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# 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, DECEMBER 24, 1853.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

## News of the Week.

THE Cabinet met in Council on Thursday, and was expected to agree upon a statesman to fill the office of Home Secretary; but while we write the impression is, that the meeting resulted in an effort to arrange for the return of Lord Palmerston. At present the Home-office is vacant, and the Ministry is in crisis.

The important questions for the public, are, how far the change in the Government has effected its general position, the prospects of reform, and, still more, the course of proceedings in the East. As Parliament is not sitting, there exists no means of extracting any distinct information on these subjects, and the public is necessarily misled between the random assertions of those who obey mere anti-Ministerial instincts, or of those who make assertions to extract contradictions, and scarcely less by the partial or intentionally twisted revelations which are made on the side of Government. Upon the whole, the impression amongst the best-informed as to the acts and feelings of Ministers themselves is, that the severance of Lord Palmerston does not indicate so much diversity of feeling amongst the members of the Cabinet as the act itself would imply. That there have been differences, on the subject of the East as well as upon that of Reform, is not denied, but part of the perplexity arises from the fact that, whatever the differences in the East, Lord Palmerston had continued to acquiesce in the policy of the majority of the Cabinet; and it is stated, that since his resignation he has addressed a letter to Lord Clarendon heartily approving of the policy actually executed by that Minister. On the other hand, it has been known for many weeks, that Ministers had accepted Lord Palmerston's counsel on the subject of reform; and although he has flown off upon one particular point, where he could not obtain the acquiescence of his colleagues, it is not understood that that was by any means the most important point under discussion. The actual causes of his separation will probably not be explained before the Ministerial statements in Parliament, but they are of less importance than the influence which the event may have upon the conduct of Ministers.

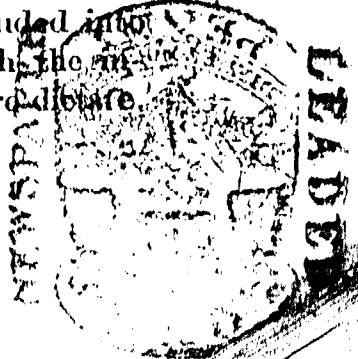
Upon the whole, the effect of the rupture and the discussions to which it has given rise, is to increase expectation in regard to the Ministerial Bill. From the discussions which have taken place in the

Ministerial organs, foreshadowing an official copy of Mr. Locke King's little Bill, expectation had dwindled down to the smallest point; and it was with some satisfaction that the public learned how far Lord John Russell had stood to his guns, in proposing before the committee of Ministers a renewal of his five-pound franchise proposition. The cogitations upon the measure, indeed, appear to have diminished considerably, and the latest account of it which has oozed out represents it as little more than a measure to disfranchise several boroughs, and to allot the members thus disengaged to some of the larger towns and counties; in short, a measure on the pattern suggested by the *Edinburgh Review*, repeated by "W. R. G." (the well-known signature of Mr. William Rathbone Greg) in the *Morning Chronicle*, and collaterally supported by "C." (presumed to be Mr. Coppock) in letters from the Reform Club to the *Times*. There is indeed a statement, not entirely without credit, that Ministers have some intention of making the Parliamentary franchise assimilate to the municipal franchise; and, if so, they must necessarily extend it to a basis at once national and well adapted to the development of local self-government; to which also every movement in reforming the City Corporation tends. From all that passes, we are inclined to think, in the first place, that doubts prevail in the Cabinet over positive conceptions; and, in the second place, that the public is not more uninformed as to the ultimate issue of those discussions than is the Cabinet itself.

In regard to the conduct of affairs in the East, it is not to be supposed that the withdrawal of Lord Palmerston will create any difference. The incentives to vigorous action, and the obstructions to it, are too strong to be affected by a Minister more or less. The murderous victory of the Russians at Sinope has not only disclosed the bad faith of that power, but has excited an indignation in this country which has not yet expressed itself formally in public meetings, but vents itself in murmurs which are distinctly heard. The British public began to be rather exasperated, as well as amused, at the constant announcement that the British fleet was "about to enter the Black Sea." It appears probable, however, that the fleet has actually advanced; and of course before it could be influenced by the state of feeling in this country. The latest advices from Constantinople announce the arrival of the protocol and joint note, with instructions transmitted to the Ambassadors

in the Turkish capital by the Four Powers—a diplomatic proceeding intended to patch up the quarrel between Russia and Turkey after the fashion suggested for the supplemental and explanatory note which Turkey declined some months ago. No one, we believe, expects any success for this "last attempt;" but the moves have to be played out, and we are approaching the end of that dilatory game. Before it is quite completed, the fleet may have taken up the true thread of the story, and many mails cannot pass before we learn of actions more decisive than any which have yet taken place.

In the meanwhile, apprehensions have been excited by some of the last incidents in this Oriental affair, which more nearly concern us than the fate even of the Ottoman Empire. Some months back a suspicion had been very gently whispered, that the Queen was not perfectly alone in the conferences with her responsible advisers. The plea of Ministers for adhering to their excessively dilatory policy was the anxiety to avoid the infraction of peace, so long as that seemed possible; but another motive suggested itself from its inherent probability—the great anxiety which all members of the royal class must feel to avoid any transactions which might shake the occupants of thrones, and bring discredit upon the class generally. No royal family likes to see members of its own order go a-begging about the world; and there is a Royal Family which would feel much sympathy with any dispossessed member of an exalted throne; and scarcely less sympathy, should certain German Grand Dukes be ousted from their royal estates. It is natural to suppose that Queen Victoria should "think of my brother." That the husband of the Queen should enjoy a perfect freedom of communication with his consort—that every feeling of his heart should be expressed to his wife, is what public opinion in this country would not only sanction, but desire. And the fate of thrones would be a most proper subject for the Sovereign of the United Kingdom to ponder. But the Sovereign of the United Kingdom cannot act or advise; it is for her Ministers to advise; her responsible Minister alone can execute the public business of this country. The suspicions which have been naturally excited cannot remain without satisfaction. The public will require to be assured that no private royal interests have been intruded into the consideration of the measures which the interests and honour of the British Empire require.



They will require to have the insinuation contradicted that the Consort of the Queen has attended the conference of Cabinet Ministers with the Sovereign. They will require, in short, to be assured that Coburg objects have not embarrassed the actions of the responsible public servants of England. For explanations on these points they will not look to the Sovereign, who can do no wrong; but to the Ministers, who are answerable, with their credit and with their heads, for a faithful performance of the duties with which they are entrusted, by the people as well as the Sovereign.

