in some they represent the labourer as improving; in others

they show us how miserable the condition still is. Not long ago "A Dorsetshire Clergyman" began the statement of practical details under this head, in the *Times*, giving a financial statement for a week in a labourer's family:—

"The family consists of a father, mother, and four children, all under nine years of age.

EARNINGS—OCT. 23 TO 29.		s.	d.
Father, as day-labourer		8	0
Mother, by weeding, or milking		1	6

EXPENDITURE.		s.	d.
House-rent (very moderate)		9	6
6 lb. of bread per diem, at 8½d. the 4 lb. loaf		1	0
½ lb. of candles		7	5
Soap, for washing linen		0	4
1 oz. of tea		0	4
		0	3
		9	4

Leaving 1½d. for clothes, fuel, shoes, schooling of the children, and the father's benefit club subscription. The common necessities of meat, cheese, and butter are out of the question."

This has been followed up by similar accounts from Somersetshire, Suffolk, Kent, Essex, and other agricultural counties. The rate, indeed, is not always level. In Kent wages range from 10s. to 15s. a-week, with extras during the hop season, which, perhaps, bring in 24s. a-week more. But the lower the level, the broader it is.

There are, indeed, replies. "One of the Belled Dorsetshire Farmers," gives an account of one family; which, in wages to the father at 10s. a-week, and to four sons, at rates ranging from 9s. to 3s. a-week, with house-rent, fuel, and a few extras, makes up a total of 102l. a-year, enough to bring the agricultural labourer within the income-tax. Sir Arthur Hallam Elton, an esteemed country gentleman of Somersetshire, represented that wages in his neighbourhood range from 9s. to 10s. a-week, with advantages in low house rent (4l. and 7l. a-year), allotment grounds—"which are not uncommon," and certain extras. The farmer, he says, cannot afford to pay higher wages; for perhaps his landlord exacts too much. "The great want of our times," according to Sir Arthur, "is such an education of the poorer class as will enable them to understand correctly their present position," and "to use brain as well as hands" in making the best of that position.

There is some truth in this; but it is more true, that it would be well for the employer to understand the position of the labourer. Although nine or ten shillings may be given in Sir Arthur Elton's district, six or seven shillings are given in others, the shilling being the equivalent of three pints a-day of hard cider, and rent being exacted to the amount of 3l., 4l., or 5l. a-year. But let us take, as a specimen of an agricultural district, an account given by a clever correspondent of the *Coventry Herald and Observer*, who has been taking "a peep at the social condition of Suffolk, in 1853." We shall take his description of two districts, Bacton and Crowfield:—

"I visited several of the cottages, and the appearance of the men gave me a strong impression that as a class they were overworked and badly fed. There was a want of cheerfulness in their manner, and in some cases a reckless disregard of prudent habits. When out of employment they relied upon parochial aid, and were insensible to the degradation of pauper relief. The women and elder girls went out occasionally to field work. The cottages were small comfortless places, having very often only one bedroom, and the families are then crowded together so as to outrage all decency. Where adult boys and girls are compelled to occupy the same sleeping apartment, can we anticipate that the young women will exhibit much modesty, or that the men will have regard for the decencies of life? The rents of these cottages were four pounds per annum. They paid no rates. There was generally a small piece of garden, but many were entirely without. In the parish of Crowfield, a few miles from Stowmarket, in an opposite direction to Bacton, I found 68 cottages, and only one out of the 68 had a quarter of an acre of garden ground. In one case there were three cottages to eleven perches of land. There is about seventeen hundred acres of land in the parish, and three-fourths of this quantity is the property of Sir W. F. Middleton, Bart., of Shrubland Hall, a splendid modern mansion in the vicinity of Crowfield. Sir William, who is one of the largest landowners in the county of Suffolk, generally invites the judges to dine with him at the Summer Assizes, and specially entertained Prince Albert at the late meeting of the British Association in this district. The land is in small occupations; only one of Sir William's tenants in this parish has above 150 acres of land. 16 of them have less than 100 acres, and 9 of them less than 50 acres.

They are poor tenants; the land is undrained, and they have not the means of accomplishing so desirable an object, although there are plenty of labourers wanting employment. This wealthy proprietor has apparently forgotten that property has its duties as well as its rights, or at least, he would expend a portion of his princely wealth in improving the land for his tenants, and prepare a small plot of his soil for the use of the labourers as allotments. The poor rate for this parish for the year 1852, was 1s. 10d. in the pound, whilst at Nettlestead it was only 8d., and at Willisham only 6d. in the pound. The estimated rental of the parish of Crowfield is 2745l., and the annual rateable value is 2627l."

Will any stable-keeper tell us what would be the effect of keeping horses over-crowded, underfed, and untrained. A horse, however, is seldom required to think, and never expected to co-operate in processes like those of agriculture. It is evident, from the whole course of discussion, that much higher offices will be exacted from the farmer; and the first instrument in the hands of the farmer is the labourer. The farmer will be required to use machines, of which the present improved specimen must be considered only rude examples: let the farmer ask any iron or cotton manufacturer how he would like to entrust the working of a machine in the hands of a Bacton labourer, ill-fed, untaught, untrained? The Staffordshire or Lancashire men will tell you that it would be to risk as much as the machine is worth. Mr. Philip Pusey shows how necessary it is for the farmer to increase the number of his stock, to improve their character, and to bring them forward rapidly for the butcher's market—a process which not only increases the farmer's means by the sale of a fourfold number of sheep for a given quantity of land; but also, as Mr. Pusey observes, supplies the measure of the productivity of his land; for stock under fattening supplies the productive force of the farm. But how much the condition of stock, and its value from hour to hour, must depend upon the zeal and care of the stock-keeper—sustained zeal as well as skill being the result of education, which teaches men to appreciate the objects of careful attention, and the worth of the process. It is not only the ploughing a straight furrow which the farmer will have to exact from his labourer; the man will also be expected to tend the stock with the care now expected in a master grazier, to tend machinery with an insight into mechanical laws, and, in short, to take a share in carrying on agriculture upon scientific principles. Upon such means depends, wholly and solely, that distinction between agriculture as it is to be, and agriculture as it has been, which is to rescue the British farmer from the "distress" to which he was doomed by protection and its demoralizing consequences. The condition of the labourer, therefore, should be as much the object of inquiry by the agriculturist as the condition of his musket to the soldier, his lancet to the surgeon, or his running rigging to the mariner.

MR. BENNOCH'S PLAN.

Of all the witnesses who have been examined by the Commissioners of Inquiry into the City Corporation, Mr. Bennoch, the common councillor, is the one who has presented the most consistent view of the actual state of the Corporation, and the most complete suggestion for a new system in lieu of the present. The present system is condemned on two grounds. When we speak of the present system, we include not only the old Corporation in the City, but the whole of the metropolis. The two grounds upon which the general system is condemned are these. The City Corporation, preserving many antiquated privileges, causes obstructions to the management of the town, to the trade of individuals, and to the convenience even of private persons. On the other hand, notwithstanding the existence of an expensive municipality within a limited fragment of the whole metropolis, and the parish organization in the metropolitan boroughs, the entire capital remains without a municipal incorporation sufficient to manage its local affairs, or to reduce the great metropolis to a real whole. The present system, therefore, is condemned for insufficiency and for oppressiveness.

The finance of the Corporation which at present exists in the City demands reforming on the several grounds of extravagance, bad levying, and bad appropriation. The extravagance is apparent. While the Corporation of Manchester administers a sum of money amounting to nearly half a million at an expense falling short of 90000l.,

the expense for administering 400,000*l.* in the City of London considerably exceeds 100,000*l.* We are quite ready to admit that there is a distinction between Manchester Corporation and that of London. If it were properly suited to the actual state of the metropolis at the present day, London Corporation would be more important than that of Manchester in something far beyond the ratio of comparison between the populations—more than ten times as important as Manchester. Moreover, the London Corporation inherits traditions and the memory of services performed to the State, which really confer upon it a degree of respectability not to be acquired within a few generations. But when we look into the details of the finance, we find that much of the money expended is laid out, not only for the purpose of small utility, but for purposes which do not in any degree conduce to the dignity of the Corporation. For example, the Town Clerk receives 1892*l.*; the Secondary, who is a species of Town Clerk, 1249*l.*; and the Remembrancer, 1765*l.* The last officer has very few duties to perform; the principal appears to be, to sit under the gallery of the House of Commons, and to take note of any enactments which may invade the privileges of the City; and against these he makes a protest, generally with the effect of causing the City to be exempted from general enactments. By these means he has secured the City against infraction of such privileges as those which enabled the Corporation to dispose of property belonging to freemen who die intestate, to preserve intact their right of meeting pleas of the Crown by ordeal of fire or water, or by wager of battle, with other privileges equally important. This duty of the Remembrancer could be disposed of, once for all, by a rule in Parliament which should exclude the City from all general enactments not expressly made to include it; and any other duties of record could be performed by the Town Clerk or his subordinates. Mr. Bennoch proposes to throw the three offices of Town Clerk, Secondary, and Remembrancer into one, with a salary of 1250*l.*; allowing the holder three clerks at 300*l.* each,—a total cost of 2150*l.*, instead of 4906*l.* This is a specimen of the manner in which a judicious economy might reduce the expenditure of the City, without reducing the efficiency or the dignity of any office in the Corporation.

The finance is bad, we have said, for vicious levying. Of this the coal tax is an example. It amounts to one shilling and one penny per ton. There is no great objection to the manner in which this tax is divided—one penny to collection, and fourpence to improvements of the City; eightpence being returned to the general Government for improvements outside the City. By this tax New Oxford-street has been constructed, Trafalgar-square has been improved, Victoria-street has been made, and other improvements are destined in Southwark and elsewhere. But if a rate is desirable for improvements, how excessively inconvenient and unjust to impose a rate, not upon the household of the ratepayers, who would benefit by the improvement, but upon the coal-cellar; thus especially pressing upon a vital necessity of the poor! The expenditure is bad, partly for those payments to the occupants of offices which are useless, and do not conduce to the dignity of the City, because the services which they perform might be quite as effectually performed by persons who receive payment on other grounds. The Remembrancer, for example, might be dispensed with, and the same watch upon the general income might be kept by the Town Clerk, who could do it without difficulty. The pageantry of the Lord Mayor's show, not altogether so objectionable in itself as Mr. Bennoch and some others regard it, may also be considered to cost an exorbitant sum.

But we have never regarded the more gross expenditure as any test of abuse. We believe, in the first place, that the service which would be required for so great a city as the British metropolis is a commodity of high price, and can only be purchased by a payment reckoned at hundreds and thousands. But beyond that we hold that there is a payment which the market does not indicate. You might perhaps get a particular service performed at a certain price. You can procure a lawyer for a specific service at a well-known rate; you can get an article for a newspaper according to a tariff which is well understood; and you buy a hat in the shop for rates which can be ascertained beforehand. When, however, you

seek to have a service performed, not only up to the standard of a class, but up to a standard quite peculiar and *sui generis*, with something thrown in of a spirit, freedom, and dignity beyond what a mere money payment could give, then you must place the man from whom you expect such service above the ordinary level of paid servants. If a great journal requires a style of writing above that of other journals, it can secure it in the first place by getting the pick of men who write, and paying them the highest salary, and then adding to the salary a something of generous surplusage which shall discharge the writer from sense of mere salaried performance and endow him with a spontaneity of superabundance. So if you want a man to execute the office of Mayor, you might procure an intelligent, a competent, and assiduous person, who could execute the work say for five hundred a year; but if you require a man to feel that he does not belong to mere paid officers, that he represents the hereditary Lordship which embodies the old traditions, and the present power of London city, you must place him amongst the category, for the year at least, of magnates whose income is reckoned by thousands. A great city can always afford to be open-handed; and unless it is open-handed, it will find its public services executed in a mean, carking spirit, altogether unworthy of a great city. A better economy of the state finance might, as Mr. Bennoch calculates, save forty or fifty thousand a year—equal to a capital of one million and a quarter for improvements. But to our experience, a far greater thing than the mere saving of pounds is the securing of something better for the money.

This Mr. Bennoch's plan appears to us to do. What he proposes in brief is this. He would erect the present City and the Parliamentary Boroughs into nine Municipalities, namely, the City Proper, the Tower Hamlets, Finsbury, Marylebone, Westminster, Kensington, Lambeth, Southwark, and Greenwich-and-Deptford; each Municipality to have twelve Aldermen, and seventy-two Councillors. He would also erect a Central Council, to consist of thirty-six Aldermen and one hundred and eight Councillors, elected by the Corporations; each Corporation in turn to appoint a Lord Mayor for the year, who shall preside over the Central Council. The Central Council would sit in the City of London, from which Corporation would be purchased, by the united Municipalities, the Guildhall, Mansion-house, and every public building necessary for the new Corporation. The Central Council would have the management of lighting, police, water, sewers, river, bridges, improvements, streets, finances, rates, and rents, education, and charities. The execution of the behests of the Central Council to devolve upon the local Municipalities. Thus, for example, improvements and streets would be annually laid out under the sanction of the General Council; but the execution of the streets would devolve upon the Municipality of the place. Some of the larger privileges now enjoyed by the City would devolve upon this Central Council—the Lord Mayor to be an ex-officio Privy Councillor; the Central Council to retain the right of approaching the throne with addresses, or presenting petitions to Parliament through the Sheriffs; of being represented in Parliament by an official, and of continuing other privileges secured to the Corporation by charter, for services rendered to the Crown in days gone by. It appears to us that this plan has the two-fold advantage of continuing the traditional dignity which still hangs round the City, appreciated as it may have been more forcibly in times gone by, and as it may be in times to come; at the same time that the plan secures for the administration of local affairs a machinery commensurate to the grandeur, wealth, and importance of the metropolis.

THE

ROYAL CHANCELLOR AT CAMBRIDGE.

THE Commissioners who inquired into the "state, discipline, studies, and revenues" of the University of Cambridge furnish her Majesty with some information on the duties of the Chancellor. The extract is very short, and we shall give it at length:—"The highest academical office is that of Chancellor. For many years past it has been successively filled by individuals of exalted rank and honourable name, in the selection of whom the University has sought to render a graceful homage to eminence in public and private virtue.

It is only on rare occasions of extraordinary interest that the Chancellor is present in the University." The Chancellorship is the highest compliment which the University authorities have it in their power to pay, and Cambridge, in search of a Chancellor, discovered that Prince Albert united in his person that amount of public and private virtue to which she ever seeks, on such occasions, "to render her graceful homage." Really, we do not know that she could have made a better choice. Every one is pretty well acquainted with the internal condition of an English University. It is an institution possessed of enormous wealth—it holds some fixed opinions, which it is bound to inculcate on all who come within the range of its influence—it manufactures believers in Thirty-Nine Articles—it is the most conservative phenomenon that these days can produce—and is the refuge of all the antiquated notions which the world has long rejected. Under such circumstances, it was no easy thing for the University of Cambridge to select Prince Albert for her Chancellor. In spite of all his disadvantages, the man has made himself a name in England. He, breathing the atmosphere of courts, has identified himself to no small extent with the cause of education. He has no sympathy with the ancient systems to which Oxford clings with the stern tenacity of despair. Cambridge has always been more ready to keep pace with the development of knowledge. She really does attempt to send her students into the world, not sunk in blackest ignorance of the wants of modern days, and the meaning of this struggling epoch. Oxford, before the Great Duke was laid in his grave, ran, richly clothed in silk and purple, to lay its highest honour at the feet of a Protectionist Premier, with no undisguised aspirations after the honours which that Premier could bestow. Cambridge, if she meant what the world would have her mean, proclaimed by her election of a Reforming Chancellor, that she was determined to move onwards.

So much for encouragement. We should like, however, to see some stronger signs of improvement. The little that has been accomplished already should be the earnest of greater things to follow. But it is true that in these days—when Maurices are denounced as heretics, and the whole intellectual and religious aspect of the Church is one of darkest confusion—when the prophets call each other false, and there is no light, but only faint glimpses of truth, clouded by conventional forms and Athanasian dogmas—is it true that Cambridge still refuses her honours and her wealth to those whom she brands as Dissenters? How Prince Albert must have scorned the thought that the men who made him Chancellor would have denied him the honour if he had not avowed his belief in surplices! The Duke of Brabant, too! The thought may surely have crossed his mind that the doctrines must be hard to be understood, which can only be taught in the pomp of wealth and luxury, and by the imposing force of mediæval establishments. When will the day arrive that professors, fellows, and scholars shall unite to throw off the great chain which was forged in days of blighting superstition, and open out their halls, their honours, and their wealth, to all who will show their worth, even if they do not conform to the texts of the dogmatic Compromise.