The declaration of war by Persia against England is of no great importance in itself. It will, probably, oblige our Government to send a force to take possession of some Persian ports, in order to teach the Shah his place; but the chief importance of the preposterous act on the part of that Sovereign is in disclosing the extent to which Russian intrigues have gone. We have already mentioned our belief that some of these branching encroachments of Russia are intended to divert this country, and to alarm our too sensitive people at the prospect of engaging with so destructive and all-grappling a kraken; but probably the power of Russia will prove to be as fictitious as that monster of the deep; and we have signs already that the giant is labouring under internal disease. A state of siege has been declared in the Crimea and Bessarabia. Why? Because there was a tendency to insurrection in these provinces, in sympathy with Turkey. Nor is Bessarabia the only part of Russia that is doubtful. Prince Paskiewich will not advise the withdrawal of troops from Poland, for fear of consequences. In short, there is reason to suppose that the great Goliath of the North is in a consumption.

On the field of Europe nothing more interesting has occurred than the opening of the church of the Waldenses at Turin; nor is that incident the only mark of the growth of public freedom, religious as well as political, in the sole constitutional state of Italy. Correspondents mention the freedom of the people in Genoa, and the circulation of Bibles from Nice. In short, Sardinia is rapidly moving towards a truly English state of constitutional freedom. There are parts of Europe upon which this country may rely for sympathy and co-operation, not only on the score of parchment treaty-bond, but on the score of genuine feeling and common objects.

At home, independently of the muffled Ministerial crisis, there is nothing more important than the meeting at Birmingham for the reformation of juvenile offenders, and Lord Ashburton's proposal to encourage the teaching of common things to the uneducated classes. Lord Ashburton's proposal is truly practical, and it evidently will be carried out. That is to say, instead of teaching only reading, writing, and arithmetic, which the sanctimonious have truly said is not education, Lord Ashburton's proposition is to teach the people the way of life—household duties—practical science in the humblest sense of the word. If the same common sense could be taught to some of the classes called educated, it would extend the benefit, and would perhaps facilitate not only the teaching of common things to common people, but also such improvements as the idea of teaching boys and girls the way they should go, instead of sending them to prison to learn the way they should not go; our practice heretofore. But, again, this reform will be accomplished; the character and the assemblage at Birmingham confirm the supposition.

Another reform is intended by the judgment in the case of the *Emperor* steamer at the Edinburgh Court of Session. The *Emperor* was a pleasure-boat, plying on the Clyde; a certain party had engaged it for Sunday excursions; they landed at a pier belonging to Sir James Colquhoun, near the Gareloch; Sir James is a Sabbath observer,

and he prohibited them from landing; they still landed; he put up barriers; they broke down his barriers, vanquished his servants, and still went to the Gareloch; on which he took them into court. If you build a public pier, said the Lord Justice Clerk to Sir James, and take revenues from it, you cannot claim a better position for your pier than for all public piers; and there is no law in Scotland to prevent travelling on the Sunday by river, highway, or public pier. When the Scotch know that there is no law to force them to stop at home, they will begin to feel a less cowardly dread of the "meenister" who tells them they must stop at home or in kirk.

London is suffering from a permanent siege on its eastern frontier; and the enemy, only visible when he assumes the shape and substance of a fog, inflicts deadly injuries upon our health. In plain language, there is a vast district on both banks of the Thames, undrained, pestiferous, fog-creating, killing. In Woolwich, numbers die from the effects of this malaria. Some time ago Sir Cullen Eardley called attention to the subject, held a meeting, appointed a committee; and that committee has now published a satisfactory report showing how the evil may be got rid of by self-remunerating drainage. We presume that Government will aid, at least not obstruct, the movement, which, it is truly said, will contribute to the moral health as well as the physical comfort of multitudes.

The elections of Common Councilmen and ward-officers furnished the opportunity for eliciting in the several wards of London a very general declaration in favour of the Royal Commission, and the strong feeling in favour of thorough reform; retaining the municipal institution to develop it into real self-government of the people. It is satisfactory to see how this idea of self-government is gaining ground through the whole body of the community. We do not await the Reform Bill of Lord John Russell with much interest; but we do await the revival, in more active times, of the organic life which ought to reside in the people of England.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

THE Canada steam-ship, which left Boston on the 7th instant, and reached the Mersey on Sunday night, was the bearer of the President's Message. As the first document of the kind issued by Franklin Pierce, it has attracted more attention than usual; and although not a startling production, like the inaugural speech, it possesses the business-like qualities of modesty, brevity, and decision. We proceed to lay before our readers such parts of the text entire as will interest them, and the other portions abridged; for a short message is still a long document.

In the preliminary paragraphs, General Pierce alludes to the yellow fever as the drawback upon general prosperity; recommends trust in God; and declares his "deepest conviction, that we can place no secure reliance upon any apparent progress if it be not sustained upon national integrity, resting upon the great truths affirmed and illustrated by Divine revelation." Having disposed of these matters, General Pierce informs us that foreign relations are little changed. There is the Fisheries question, but that he hopes to settle favourably to America; there are questions in Central America, but the Minister in London is instructed to settle these; and there is

#### SPAIN AND CUBA.

"Independently of our valuable trade with Spain, we have important political relations with her, growing out of our neighbourhood to the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. I am happy to announce, that since the last Congress no attempts have been made, by unauthorised expeditions within the United States, against either of these colonies. Should any movement be manifested within our limits, all the means at my command will be vigorously exerted to repress it. Several annoying occurrences have taken place at Havana, or in the vicinity of the island of Cuba, between our citizens and the Spanish authorities. Considering the proximity of that island to our shores—lying, as it does, in the track of trade between some of our principal cities—and the suspicious vigilance with which foreign intercourse, particularly that with the United States, is there guarded, a repetition of such occurrences may well be apprehended. As no diplomatic intercourse is allowed between our consul at Havana and the Captain General of Cuba, ready explanations cannot be made, or prompt redress afforded, where injury has resulted. All complaint on the part of our citizens, under the present arrangement, must be, in the first place, presented to this Government, and then referred to

Spain. Spain again refers it to her local authorities in Cuba for investigation, and postpones an answer till she has heard from those authorities. To avoid these irritating and vexatious delays, a proposition has been made to provide for a direct appeal for redress to the Captain General by our consul, in behalf of our injured fellow-citizens. Hitherto, the Government of Spain has declined to enter into any such arrangement. This course on her part is deeply regretted; for, without some arrangement of this kind, the good understanding between the two countries may be exposed to occasional interruption. Our minister at Madrid is instructed to renew the proposition, and to press it again upon the consideration of her Catholic Majesty's Government.

"For several years Spain has been calling the attention of this Government to a claim for losses by some of her subjects in the case of the schooner *Amistad*. This claim is believed to rest on the obligations imposed by our existing treaty with that country. Its justice was admitted, in our diplomatic correspondence with the Spanish Government, as early as March, 1847; and one of my predecessors, in his annual Message of that year, recommended that provision should be made for its payment. In January last it was again submitted to Congress by the executive. It has received a favourable consideration by committees of both branches, but as yet there has been no final action upon it. I conceive that good faith requires its prompt adjustment, and I present it to your early and favourable consideration."