Perhaps this is too much to expect. But surely there is nothing to prevent an alteration in the system of education. Nothing to prevent the teachers of that great University from learning and promulgating the truths which this century has brought to light. Lord John Russell pledged his faith, in spirit if not in words, that the Universities should be reformed. Where is the fulfilment? It is to be found in two Blue Books, which some curious antiquarian may one day discover in House of Parliament libraries, when the Universities, too late in yielding, have fallen victims to that bugbear of ecclesiastics—the Spirit of the Times.

THE GREAT GOBAT CASE.

THERE is an ancient canon to the effect that when one branch of the Catholic Church has been established in a particular district no other branch of the same Catholic Church shall encroach upon its jurisdiction. Hence, according to High Churchmen, the fatal error of the Bishop of Rome, when he created archbishops and bishops in this country, assigning them territorial titles,

and investing them with something more than that spiritual authority which, by the great condescension of the Church of England, Dissenters are allowed to exercise over their own flocks. High Churchmen are very careful lest they should be guilty of a like sin themselves, and an occasion has lately occurred for an expression of opinion on this question. Some years ago it was decided, by the united wisdom of the Courts of Great Britain and Prussia, to establish a Protestant Bishopric in Jerusalem. The plan was, that the two Courts should make the appointment in turn, the first choice being given to England. The second bishop—Gobat by name—now overlooks the snug little flock of Jerusalem converts. They are not very numerous, and may be easily folded by the most indifferent shepherd, but we suppose fervency of zeal makes up for the deficiency of numbers. But this band of true believers is not too insignificant to incur the indignation of the High Church Party, who cannot abide the notion that a Bishop of the Anglican Church should interfere with the established rights of the Greek Patriarch. If the Jews are to be converted let them listen to the Church that has been planted among them. Lately, certain High Churchmen originated a protest to the Greek Patriarch, denouncing the unorthodox proceedings of the Courts of England and Prussia. The four archbishops sent out a counter protest, and there, for the present, the matter rests.

But a further result has followed in Ireland. A curate, in the diocese of Dublin, signed the High Church protest, and we are informed that the archbishop has deprived him of his license, the effect of which is to prevent the curate from preaching or taking any clerical duty. We must wait for further intelligence before we can make any comment. At present it offers another illustration of the internal weakness of the Church, and the despotic power which resides in bishops. Also of their despotic impotence. The bishops declare that they cannot interfere with other parishes of the globe, or extend the limits of the Anglican Church. The truth is alone in the Church of England, but it would be impolite to press it beyond the boundaries authorized by law. Episcopal succession belongs to our hierarchy alone, but it would be ungenerous to interfere with the superior inheritance of other churches. Salvation is secured through the authorized prayer-book alone, but how improper to enforce salvation upon the members of another church. It is no doubt most desirable to save the souls of those who go astray in the Church of Rome or of Greece; but how can an Anglican bishop tolerate the idea of introducing the soul to salvation through a breach of etiquette?

THACKERAY IN AMERICA.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

London, Nov. 25, 1853.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I see by the American papers, that Thackeray has been subjected to rather a serious misinterpretation, for what I agree with him in thinking a sentence unhappily constructed. To an English reader acquainted with Thackeray's writing, the meaning of the fatal sentence is clear enough. The writer is throwing himself into the spirit of the time to which he refers; and without saying so, by a very common figure of speech, he speaks in the commonplace language of that day. Just so doctors call their patients "we," and speak as if they personally endured all the ills they correct. Just so a theoretical arguer, putting a case, "for the sake of argument," will say—"I am a ruffian; I have murdered all my family; I view everything virtuous with detestation," and so forth. In like manner, a novelist whom the Americans cannot suspect, repeatedly calls the Americans "rebels"—putting the words into the mouths of British officers. If Cooper had made all his Englishmen of 1776, talk like Americans of 1853, his *Spy* would not have been read throughout England and America. It is true that, on a hasty reading, Thackeray seems to be talking in his own person; but his letter to the *Times*, which is really in his own person, explains what his feelings are.

Now, it will be well if Americans understand how little this declaration of sentiment on Thackeray's part is wrung from him by censure. I have no right to claim more than a slight personal acquaintance with Thackeray, from having met in the exercise of our profession, and from

possessing several common friends. In some parts of the Union, however, my name may be known, and where it is, certainly it will be known as that of a man who will not tolerate any language unworthy of a country which is half my own. Now, I happen to have met Thackeray in a company where he could speak with the most unqualified confidence, and where he must have conversed without study, and without thought of what would be repeated. In that free and friendly converse he poured forth all his thoughts upon America—not unmixed with touches of sly humour, such as would occur to him on visiting any community, whether in Belgravia or Broadway. I wish what he then said could have been overheard by the whole Union; because I never heard but one Englishman so heartily acknowledge the noble qualities, the worth, and the estimable traits of Americans generally; that one Englishman being a relative of my own, formerly an officer of the Republic, and now a resident in the Union. Satirists have been to America, have accepted her hospitality, and have repaid it with satire. Thackeray is not one of that number. He is a satirist; but he is a man with a keen sense and a large heart; and he *understands* America, North and South.

I heard him talk of giving his impressions of the Union publicly, and I joined others in urging him to do so. What was his objection? That he would not make money by his sense of the kindness which he had received; and that if he did it without payment it might be misconstrued into an invidious contrast of his own better feeling as compared with that of others who had not so well understood the American people. I wish this over delicacy had not restrained him; but it is impossible that Americans should harbour resentment at one misunderstood sentence in the writings of a man who puts so generous an appreciation on their personal qualities, their kindness to himself, and their national power.

I am, my dear friend, yours ever affectionately,
THORNTON HUNT.

MALMESBURY COMPENSATIONS.

LORD MALMESBURY seems always to advance a reason the opposite of that which is in point. Mr. Hamilton, a schoolmaster without property, is grossly injured by the Neapolitan Government, and while Lord Malmesbury obtains an abstract recognition of the right which a British subject has to educate British subjects in Naples, Mr. Hamilton very pertinently asks for compensation as the proper redress in his particular case. Oh! no, answers Lord Malmesbury; "it appears to me particularly desirable that British subjects, and still more a powerful country like England, should never have the appearance of obtaining a pecuniary profit from an injury inflicted."

We only see one way in which this representation can be rendered consistent with Lord Malmesbury's conduct in the Mather case. Young Mr. Mather underwent a personal assault by an Austrian officer at Florence, and he demanded redress. Lord Malmesbury did not refuse to render it, but in this case he insisted on reducing it to a money compensation, in spite of Mr. Mather's declared unwillingness to accept a personal and pecuniary indemnity, as sufficient atonement for a national outrage. When Mr. Mather presented himself at the Foreign Office, Lord Malmesbury wished to know at how much he valued the injury to his son; and then he boasted, through Mr. Addington, that Mr. Scarlett "had succeeded in obtaining practical atonement for the unmerited and brutal treatment" received by the son, in the payment of a thousand francs. So that a blow inflicted upon an English gentleman Lord Malmesbury regards as effectually redressed by a payment of francs; but ruin inflicted upon a poor schoolmaster can only be made the subject of an abstract question of right for a great country!

There is, we say, but one kind of consistency here; it is the advancing always of precisely the reason that is not wanted.

Our contemporary the *Press*, whom we always read with pleasure—if sometimes the pleasure has a spice of malice in it—discovers a wonderful new principle in apology for the noble Lord. As we had mentioned America, which so powerfully protects its citizens, the *Press* uses the Republic, but in a novel manner. If the injury of Mr. Hamilton had been inflicted by America, says our contemporary, "Lord Malmesbury might have taken his stand on England's utmost rights

as jealously as he did in the fishery dispute;" but as it was "the despicable Neapolitan police," "the late Foreign Secretary could never stoop to bully the weak." So that immunity is proclaimed for the despicable and weak, and British Hamiltons must be the martyrs in these exercises of British magnanimity.

THE GOVERNING CLASSES.

No. XI.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

WHEN Franklin first went to Paris he was fêted, not by the people, but by the young nobles and the old women; and he wrote to Boston that certainly France was the most enlightened country in the world, since, there, even the aristocracy was republican. Franklin lived to find that republicanism was only a fashion among the French nobles: Coblenz, some few years after, receiving the same young nobles and the same old women, no longer talking of Rousseau and Paine, but exclusively of the Duke of Brunswick and of Pitt. What the young nobles of France were saying and doing in 1770—1790, the young nobles of England are pretty nearly saying and doing in 1840—1860: shamming sympathies incompatible with their own existence. The boast of the repentant, but still gay Duchess, that she would bring virtue into fashion, was a very good bravado; better have virtue as a fashion than not have it at all. But the worst of affecting to be good is, that you are expected to be good; and the tests occasionally applied to that fancy dress of politics worn by the noble school of Young England, have subjected the wearers to the inconvenience of anachronistic costume. When *Cœur-de-Lion* leaves St. Julliens' to smoke a cigar in a beer-house, even cabmen are afflicted with a sense of contrast; and when a naturally austere nobleman leaves a love and charity meeting to give an unreserved Tory vote in Parliament, he suggests the ridiculous, even to the well accustomed clerks at the table. Young England writes and talks fraternity all the morning, and goes down to the House to play the elder brother, all the evening.

The Earl of Shaftesbury may be classed among Young England; not that he ever formally entered their Church, or accepted their new testament drawn up by Mr. Disraeli; but that his instincts led him contemporaneously with their analogous contortions to enact the part of the Christian peer,—a character for whom the precise historical parallel, as before suggested, is in the Rousseau-raving French noble. And Lord Shaftesbury has survived the school, just as Col. Sibthorpe has survived *his* school,—because more earnest, more honest, and less sensitive than the rest, he has never seen the anachronism. There is not a peer of the realm more devoted to his order; not a Protestant more zealous for Protestantism; not a sociologist more afraid of socialism; yet the Earl of Shaftesbury has done more harm to the peerage, more mischief to the Church, and given a greater aid to socialism, than any man of his time. He has talked very democratic prose all his life, without having had a suspicion of his tendencies: and when he has accomplished his mission he will recoil from the results with the most pious, yea, the most prayerful, horror.

Although this excellent nobleman takes from his brethren the same title which he accords to his Maker, he may be referred to and studied as the model of a Christian gentleman. And that is his sin to his order; for if, as he tells every public meeting, in return for the vote of thanks given somewhat to the saint, but a little to the earl, he is only doing his duty, what must his father and his noble friends have been doing, all their lives, and what are the spiritual peers doing? It is the failing of this country to disbelieve in publicly professed goodness: it is never calculated that a pharisee may occasionally be the real thing; and it must be confessed that there is enormous scepticism in British society with regard to Lord Shaftesbury. This arises from so comparatively few of those who talk in this manner, ever having seen or watched the man upon whom they pronounce with such derisive emphasis. A fixed impression in the British mind is that the Earl of Shaftesbury is a man who is always thinking about the Pope, who has a smuffle in his nose and a great surface of white in the region of the eye and the throat. And, no doubt, this enlightened and religious country detests such a figure, and, as a peer, would infinitely prefer the whilom Marquis of Waterford, in a carter's frock, fastening a publican's sign to

a church door. But the Earl of Shaftesbury is strongly believed in by those who meet him at his meetings, and that is, perhaps, more than can be said of any other hero of the same scenes. He is, clearly, a man heartily and nobly in earnest; and though, with great faults of temperament, that forbid a graceful manner, and a rigid countenance, that suggests a champion not readily to be put down by Satan, he impresses you with a conviction that he is an enthusiast, perhaps of the Knox sort, but still a practical enthusiast. As far as any man's life affords evidence of purity of purpose, Lord Shaftesbury's evidences the sincere—shall we say?—fanatic. Men do not work as long and as hard as he has worked, without direct profit in what he would call this world's goods, for a whim. A "man of the world," as the most stupid of Britons denominate themselves, when they have found out human nature,—viz.,—themselves,—has a right to suspect a bishop, who is virtuous: it is a bishop's business. But it may be shown, by those commercial lights which alone illumine the mind of your average Englishman, that Lord Shaftesbury cannot be a hypocrite: for, that at any rate, the hypocrisy doesn't pay. Your poor peer, in England, has various methods of inducing his order to keep up its dignity, by handing him public money. He can get a ship, or a regiment, or a governorship, or a sinecure. The late Lord Shaftesbury got 5000*l.* a-year, with great ease; and the present Peer, being started in the governing trade, was getting on with the usual success, and would have had his sinecure in due course, had he not deliberately, and in the prime of his manhood, resolved to be good: which means impracticable, and which therefore means his exclusion from all the pleasant things going. You could not convince them at a tradesman's club that the Peels and Russells don't go into public life merely for the 5000*l.* a-year; but what Great British bagman would refuse this astounding evidence in Lord Shaftesbury's favour—that there is no salary attached to his walk of piety? In that extraordinary protest against civilization, the novel "*Margaret*," Lord Shaftesbury is sketched in virulent colours; he is described as a mere platform Christian, in his place on the platform, but useless elsewhere—in other words, not the sort of pious personage to apply to for money. Because he only preaches, and does not give, his sermons, it is suggested, very often are shams. Now, Paul occasionally had, unquestionably, to throw into his waste basket impossible begging letters. If Lord Shaftesbury were so blessed as to be enabled, like his Master, to distribute interminable loaves, he would, with the best heart in the world, frightfully derange the flour market. But if he hasn't the money, and can't work miracles, should he therefore cease from preaching? The world in England seems to be divided into two classes—the class who talk unreserved Christianity and act inevitable hypocrisy, and the class who do not talk this Christianity, but who act not a whit better than the men they attack. The defenders of Lord Shaftesbury are met with this sort of taunt: "Were he a true Christian he would share his loaf." That is to say, he would never have more than one to share! How an austere Peer of the realm, with his prejudices and his lady to consult, can get over such a technical dilemma, it is not easy to say, though it is clear Lord Shaftesbury's conscience is reconciled to keeping a decent house over his head, and most respectable livery servants to wait upon him. And assuredly it would be a melancholy thing for thousands if, from a pious punctilio, Lord Shaftesbury withheld himself from the complacent career, in which directly, but more indirectly, he effects such vast and to him unexpected benefits. It is a shame, of course, that our bishops are clean, and don't live in Rag Fair, and don't sustain their spirits on polonies and Thames water; but until the spiritual Peers take their places with last year's lawn, we may excuse Lord Shaftesbury keeping a good coat on his back, and sending the little Ashley Coopers to Eton.