General Pierce announces his approval of the act of Captain Ingraham in the harbour of Smyrna, and the arrival of the Hungarian Koszta in the United States; and he declares that he will carry out and enforce the principles and policy laid down in the despatch of Secretary Marcy to the Austrian Government upon all proper occasions.

With regard to Brazil, negotiations are in progress to throw open the navigation of the Amazon. There are questions in dispute with Mexico; among others, a boundary question. The new Minister to China is instructed to extend the commercial relations of the United States in that quarter. Nothing is known of the intentions of the Emperor of Japan with regard to free trade.

We now come to home affairs, which are varied and full of interest.

"We are thus not only at peace with all foreign countries, but, in regard to political affairs, are exempt from any cause of serious disquietude in our domestic relations.

"The controversies, which have agitated the country heretofore, are passing away with the causes which produced them and the passions which they had awakened: or, if any trace of them remains, it may be reasonably hoped that it will only be perceived in the zealous rivalry of all good citizens to testify their respect for the rights of the States, their devotion to the union, and their common determination that each one of the states, its institutions, its welfare, and its domestic peace shall be held alike secure under the sacred ægis of the constitution.

"This new league of amity and of mutual confidence and support into which the people of the republic have entered, happily affords inducement and opportunity for the adoption of a more comprehensive and unembarrassed line of policy and action, as to the great material interests of the country, whether regarded in themselves or in connexion with the powers of the civilised world.

"The United States have continued gradually and steadily to expand, through acquisitions of territory, which, how much soever some of them may have been questioned, are now universally seen and admitted to have been wise in policy, just in character, and a great element in the advancement of our country, and, with it, of the human race, in freedom, in prosperity, and in happiness. The thirteen states have grown to be thirty-one, with relations reaching to Europe on the one side, and on the other to the distant realms of Asia.

"I am deeply sensible of the immense responsibility which the present magnitude of the republic, and the diversity and multiplicity of its interests, devolves upon me: the alleviation of which, so far as relates to the immediate conduct of the public business is, first, in my reliance on the wisdom and patriotism of the two Houses of Congress; and, secondly, in the directions afforded me by the principles of public polity, affirmed by our fathers of the epoch of 1798, sanctioned by long experience, and consecrated anew by the overwhelming voice of the people of the United States.

"Recurring to these principles, which constitute the organic basis of union, we perceive that, vast as the functions and duties of the Federal Government, vested in, or entrusted to, is three great departments, the legislative, executive, and judicial, yet the substantive power, the popular force, and the large capacities for social and material development exist in the respective states, which, all being of themselves well constituted republics, as they preceded, so they alone are capable of maintaining and perpetuating the American Union. The Federal Government has its appropriate line of action in the specific and limited powers conferred on it by the constitution, chiefly as to those things in which the states have a common interest in their relations to one another, and to foreign Governments; while the great mass of interests which belong to cultivated men, the ordinary business of life, the springs of industry, all the diversified personal and domestic affairs of society, rest securely upon the general reserved powers of the people of the several states. There is the effective democracy of the nation, and there the vital essence of its being and its greatness."

#### REVENUE AND PUBLIC DEBT.

"Of the practical consequences which flow from the nature of the Federal Government, the primary one is the duty of administering with integrity and fidelity the high trust reposed in it by the constitution, especially in the application of the public funds, as drawn by taxation from the people, and appropriated to specific objects by Congress. Happily I have no occasion to suggest any radical changes in the financial policy of the Government. Ours is almost,



if not absolutely, the solitary power of Christendom having a surplus revenue, drawn immediately from imposts on commerce, and therefore measured by the spontaneous enterprise and national prosperity of the country, with such indirect relation to agriculture, manufactures, and the products of the earth and sea, as to violate no constitutional doctrine, and yet vigorously promote the general welfare. Neither as to the sources of the public treasure, nor as to the manner of keeping and managing it, does any grave controversy now prevail, there being a general acquiescence in the wisdom of the present system.

"The report of the Secretary of the Treasury will exhibit in detail the state of the public finances, and the condition of the various branches of the public service administered by that department of the Government.

"The revenue of the country, levied almost insensibly to the tax payer, goes on from year to year increasing beyond either the interests or the prospective wants of the Government.

"At the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1852, there remained in the treasury a balance of fourteen million six hundred and thirty-two thousand one hundred and thirty-six dollars. The public revenue for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1853, amounted to fifty-eight million nine hundred and thirty-one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five dollars from customs, and to two million four hundred and five thousand seven hundred and eight dollars from public lands and other miscellaneous sources, amounting together to sixty-one million three hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred and seventy-four dollars; while the public expenditures for the same period, exclusive of payments on account of the public debt, amounted to forty-three million five hundred and fifty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-two dollars; leaving a balance of thirty-two million four hundred and twenty-five thousand four hundred and forty-seven dollars of receipts above expenditures.

"This fact, of increasing surplus in the treasury, became the subject of anxious consideration at a very early period of my administration, and the path of duty in regard to it seemed to me obvious and clear, namely, first, to apply the surplus revenue to the discharge of the public debt, so far as it could judiciously be done; and, secondly, to devise means for the gradual reduction of the revenue to the standard of the public exigencies.

"Of these objects, the first has been in the course of accomplishment, in a manner and to a degree highly satisfactory. The amount of the public debt, of all classes, was, on the 4th of March, 1853, sixty-nine million one hundred and ninety thousand and thirty-seven thousand dollars; payments on account of which have been made since that period to the amount of twelve million seven hundred and three thousand three hundred and twenty-nine dollars, leaving unpaid, and in the continuous course of liquidation, the sum of fifty-six million four hundred and eighty-six thousand seven hundred and eight dollars. These payments, although made at the market price of the respective classes of stocks, have been effected readily, and to the general advantage of the treasury, and have at the same time proved of signal utility in the relief they have incidentally afforded to the money market and to the industrial and commercial pursuits of the country.

"The second of the above-mentioned objects, that of the tariff, is of great importance, and the plan suggested by the Secretary of the Treasury, which is to reduce the duties on certain articles, and to add to the free lists many articles now taxed, and especially such as enter in manufactures, and are not largely, or at all, produced in the country, is commended to your candid and careful consideration."

#### AUGMENTATION OF ARMY AND NAVY.

"Among the objects meriting your attention will be important recommendations from the Secretaries of War and Navy. I am fully satisfied that the navy of the United States is not in a condition of strength and efficiency commensurate with the magnitude of your commercial and other interests; and commend to your especial attention the suggestions on this subject made by the Secretary of the Navy. I respectfully submit that the army, which, under our system, must always be regarded with the highest interest, as a nucleus around which the volunteer forces of the nation gather in the hour of danger, requires augmentation, or modification, to adapt it to the present extended limits and frontier relations of the country, and the condition of the Indian tribes in the interior of the continent; the necessity of which will appear in the communications of the Secretaries of War and the Interior."

The report on the public lands shows the usual progress in their survey and sale; and also that hitherto they have formed a source of revenue. During the past year upwards of ten millions of acres have been brought into the public market; and for all purposes upwards of twenty-five millions of acres have been disposed of. The President does not favour the grant of public lands for roads and railways.

#### INTERNATIONAL IMPROVEMENT POLICY.

"The subject of internal improvements, claiming alike the interest and goodwill of all, has nevertheless been the subject of much political discussion, and has stood as a deep graven line of division between statesmen of great ability and patriotism. The rule of strict construction of all powers delegated by the states to the general government has arrayed itself from time to time against the rapid progress of expenditures from the national treasury on works of a local character within the states. Memorable as an epoch in the history of this subject is the message of President Jackson, of the 27th of May, 1830, which met the system of internal improvements in its comparative infancy; but so rapid had been its growth that the projected appropriations in that year for works of this character had risen to the alarming amount of more than one hundred millions of dollars.

"In that message the President admitted the difficulty of bringing back the operations of the Government to the construction of the constitution set up in 1788, and marked it as an admonitory proof of the necessity of guarding that

instrument with sleepless vigilance against the authority of precedents, which had not the sanction of its most plainly defined powers.

"Our Government exists under a written compact between sovereign states, uniting for specific objects, and with specific grants to their general agent. If, then, in the progress of its administration, there have been departures from the terms and intent of the compact, it is, and will ever be, proper to refer back to the fixed standard which our fathers left us, and to make a stern effort to conform our action to it. It would seem that the fact of a principle having been resisted from the first by many of the wisest and most patriotic men of the republic, and a policy having provoked constant strife, without arriving at a conclusion which can be regarded as satisfactory to its most earnest advocates, should suggest the inquiry whether there may not be a plan likely to be crowned with happier results. Without perceiving any sound distinction, or intending to assert any principle as opposed to improvements needed for the protection of internal commerce, which does not equally apply to improvements upon the seaboard for the protection of foreign commerce, I submit to you, whether it may not be safely anticipated that, if the policy were once settled against appropriations by the general government for local improvements for the benefit of commerce, localities requiring expenditures would not, by modes and means clearly legitimate and proper, raise the fund necessary for such construction as the safety or other interests of their commerce might require.

"If that can be regarded as a system, which in the experience of more than thirty years, has at no time so commanded the public judgment as to give it the character of a settled policy—which, though it has produced some works of conceded importance, has been attended with an expenditure quite disproportionate to their value—and has resulted in squandering large sums upon objects which have answered no valuable purpose—the interests of all the states require it to be abandoned, unless hopes may be indulged for the future which find no warrant from the past.

"With an anxious desire for the completion of the works which are regarded by all good citizens with sincere interest, I have deemed it my duty to ask at your hands a deliberate reconsideration of the question, with a hope that, animated by a desire to promote the permanent and substantial interests of the country, your wisdom may prove equal to the task of devising and maturing a plan, which, applied to this subject, may promise something better than constant strife, the suspension of the powers of local enterprise, the exciting of vain hopes, and the disappointment of cherished expectations."

The Message discusses the Pacific Railway in a friendly spirit, but holds out no other hope of assistance than such as can be given consistently with the provisions of the Constitution; and, indeed, throughout the President inculcates a rigid adherence to the dictates of the fundamental law. America can afford to wait for a railway to the Pacific, he says, but cannot afford to neglect the "ark of her security," the constitution. In this special case he admits the necessity of the contemplated road; but points rather to private enterprise as the means than state aid.

Two other sections of the Message we quote entire.

#### PARTIES.—NORTH AND SOUTH.—THE UNION.

"It is no part of my purpose to give prominence to any subject which may properly be regarded as set at rest by the deliberate judgment of the people. But while the present is bright with promise, and the future full of demand and inducement for the exercise of active intelligence, the past can never be without useful lessons of admonition and instruction. If its dangers serve not as beacons, they will evidently fail to fulfil the object of a wise design. When the grave shall have closed over all, who are now endeavouring to meet the obligations of duty, the year 1850 will be recalled to as a period filled with anxious apprehension. A successful war had just terminated. Peace brought with it a vast augmentation of territory. Disturbing questions arose, bearing upon the domestic institutions of one portion of the confederacy, and involving the constitutional rights of the states. But, notwithstanding differences of opinion and sentiment, which then existed in relation to details and specific provisions, the acquiescence of distinguished citizens, whose devotion to the union can never be doubted, has given renewed vigour to our institutions, and restored a sense of repose and security to the public mind throughout the confederacy. That this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have power to avert it, those who placed me here may be assured. The wisdom of men, who knew what independence cost—who had put all at stake upon the issue of the revolutionary struggle—disposed of the subject to which I refer, in the only way consistent with the union of these states, and with the march of power and prosperity which has made us what we are. It is a significant fact, that from the adoption of the constitution until the officers and soldiers of the revolution had passed to their graves, or, through the infirmities of age and wounds, had ceased to participate actively in public affairs, there was not merely a quiet acquiescence in, but a prompt vindication of, the constitutional rights of the states. The reserved powers were scrupulously respected. No statesman put forth the narrow views of casuists to justify interference and agitation, but the spirit of compact was regarded as sacred in the eye of honour and indispensable for the great experiment of civil liberty, which, environed with inherent difficulties, was yet borne forward in apparent weakness by a power superior to all obstacles. There is no condemnation which the voice of freedom will not pronounce upon us should we prove faithless to this great trust. While men inhabiting different parts of this great continent can no more be expected to hold the same opinions or entertain the same sentiments than every variety of climate or soil can be expected to furnish the same agricultural products, they can unite in a common object and sustain common principles essential to the maintenance of that object. The gallant men of the

south and the north could stand together during the struggle of the revolution; they could stand together in the more trying period which succeeded the clangour of arms. As their united valour was adequate to all the trials of the camp and dangers of the field, so their united wisdom proved equal to the greater task of founding, upon a deep and broad basis, institutions, which it has been our privilege to enjoy, and will ever be our most sacred duty to sustain. It is but the feeble expression of a faith strong and universal to say that their sons, whose blood mingled so often upon the same field during the war of 1812, and who had more recently borne in triumph the flag of the country upon a foreign soil, will never permit alienation of feeling to weaken the power of their united efforts, nor internal dissensions to paralyse the great arm of freedom, uplifted for the vindication of self-government."

#### PRESENT AND FUTURE OF THE REPUBLIC.

"I have thus briefly presented such suggestions as seem to me especially worthy of your consideration. In providing for the present, you can hardly fail to avail yourselves of the light which the experience of the past casts upon the future.

"The growth of our population has now brought us, in the destined career of our national history, to a point at which it well behoves us to expand our vision over the vast perspective.