A man like Lord Shaftesbury as often goes wrong as right; but he at least confers this good,—he shows that society is not so heartless as it is supposed to be. In a country like England, such a man is of inestimable value; he leads where nearly all are ready to follow,—in the aid of misery. His Christianity may not be absolutely accurate, but, it would seem, the best we can get, and as near an approach as possible to the sublime impracticability of the Apostolic period. He does put up prayers to Provi-

dence to arrest the cholera; but he does cleanse the sewers too, so far as he can. In looking thus at his character, we are considering Lord Shaftesbury solely under his aspects as the social reformer. Lord Shaftesbury, the Protestant, is doubtless an illogical, because a parochial personage; and how the social reformer who is perpetually pointing out what a dead failure is Protestantism, can so eloquently urge the necessity of looking after the heathen, who does not seem physically so badly off as the Christian, is a perplexity which must be left to the solution of those learned in Exeter-hall ethics. A Protestant gentleman who demands religious toleration in Italy, and insists on an Anglican State Church in Ireland, and demands that Roman Catholic bishops shall be *in partibus* in England, is in an unsyllogistic state of mind, in which, if he be a good, and well-meaning, and earnest man, it is best to leave him, no logic being likely to have the slightest effect where Protestantism is mere parochiality. But watched in his parish, Lord Shaftesbury becomes admirable. So far as he has seen his way, he has accomplished miracles. The parish is in a frightful condition of social anarchy, and he has not set all to rights yet. But he has insisted on a recognition of the facts of our appalling civilization, and *that* was a good deal to do, which none other than a Peer and crack Christian could hope to do; for who would attend to an infidel mentioning that Christianity had broken down, or to a Radical suggesting that our enlightenment was a swindle? Lord Shaftesbury could afford to admit the hideous truths he encountered in English life, for he had no system to substantiate, no principle to defend, no theory to manipulate, and he does not concern himself with either causes of the misery or effect of his remedies of it,—he only wants to get at the immediate, swift remedy. Reckless of politics and of political economy, he sees suffering, and he makes his appeal to meetings, to literature, to Parliament: and he says "Let us subscribe." And the answering subscriptions have been grand. He has flattered the rich by appearing to believe in their interest for the poor; and the interest has turned out to be a fact. The divisions in the social scale in Great Britain are awful; the "two nations" are terribly distinct. But the rich did not master the poor by treachery, and do not remain the rich by a conspiracy. Equally victims, with the poor, of the rush and crush of the "progress" of "civilization," the rich lament the anarchy, even more than the poor—perhaps because the rich are men, and men in the mass are sympathetic and noble—but partly also because the conviction deepens daily among the rich that it is not their interest to have this anarchy. If the successful could see their way to put the failures on their legs, there would be no suffering in the world; but there is political economy, inexorably warning off sensitiveness in life; and the profoundest cynic must recognise, from his daily experience of the latent holiness in the most careless, that even those who gain most rapidly, by existing social disorganization, lament that that organization is so dismally inchoate. As men grow rich they refine; poverty is odorous; misery is ugly; and the front streets do not prefer the back streets as backgrounds—would revolutionise choleraic towns into valleys of peace—if they knew how. But they don't know how; and perhaps the truth of a man's apathy, which grows gradually into blind hardness, in the presence of nineteenth century horrors, is—despair. The Christians who go to church in grand clothes, and eat a good dinner, are not necessarily hypocrites; all men are struggling to keep their places in the crowd; not being even sure that the devil would take the hindmost, we must keep our places as near front as we can; and the true interpretation of the good Samaritan story is—that all the other passers-by had appointments and couldn't wait. We, men of the world, Englishmen, enduring lectures upon our villany, on one side from Shaftesbury and on the other from Carlyle, are not by any means so bad as we flatter ourselves we are. Testing national virtue by national sacrifice, we are a magnificent race. Charity properly covers a multitude of sins; we have time to give, but not time to remedy; and in public charity England expends the revenues of a first-rate empire. Our poor law may be a blunder as an organization; but in principle and in intent it is a sublime institution; it would be better not to create the poor, but the next best thing, after the creation, is to help in some such way. And the poor-law is *law* demanding charity; but M. Guizot

said truly that our "voluntary contributions" were our glory. And that is not all; ceaselessly would the affluent give if they knew to whom, how, or when; ceaselessly do they give, pity, sustain, struggle, and legislate when a Shaftesbury presents himself to lead; to do Samaritanism by "association;" to undertake Christianity by contract. There is no faith in private charity; not only does political economy condemn it, but we ourselves observe its mischief. "Voluntary contributions," associations, benevolence, are not justified by political economy; they do also a vast proportion of mischief; but it is less mischief than to leave things as they would be without associations and public dinners; and so long as the State—the nation—will not extend the principles of the poor-law, and organize social organization, we must be grateful for the discovery of a Shaftesbury. In George Sand's beautiful fable of "Mauprat," the rustic charities of "Edmée" are described in language which is universally applicable:—"On les trompait tous les jours, en leur tirant de l'argent pour en faire une méchante usage, tandis que les journaliers, fiers et laborieux, manquaient de tout, sans qu'on pût le savoir. Elle craignait les humilier en allant s'enquérir de leurs besoins: et lorsque de mauvais sujets s'adressaient à elle, elle aimait mieux être leur dupe que de se tromper au detriment de la charité. De cette manière, elle dépensait beaucoup d'argent, et faisait peu de bien." It is a social mistake to continue the necessity of one class protecting the other: but there is such a necessity; and while England lives on in the glorious conviction that she is the freest and most enlightened of nations, let us—it cannot be too often repeated—honour Lord Shaftesbury, noblest of national almoners.

May he long remain in innocence of what he is doing! The Ten Hours' Act was an act of State Socialism; the Lodging Houses Act, and the Shoe-black Brigade Association, were the deeds of a desperate communist. For his advances in this direction it would be premature and not practical to rejoice. But we may rejoice that he, more than any living man, has convicted the Church of being a delusion and our civilization of being a mockery. In time he may make us religious and rational; and if he succeeded in that we might even forgive him for maintaining to the last both Bishops and Peers. NON-ELECTOR.

THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM.

Not long ago, a Debating Society was formed among the younger members of the University of Durham. The Warden was applied to for a room, and, without apparent hesitation, consented that the weekly meetings should be held in the Divinity School. Under the fostering influence of the supreme authority, the society attained considerable growth. Free discussion was promoted, and opportunity was afforded for the expression of opinion on subjects not included in the general routine of University education. In short, the scheme was too successful. The University authorities were startled by so rapid a development of intellectual power, and the tender plant of thought was doomed to perish. The Warden has issued an order countermanding his previous decision, and refusing the use of the Divinity School on the plea that "Debating Societies tend to the formation of opinions before young men are capable of judging as to their soundness." It is impossible to impugn the wisdom of this decision. What could be more fatal to the existence of such a University than to allow young men to think, or to extend their range of study beyond the narrow limits laid down by the ecclesiastical wisdom of infallible (although Protestant) authorities?

Open Council.

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

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

UNSECTARIAN EDUCATION FOR WORKING MEN.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

Neville-street, Leeds, Nov. 15, 1853.

SIR,—As you are doubtless aware, there is a society in London called the "Working Men's Educational Union," having for its object the elevation of the working classes, as it regards their physical, intellectual, moral, and religious condition by the following means,—1st, Encouraging the delivery of popular literary and scientific lectures, imbued with a sound Christian spirit, by preparing suitable diagrams and other aids to lecturers; and 2nd, By promoting the formation of popular lending libraries and mutual instruction classes.

For the above admirable object, and by the means generally pursued, one would be inclined to think the baleful influence of speculative theology might have been escaped, as at least unnecessary. That this is not the case, you may judge by an extract or two from their rules. Rule 2. "That the office-bearers and the committee of management be selected from such persons *only* as agree to the following fundamental basis:—The publication to be scriptural, unsectarian, and free from party politics, and shall neither *ignore* nor *impugn* the doctrinal basis."

"The doctrinal basis affirms the divine inspiration of the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and their sufficiency as a perfect rule of faith and practice; the divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ, with the atonement made by him for sinners, to wit that God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them."

The 11th rule states "That the constitution of the society be UNALTERABLE as it regards the doctrinal basis;" nor will they further permit the same to be discussed. Other rules are matters of course.

As I have some interest in the elevation of the working man, I regret exceedingly that the beneficial operations that such a society might effect, (in preparing diagrams and promoting lectures upon objects of interest and advantage,) should be damaged by the tendency and results of *such* or any doctrinal basis at all; and hence the origin of the letter I have sent to the Honorary Secretary, a copy of which I inclose to you, hoping that you will make it public, so that public opinion may be enabled to check the erroneous tendency I think the society is likely to fall into. I have no doubt that you can, along with myself, inform this committee from experience, that they can do much better to interest and elevate the working classes, by practical matters at home, than by missionary scenes, Pagan murders, or foreign customs of ancient days. True, they may please mightily certain "very good young men" thereby; but all must know that the people as a mass have other sympathies and interests, and they are not to be reached by any such Evangelical means.

Believe me yours respectfully,
JOHN HOLMES.

To the Honorary Secretary of the Working-Mens' Educational Union.

Neville-street, Leeds, Nov. 14, 1853.

DEAR SIR,—I was not at home when your report reached here, and hence it has been overlooked. Your circular, of the 9th, has directed my attention to it, in your request to forward my subscription to your society. On a former subscription I believe I stated, very decidedly, my objection to your doctrinal basis, as a basis for such an union; and especially to the affirmed unalterable constitution of the same, as provided by the eleventh rule. It was intended, moreover, to convey, that I should not subscribe again, on that account. Your renewed application seems to imply that I had not so expressed myself, or that there is some other claim, as to price of diagrams, &c., &c., on which account, only, I inclose you, herewith, a post-office order for 10s. 6d., begging, distinctly, to state I shall not again subscribe, for the reasons I wish, again, to reiterate.

First,—For any avowed object (or certainly for any proper one) of your union, to improve the condition of the working classes, in my opinion such doctrinal basis is entirely unnecessary. All required is to do the thing tending to the end, and to leave, carefully, *all speculation alone*. You could easily have done all you have done, without any doctrinal base at all: nay, I submit you might have selected much better subjects for diagrams, had you not been misled with it. Instead of Pagan sacrifices and missionary scenes, you might have given an equal number, picturing the houses and dwellings of the people at home, showing, truthfully, the bad arrangements and deplorable results, both in a moral and sanitary point of view; and then you might have portrayed homes and habitations such as the people *ought* and *might* have, by a better management and taste directing the funds they now pay. Diagrams of a home of taste, order, and health, fitted to the means of a working man, with hints of how to obtain it, would, I submit, be quite as likely to interest and profit the people generally, as those above instanced. Why go to ancient days and to the East for habitations, manners, and customs, when England, Ireland, and Scotland teem with such specimens as abound all round us?

The true, peep-show, horrid descriptions (your own) of your Pagan diagrams incline me to think we have already a sufficiently depraved taste, for the sight of marvellous and bloody murders, without training up the young further by such scenes as you give. And that the moral evil of these cruelties should be attributed solely to Paganism, would be, as you must know, most glaringly not true. Both Jewish and Christian practices have often rivalled anything you could represent of Paganism. A Pagan might paint Jephtha's vow, and Saul's slaughters, and Samuel's, when Saul showed mercy, and say, "thus said the Lord to the Jews." A Pagan might paint from the crusades, the Inquisition, Fox's Book of Martyrs, and Puritan per-

secutions,—most thrilling pictures, and say "Thus did the Christians, to show their love of God." You would protest, of course, against such abuse, and so would the Pagan. But, if true, I submit, most strongly, such scenes of cruelty are neither profitable nor in good taste.

Secondly,—Upon the views entertained in your Doctrinal Basis, I am not inclined to waste one word; but I must protest against that old Mede and Persian spirit of your rules, which admits of *no alteration*. Your *Eureka* is the last and a most deplorable form of the Mediaeval spirit of Popery—viz., INFALLIBILITY. Wherever this is dominant, there reigns Popery. The name of the Church—whether High, Low, Evangelical, or Dissenting—is of little moment; where they exhibit (as too frequently the case) that *common bond of hate* to all who differ from them, and exclude all others from all benefits they themselves aspire to.

Such is a view your Society has placed itself in from its Doctrinal Basis; and though you have published sundry commendations upon your cause from correspondents, I do not request you to publish this; only, as you are a public society, advocating claims upon public grounds, I hold myself at liberty to do so; at the same time hoping the good you might do by the means in your power may not be damaged by the incubus of disputable and doubtful polemic dogmas.

Yours respectfully,
JOHN HOLMES.

THE BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—As I imagine that the readers of your paper are not of that order of mind which is apt to take alarm at suggested innovations in political matters, I venture to think that you may be not unwilling to afford a place in your "Open Council" to the following remarks. Matured or well digested they make no pretensions to be considered. Their only aim is to contribute in a small degree to the radical investigation of the great subject to which they relate—the basis of the representation.

It is no new thing to regard the case of the great mass of the unrepresented as briefly this. They ask of the existing powers, "Why have we no share in the government?" The reply is, though not in terms so direct, "because you are ignorant." "Then," they rejoin, "help us to acquire knowledge; we are ignorant enough to think that you possess the power to do so, but are wanting in the will or in the talent to make use of it." To this remonstrance there is no answer at all.

Now, I want to see the unrepresented come forward and take up their position as follows, or I shall be glad to be informed wherein such a course is impracticable:—

"We are ignorant, as you say, but with some exceptions. We venture to maintain, without offence, that your situation is the same as ours. We are ready to abide by this standard of your own selection. Let the House of Commons represent the knowledge of the country such as it is. Cannot you devise the means by which this may be accomplished? No? then don't be alarmed, but have the goodness to consider. You know the Church Catechism? that is, you are aware of the existence of such a production, and have a general acquaintance with its contents? Very well; that is not a strictly historical compilation. But it might have been. It is *founded* on history, but it gives its own version of facts, and adorns them after its own fashion, and favours us with its own convictions respecting them. But it would have been quite possible to convey as much information on its subject-matter, in a form strictly historical; either closely limited to original facts, or adding any statement of opinions as matters of history. Now, imagine a *State Catechism* of this supposed character. There are plenty of able men who could represent Q. conversing with A. to the extent of a hundred amicable interrogatories and responses, in such a manner as should embrace an elementary sketch of the political history of England, and of the principles of general polity, representative government, and political economy, *as laid down in the works of certain authors*. For the electoral qualification let every grown man who chooses have put to him in a public court, and *viâ voce*, ten out of these hundred questions, and be required to answer eight or nine, in his own words, or in those of the Catechism, to the satisfaction of two out of three examiners appointed by the Queen. We will endeavour to qualify ourselves to this extent. If we succeed our knowledge will render us, in your view of the case, disposed to support your present legislation, and to abstain from all innovation. If we fail we shall still be so far gainers that some addition will have been made to the political knowledge of the country at large. We do not set a high value on the amount of knowledge so obtained by any individual; but yet it may be elementary, not superficial. And if an approaching registration should present the spectacle of rival parties inducing 'the mob' to achieve only a parrot-like repetition of the answers in the State Catechism, yet even such a 'cram' as this would not fail to be at least as improving to all concerned as the task at present provided

for the elector's bodily digestion. Let if you will those who are already on the register remain there. We believe that from our ranks the Catechism plan would merit as many as from your own."—I am, sir, yours, &c.
QUESTOR.

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN GLASGOW.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—In the hope that it may be interesting to your readers, I take the liberty of forwarding you a short sketch of some strange proceedings here, in the name of religion.

A body of young men, bearing the name of the Glasgow Young Men's Christian Association, engage lecturers, chiefly from the ranks of the clergy, to instruct the youths of the city in various matters. One of the gentlemen thus engaged, delivered a lecture, lately, upon science; and, in the course of its delivery, took occasion to warn his hearers against believing in science, when it contradicted what he was pleased to call divine science, as revealed in the Bible. Those who think for themselves will understand the sacrifice they are required to make.

Under the auspices of this society we have also been favoured with a course of four tirades against infidelity, by a Mr. Brewin Grant. This gentleman's *forte* seems to be personal abuse and mimicry, seasoned with a coarse substitute for wit, which makes a good many think that his proper walk in life would have been the circle, and his dress the clown's. Much as I regret what I conceive to be the errors of secularism, I regret, yet more, such advocacy as Mr. Grant's, which will never reclaim a single secularist, but may make a few scoffers.

Another and highly pugnacious association is the Protestant Laymen's, who, having apparently bullied the Roman Catholics into silence, have turned upon the Morisonians, to ruin whom they are covering the walls with most unchristian placards. The Morisonians offer to discuss the subjects, (predestination, &c.), if any minister, or person appointed by a number of ministers, be put forward. During this mural controversy, the Rev. James Morison, the gentleman from whom the body takes its name, indulges in denunciations of Unitarians as infidels, which are temperately and ably replied to by the Rev. H. W. Crosskey. At the request of a committee, formed of Unitarians, for the purpose of obtaining men of enlarged thought, though of no particular church, to lecture here, George Dawson, of Birmingham, delivered, during last month, a course of four lectures. The lectures were excellent, and well received, even by those who differ from his theological views.

The Free Church has appointed a fast day, as a protest against the infidel opinions of Lord Palmerston's letter, and has also given another proof of its staunch orthodoxy and illiberality, by refusing baptism to the child of an omnibus driver, because he worked between sermons!

Notwithstanding all this jarring of sects, I think we are making progress. Perhaps the reaction from such bigoted intolerance may aid this glorious purpose.

Apologizing for the length of this letter, I am, very respectfully yours,
W. M.
Glasgow, 14th Nov., 1853.

A SUGGESTION ON STRIKES.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

Bradford, Nov. 21, 1853.