"The successive decennial returns of the census since the adoption of the constitution have revealed a law of steady progressive development, which may be stated, in general terms, as a duplication every quarter century. Carried forward, from the point already reached, for only a short period of time as applicable to the existence of a nation, this law of progress, if unchecked, will bring us to almost incredible results. A large allowance for a diminished proportional effect of emigration would not very materially reduce the estimate, while the increased average duration of human life, known to have already resulted from the scientific and hygienic improvements of the past fifty years, will tend to keep up through the next fifty, or perhaps hundred, the same ratio of growth which has been thus revealed in our past progress; and to the influence of these causes may be added the influx of labouring masses from eastern Asia to the Pacific side of our possessions, together with the probable accession of the populations already existing in other parts of our hemisphere, which, within the period in question, will feel, with yearly increasing force, the natural attraction of so vast, powerful, and prosperous a confederation of self-governing republics, and seek the privilege of being admitted within its safe and happy bosom, transferring with themselves, by a peaceful and healthy process of incorporation, spacious regions of virgin and exuberant soil, which are destined to swarm with the fast-growing and fast-spreading millions of our race.

"These considerations seem fully to justify the presumption that the law of population above stated will continue to act with undiminished effect, through at least the next half century; and that thousands of persons who have already arrived at maturity, and are now exercising the rights of freemen, will close their eyes on the spectacle of more than one hundred millions of population embraced within the majestic proportions of the American Union. It is not merely an interesting topic of speculation that I present these views for your consideration. They have important practical bearings upon all the political duties we are called upon to perform. Heretofore, our system of government has worked on what may be termed a miniature scale, in comparison with the development, which it must thus assume, within a future so near at hand, as scarcely to be beyond the present of the existing generation.

"It is evident that a confederation so vast and so varied, both in numbers and in territorial extent, in habits and in interests, could only be kept in national cohesion by the strictest fidelity to the principles of the constitution, as understood by those who have adhered to the most restricted construction of the powers granted by the people and the states. Interpreted and applied according to these principles, the great compact adapts itself with healthy ease and freedom to an unlimited extension of that benign system of federative self-government of which it is our glorious and, I trust, immortal charter. Let us, then, with redoubled vigilance, be on our guard against yielding to the temptation of the exercise of doubtful powers, even under the pressure of the motives of conceded temporary advantage and apparent temporary expediency.

"The minimum of federal government, compatible with the maintenance of national unity and efficient action in our relations with the rest of the world, should afford the rule and measure of construction of our powers under the general clauses of the constitution. A spirit of strict deference to the sovereign rights and dignity of every state, rather than a disposition to subordinate the states into a provincial relation to the central authority, should characterize all our exercise of the respective powers temporarily vested in us as a sacred trust from the generous confidence of our constituents.

"In like manner, as a manifestly indispensable condition of the perpetuation of union, and of the realisation of that magnificent national future adverted to, does the duty become yearly stronger and clearer upon us, as citizens of the several states, to cultivate a fraternal and affectionate spirit, language, and conduct in regard to other states, and in relation to the varied interests, institutions, and habits of sentiment and opinion, which may respectively characterize them. Mutual forbearance, respect, and non-interference in our personal action as citizens, and an enlarged exercise of the most liberal principles of comity in the public dealing of state with state, whether in legislation or in the execution of laws, are the means to perpetuate that confidence and fraternity, the decay of which, a more political union, on so vast a scale could not long survive.

"In still another point of view, is an important practical duty suggested by this consideration of the magnitude of dimensions, to which our political system, with its corresponding machinery of government, is so rapidly expanding. With increased vigilance does it require us to cultivate the cardinal virtues of public frugality and official integrity and purity. Public affairs ought to be so conducted that a







sive or irksomeness; there came the pleasurable development of skill and ingenuity. Why should we not, then, put the labourer and the mechanic in the case of developing his skill and ingenuity, and thus enable him to sweeten also his daily toil? At present he drudged through his allotted task more like a machine than an intelligent being. He just did what others had done before him, he knew not why; but inform his mind, bring his head to bear as well as his hands; to the pleasurable excitement of developed ingenuity and contrivance add the still more pleasurable consciousness of excited power; let him feel that he was, out of his own resources, mastering difficulties and inventing new processes, and that man would raise his head more proudly, he would feel the self-respect of a higher occupation, he would put his heart into his work, he would do what he did better, he would earn not only more for himself, but more for his master and for his country, through his increased skill, and, lastly, he would thereby be enabled to meet the foreigner in that free-trade competition which our ignorant listlessness so little fitted us at present to engage in. The operatives of our great towns had long felt the degradation of the mechanical drudgery to which they thought themselves condemned, they felt a craving for some intellectual pursuit which should beguile its monotony, but their struggles for relief had taken a wrong direction. They had sought to develop their understandings in something out of, and above, their daily occupation; instead of first mastering the principles which govern its exercise, they had thought only of quitting their own sphere under the notion that they could only raise themselves by doing that which those above them did, and learning that which those above them learned; whereas that which really elevated a man was the cultivation of mind, which followed upon its enlightened application to his work. They were like Naaman, the Syrian, who scorned the little stream at his feet, and would fain go off to Abana and Pharpar rivers of the distant Damascus, to find a remedy for his affliction. Having given them this inadequate exposition of the advantages to be derived from the knowledge of common things, he would now proceed to inform them why he had distinguished, in the assignment of prizes, the merits of the scholar and of the teacher. He had done so in order to familiarise to the youngest among them this important truth—that no knowledge, however profound, could constitute a teacher. A teacher must have knowledge as an orator, must have knowledge as a builder must have the materials with which he was to build; but, as in choosing the builder of his house he did not select the man who had most materials in his yard, but having satisfied himself that he had enough for his purposes, proceeded to select him by reference to his skill, ingenuity, and taste, so also in testing an orator or a teacher he satisfied himself that he fulfilled the comparatively easy condition of possessing sufficient materials of knowledge with which to work, and he looked then to those high and noble qualities which were the characteristics of his peculiar calling. There were hundreds at Athens who knew more than Demosthenes; thousands that knew more at Rome than Cicero; but there was but one Demosthenes and one Cicero. Who, in speaking of these great men, spoke of their knowledge? For these reasons neither would men speak of knowledge as the essential attribute of the teacher. Their business included an important part of oratory; they had not, indeed, to work on the passions; they had not to subdue an antagonist, but they had to reduce their ideas into the simplest and most elementary form; they had to cultivate the power of illustration; they must be fluent, simple, graphic, animated, judicious, patient; they must, moreover, have an intimate knowledge of the class they addressed. It was not enough that they should rear a new edifice of fresh knowledge on the surface of the child's mind such as they found it. Before they attempted to build they must probe that surface, ascertain its nature, clear away rubbish, if any such existed, with the view of working on a sure and lasting foundation. Again, they must not build too fast, lest the work crumble as they proceeded. The mere scholar had no perception of all this; he possessed, indeed, the materials, but he knew neither where, nor how, nor when to use them; his knowledge was confined to himself alone, while the teacher placed himself at once, by instinctive faculty, in mental relation with every child of his class. He was anxious, therefore, to impress on their minds that an acquaintance with the subjects they had to teach formed but a small part of the qualifications which, as teachers, they had to acquire. He wished to warn them against the mistake of expending upon unnecessary attainments time which ought to be devoted to the essential attributes of their especial calling. It remained for him only to inform them that a syllabus of topics for the first examination would be furnished to all who were qualified to compete for the prizes. They would observe that he asked for no facts; he asked for the principles which were to govern action. His object was also to stimulate the pupil to observe and collect facts for himself, which, however trifling they might be in intrinsic value, would still have exercised and improved the mind by the exertion their acquisition had called forth. They were all, however, too much disposed to despise little gains, yet, little money gains store most wealth; little moral gains triumph over petty temptations—made the firmest characters. So, also, little intellectual gains, made hour by hour, and minute by minute at every step in life—the result of early habit and wise education—did more to ripen the intellect, and even to mature the character, than any instruction that could be hammered in from without. It was given to the teachers of the rising generation to bend their minds in this direction. The misery which could be remedied by the charity of rich men was purely physical; the relief could extend only to few, it neither elevated those who received it nor their children after them; but the misery which the teacher could avert by substituting self-support and self-respect for dependence and beggary had no limits to its amount—it multiplied blessings both on the present and on succeeding generations."

This eloquent address was listened to with eager attention; and the reverend gentlemen present rose

in succession and uttered warm commendations; and Mr. Clark, one of the students, thanked Lord Ashburton in a brief speech. It is certainly an event in the educational movement.

## LETTERS FROM PARIS.

## LETTER CIV.

Paris, Thursday Evening, Dec. 22, 1853.

THE Bourse has been in consternation for the last three days. The report of the entrance of the combined fleets into the Black Sea determined a considerable fall. The tenth of this month is the day named as that on which the decisive step was taken. Now it was precisely on the 10th inst. that Bonaparte despatched his famous courier, the tenor of whose despatches nobody knows. If that courier, as everybody assumes here, was charged with orders to the fleet to advance, he will find his orders already in the course of execution. But if, as I still persist in believing against all the world, his instructions are to arrest the fleet, he will still be in time to give counter orders: in that case, the fleet will have to return to Constantinople, to the disgrace of France and England, but to the infinite satisfaction of the bankers and the stockjobbers. The old Bonapartists are all for war: they mean mischief. Persigny, and the rest, taking their wishes for realities, publish their hopes as if they were accomplished facts: they proclaim aloud that orders have been sent to burn Sebastopol. They assert that Bonaparte has quite made up his mind to act, and that when he was asked whether the fleet would move, he made no secret of replying yes. Now, on the other hand, I know pertinently that he lately said to a person whose name I need not mention, only three days since, "I can't go to war: war would be the revolution let loose over all Europe: war would be my ruin." What I know equally well is, that for the last ten days there have not been the least symptoms of preparing for war. I wrote to a friend of mine, a captain in the 45th, at Marseilles, and this morning have received his answer: he says there have been no orders received at Toulon nor at Marseilles, nor at any of the neighbouring garrisons. The army is, I believe, profoundly indignant at not receiving marching orders. At Lyons the officers crack their jokes publicly enough about the "Napoleon of Peace;" they shower sarcasms upon the Emperor, and this too in the presence of General Castellane, at his own table. Not only does General Castellane not punish these ribald scoffers, he is the first to laugh at their pleasantries.

M. de Kisseleff, too, who was said to be packing up, is doing nothing of the kind. On Monday last he was received by the Emperor in private audience. If he remains at his post, surely it is because he has received assurances from Bonaparte that the fleets will be recalled, or at all events that they are forbidden to attack the Russians. Meanwhile, everybody here, in Paris, believes in the reports of energetic resolutions, while nothing but imbecility is going on. Another fact confirms me in my opinion. It is now known that the Austrian Government, the first to learn the disaster of Sinope through the Russian Ambassador at Vienna, stopped the news until through the telegraph they had received satisfactory assurances from the French and English Cabinets of their pacific dispositions—until, in fact, Bonaparte and Lord Aberdeen had assured them that the massacre of the Turks would not at all modify their disposition to peace. France and England have given their word that they will not act.

Whatever may be the truth about the affair at Sinope, there are people here who think it astonishing that the Russians should attack the Turks, burn a squadron, and destroy a port. For my own part, I consider the Russians acted very naturally. War is war; it does not consist in sending invitations to balls to the enemy, but simply of shells and bullets. If the Russians were to take advantage of the departure of the fleets from Constantinople to advance to the capital, and bombard the city in the teeth of the half-a-dozen line-of-battle ships which we have been foolish enough, speaking in a military sense, to leave for its protection, I should be unable to protest; it would simply appear to me an excellent manœuvre. If, indeed, the fleets have left Constantinople, unless they have only gone to make a ridiculous "demonstration," they must have moved for one of two purposes: to protect the Turks, or to punish the Russians. In either case there may be a collision. In either case the combined fleets ought to act with their whole forces. If, while the two fleets were searching for it, the Russian fleet were to sneak into the Bosphorus, attack and sink the six ships left for a defence, and then proceed to Constantinople, burn it, and land 30,000 men, which would be the winner then? What all history from the creation of the world proves ineffaceably is, that half measures, conceived by dwarfish men, are ever disastrous; that in the pre-

sent emergency it were better at once to recall the fleets to Malta and Toulon—by this means the financial world would still have fifteen years of peace, and England fifteen years existence before Russia devours her with all the Continent—or to make war at once, and in earnest with all the forces of which England and France united can dispose. Now neither will be done; instead of mastering and commanding events, the pigmy Governments will float down the stream, like straws on the current, to be swept away at last. And thus the two Powers, who pursue peace at all price, are dragged into war unwittingly and unwillingly.

Nevertheless the Russians do not seem to feel at all sure that France and England may not be roused to avenge the massacre of Sinope. They endeavour by every means to mystify and mislead public opinion as to the causes of that catastrophe. They pretend that they knew perfectly well that the Turkish squadron was destined to make a descent upon the Crimea, and therefore that in destroying that squadron they only acted in self-defence. They even spread the report that there has been an insurrection in Crimea in favour of the Turks.

*En attendant*, they are chanting *Te Deums* in all their churches, and redoubling their attacks on the banks of the Danube. They have simultaneously attacked Kalafat on their right, Routschoruk in their centre, and Matschin, opposite to Brailow, on their left. At the last point they were repulsed; but it is stated that the attack on Routschoruk, or rather on an island between Giurgevo and that town was successful, that they threw a bridge across, and were preparing to cross the Danube at that spot on the 18th inst. If the Danube is frozen, as is affirmed, the passage will, of course, be an easier affair. Important events may, I think, be expected in that direction.

In France the crisis continues. Failures are beginning to be heard of at Paris. It could scarcely be otherwise in the present state of trade. Little or no business, reduced discounts, exorbitant liabilities, excessive expenses, and extravagantly high rent, such is the state of every house of business in Paris. The advance in the prices of grain has resumed again; and that is a bad sign enough. For instance, the 30th of November (St. Andrew's-day) is the customary agricultural rent-day in France. To find cash for their landlords, the farmers are in the habit at this season of the year of throwing large quantities of wheat on the market. This year nothing of the kind has occurred. Instead of wheat falling in price at St. Andrew's-day, it has been rising. Hence it is concluded that a considerable deficit in production must exist.