SIR,—As a remedy for the prevention of trade strikes, and the evil consequences arising therefrom, I beg to suggest that a National Association be forthwith commenced for the purpose of raising a fund to promote co-operation on a large scale in trade or manufacture, the means to be obtained by subscriptions of *not less* than 3d. per week, until each subscriber has contributed 1l., the moneys to be placed in charge of *not more* than six individuals (men of standing, whose sympathies are with the people), who shall have unlimited control over the funds in their application. And until the capital is acquired information may be obtained from all parties engaged in the various trades and manufactures, so that the best and most profitable might be selected for a commencement.—Yours, &c.
R. BUCKLE.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ERRATUM IN OUR LAST.—In the third article on "Russian Serfdom," p. 1119, second column, eighth line from the top, for "The Russian lord had not provided," &c., read, "The Russian law had not provided," &c.
"Russian Publications in London," next week.



Literature.

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

THE Americans have a most undignified susceptibility on the score of their nationality; and although it is true our writers, both in books and newspapers, have wounded that susceptibility by their cheap ridicule and ungenerous remarks, nevertheless, the readiness to take offence which they so frequently exhibit, is a weakness one would imagine such a nation ought long ago to have outlived. The French ridicule us, and declaim against us; but we do not wince, we are not angry, we laugh, or turn aside in contempt.

Can you imagine the English newspapers being in the least occupied with a supposed insinuation emanating from one of COOPER's novels or HAWTHORN's romances? Yet American susceptibility is wounded by a supposed mark of disrespect on THACKERAY's part towards Mr. WASHINGTON; and the great satirist has to explain gravely through the *Times* that in speaking of "Mr. WASHINGTON heading the rebels with a courage worthy of a better cause," he was not insulting the Union, nor throwing a doubt on WASHINGTON and his cause! Anything more supremely ridiculous is not to be found among the long list of literary offences.

Apropos of THACKERAY, there is an article on his *Humourists* in the *Prospective Review*, which well deserves being looked for: it is mainly devoted to the much-vexed question of the Position and Rewards of Literature. Respecting the rewards, in a pecuniary sense, the writer takes very much the same view as that advocated recently in this journal; but there is manifest contradiction between one part of his argument and another. He contends that the employment of authors by Government is a ruinous mistake: it is yoking Pegasus to the plough, with the double result of bad ploughing and a crippled Pegasus. Yet, towards the conclusion of his article, he cites with approbation SCOTT's advice of not making Literature a profession, adding:—

"There are few cases in which the public has not cause to regret the adoption of literature as a profession. There are few writers whose powers are so various, so ready, so equable, as to work for money, as conscientiously as they work for fame; and if a man depends upon his pen for his daily bread, he has a very strong temptation to degrade authorship into bookmaking."

It is very true; but if it be true that few men can, with success, devote themselves wholly to Literature, and if, on the other hand, they are not to be employed in official labours, because Comedies and Essays, which would enrich the world, are left unwritten during the long hours of such employment, we ask,—What is the proper position of men of Letters? It seems to us that there are many offices which Government might reasonably and profitably bestow on men of letters; and the more Literature becomes, as it is daily becoming, a refuge for unsuccessful professional men, and for the desire of cheap notoriety—the more the market is crowded with indifferent writers, who render it difficult for good literature to be adequately remunerated, the more imperative is it that those who can really advance the progress of the world, should be facilitated as far as practicable, and not left wholly to battle with a "supply and demand" principle.

Nevertheless, we wholly disagree with all those who would found a claim upon their success; we cannot sympathise with "neglected genius" which sets up claims in no way related to its real deserts—which demands that the pudding should be abundant and the praise unstinted. The case is simple: If a man wants to make money he must pursue the money-making path; to forsake that for some pleasanter path, and complain that he has wandered from the goal, is unwise. The pleasures of Literature have their perils.

"If a man enter a profession for which Nature has not supereminently endowed him, he must be satisfied with its lesser rewards: if, as is too often the case with literature, his own self-confidence hurries him into a vocation for which he is radically unfit, he need not complain of the public, when the penalty due to his folly recoils upon himself. There are peculiar difficulties and a numerous host of disappointments attendant upon the literary profession: its rewards are unequally, sometimes unfairly, distributed: its remuneration often scanty, and always uncertain: but all this the disappointed aspirant knew when he entered upon it in high disdain against the drudgery of the office or the counting-house. He only made a false estimate of his own powers, or, as he perhaps phrases it, of the public discrimination."

There is so much of this "false estimate" ruining the prospects of men, and breeding literature as carrion breeds maggots! For the most part literary men have no *raison d'être*; have no justification in their talents for the career they stumble through. Their facile labours issue in unadulterated mediocrity. Belief in their talent makes them evade the inexorable law of labour which ensures success; and the very evasion of this law is in itself a proof of want of talent.

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

"Time spares nothing wrought without his aid." Time and severe discipline preside over all genuine excellence. Genuine mastery, even in the lightest and most playful subjects, results from the innumerable tentatives of an original talent. If men have the courage of their convictions, and, so to speak, the moral qualities of their talents; if they will labour for the sake of the result, and not simply for the sake of money; if the

high and earnest aim of that reward always carried in the exaltation of the faculties and the inward sense of glory, as the mind long hovering round a truth finally clutches it in an exulting grasp, if that reward be sought, then will the pleasures of Literature throw into insignificance all its pains; and if to these rewards there come the extraneous rewards of pudding and of praise, do not let us mistake these pleasant results as the signs of real literary reward. No man is indifferent to money; but in proportion as he estimates the delights procurable by money over the delights procurable in his study, in exactly that ratio is his allegiance to Literature lessened. The fox-hunter would scarcely thank you for the brush he had not ridden for himself, because his real pleasure is in the chase and not in the result; so, in a far higher sense, the rewards of Literature are in Literature itself. But all are not hunters at the meeting of the hounds; there are more red jackets than courageous riders; there are many more writers than men of letters.

If, then, it be true that men of letters are not rewarded according to their claims, the reason is, because their claims are irrelevant. It is in their work, in the "still air of delightful studies," in the pains and pleasures of intellectual travail and paternity, true reward resides. What lies beyond, is a mercantile question. They should ascertain the wants of the market before entering it. Then, again, as to the pleadings of improvidence, the reviewer well says:—

"Why the man of letters—who relying on the proceeds of an eminently uncertain profession—is yet profuse of time and money: eaten up by bad companions and evil habits: imprudent in the manifestation of his best feelings and his worst desires alike—should wonder that his career ends in the Court for the relief of Insolvent Debtors: or the Fleet, as would have been the case fifty years ago—it is impossible to conceive. And it is equally impossible to estimate his claim upon the justice of the public who has bought and paid for his books, whatever plea he may put forth for its compassion! Yet this, or something like this, has been the career of most, if not all of those men of letters, whose distresses have so often been used 'to point the moral' not of their own folly, but of the public ingratitude. What adventure was ever more wild, what imprudence could be more startling, than that of Chatterton, in coming to London with no better reliance for a subsistence than his own genius and the Rowley fabrications? Had he found a judicious patron: had Walpole—on whom, by the way, he had little claim or none—chosen to have acted the part of a friend, the result might have been different; but what else could be expected when fortune was thus staked on one cast of the dice? What declamations have not been expended on the melancholy death of Otway! Yet Otway, the son of a beneficed clergyman, left Christchurch without a degree, ineffectually tried his fortune upon the stage, was known, though penniless, as one of the most dissolute of men about town; lost by misconduct the commission in the army procured for him by the kindness of a friend; earned in his disgrace a precarious livelihood by writing for the theatre, and died wretchedly, as has been described. There is no magic in genius which can prevent a life like this from ending in the workhouse. Drunkenness and improvidence will have this appropriate retribution, though associated with genius which has charmed the world. Poor Steele would have been no richer than he was had old Duchess Sarah made him her heir; and there have been literary men, of whom we may select Southey as an honourable example, who would have preserved a manly self-respect, and earned a decent competence in straits greater than those of Steele."

In the same review there is a remarkable article in reply to NEWMAN's new chapter in the *Phases of Faith*, on the Moral Perfection of Jesus. There is no mistaking the splendid eloquence of this writer, nor his strange ingenuity of indirect logic; bright as a snake and shifty as an eel, he is fascinating and exasperating beyond all his contemporaries. There is a certain grandeur of plausibility about him; he gives errors such a massive or else such an alluring aspect, that you reject them almost with regret. What, for example, can seem more suicidal than the admission that we are not to conceive the character of Christ as it is depicted in the Gospels, but as it has revealed itself in the great masses of Christian history? Yet this he does:—

"We are further willing to confess, that if we were wholly strangers to the transactions of this world, and, knowing nothing of its past and present, were merely introduced to the biography of Jesus among a mass of other personal records and memorials of life and thought, it is doubtful whether we should single it out with anything approaching to the feeling we now attach to it."

This evidence, being direct, he sets aside, in favour of the following, which is vague, indirect:—

"But the measure of the grandest beings cannot be taken by any private standards or contemporary memoirs: and history is their biography writ large. The power of their personality is but incipient in their own generation; and its quality, not less than its intensity, grows clearer as the dimensions of its agency enlarge. As Plato thought it needful, in his investigation of Morals, to study their embodiment in the magnified scale and conspicuous orders of the State, so in it impossible to apprehend aright the person of Jesus without watching the spread of his shadow over the ages, and throwing back upon him the characteristics of the Christian faith."

Now it requires little thought steadily directed to this question to recognise at once a confusion between influence and character. The position is wholly beside the bearings of the argument. We test a man's influence through history; we do not test his character. If instead of our vivid picture of MARTIN LUTHER we were to substitute an ideal of Protestantism, and declare that to be the truer portrait, would any one believe us?

We might go through the article, and pick many holes in it, which, however, would not in the least alter our opinion of its fine qualities. We prefer citing a curious passage:—

"That Christendom has been in the habit of giving very indifferent reasons for its beliefs, we are well aware; and, for the most part, the more certain the belief,

the worse, we should say, has been the reason. From one father of the church we learn that God was obliged to make the human body cruciform, because the soul was to be redeemed upon the cross; from another, that since there are but four quarters of the world from which the wind can set, there cannot be more than four gospels, to blow immortality on men. Mediæval logicians explain the triplicity of the syllogism by the three persons in the Trinity; and there is no end to the things accounted for by the name and number of the Apocalyptic beast."

There is a series of little treatises announced for publication next year, *Orr's Circle of the Sciences*, to set forth in popular language the fundamental principles of the sciences; the great name of OWEN, and the respected names of ANSTED, JARDINE, and TENNANT at once guarantee it as worthy of support. There is only one thing in the programme which looks suspicious, and that is the hint of making Science degenerate into the miserable twaddle called Natural Theology—a suspicion which assumes a graver form in our minds from the fact of the editor talking in his prospectus of a "science of Teleology, or that which relates to the power and wisdom of a Personal Omnipotence." If that is more than a perorating phrase, meant to flatter the prejudices of many, it betokens an alarming ignorance of what is science in an editor of a scientific series. We wish this Series to succeed; the greater its success the more we shall rejoice; and because we wish it well, we indicate a danger.

SCHOOLS OF POETRY.

Poems. By Matthew Arnold. A New Edition. Price 6s. Longman and Co. It is with individuals as with nations, the baffled turbulence of Youth subsides into the calm acquiescence of Age, but in both the ideal is placed beyond the Present. Jean Paul has said, "Keiner ist mit der Zeit zufrieden: das heisst die Jünglinge halten die Künftige für idealer als die Gegenwärtige, die Alten die Vergangene." (None are content with the age: the young believe the Future, the old the Past to be the ideal era.) And with this we may connect what Goethe says of all men being Radicals in their youth, and Conservatives in their old age. We see a Goethe and a Schiller escaping from the notoriety of the "storm and stress period" which they had created, into Grecian classicality, just as we see the unrestrained and "chartered libertinism" of the Elizabethan period changing to the classicality of Charles and Anne, which in its turn was to be set aside by a "new school;" and that new school, now old, will perhaps have to give place to another revival of the classical: indications whereof may be read in the vehement protests against Tennyson and Alexander Smith, as also in the artistic strivings of some poets, Arnold among the number. Scorn of the past we hold to be as unwise as scorn of "our wondrous Mother-Age;" but with whatever reverence and retrospective longing the Past is regarded, it should always be regarded as *past*: it should have historical, not absolute significance: it is our Ancestry, and not our Life. And as the retention in our organism of the elements which *have lived* is in itself a fatal source of destruction, poisoning the very life these elements once served, so in the onward progression of Humanity the old elements must pass away, transmitting to successors the work they had to perform:

"Et quasi cursores vitæ lampada tradunt!"

Matthew Arnold, in the Preface to this new edition of his poems, defends himself against those critics who bid him "leave the exhausted past, and fix his thoughts upon the present." It seems to him that his critics know very little of what they are talking about. Whatever he may once have thought of "Our Age," it is clear he does not now regard it as so fruitful in poetry as the olden time; and all he says on this point is worthy of attention:—

"What are the eternal objects of Poetry, among all nations, and at all times? They are actions; human actions; possessing an inherent interest in themselves, and which are to be communicated in an interesting manner by the art of the Poet. Vainly will the latter imagine that he has everything in his own power; that he can make an intrinsically inferior action equally delightful with a more excellent one by his treatment of it: he may indeed compel us to admire his skill, but his work will possess, within itself, an incurable defect.

"The Poet, then, has in the first place to select an excellent action; and what actions are the most excellent? Those, certainly, which most powerfully appeal to the great primary human affections: to those elementary feelings which subsist permanently in the race, and which are independent of time. These feelings are permanent and the same; that which interests them is permanent and the same also. The modernness or antiquity of an action, therefore, has nothing to do with its fitness for poetical representation; this depends upon its inherent qualities. To the elementary part of our nature, to our passions, that which is great and passionate is eternally interesting; and interesting solely in proportion to its greatness and to its passion. A great human action of a thousand years ago is more interesting to it than a smaller human action of to-day, even though upon the representation of this last the most consummate skill may have been expended, and though it has the advantage of appealing by its modern language, familiar manners, and contemporary allusions, to all our transient feelings and interests. These, however, have no right to demand of a poetical work that it shall satisfy them; their claims are to be directed elsewhere. Poetical works belong to the domain of our permanent passions: let them interest these, and the voice of all subordinate claims upon them is at once silenced.

"Achilles, Prometheus, Clytemnestra, Dido—what modern poem presents personages as interesting, even to us moderns, as these personages of an 'exhausted past'? We have the domestic epic dealing with the details of modern life which pass daily under our eyes; we have poems representing modern personages in contact with the problems of modern life, moral, intellectual, and social; these works have been produced by poets the most distinguished of their nation and time; yet I fearlessly assert that Hermann and Dorothea, Childe Harold, Jocelyn, The Excursion, leave the reader cold in comparison with the effect produced upon him by the latter books of the Iliad, by the Oresteia, or by the episode of Dido. And why is this? Simply because in the three latter cases the action is greater, the personages nobler, the situations more intense: and this is the true basis of the interest in a poetical work, and this alone.

"It may be urged, however, that past actions may be interesting in themselves, but that they are not to be adopted by the modern Poet, because it is impossible for him to have them clearly present to his own mind, and he cannot therefore

feel them deeply, nor represent them forcibly. But this is not necessarily the case. The externals of a past action, indeed, he cannot know with the precision of a contemporary; but his business is with its essentials. The outward man of Oedipus or of Macbeth, the houses in which they lived, the ceremonies of their courts, he cannot accurately figure to himself; but neither do they essentially concern him. His business is with their inward man; with their feelings and behaviour in certain tragic situations, which engage their passions as men; these have in them nothing local and casual: they are as accessible to the modern Poet as to a contemporary.

"The date of an action, then, signifies nothing: the action itself, its selection and construction, this is what is all-important. This the Greeks understood far more clearly than we do. The radical difference between their poetical theory and ours consists, as it appears to me, in this: that, with them, the poetical character of the action in itself, and the conduct of it, was the first consideration; with us, attention is fixed mainly on the value of the separate thoughts and images which occur in the treatment of an action. They regarded the whole; we regard the parts. With them, the action predominated over the expression of it; with us, the expression predominates over the action. Not that they failed in expression, or were inattentive to it; on the contrary, they are the highest models of expression, the unapproached masters of the *grand style*: but their expression is so excellent because it is so admirably kept in its right degree of prominence; because it is so simple and so well subordinated; because it draws its force directly from the pregnancy of the matter which it conveys."

There is excellent matter amid some that is questionable here. We remark, in passing, that he maintains opinions respecting the Greek and Latin poets, which are *traditional*, but which, to our experience, are very far removed from the truth. We will not, however, encumber the argument by questioning his illustrations; let us grant for a moment that the Greeks *are* what he describes, and quote his criticism on the contrasted defects of modern poets:—

"We have poems which seem to exist merely for the sake of single lines and passages; not for the sake of producing any total-impression. We have critics who seem to direct their attention merely to detached expressions, to the language about the action, not to the action itself. I verily think that the majority of them do not in their hearts believe that there is such a thing as a total-impression to be derived from a poem at all, or to be demanded from a poet; they think the term a commonplace of metaphysical criticism. They will permit the Poet to select any action he pleases, and to suffer that action to go as it will, provided he gratifies them with occasional bursts of fine writing, and with a shower of isolated thoughts and images. That is, they permit him to leave their poetical sense ungratified, provided that he gratifies their rhetorical sense and their curiosity. Of his neglecting to gratify these, there is little danger; he needs rather to be warned against the danger of attempting to gratify these alone; he needs rather to be perpetually reminded to prefer his action to everything else; so to treat this, as to permit its inherent excellences to develop themselves, without interruption from the intrusion of his personal peculiarities: most fortunate, when he most entirely succeeds in effacing himself, and in enabling a noble action to subsist as it did in nature."

True, most true, and needful to be said. But when he lays it down as a canon that the "highest problem of an art is to imitate actions," he seems to us either to employ an abusive extension of the term "action," or else to misconceive the problem and the function of Art. Indeed, one may say that Art is only an imitation of actions in its earliest and rudest forms. He himself is forced to admit that according to this canon *Faust* is not a great work of Art:—

"Wonderful passages as it contains, and in spite of the unsurpassed beauty of the scenes which relate to Margaret, Faust itself, judged as a whole, and judged strictly as a poetical work, is defective: its illustrious author, the greatest poet of modern times, the greatest critic of all times, would have been the first to acknowledge it; he only defended his work, indeed, by asserting it to be 'something incommensurable.'"

A canon which excludes *Faust*, must *ipso facto* be suspicious. But Mr. Arnold's friends, the Ancients, will also fare badly if this rule be applied to them; even among the dramatists, in spite of action being the *principium et fons* of the drama, one meets with a *Philoctetes* for example, of which no one will say that the interest or beauty lies in the action; and if we turn to the *Divine Comedy* we shall find it as defective as *Faust* according to this rule. Actions are not ends in Art, but means to an end; they are not for their own sake, but for the sake of the thoughts and emotions they excite in us. Admirable as means, they are still only means. If the poet can reach his end through other means we do not tell him he has sinned against Art.

Turn to the other forms of Art, and the incorrectness of the canon will be obvious: it is not through action that Music reaches its effect; it is not through the representation of any story that Sculpture necessarily excites in us the emotions proper to it. Titian's portrait of a "Young Man with a Glove" is a finer work of Art than Haydon's "Judgment of Solomon;" although one has no story, no action, the other a noble story, and a situation of deep interest. It may be answered that Haydon has ill-executed his idea; but this draws the question from the "choice of a subject," to that of "representation;" and while it is a truism to assert that execution being equal, rank will depend on the greatness of the thing represented, it is a falsism to assert that the rank of a work of Art depends on its *idea*—its conception. Not that Mr. Arnold asserts this, but others do who start from the same point.

It is to the classics Mr. Arnold would have our poets turn for guidance. Dissatisfied with the Present, and having no vision of it as an ideal life, he is also dissatisfied with its utterances in Art:

Ah! how unlike

To that large utterance of the early gods!

Overlooking the fact that if a man has something of his age to say or sing, some expression by which he can make articulate what is inarticulate in the mass or class of which he is one, he will imperiously say or sing it without much regard to "models" at all, Mr. Arnold tells us:

"The confusion of the present times is great, the multitude of voices counselling different things bewildering, the number of existing works capable of attracting a young writer's attention and of becoming his models, immense: what he wants is a hand to guide him through the confusion, a voice to prescribe to him the aim which he should keep in view, and to explain to him that the value of the literary works which offer themselves to his attention is relative to their power of

helping him forward on his road towards this aim. Such a guide the English writer at the present day will nowhere find."

Shakespeare he considers a dangerous model (but indeed all models are dangerous to minds that "copy" them), and he prefers the Greeks. If his counsel be rightly interpreted, it will be useful to that large class of Amateurs who write verse but who are not "born Singers;" but, if rigidly interpreted, it will lead the despairing classicists to exclaim with Charles Lamb, "Hang the critics, I'll write for antiquity!"

Our own belief is, that schools of poetry are the changing fashions of one eternal spirit; and that good poetry is everywhere the same in its essential conditions, everywhere fluctuating with the fluctuating modes of thought and language. Further our belief is, that all conscious imitation is weakness, and that "models" produce no real good, though little harm, because the servile mind is one which if emancipated would not be strong. To study models with a view to emulate them is not the same as to study them with a view to imitate them; the one is an invigorating—the other an enervating study.

We have tarried so long over Mr. Arnold's preface that we must defer till next week all attempt to characterise his poems.

THE GROUNDS OF BELIEF.

Westminster Review. New Series. No. VIII. October, 1853. Art. VII. The Universal Postulate. John Chapman.

ACCORDING to promise we return to this number of the Westminster Review, for the purpose of considering a little more nearly the very remarkable article with the very unpromising title of *The Universal Postulate*. It is an inquiry into the grounds of our belief in an external world; an endeavour to reconcile Philosophy with Common Sense, not as Reid did by the incessant assertion that Common Sense was right, but by a profound elucidation of the psychological process through which it and all other beliefs are possible and valid. There is so much compact matter in this article that any attempt to reproduce it in the extremely abridged form necessary in a journal like ours, runs the risk of being unreadably abstract, or else of doing the argument injustice by omissions. Let us urge the student, therefore, to read the article itself with severe attention, taking our notice as a sort of fingerpost.

Every logical act of the intellect is the assertion that something is. This is what we call *belief*. Each major premiss is a belief; each minor premiss a belief; each conclusion a belief. An argument is a series of dependent beliefs. Belief, then, is the ultimate psychological fact which we can never transcend. But it appears that there are beliefs of two kinds—some of them irresistible, indestructible; others doubtful, untrustworthy. What is the sign by which we distinguish them? How are we to settle, beyond cavil, the beliefs which are trustworthy, irresistible, true? The sign is their *invariableness*, in other words, the *inconceivableness of the contrary*—

"If we assign as a reason for any belief the belief on which it rests, and then assign for that belief an anterior one, and so on continuously, it is clear that we must eventually come to the end of the series—must arrive at some primordial belief of which no proof can be given. This remains true, whatever theory we hold respecting the origin of our knowledge. For if we say that all knowledge is organized experience, and that, in assigning one belief in proof of another, we are simply assigning a wider experience in proof of a narrower, it is clear that we cannot continue to assign wider and wider experiences in proof of each other, without arriving finally at the widest. As our experience had a beginning, it follows that, in tracing it backwards, we must ultimately come to our first or deepest experience—an experience which has no other to rest upon. Similarly with the hypothesis of fundamental ideas. An analytical examination of beliefs must eventually bring us down to these; and for these the hypothesis itself implies that no reason is assignable. Hence, whether our lowest beliefs be innate, or derived from experience, it is equally clear that, as they do not admit of proof, we can but say that they invariably exist. And whilst this fact of their invariable existence is alone our warrant for them, it at the same time expresses the necessity we are under of holding them.

"It results, then, from all that has been said,—first, that the existence of beliefs is the fundamental fact; and second, that beliefs which invariably exist are those which, both rationally and of necessity, we must adopt."

The writer then criticises Whewell and Mill on "Necessary Truths," and after landing on the position that the best warrant we can have for the belief, in anything is the perfect agreement of all pre-existing experience in support of it, he deduces the logical conclusion that the "inconceivableness of its negation" is the truest test any belief admits of:—

"If all our knowledge is derived from experience, then our notions of possible and impossible are derived from experience. Possible means—not at variance with our experience; impossible means—wholly at variance with our experience. Clearly, unless we possess fundamental ideas, or can gain a knowledge of things in themselves, no logical process can give to the notion, impossible, any larger meaning than this. But if, at any time, the inability of men to conceive the negation of a given proposition simply proves that their experience up to that time, has, without exception, confirmed such proposition; then, when they assert that its untruth is impossible, they really assert no more than when they assert that its negation is inconceivable. If, subsequently, it turn out that the proposition is untrue; and if it be, therefore, argued that men should not have held its untruth impossible because inconceivable, we reply, that to say this is to condemn the use of the word impossible altogether. If the inconceivability of a thing be considered insufficient warrant for asserting its impossibility, it is implied that there can exist a sufficient warrant; but such warrant, whatever its kind, must be originally derived from experience; and if further experience may invalidate the warrant of inconceivableness, further experience may invalidate any warrant on which we assert impossibility. Therefore, we should call nothing impossible."

In favour of this test it is urged:—

"What is the object of any such test? To insure a correspondence between subjective beliefs and objective facts. Well, objective facts are ever impressing themselves upon us; our experience is a register of these objective facts; and the inconceivableness of a thing implies that it is wholly at variance with the register.

"Even were this all, it is not clear how, if every truth is primarily inductive, any better test of truth could exist. But it must be remembered, that whilst many of these facts, impressing themselves upon us are occasional; whilst others again are very general; some are universal and unchanging. These universal and unchanging facts are, by the hypothesis, certain to establish beliefs, of which

the negations are inconceivable; whilst the others are not certain to do this; and if they do, subsequent facts will reverse their action."

It seems to us that the obscurity of this question may be somewhat enlightened if we present it under another aspect, and in lieu of considering objects as matters of Belief consider them as matters of Experience. Belief is experience; experience of a sensation is belief in a sensation; to have a sensation and to believe it, are not two processes but one. It is clear, therefore, that the *invariableness of our experience* is another phrase for the *invariableness of our belief*; and the so-called "Necessary Truths" rest on a basis as wide, but no wider, than that on which particular truths rest. When we say, "This apple is sweet," we say our experience of this apple is that it is sweet: when we say, "Two parallel lines can never meet," we say our experience of two lines in parallel is that that cannot meet without ceasing to be parallel. That "fire burns," and that "the whole is greater than a part," are two beliefs—two forms of our experience. Now, as we only know through our experience, and cannot transcend our experience, the distinction between invariable and variable truths is the distinction between invariable and variable experiences. We do not believe all apples to be sweet, because our experience of apples is that some are not sweet, but the child who had never tasted apples other than sweet would believe as firmly in the essential sweetness of apples as in the truth of a whole being greater than its part. Thus it is with Pain—or any other sensation. We cannot disbelieve in its existence so long as it exists; no effort of the mind to conceive its negation will negative it; we believe—we experience it. In like manner the ever present reality of objects cannot be disbelieved; we cannot doubt the pain while it lasts, and the sensation of an external world is always lasting.

From this we return to our author:—

"Dismissing, however, all psychological explanations, which are allowable here only as being needed to meet a psychological objection, and returning to the purely abstract view of the matter, we see—first, that belief is fundamental, and that the invariable existence of a belief is our highest warrant for it; second, that we can ascertain the invariable existence of a belief only as we ascertain the invariable existence of anything else, by observing whether, under any circumstances, it is absent from the place in which it occurs; third, that the effort to conceive the negation of a belief is, the looking in the place in which it occurs (viz., after its antecedents), and observing whether there are any occasions on which it is absent, or can be made absent; and fourth, that when we fail to find such occasions—when we perceive that the negation of the belief is inconceivable—we have all possible warrant for asserting the invariability of its existence; and in asserting this, we express alike our logical justification of it, and the inexorable necessity we are under of holding it. Mean what we may by the word truth, we have no choice but to hold that a belief which is proved by the inconceivableness of its negation, to invariably exist, is true. We have seen that this is the assumption on which every conclusion whatever ultimately rests. We have no other guarantee for the reality of consciousness, of sensations, of personal existence; we have no other guarantee for any axiom; we have no other guarantee for any step in a demonstration. Hence, as being taken for granted in every act of the understanding, it must be regarded as the Universal Postulate."

He anticipates an objection: Beliefs which once were shown by the inconceivableness of their negation to invariably exist, have since been proved untrue; and our present beliefs may one day share the same fate. Our answer is—the beliefs were true; they represented the *experience* of mankind, which was the only test applicable, and they had the only truth possible, viz. *relative truth*. But having given this answer, let us now give our author's:—

"There is, doubtless, force in this argument, though not so much as at first appears. As we hinted when commenting on his position, the evidence cited by Mr. Mill, to show that inconceivable things may yet be true, is not strictly applicable evidence. There is a wide difference in nature between the cases in which the test has been found fallacious, and those in which we may regard it as trustworthy—a difference arising from the relative complexities of the conceptions involved. When, on receiving a sensation, the subject of it finding himself unable to conceive that he is not receiving it, asserts that he is receiving it, it is clear that he deals only with one state of consciousness, of which he simply recognises the continued existence. On the other hand, those Greek philosophers referred to by Mr. Mill, who 'could not credit the existence of antipodes,' who 'were unable to conceive, in opposition to old association, the force of gravity acting upwards instead of downwards,' and who, therefore, denied that there could be men on the other side of the earth—were dealing with many states of consciousness, and with the connexions between them. There entered into their proposition the concepts, Earth, man, distance, position, force, and the various relations of these to each other. Evidently, then, these cases differ so widely, that what may be a legitimate test in the first, may be an illegitimate one in the second. We must distinguish between those appeals to the Universal Postulate in which the action of thought is *decomposable*, and those in which it is *undecomposable*. In proportion as the number of concepts which a proposition involves is great, and the mental transitions from concept to concept are numerous, the fallibility of the test will increase, and will do this because the formation of the belief is separable into many steps, each of which involves the postulate."

"And here, indeed, we get hold of the clue which leads us out of this logical maze. Let it be granted, that a belief which invariably exists, though the most certain possible to us, is yet not necessarily true. Let it be granted, that either from insufficient experience, or from non-agreement between the subjective and the objective, the inconceivable and the impossible may not correspond even within our mental range. Let it be granted, that for the validity even of a single undecomposable act of thought, the Universal Postulate is an imperfect warrant. Let all this, we say, be granted. Still, be the test fallible or not, the probability of error in any inference will increase in proportion to the number of times the truth of the test has been assumed in arriving at it. If the postulate be uniformly valid, it must yet happen, that as we are liable to mental lapses, we shall occasionally think we have its warrant when we have not; and in each case the chances of our having done this will vary directly as the number of times we have claimed its warrant. If the postulate be not uniformly valid, then a further source of error is introduced, the effects of which vary in the same ratio. Hence, on either supposition, it follows that that must be the most certain conclusion at which, starting from the postulate itself, we arrive by the fewest assumptions of the postulate."

The reader will perhaps have seen where we separate from our author; apparently on a small point, but on a point which grows larger and larger as the argument proceeds in its application to Idealism,

Scepticism, and Hypothetical Realism. We must pass over his excellent criticism of Berkeley, Hume, and Kant, and arrive at the conclusion:—

"Do we not thus, then, reach the desired reconciliation between Philosophy and Common Sense? We have seen, first, that the existence of beliefs is, in so far as our reasoning faculties are concerned, the fundamental fact; next, that beliefs which invariably exist are those which, both logically and of necessity, we must adopt; further, that those are invariably existent beliefs, of which we cannot conceive the negations; and lastly, that whether beliefs having this warrant be infallible or not, it must equally happen that the fewer times we assume the validity of such warrant in reaching any conclusion, the more certain must that conclusion be. These positions being granted, it inevitably results, as we have found, that the current belief in objects as external independent entities, has a higher guarantee than any other belief whatever—that our cognition of existence considered as noumenal has a certainty which no cognition of existence, considered as phenomenal, can ever approach; or, in other words—that, judged logically as well as instinctively, Realism is the only rational creed; and that all adverse creeds are self-destructive.