There have been more arrests again this last fortnight. They have all fallen on clerks of offices, and shopmen. I cannot conceive the cause of such arrests. Those poor creatures have seldom any political opinions to curse themselves with. All I can say is, that about fifty of them have been lately arrested—for the salvation of poor Society we must needs presume.

## CONTINENTAL NOTES.

The *Journal des Débats* and the *Patrie* give the following as the text of the protocol signed on Dec. 5, at Vienna, by the representatives of the Four Great Powers:—

"The undersigned, representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia, in conformity with the instructions of their Courts, have assembled at a conference for the purpose of seeking out means of arranging the difference which has arisen between the Court of Russia and the Sublime Porte. The proportions which that difference has assumed, and the war which has burst out between the two empires, in spite of the efforts of their allies, have become for all Europe the object of most serious pre-occupations; in consequence, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the Queen of Great Britain, and the King of Prussia, equally penetrated with the necessity of putting an end to these hostilities, which cannot be prolonged without affecting the interests of their own states, have resolved to offer their good offices to the two belligerent parties, in the hope that they would not themselves incur the responsibility of a conflagration, when by an exchange of loyal explanations they may still prevent it, in again placing their relations on the footing of peace and of a good understanding. The assurances given on several occasions by the Emperor of Russia exclude the idea that that august sovereign entertains any wish to interfere with the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The existence of Turkey, in the limits which treaties have assigned to her, has in fact become one of the necessary conditions of the European equilibrium, and the undersigned plenipotentiaries declare with satisfaction that the present war cannot in any case involve modifications in the territorial circumscriptions of the two empires, calculated to alter the state of possession which time has consecrated in the east, and which is equally necessary for the tranquillity of all the other powers. The Emperor of Russia, besides, has not confined himself to such assurances, but has declared that his intention had never been to impose on the Porte new obligations, or any that were not exactly in conformity with the treaties of Kutchuck-Kainardji and Adrianople, according to which the Sublime Porte has promised to protect in the whole extent



of its states the Christian religion and its churches. The Court of Russia has added, that in demanding from the Ottoman Government a testimony of its fidelity to its anterior engagements, it had in no respect intended to attenuate the authority of the Sultan over its Christian subjects, and that its only object was to obtain explanations of a nature to prevent every motive of doubt and every reason for misunderstanding with a friendly and neighbouring power. The sentiments manifested by the Sublime Porte during the last negotiations prove, on the other hand, that that power was ready to recognise all its contracted obligations and to pay full attention, in the measure of its sovereign rights, to the interest entertained by the Emperor of Russia for a religion which is his own and that of the majority of his people. In that state of things, the undersigned are convinced that the surest and most ready means of attaining the object desired by their Courts, is to make a communication in common to the Sublime Porte, to explain to it the wish of the Powers to contribute by their friendly intervention to the re-establishment of peace, and to give it an opportunity of stating the conditions on which it would be disposed to treat. Such is the object of the collective note adjoined, addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Sultan, and of the identical instructions transmitted at the same time by the Courts of Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia, to their representatives at Constantinople."

The following is the collective note, or, more probably, an abridgement of it:—

"The undersigned, representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia, assembled at a conference at Vienna, have received instructions to declare that their respective Governments behold with a profound regret the commencement of hostilities between Russia and the Porte, and desire exceedingly, by intervening between the belligerent powers, to prevent any fresh effusion of blood, and to put an end to a state of things which menaces seriously the peace of Europe. Russia having given an assurance that she was disposed to treat, and the undersigned not doubting that the Porte is animated with the same spirit, they request, in the name of their respective Governments, to be informed on what conditions the Ottoman Empire would consent to negotiate a treaty of peace."

The *Débats* gives the following despatch as that by which the Ambassadors of the Four Powers have been instructed to act in execution of the protocol of December 5:—

"Monsieur,—The Governments of their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the King of Prussia, have seen with great regret the outbreak of war between Russia and Turkey; and, with the object of abridging hostilities as much as possible, and of effecting a rapprochement between the belligerent parties, so important for the interests of Europe, they have thought it necessary to give a collective form to their efforts."

"The note which the representatives of the Four Powers at Vienna have received orders to address directly to his Excellency Redschid Pasha, and of which they have had to transmit a copy to you, is a new and complete evidence of the identity of the views of their Courts, and of their warm desire to contribute by their union to the re-establishment of peace. I rely upon you, Monsieur, to second this conciliatory endeavour by your exertions, and have only further to indicate to you the counsels which you, with your colleagues, will have to give to the Ministers of his Majesty the Sultan."

"The various documents which have emanated from the Sublime Porte, and the character of moderation with which they are marked, authorise us to hope that you will find Redschid Pasha disposed to admit that the propositions of the Four Courts are as much conformed to the interests as they are to the dignity of the Ottoman empire. We place candidly before the Sublime Court a question to which it will respond in the same spirit. We are convinced that it will circumscribe the contest which is now pending between itself and the Cabinet of St. Petersburg within its true limits, and that all its cares will tend to resolve it without importing foreign elements into the actual war."

"In this hope, and acknowledging that it belongs to the Turkish Government to reply to the communication which is made to it in such a manner as its wisdom shall suggest, we at the same time consider that we may be permitted to call its attention to the points on which it will be sure to find us in agreement with it."

"The Governments of the Four Powers would be glad should the Sublime Porte declare, in the first place, that Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia have not too much presumed on its conciliatory intentions in believing it to be still animated with the desire to terminate on favourable conditions the difference which has arisen between it and Russia, and still ready to come to an understanding for this purpose with the other Powers. That, recognising the assurance which Russia has on several occasions given, that it demands no new concessions nor rights infringing upon the sovereignty of the Sultan, the Divan is ready to renew its offers and to discuss the form in which peace shall be re-established, subject to the condition of not being called to accede to any of the demands which have been already refused, and to conclude an arrangement for the evacuation of the Principalities."

"This discussion would naturally take place between an Ottoman and Russian negotiator, each furnished with plenipotentiary powers; but, in order to facilitate the agreement of the two parties, the plenipotentiaries so designated would not treat apart, but in presence of representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia."

"We can understand the reasons which doubtless would not permit the Sublime Porte to negotiate with Russia in a part of its territory occupied by the arms of this Power. Russia, on its side, would have objections to negotiate in any town of Turkey. It would be proper, then, to leave the two parties to make choice of a neutral territory, and we abstain therefore from designating any particular place."