"From our present point of view, not only does the seeming discordance between the verdicts of abstract and practical reason wholly disappear, but their verdicts explain each other. On the one hand, the extreme vividness and unconquerable strength of our common-sense convictions correspond with the extreme brevity of the process by which each of them is arrived at; or, in other words—with the single assumption of the Universal Postulate which each of them involves. On the other hand, the shadowy and unconvincing character of metaphysical inferences corresponds with the extreme complexity of the arguments by which they are drawn; that is—with the numerous assumptions of the Universal Postulate they severally imply. Thus our involuntary adhesion to the first, and our inability to hold the last, answer to their respective claims as measured by the fundamental test of credibility. The instinct justifies the logic: the logic accounts for the instinct.

"Here, too, we may remark the identity of the illusion common to all metaphysical reasonings; the illusion, namely, that our cognition of logical necessity has a higher certainty than our cognition of anything else. Not recognising the fact, that for the validity of every step in an argument, we have no better guarantee than we have for an intuition of sense, but assuming, on the contrary, that whilst our simple perceptions of external existences are fallible, our complex perceptions of internal co-existences are infallible—assuming this, men have sought to reach by reasoning a knowledge that transcends ordinary knowledge. That it is possible by a chain of syllogisms to gain a conviction more positive than any conviction immediately derived from the senses, is the assumption which every metaphysical argument tacitly makes. The endeavour by one school to establish an Ontology, and the assertion by another, that we cannot prove the existence of noumena, alike take for granted that demonstration has a validity exceeding that of intuition.

"It remains but to notice Scepticism's last refuge; namely, the position that *we can never truly know that things are as they seem; and that whilst it may be impossible for us to think of them as otherwise, yet they may be otherwise.* This position we shall find to be as logically inadmissible as it is practically unthinkable. For one of two things must be true of it: it must either admit of no justification by reason, or it must admit of some justification. If it admits of no justification by reason, then it amounts to a tacit negation of all reason. It posits that as possible which by its own admission can be entertained not as a conceivable proposition, but only as a verbally intelligible one; and if it be allowable, without assigning grounds, to do this in the present case, it is allowable to do it in any case; whence it will follow that every conclusion can be met by a counter conclusion which may be posited as possible; and all conclusions being thus rendered worthless, intelligence is abolished. If, on the other hand, reasons in justification of the position be assigned—if it be alleged that we cannot know that things are as they seem *because* we cannot transcend consciousness—then there is at once taken for granted the validity of that test whose validity is called in question. The Universal Postulate is assumed and denied in the same breath."

It may not perhaps be possible in the space at command to satisfactorily set forth our differences with the author, issuing from the one small point previously indicated, but in the way of rough memoranda on this subject take the following:—

1. Our belief in the existence of an external world is our *experience* of such an existence; but our experience is relative, not absolute; it is limited to the way objects affect us, and does not encroach upon the domain of things *per se*.

2. This belief is a *decomposable* act of thought, quite as much so as the belief in the rising and setting of the sun; and just as science corrects the positive testimony of the senses with respect to the sun's rotation, so also it corrects the testimony of the senses with respect to things *being* what they *seem*. We know that the sun does not set, but only seems to do so; we know that the external world is *not* the coloured, scented, sounding world it *seems* to be, and "although it is impossible for us to think of it otherwise, yet it may be (must be) otherwise." Limited to the simple evidence of our senses, we should always have believed the sun to rise and set; limited to the simple evidence of our senses we should always have believed the world to *be* what it *seems*. Both beliefs would have been invariable, both true; but true only in the way all beliefs are true, *i.e.* relatively, *i.e.* as forms of human experience. Enlarge the experience and you alter the belief; to the philosopher the sun does not set, the world is not what it seems; it is, but it is something necessarily different *per se* from the world as *perceived* through his senses.

Portfolia.

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

A SPIRITUAL PHILOSOPHER.

[Our interlocutor, in this case, did not mark the difference between the philosophy and religion of the Spiritualists, with sufficient distinctness. Religiousness and poetic feeling are the same in all minds; and if they

tend to bear weak souls, leaning on philosophies, into fanaticism and absurdity, to the strong they are inexhaustible springs of joy, beauty, goodness, and truth. The Spiritualists are now attempting to give objectivity to their beliefs. Weak swimmers, having left the *terra firma* of faith to breast the darkly rolling tide of scepticism, cry out for all manner of life-preservers. The strong strike out and on for the opposite land of Positivism, while the weak, who have ventured too far to return, get on the floating islands of Spiritualism, where they try what can be done, in the way of supernatural pontoons and wind-bags, to keep up the connexion with either shore.]

"The nonsense of the Spiritualists is not impious; it is serious. When new to what you call their jargon, I thought of it as you do. But one unlearns sense in some companies, as he unlearns his native language among foreigners. Before my third visit to their head-quarters—what they call the Camp—I could speak of living a biography—of being an apprentice to the fact that one circle can be put round another—of becoming God in worshipping him—of getting nearer to Plato than to my wife—of everything as *one* thing, and of that as incarnated in me, or flowing through me, like pure water through a sewer, flushing my soul! When one has been long in the dark it becomes light to him; and then when he comes into the broad day, lo, it is darkness! I went so far into the error of the Spiritualists, I wonder that I came to see it was error. Once I fancied I comprehended their philosophy! Few of them go so far. Judge how near I was to insanity!

"It is one of their fundamental doctrines that words were given to men for business purposes only; that as concerns common things they have definite meanings, while in religion and philosophy they are a sort of pointers, to show the direction in which thoughts lie. Accordingly, in the affairs of every day life they appear to be ordinary men, but become extraordinary whenever either of the above-mentioned subjects is trenching upon. As all their thoughts on these lie in the depths of their souls, and as they profess that they have no word-tackle by which to fish them up for exhibition, you would expect them to be very silent when they were mentioned. On the contrary, however, there are no men so noisy about both. Some of them, it is true, set a high value on silence, which they say is golden; but I think they are those to whom nature gave scanty vocabularies. Nature is always just; and having given them a great fondness for conversation, she provided them with peculiar sympathies anticipating speech. They often know what you mean before you have spoken; and can converse with one another for hours on the deepest questions in philosophy merely by looks and gestures. It makes one solemn to look at their conversations. One is relieved when the golden stillness is broken by such expressions as 'you see!' 'I need not explain!' 'Do you notice the direction?'

"It is a question how far the great variety of animated beings on our globe is due to the force of circumstances. I have no opinion on the subject, but it has struck me how in the case of the Spiritualists nature has provided them with just those qualities necessary to their enjoyment of life; and how, when a man joins himself to them who is deficient in those qualities, she instantly sets to work to make him comfortable. I will give you a few instances of the differences of nature to which I allude. When a Spiritualist begins a sentence which he is unable to finish (as is often the case) he does not look stupid as another would, but on the contrary he looks the more intelligent the less he has to say. It is another curious fact that a Spiritualist cannot be worsted in an argument: that he cannot be convinced of an error however plain it may appear to his friends that he has committed it. I have often reflected how kindly nature has concerned herself about the preservation of some of the most contemptible of beings. You know how she has provided the ink-fish with the means of escape from its enemies, by enabling it to discharge a fluid from its abdomen which forms an atmosphere around it, through which the eye of its pursuer cannot pierce. Where nature is kind I love her; where she is ingenious I admire her. Her device for preserving the Spiritualist is equally kind and ingenious; she has made him as free of the universal soul as an Undine of the ocean. Accordingly when he has erred he plunges into his spiritual depths dragging his errors with him, and when he reappears it is afar off in a haze, coming from the 'inner chambers.' Once the plunge is taken pursuit is impossible.

"There lies for me a striking proof of the existence of design in the universe, in the wonderful fitness of creeds to those who hold them. It is a great pity that those who have hitherto undertaken to provide us with proofs of design should have confined their researches to the physical world. I feel assured that if the distribution of religions and philosophies over the globe were to be made the subject of investigation it would be found that every people, ay, and every person, was in possession of the creed best suited to it and him. I derived this assurance from studying Spiritualism in relation to Spiritualists. You are aware that as yet they have not formed themselves into a church. A church is a conspiracy against nature, to arrest her tendency to fit creeds to persons, by determining what each must believe under terror of certain fearful penalties. Well, as I said, the Spiritualists have not yet formed themselves into a church, and I have observed that, while an undefined feeling or notion unites them, no two agree, even in respect to the most important doctrines. These differences are constitutional. A room full of them, the whole of their congregation may agree in saying, Mr. So and So expresses what we mean by the Over-soul; but take them man and man and you will find their interpretations turn upon their complexions! Such of them as are languid and sentimental mean nothing at all. They would herd with lotus-eaters were there a party of them in the country. Windrush would not be there were it not the field *par excellence* for oratory and imaginative speculation. Mistymind was captivated by the immensity of view which the religion at every turn presented to him. M. Fusce is a clever, argumentative gentleman, who greatly enjoys the company!

"There never was a shoe made, but there was a foot to fit it exactly.

Yet how many must one try on before he gets suited? There never appeared a religion but there were souls to receive it. Yet how many must a soul entertain before it is satisfied? If one is earnest and wise, I can tell him of a religion that will not give him satisfaction; if he is stupid and vain, I know one will just suit him. It is not a church yet, but has its soul's guides and liturgies, and will soon get its priests and Larger and Shorter Catechisms. It will guide him to the appearance of wisdom, which will serve him instead of the reality. It will tell him of infinities and eternals within and beyond his soul, by pointing to which he shall achieve a greater reputation for thought and expression than if he were to clothe endless finites and temporals with beautiful word-dresses from the wardrobes of Apollo. That to him will be satisfaction. If he is a blatherer, I can strongly recommend it to his attention. Wisdom is always calm; its words lead trippingly to truth as the dove led Æneas to the golden branch. Stupidity blathers; but blathering is justified by inspiration! This, O Blatherer, is the religion for thee! Go thunder round thy subject under a press of inspirations, like a cooper round a cask. Obscurity waits for thy enthusiasm; be metaphor and analogy, thy Urim and Thummim—the bump of Imagination thy Holy of Holies!

"I cannot well tell you what their esoteric teaching is. The use of language is to convey intelligible thoughts. The thoughts I am going to convey to you are unintelligible; the language purely metaphorical; the reasoning wholly from analogy. A painful necessity of language compels us to speak of spiritual things as if they were material: we are going to labour in an unknown world with tools of earth. Man is both a poetic and religious animal. With the poetic side of his nature he touches a world of Imagination; with the religious, a world of Spirit. As the world of ether of physical philosophers is one ether, so the world of spirit is one spirit. Of that spirit we are parts, living in it, in a state of separation, encased in bodies. We are as if we were in bottles in an ocean. Some of us inhabit quart bottles, some pint bottles, some infinitesimally small vesicles. Our geniuses are in gallon measures; some have occupied hogsheads. None of us are hermetically sealed in: we are subject to intermixture with the ocean, by oozings, as it were, through our corks and bung-holes. Some of us, in stone jugs, can see nothing of the ocean; some in blue bottles, others in green, see it after a fashion. A few, in thin transparent crystals, corked with *sponge*, are men of enlarged views! We are all of us incarnated *lessons*, what Windrush calls *modes* of divine teaching! When our cases crack, or our corks fly out, we become absorbed in the ocean. While in our cases:—here I submit to the highest spiritual authority.

"There is but one ocean contained in all individual bottles. Every bottle has an inlet to the same, and to all of the same. He that is once admitted to the right of residing in a transparent bottle is made free of the whole ocean. What was in Plato's hogshead, he may get into his bottle; what a sponge head has felt, he may feel; what at any time has befallen any bottle, he can perceive through his own. Who hath the whole ocean in his bottle, is a party to all that is or can be done; for this is the only and sovereign agent."

"Everything in nature is in motion. It is either going to a centre, or from a centre, or round a centre. Where it was once, it will be again. You differ from your fellow man, and leave his company. The whole diameter of the circle of opinion separates you from him. Do you think you will never meet? Fool, you have but gone the round more rapidly than he has. See, you already approach him from behind! Mistymind is unconsciously treading on Chatband's heels. When he taps him on the shoulder, neither will be astonished. Mistymind has a grand project for the suppression of priests. He is the originator of the Anti-priest-oppression Association. When he has suppressed the priests, he thinks men will follow Nature. And so they will. Nature is a manifold writer. With greater or less clearness, she has written her laws on every man's mind. But all do not know her cipher! Nature, says Mistymind, abhors priests, but loves interpreters. 'Homo natura minister et interpres' is the only portion of Bacon's celebrated maxim ever quoted by Mistymind. Well, let him have his interpreters, and bind them to his own interpretation. Surely the road will now be straight and pleasant. Nay, for a priest is of the party! He has dropped his cassock, and reappears with black silk gloves and an umbrella; not from an extramundane court, but as his own ambassador. Verily, the old was the better company!"

The Arts.

A BACHELOR OF ARTS.

ONE of the pleasantest, happiest pieces which has been produced for some time, was produced in the fog of Wednesday last, at the LYCEUM. Its origin is *On demande un Gouverneur*, a two-act comedy which had great success at the Gymnase. It has been Englished, with only here and there a trace of its original colouring. The adapter is announced as Mr. Pelham Hardwicke; but a play-going public will have little difficulty in detecting the hand of Charles Mathews in many parts of the dialogue.

The idea is one more humorous than probable, but probability is not a dramatic virtue. Young Jasper has run through his fortune, and wants an excitement. The advertisement of "Wanted a Tutor for a boy of 18" allures him. That surely must have emanated from an old foggy, one of the "old school"—a guy in pigtail and silver buckles. Can't one "get a rise" out of that respectable "party?" Jasper thinks "rather!" He comes, he sees, and is conquered. Instead of an old foggy, he sees a kind old gentleman, whom it would be a shame to quiz. To get out of the situation without delay, he announces his qualifications as tutor to be—excellence at billiards, pre-eminence in questions of wine and horseflesh, a weakness for gaming, a frailty for the stronger sex, a general contempt for tradesmen's bills, and a healthy ignorance of Latin and Greek: in

short, a VIVIAN on a small scale, *plus* the ignorance, and *minus* the Christian Fathers! An ideal tutor! A man to be cherished in the bosom of families! A blessing to parents, and a delight to sons! You fancy, perhaps, that this programme leads to his being bowed politely out of the house? He fancied it would be so. But parents and guardians are such queer people! Old Thornton, instead of bowing him out, accepts him on the spot; places him in command not only of his son, but of his entire establishment during a temporary absence! The secret of this conduct is (dramatically) very simple. He recognises in Jasper the scapegrace son of an old friend, who has begged him to reclaim, if possible, at all events to befriend, that son.

Jasper, seated on the domestic throne, finds work enough to hand. The "boy" has a love affair with an Arabella Mountstuart, who without ostensible fortune keeps a very ostensible Brougham. She is the loveliest and fairest of her sex. One's "flame" always is, you know; were it not so, love and marriage would be impossible, for we should be always pursuing that eluding and deluding Ideal, and never settling down into comfortable credulity respecting our Janes and Julias, Carolines and Mary Annes.

Jasper, not being in love, has other theories respecting Arabella; his task is therefore to win the confidence of his pupil, and wean him from Arabella and her Brougham. He has other tasks; one, a very delicate task for any man to undertake, namely, the unmasking of a libertine who makes love to old Thornton's pretty wife; the second, a very difficult one, namely, the outwitting of a wily old scoundrel who has in his possession a document which affects the honour of the family. In these tasks he succeeds, and wins the heart of the ingenuous Emma; but *how* he does these things must not here be told. The intrigue is both ingenious and clear, the incidents amusing, and the interest unflagging. The whole tone of the piece is that of direct healthy comedy, and emphatically I say, go and judge for yourself!

The acting is excellent. Charles Mathews plays the part of Jasper with that natural ease in which he is unrivalled (an ease often degenerating into carelessness, and passing out of the sphere of acting, for in its avoidance of "points," it has often the effect of mere slovenliness, and is not painting, but the "scumbling in" of haste or indifference) with that charm of manner the secret of which belongs to him alone,—with that gaiety which never runs into coarseness,—and with that nice perception of characteristic detail, never obtrusive, always effective; and finally with that well-bred air which distinguishes all he does. Moreover, I would specially call attention to the very effective reading of his father's letter, which closes the first act—its natural unstrained pathos produced what the Italians call a "knot in the throat" of us all, a choking sensation, which only fine acting will produce. Frank Mathews is also unusually truthful and effective in the part of Andrew Willie, one of the best bits of character in his repertoire.

LOVE'S ALARMS.

BUT how about the new one act opera? I promised to see it; and oh! the value of promises! I haven't. Who could see anything through this week's fogs? (I didn't go on Wednesday through the fog to the LYCEUM, but through the slops of Thursday.) Instead of *Love's Alarms* it was *Fog's Alarms* to me.

But although I haven't seen it, I can tell you in a brief pregnant sentence all about it. No man who has looked at life as a philosopher can have any doubt on the nature of *Love's Alarms*—namely, wedlock and eight children; if *that* is not alarming, what is? VIVIAN.

WEDNESDAY EVENING CONCERTS.

As we were prevented by "circumstances over which we had no control;" in other words, by the fog, from reaching Exeter Hall before nine o'clock on Wednesday night, just as the last bars of Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony were being played, we can only, in our character of honest, rather than ubiquitous, reporters, assure our readers how great a loss we, in common with many hundreds, sustained. The programme of this concert was particularly rich, the first part being devoted entirely to Mendelssohn. The second of his concert-overtures, known in England as *A calm sea and a prosperous voyage*, was executed under Mr. Benedict's direction in a manner that left little to be desired. According to a recent suggestion of the *Times*, it was played at the end of the first part of the programme, to the evident advantage of the executants and the audience. The concerto was the first of the two Piano-forte Concertos, that in G minor, and was played to such perfection by Mademoiselle Clauss as (says the *Times*) "to have contented the most devoted admirer of Mendelssohn's genius. The slow movement, especially, was given with exquisite feeling, and was loudly re-demanded by the audience, who listened to the concerto with unmistakable interest from first to last, and at the conclusion honoured Mademoiselle Clauss with a recall." There was a selection of vocal chamber music, accompanied on the piano-forte by Mr. Benedict in masterly style.

The second miscellaneous part of the programme was made somewhat noticeable by the first appearance of a new *contralto*, Madame Amedie, of whom the *Times* says:—

"Of the lady's pretensions as a vocalist we would rather defer speaking; but of her voice, it may be said, without hesitation, that, since Alboni came out at the Royal Italian Opera, a purer, more satisfactory and beautiful voice of its class has not been heard. In the 'Brindisi,' from *Lucia di Lammermoor*, which (injudiciously, we thought) was introduced later in the evening, this opinion was further strengthened. With such a treasure at command, whose fault will it be if Madame Amedie, evidently young, does not become a singer? She produced a marked impression."

On the whole, it was an excellent concert. It is the more to be regretted that the audience should have been inevitably thin. Even those who were present appeared rather to have taken refuge from the fog without than to be drawn together by the concord of sweet sounds within the Hall. Such a programme deserves repetition: and if the Directors would but give us one chance more of hearing Mademoiselle Clauss, before she exchanges London fogs for Russian snows, we shall be ready to certify, that they have "deserved well of their country."

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 24th November, at Chorley Wood, Hertfordshire, the wife of William Longman, Esq.: a daughter.

On the 17th, at Dublin, the Hon. Mrs. Cunynghame: a son.
On the 24th, at Hanover-cottages, Regent's-park, the wife of John Hinton Daniell, Esq., late Captain Forty-second Royal Highlanders: a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 22nd November, at Rainton, county of Durham, by the Reverend Archdeacon Sinclair, uncle of the bridegroom, John George Tollemache, only son of Sir George Sinclair, Bart., and the Lady Camilla Sinclair, of Thurso Castle, Caithness, N.B., to Emma Isabella Harriett Carr, eldest daughter of Wm. Standish, Esq., of Duxbury-park, Lancashire, and Coken-hall, Durham.

On the 22nd, at St. George's, Hanover-square, the Marchese Don Odoardo Frédéric François Raffaele Gadaleta, second son of the Marchese di Martano, late Intendente of the Province of Bari, in the kingdom of Naples, Chevalier of the Order of the Cross of Malta, and Chamberlain to his Majesty Ferdinand the Second, King of the Two Sicilies, to Thomasina, only daughter of the late Walter Newton, Esq., of Dunleekny-house, county of Carlow, Ireland.

On the 23rd, at Wrotham, Arthur Davies Berrington, Esq., only son of J. Davies Berrington, Esq., of Woodland Castle, county of Glamorgan, to Frances Lennox Heneage, third daughter of the Rev. Charles Lane, rector of Wrotham, Kent.

DEATHS.

On the 16th November, Charles Augustine Scovell, Gentleman Cadet of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, sixth son of Henry Scovell, Esq., of Ferney, Stillorgan, and nephew of the Governor Lieutenant-General Sir George Scovell, K.B., aged sixteen.

On the 17th, at College-green, in the city of Worcester, Frances Fleming, widow of the Rev. J. F. S. Fleming St. John, one of the Prebendaries of Worcester Cathedral, and only sister and heiress of Richard Stukely Fleming, of Dinmore, in the county of Hereford, Esq., aged ninety-one.

On the 18th, at 31, Argyll-street, the Right Hon. the Dowager Lady Arundell, relict of the Right Hon. James Everard (Ninth) Lord Arundell, of Wardour Castle, Wiltshire, aged seventy-three.

On the 21st, Seymour George, the infant son of Sir George Larpent, Bart.

On the 21st, at 7, Hyde-park-place West, William Reginald, the eldest son of Lord and Lady Courtenay, aged twenty-one.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, November 25, 1853.

THE fluctuation in Consols has been about one per cent. during the week. News from the seat of war, rumours of dissensions in our Cabinet at home, allied fleets reported to be cruising in the Black Sea, affect not Consols; "systole," "diastole," between 95½ and 95 is our weekly report of the City pulse. The "Bears" cannot make profits—the great public always coming in as a buyer when the Funds receded to a certain point.

Railway shares have been more largely dealt in, but their prices have not improved very greatly. French Shares hold their own, and Belgian have been greatly inquired after during the week. Australian Banks all at improved prices; the same with Land Companies, particularly Australian Agricultural. Californian Mines still promise profitable returns. Mariposas and Agua Fria seem to have the call. Waller's in Virginia would seem to have some good news in reserve, from the quiet way that parties have been buying. Foreign Securities, except in Spanish, have been flat during the week.

Crystal Palace Shares have been largely dealt in at 2½ premium.

Consols leave off at 4 o'clock.

North Western, 103½, 103½; Great Western, 83, 84; South Western, 76, 78; Eastern Counties, 13, 13½; York and Northern, 48½, 49; Midlands, 63½, 63½; Caledonians, 56½, 57; Berwick's, 66, 66; Brightons, 97, 98; Dovers, 61½, 62½; Leeds, 67, 67½; North of France, 34½, 34½; Paris and Strasburgs, 32½, 33 x d, x n.; Paris and Lyons, 16½, 16½ pm.; Rouens, 41, 43; Sambre and Meuse, 9½, 10; Luxemburg, 11½, 11½; Namur and Liège, 8½, 9½; West Flanders, 4½, 5½.

Banks: Union of Australia, 73, 75; London Chartered (Australia) ½, 1 pm.; English, Scottish, and Australian, 1½, 1½ dis.

Australian Agricultural Land Company, 43, 45; Peel River, ½, ½ pm.; North British Australian Loan and Land, ½, ½ pm.; Scotch Australian Investment, 1½, 1½ pm.

Mines: Aqua Fria, ½, 1 pm.; Colonial Gold, ½, ½ pm.; Mariposa, ½ dis., par.; Nouveau Monde, ½, ½ pm.; Waller, ½, ½ dis., done at ½, ½; West Mariposa, ½ dis., par.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday, November 25, 1853.

THERE are good supplies of all Grain since Monday. The Wheat trade is firm. Barley drooping, and old Oats are 6d. to 1s. dearer; new scarcely so good as Monday.

Since our last, the value of Wheat has advanced in the Baltic Ports 2s. to 3s. per qr., and by the last advices from New York, we learn that even a greater advance had taken place there, and that orders in hand from England for fine white Wheat at 72s., cost and freight, could not be executed. At Stettin 61 lb. to 61½ lb. new and old red Wheat, mixed, cannot be had under 65s., new 60 lb. Polish 61s. to 67s. per qr., free on board, 66s. 6d. to 67s. is asked for 61½ lb. red Wheat, free on board, at Stettin in the Spring. The French markets have been dull during the present week. In Ireland Barley and Oats are more freely offered, but not at lower prices; the English markets are, however, better supplied with home-grown Grain of both descriptions, and there is consequently rather less demand for Irish produce. The value of Oats is firmly maintained in Holland—40 to 41 lbs. Brewer Polands 25s. to 25s. 6d. Beans continue exceedingly scarce.

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

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	217½	218	218	218	218½	218½
3 per Cent. Red.	94	94	94½	94½	94½	94½
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
Consols for Account	95	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
3½ per Cent. An.	96	96	96½	96½	96½	96½
New 5 per Cents.						
Long Ans. 1860		6½	6 7-16	6½	6½	6½
India Stock		250			253	
Ditto Bonds, £1000		1 p	4 p	1 p		
Ditto, under £1000				4 p	4 p	
Ex. Bills, £1000	8 p	6 p	9 p	9 p	5 p	
Ditto, £500			6 p	9 p	6 p	
Ditto, Small	8 p	6 p	9 p	9 p	8 p	

OLYMPIC THEATRE.—

Lessee and Manager, Mr. ALFRED WIGAN.

Monday, November 28, and during the week, will be repeated the Original Drama, in Three Acts, called PLOT AND PASSION. Principal characters, by Messrs. F. Robson, Emery, Leslie, Cooper, White, and A. Wigan; Miss E. Turner and Mrs. Stirling. After which the introductory Extravaganza, called THE CAMP AT THE OLYMPIC, in which will appear Messrs. A. Wigan, Emery, F. Robson, Cooper, and Galli; Mesdames Stirling, P. Horton, Chatterly, E. Turner, Wyndham, and A. Wigan. To conclude with THE WANDERING MINSTREL. Jem Baggs, Mr. F. Robson.

Box-office open from Eleven to Four. Doors open at Seven, and commence at Half-past Seven. Stalls, 5s.; Boxes, 4s.; Pit, 2s.; Gallery, 1s.

WEDNESDAY EVENING CONCERTS.
EXETER HALL.

On Wednesday Evening next, the 30th inst., will be performed SELECTIONS from WEBER and MEYERBEER. After which a Selection of Popular Music.

Principal Vocalists—Madame Viardot Garcia, Miss Grace Alleyne, Miss Fanny Ternan, Miss Freeman (her first appearance), Miss Thirlwall; Mr. Elliot Galer, Mr. Weiss. Soloists—Mlle. St. Marc and Mr. Lazarus. The Band consists of Seventy Performers.

Conductors, Mr. Benedict and Herr Meyer Lutz. Leader, Mr. Thirlwall. Director of the Music, Mr. Box. Chorus Master, Mr. Smythson. Managing Director, Mr. William Willott.

Tickets and Programmes to be had at the Hall.

ON SUNDAY MORNING, 27th November,

at eleven o'clock, a Lecture will be delivered at the John-street Institution, Tottenham-court-road, on ARABIA AND MIRACLE, by WILLIAM MACCALL, Author of "The Elements of Individualism."

MR. ALBERT SMITH has the honour to announce that his ASCENT of MONT BLANC will RE-OPEN for the season on MONDAY EVENING, December 5th.

During the recess several important alterations and improvements have been made in the approaches, the ventilation, and the arrangement of the Hall, which it is hoped will contribute to the comfort of the audience: these include a new staircase, a new gallery, and an entire re-decoration of the room, which represents part of a Swiss village, with buildings of the actual size, very carefully copied from Bernese models. The wood carving has been furnished by Kehrli Frères, of Meyringen, and Chamouni. The new fountains by Leclerc, of the Boulevard Poissonnière. The imitated heaths and Alpine plants from the Maison Prevost-Wenzel, Rue St. Denis: the flowers by Mr. Hoppood, Bayswater.

Instead of the Geneva route, the audience will be conducted to Chamouni by the Bernese Oberland, and the journey will be illustrated by the following views:—The Rhine Bridge at Basle—Zürich—The Rigi-Kulm Hotel, looking towards the Rossberg—The Lake of Lucerne—Interlaken—The Jung Frau and the Eigers, as seen from the Wengern Alp Inn. The second part will comprise the Ascent of Mont Blanc, as before, with the addition of a new general view of Chamouni and the Mont Blanc range: and the third part will represent the Pass of the Simplon, from Martigny to the Lago Maggiore, with the following views:—1. Brieg. 2. The Ganther Bridge and Gallery. 3. The village of Simplon at night, with the malle-poste arriving. 4. The Gorge of Gondo. 5. The Pont de Crevela and Val d'Ossola. 6. The Isola Bella, on the Lago Maggiore. The whole of the views have been painted under the direction of Mr. WILLIAM BEVERLEY. The entertainment will be given every evening (except Saturday) at Eight o'clock, and Tuesday and Saturday afternoons, during the winter months, at Two. The doors will be open at Half-past Seven, and Half-past One. The prices of admission will remain the same as before. Stalls 3s. (these seats are numbered and reserved, and can be secured for any representation, without extra charge, at the Box-Office, Egyptian Hall, every day between Eleven and Four), Area 2s., Gallery 1s. A private box for three persons, half-a-guinea. A private balcony for six, one guinea. It is respectfully announced that no bonnets will be allowed in the stalls. Programmes containing every information can now be obtained at the Hall.

EGYPTIAN HALL, PICCADILLY.

WILL SHORTLY CLOSE.—Dr. KAHN'S ANATOMICAL MUSEUM, PORTLAND-GALLERY, REGENT-STREET, opposite the Polytechnic. OPEN for gentlemen DAILY, at the usual hours, except on Wednesdays and Fridays, from Two till Five, during which hours ladies only are admitted. Explanations for gentlemen by Dr. Leach, and for ladies by Mrs. Leach. Admission, 1s.

WHALLEY TESTIMONIAL.

The Friends of GEORGE HAMMOND WHALLEY, Esq., being desirous of commemorating the election of December last, propose presenting that gentleman with some testimony of their sense of obligation for his arduous efforts to secure to the electors of this city the choice of their representatives in Parliament. They also propose, on Tuesday, the 6th of December, to have a PUBLIC DINNER, when Mr. Whalley will be invited, and the presentation made: WILLIAM VERGETTE, Chairman.

The following gentlemen in Peterborough are deputed to receive subscriptions:—

Mr. James Aldgate | Mr. James Elgar
Mr. William Vergette | Mr. John Miller
Mr. P. H. Ellis.

Peterborough, Nov. 16, 1853.

EDUCATION.—A Widow Lady, residing in

one of the finest counties in England, in the vicinity of a railway station, fifty miles from London, receives as BOARDERS SIX YOUNG LADIES, to be educated with her two daughters, under her immediate superintendence. References of the highest order.—Terms and other particulars may be had on application to Mrs. F. Lover, 6, Victoria-terrace, Bedford.

NEW SECULAR BOOK DEPOT,
147, FLEET STREET.

MESSRS. HOLYOAKE and CO., Booksellers and Publishers, 147, Fleet Street, London, give intimation that their Printing Business and Book and News Agency, from 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row, is now removed to No. 147, Fleet Street.

On and after January 1, 1854, Messrs. Holyoake and Co. will publish, at 147, Fleet Street, the List of Works on "Free Inquiry" now issued by Mr. James Watson, Publisher, of 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row.

All Mr. Watson's Works are now sold at No. 147, Fleet Street. Miss Martineau's New Work, "Comte's Positive Philosophy," translated, 2 vols.; Professor Newman's New Work, "Kosmuth's Speeches," Leigh Hunt's New Work, "Religion of the Heart," G. H. Lewes's New Work, "Exposition of Comte," supplied at

Holyoake and Co.'s, 147, Fleet Street.

THE WORKING TAILORS' JOINT

STOCK COMPANY 314, Oxford-street, near Hanover-square. Registered under 7 and 8 Victoria, cap. 110.

The above Company beg leave to call the attention of their customers and the public to the fact that they have lately made alterations in some of their arrangements and officers, in order that increased efficiency may be given to their business transactions, and greater satisfaction to their customers. The result of the experiment which they have now been engaged for three years in making, has proved the practicability of the principle of self-dependence on which they set out, relying for success on supplying good articles at a moderate price, in the fair way of ordinary business.

JAMES CAMPBELL, Manager and Secretary.

CAUTION.—TO TRADESMEN, MER-

CHANTS, SHIPPERS, OUTFITTERS, &c. Whereas it has lately come to my knowledge that some unprincipled person or persons have for some time past been imposing on the Public, by selling to the trade and others a spurious article under the name of BOND'S PERMANENT MARKING INK, this is to give notice, that I am the Original and sole Proprietor and Manufacturer of the said article, and do not employ any traveller, or authorize any person to represent themselves as coming from my establishment for the purpose of selling the said ink. This caution is published by me to prevent further imposition upon the public, and serious injury to myself, E. R. BOND, sole executrix and widow of the late John Bond, 28, Long-lane, West Smithfield London.

DAVIES'S YELLOW SOAP, 38s., 44s.,

48s., and 52s., per 112 lbs.; Mottled, 54s.; Brown Windsor, 1s. and 1s. 9d. per packet; White Windsor, 1s. 4d.; Plain Windsor, 9d.; Honey, 1s. 4d. Sperm Oil, 8s. per gallon; Argand or Vegetable, 4s. 6d.; French, 4s. Sperm Candles, 1s. 7d. and 1s. 8d. per lb.; Transparent Wax, 1s. 10d.; Best Wax, 2s. 3d.; British, 1s. 5d.; Botanic, 1s.; Composite, 8½d., 9d., 10d., and 10½d. Store Candles, 7d.; Moulds, 8d. for Cash, at M. P. DAVIES and SON'S Old-Established Warehouse, 63, St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross.

A NEW DISCOVERY IN TEETH.

MR. HOWARD, SURGEON-DENTIST,

52, FLEET STREET, has introduced an ENTIRELY NEW DESCRIPTION OF ARTIFICIAL TEETH, fixed without springs, wires, or ligatures. They so perfectly resemble the natural teeth as not to be distinguished from the originals by the closest observer; they will never change colour or decay, and will be found superior to any teeth ever before used. This method does not require the extraction of roots, or any painful operation, and will support and preserve teeth that are loose, and is guaranteed to restore articulation and mastication. Decayed teeth rendered sound and useful in mastication.

52, FLEET STREET.—At home from Ten till Five.

FIVE GUINEAS.—Mr. WM. H. HALSE, the

Medical Galvanist, of 22, Brunswick-square, London, informs his friends that his FIVE GUINEA APPARATUSSES are now ready.—Send two postage stamps for his Pamphlet on Medical Galvanism.

TEETH.—By Her Majesty's Royal Letters

Patent.—Newly-invented and Patented application of chemically-prepared WHITE INDIA RUBBER in the construction of ARTIFICIAL TEETH, Gums, and Palates.—Mr. EPHRAIM MOSELY, Surgeon-Dentist, 61, Grosvenor-street, Grosvenor-square, Sole Inventor and Patentee. A new, original, and invaluable invention, consisting in the adaptation, with the most absolute perfection and success, of chemically-prepared WHITE INDIA RUBBER as a lining to the ordinary gold or bone frame. The extraordinary results of this application may be briefly noted in a few of their most prominent features, as the following:—All sharp edges are avoided, no springs, wires, or fastenings are required, a greatly increased freedom of suction is supplied, a natural elasticity hitherto wholly unattainable, and a fit, perfected with the most unerring accuracy, is secured, while from the softness and flexibility of the agent employed, the greatest support is given to the adjoining teeth when loose, or rendered tender by the absorption of the gums. The acids of the mouth exert no agency on the chemically-prepared White India-rubber, and as it is a non-conductor, fluids of any temperature may with thorough comfort be imbibed and retained in the mouth, all unpleasantness of smell and taste being at the same time wholly provided against by the peculiar nature of its preparation.—To be obtained only at

61, LOWER GROSVENOR-STREET, LONDON.

22, Gay-street, Bath.

34, Grainger-street, Newcastle-on-Tyne

TEA!

INSURRECTION 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 probability of a considerable rise. We have not at present altered our quotations, and are still selling

The very Best Black Tea, at 4s. 0d. the pound.
Good sound Congou 3s. 0d. "
Finest Pekoe ditto 3s. 8d. "
Fine Gunpowder 4s. 0d. "
Choice Coffee 1s. 0d. "
Finest Homeopathic Cocoa 1s. 0d. "

This is the most pleasant and nutritious preparation of Cocoa. For the convenience of our numerous customers, we retail the finest West India and Refined Sugars at market prices.

All goods delivered by our own vans, free of charge, within eight miles of London. 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.

TEA IS GETTING DEARER; this is therefore the Time to Buy.—PHILLIPS and COMPANY are still SELLING AT OLD PRICES, although the market value of Tea has risen 3d. to 4d. per lb., and will be still higher. The Teas worth purchasing are—

The strong Congou Tea, at 3s. 4d. per lb.
The prime Souchong Tea, at 3s. 6d., 3s. 8d., and 4s.
The prime Gunpowder Tea, at 4s., 4s. 8d., and 5s.
The best Pearl Gunpowder, at 5s. 4d.

All who purchase at these prices will save money, as Teas are getting dearer.

Prime Coffee, at 1s. and 1s. 2d. per lb. The best Mocha, 1s. 4d. per lb.

Teas, Coffees, and all other Goods sent carriage free, by our own vans and carts, if within eight miles; and Teas, Coffees, and Spices sent Carriage free to any part of England, if to the value of 40s. or upwards, by PHILLIPS and COMPANY, Tea and Colonial Merchants, 8, King William Street, City, London. Phillips and Co.'s Price List of RAISINS, CURRANTS, IMPERIAL PLUMS, FIAS, &c., is now ready, and is sent post free, on application.

PENINSULAR and ORIENTAL STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY.

DEPARTURES OUTWARDS.

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

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

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

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

MARSEILLES and the COAST of ITALY.—From Marseilles to Genoa, Leghorn, Civita Vecchia, and Naples, on the 15th and 30th of every month; and from Naples to Civita Vecchia, Leghorn, Genoa, and Marseilles, departing from Marseilles on the 19th and 4th of the month.

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

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

For further information and tariffs of the Company's rates of passage money and freight, for plans of the vessels, and to secure passages, &c., apply at the Company's Offices, 122, Leadenhall-street, London, and Oriental-place, Southampton.

ITALY, GENOA, LEGHORN, FLORENCE, ROME, NAPLES, and MALTA.

Travellers and Families about to visit Italy, &c., are informed that the PENINSULAR and ORIENTAL STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY'S two new Steam-ships "VECTIS" and "VALETTA," of 1,000 tons and 400 horse-power each, fitted up with superior passenger accommodation, and already proved to be the fastest ocean steamers afloat, now run from Marseilles to Genoa, Leghorn, Civita Vecchia, Naples, and Malta, departing from Marseilles on the 15th and 30th of every month; also from Malta to Naples, Civita Vecchia, Leghorn, Genoa, and Marseilles, departing from Malta on the 1st and 15th of every month.

Particulars of fares, accommodation, &c., may be obtained on application at the Company's Offices, 122, Leadenhall-street, London, where also by timely arrangement separate cabins for families or parties may be secured.

HARBINGER, from England to Port Phillip, 69 days.

ARGO, ditto ditto ditto 64 days.

Ditto, from Port Phillip, home via the Horn, 64 days.

STEAM to AUSTRALIA.—The GENERAL

SCREW STEAM SHIPPING COMPANY'S Ship CRESCUS, of 2500 tons and 400-horse power, will positively leave Southampton for MELBOURNE and SYDNEY, on Tuesday, the 10th of January, 1854. The Cabins possess every comfort, are well ventilated and fully furnished; two spacious Saloons are devoted to the public entertainment of the Passengers. Rates, from £35 to £50, according to the accommodation required, exclusive of wines, beer, &c. Rates of Freight from £7 per ton, dependent on priority of engagement. Rough goods will be taken by special agreement.

Full information as to freight and passage-money may be obtained on application at the Company's offices, 1, Adelaide-place, London-bridge; or to the Company's agents at the principal towns of the United Kingdom.

Parcels carried at the rates fixed by tariff. Ship's letter-bag will be open at the Company's offices.

FENDERS, STOVES, and FIRE-IRONS.

Buyers of the above are requested, before finally deciding, to visit WILLIAM S. BURTON'S SHOW-ROOMS, 39, Oxford-street, (corner of Newman-street,) Nos. 1 and 2, Newman-street, and Perry's-place. They are the largest in the world, and contain such an assortment of FENDERS, STOVES, RANGES, FIRE-IRONS, and GENERAL IRONMONGERY, as cannot be approached elsewhere, either for variety, novelty, beauty of design, or exquisiteness of workmanship. Bright Stoves, with bronzed ornaments and two sets of bars, £2 14s. to £5 10s.; ditto with ornolu ornaments and two sets of bars, £5 10s. to £12 12s.; Bronzed Fenders complete, with standards, from 7s. to £3; Steel Fenders from £2 15s. to £6; ditto with rich ornolu ornaments, from £2 15s. to £7 7s.; Fire-irons, from 1s. 9d. the set to £4 4s. Sylvester and all other Patent Stoves, with radiating hearth plates. All which he is enabled to sell at these very reduced charges.

First—From the frequency and extent of his purchases; and
Secondly—From those purchases being made exclusively for cash.

DISH COVERS AND HOT-WATER

DISHES in every material, in great variety, and of the newest and most recherché patterns. Tin Dish Covers, 6s. the set of six; Block Tin, 12s. 3d. to 27s. 2d. the set of six; elegant modern patterns, 32s. 3d. to 57s. 6d. the set; Britannia Metal, with or without silver-plated handles, 73s. to 110s. 6d. the set; Sheffield plated, £10 to £16 10s. the set; Block Tin Hot-water Dishes, with wells for gravy, 13s. to 19s.; Britannia Metal, 20s. to 72s.; Sheffield plated, full size, £9 10s.

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

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

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

FORD'S EUREKA SHIRTS.

Best Quality, Six for Forty Shillings; Second Quality, Six for Thirty Shillings. Gentlemen desirous of obtaining Shirts in the very best manner in which they can be made, are solicited to try FORD'S EUREKAS. "The most unique, and the only perfect-fitting shirt made."—*Observer*.

Country residents purchasing in any provincial town are requested to observe on the interior of the collar-band the stamp—"Ford's Eureka Shirts, 39, Poultry," (without which none are genuine.) Agents are now being appointed in all towns. Terms, &c., forwarded on application.—RICHARD FORD, 39, Poultry London. Manufactory, Hay's-lane, Tooley-street.

EUREKA.—PATTERNS of the New

Coloured Shirtings in every variety of Colour, upwards of 200 different styles for making FORD'S EUREKA SHIRTS, including sprigs, spots, stripes, &c. &c., sent post free on receipt of six stamps, price 27s. the half-dozen.—List of Prices and Mode of Self-measurement sent post free.—RICHARD FORD, 39, Poultry, London.

N.B.—Agents are now being appointed in all towns. Terms, &c., forwarded on application.

ARGUS LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

39, Throgmorton-street, Bank; and 14, Pall Mall.
Chairman—Thomas Farncomb, Esq., Alderman.
Deputy-Chairman—William Leaf, Esq.
Richard E. Arden, Esq.
Edward Bates, Esq.
Thomas Camplin, Esq.
James Clift, Esq.
Rupert Ingleby, Esq.
John Humphery, Esq., Alderman.
Thomas Kelly, Esq., Alderman.
Jeremiah Pilcher, Esq.
Lewis Pocock, Esq.
Physician—Dr. Jeaffreson, 2, Finsbury-square.
Surgeon—W. Coulson, Esq., 2, Frederick's-place, Old Jewry.
Consulting Actuary—Professor Hall, M.A., of King's College.

ADVANTAGES OF ASSURING WITH THIS COMPANY.

The Premiums are on the lowest scale consistent with security. The assured are protected by an ample subscribed capital—an assurance fund of £350,000 invested on mortgage and in the Government Stocks—and an income of £77,000 a year.

Age.	Premiums to Assure £100.		Whole Term.	
	One Year.	Seven Years.	With Profits.	Without Profits.
20	£ s. d. 0 17 8	£ s. d. 0 19 1	£ s. d. 1 15 10	£ s. d. 1 11 10
30	1 1 3	1 2 7	2 5 5	2 0 7
40	1 5 0	1 6 9	3 0 7	2 14 10
50	1 14 1	1 19 10	4 6 8	4 0 11
60	3 2 4	3 17 0	6 12 9	6 0 10

MUTUAL BRANCH.

Assurers on the Bonus system are entitled, at the end of five years, and afterwards annually, to participate in four-fifths or 80 per cent. of the profits.

The profit assigned to each Policy can be added to the sum assured, applied in reduction of the annual premium, or be received in cash.

At the first division a return of 20 per cent. in cash on the premiums paid was declared; this will allow a permanent reduction in the future annual payment for life of from 3½ to 11 per cent., according to the age, and a reversionary increase varying from 16 to 23 per cent. on the premiums, or from 1 to 3 per cent. on the sum assured.

One half of the "Whole Term" Premium may remain on credit for seven years, or one-third of the Premium may remain for life as a debt upon the Policy at 5 per cent., or may be paid off at any time without notice.

Claims paid in one month after proofs have been approved. Loans upon approved security.

The medical officers attend every day at Throgmorton-street at a quarter before two o'clock.

E. BATES, Resident Director.

SOLICITORS' AND GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

52, CHANCERY-LANE, LONDON.

SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL, ONE MILLION.

This Society presents the following Advantages—

The security of a Subscribed Capital of ONE MILLION. Exemption of the Assured from all liability. Premiums affording particular advantages to young lives. Participating and Non-Participating Premiums.

In the former, EIGHTY PER CENT. or FOUR-FIFTHS of the Profits, are divided amongst the Assured TRIENNIALY, either by way of addition to the sum assured, or in diminution of Premium, at their option.

No deduction is made from the four-fifths of the profits for interest on Capital, for a Guarantee Fund, or on any other Account. POLICIES FREE OF STAMP DUTY, and INDISPUTABLE, except in case of fraud.

At the General Meeting, on the 31st of May last, A BONUS was declared of nearly TWO PER CENT. per annum on the amount assured, or at the rate of from THIRTY to upwards of SIXTY per cent. on the Premiums paid.

POLICIES share in the Profits, even if ONE PREMIUM ONLY has been paid.

Next DIVISION OF PROFITS in 1856.

The Directors meet on Thursdays, at Two o'clock. Assurances may be effected by applying on any other day, between the hours of Ten and Four, at the Office of the Society, where Prospectuses and all other requisite information can be obtained.

CHARLES JOHN GILL, Secretary.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN BANKING COMPANY.

Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1847.

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

Apply at the Company's Offices, No. 54, Old Broad-street, London. WILLIAM PURDY, Manager.

London, November, 1853.

SAVINGS BANKS' DEPOSITORS and

other INVESTORS are informed that the ROYAL INVESTMENT SOCIETY is allowing Depositors 4½ to 5 per cent. interest on Deposits, which are all invested on real security by this Society. No partnership liability.

TRUSTEES.

The Right Hon. Lord Thomas Pelham Clinton.

The Hon R. E. Howard, D.C.L.

Erasmus Wilson, Esq., F.R.S.

Prospectuses free on application.

W. BRIDGES, Secretary.

BANK OF DEPOSIT.

7, St. Martin's-place, Trafalgar-square, London.

Established May, 1844.

Parties desirous of Investing Money are requested to examine the Plan of this Institution, by which a high rate of Interest may be obtained with perfect Security.

The Interest is payable in JANUARY and JULY, and for the convenience of parties residing at a distance, may be received at the Branch Offices, or paid through Country Bankers, without expense.

PETER MORRISON, Managing Director.

Prospectuses free on application.

THE NATIONAL PROVIDENT FREE-

HOLD LAND SOCIETY.—Offices, 472, New Oxford Street, London.—Shares, £50; Entrance Fee, 1s. 6d.; Monthly Payment, 8s. per share.—Interest on Completed Shares and on Payments in Advance. No Fines. No Extra Charges. Prospectus and Rules gratis.

P. W. CLAYDEN, Secretary.

MR. NEWBY'S

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

In 2 vols. plates, 2Ss.

THE LIFE OF SAVONAROLA.

By Dr. MADDEN,

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