"The object which the Four Courts propose would not be completely obtained if the opening of the preliminary nego-

parlers of peace were not at the same time the signal for the cessation of hostilities; but we believe that the Sublime Porte will have no good reason to oppose the conclusion of an armistice, the conditions of which might be afterwards debated, if it obtained from us the assurance that the terms in which it should declare itself disposed to treat would be equally accepted by Russia. It is, in any case, a demand which it might address to us; and, on the hypothesis that the terms proposed by the Ottoman Government should not be such as Russia should at first consent to, we would yet advise the sending of a Turkish plenipotentiary, and the appointment of a town where the plenipotentiaries of Russia and Turkey might meet the representatives of the Four Courts."

"The various points which I have just passed under review, and the observations by which they are accompanied, have the complete consent of Austria, France, and Prussia; and it is therefore to be desired that Redschid Pasha will look at them in this light, and make them the groundwork of the communication which we all expect from him. You will inform us of the reception which may be given to this communication; but we can hardly think that the Sublime Porte, weighing the advantages which such a combination offers to the Ottoman empire with the risks which always wait on war, will hesitate to enter into the path opened for it by an amicable intervention."

"I ask you, Monsieur, to repair with your colleagues to Redschid Pasha, to read this despatch to him, and fortify it with the authority of your advice."

The *Moniteur* adds, "We have nothing to explain as to the authenticity of the documents thus given to the public. If they are false, it is a culpable manoeuvre; if they are authentic, it is an unpardonable indiscretion. The Government has taken measures to prevent the recurrence of such events."

This ebullition of the *Moniteur* shows that the French Government is annoyed at the publicity given by the partisans of Russia to documents which were intended to be private, and which afford abundant evidence of the tardiness with which the Powers treat the invader of Turkey, and the roughness with which the Sultan is called upon by his allies and protectors to do their behests. It seems strange that, with such an opinion of the publication in question, the *Moniteur* should have lent its aid to the spread of the evil. If (to use its own words) the documents thus made public are false, why does it assist, in a culpable manoeuvre, by circulating them? If they be correct, why does it contribute its part to a publication which it qualifies as "an unpardonable indiscretion"? However, it appears that M. Persigny sent for the chief editor of the *Débats*, questioned him as to the sources of his information, and concluded by threatening him with a "warning" in the event of any future indiscretion.

The so-called Russian victory at Sinope is proved to have been sheer butchery, even according to the official Russian despatches, published in the *Journal de St. Petersburg*, and the circumstantial accounts, compiled from the statements of persons present at the engagement, and published in the *Invalide Russe* (the official naval and military Russian journal) of the 11th inst. We abridge slightly the condensed abstract of this Russian report from the *Times* of yesterday:—

"Admiral Nachimoff was cruising on the coast of Anatolia, when he perceived a squadron of Turkish ships in the roads of Sinope. He must have seen that the Turkish flotilla was already inferior in strength to his own squadron, for he had then with him three two-deckers, and six frigates; but, not content with this advantage, he sent the steamer *Bessarabia* back to Sebastopol to fetch three line-of-battle ships of 120 guns each; and it was not till these ships—the *Ville de Paris*, the *Grand Duke Constantine*, and the *Tri Sviatitelia*—had joined his own fleet that he proceeded to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. These three-deckers joined in the night of the 27th of November,—they must have been sent for some three or four days before,—and the battle was not fought till the 30th. So that the whole operation was planned and executed with the utmost deliberation, and there was ample time for the Turkish authorities in Sinope to have received reinforcements if they had sent for them. On the 30th, between 9 and 10 a.m., with a favourable north-east breeze, the Russians entered the roads in two divisions, under cover of fog and rain, which concealed their approach until they were within 500 yards of the Turkish frigates. The Russian Admiral's ship, the *Empress Maria*, and the *Ville de Paris*, leading the port division, dropped their anchors, and the Turks opened their fire. The heavy three-deckers did terrific execution, and several of the Turkish ships were blown up by shells from the Russian Paixhans guns. At two o'clock the firing ceased; three Turkish frigates were in flames, and the transports altogether sunk. The Turkish portion of the town of Sinope was on fire, but, by one of those portents which only occur in these sacred contests, we are informed by the bulletin that the conflagration respected the quarter inhabited by the Greeks. It does not appear that any portion of the crews or treasure on board had been landed. On the following morning we are further told that nothing remained of the twelve vessels composing the Turkish squadron except a sloop and a corvette run ashore, and the *Damietta* Egyptian frigate, all of which were then ordered to be burnt. In these small vessels were found Osman Pasha, the admiral, wounded in the leg, a few officers, and about eighty men. These appear to be the sole survivors of an armament which must have numbered the day before several thousand souls. In this manner, as we are informed by Prince Menschikoff in his despatch, 'the orders of his Imperial Majesty have been most brilliantly executed.' It is impossible to have further proof that this catastrophe was not the result of a casual encounter, but a deliberate assault on the vessels of Turkey and the town of Sinope, which were supposed to be under the protection of the French and English fleets. The Russians remained in the roadstead of Sinope until the 2nd of December, and it was not till the 4th that they returned to the port of Sebastopol. From these dates it may be inferred that, when the intelligence of the battle reached Constantinople on the

evening of the 2nd, it was not too late to give effect to Admiral Dundas' bold and seamanlike proposal of immediate pursuit. To make Sebastopol with a breeze from the north-east, the Russian fleet must have sailed considerably to the west of the Crimea; and, had the operation proposed been executed as rapidly as it was conceived, we might have heard by the same courier of the outrage and of the punishment it merited."

"This Russian account" (says the *Daily News*) "is professedly founded upon that *viva voce* information which Menschikoff's despatch, published yesterday, stated Lieutenant-Colonel Skolkoff, a spectator of the action, was to furnish at St. Petersburg. They were thus even of less value as evidence than would be the formal report of Admiral Nachimoff himself. Such as they are, however, they are published by the Russian Government, and we learn that they form the subject of boundless rejoicings at St. Petersburg. It will be noticed that the number of Russian ships brought into action is carefully concealed. But when it is considered the squadron by which the Turkish ships at Sinope was first discovered was large enough to have for its commander Admiral Nachimoff, the commander-in-chief of the Black Sea fleet, before it was reinforced by the three 120-gun ships and the three steamers from Sebastopol, it will be perceived that the Russian force must have been as superior in numbers as in weight of metal. Osman Pasha, when taken, was found lying on the deck of his frigate, with his leg broken and his head terribly wounded. Letters from Odessa of the 8th state that the gallant admiral was a prisoner in the arsenal at Sebastopol. The other prisoners lie on the casemates, and are all wounded or burnt. Since the affair at Sinope, the Russians appear to have fancied that their own ports were in greater danger of attack, for both at Odessa and Sebastopol land batteries have been provided in great haste, and command the sea for a considerable distance."

Prince Menschikoff's bulletin of this battle thus affixes the responsibility of the aggression upon the Emperor of Russia. It commences as follows:—

"Yesterday, on the 28th of November, his Majesty the Czar received the following report from his adjutant, Prince Menschikoff:—

"The orders of your Imperial Majesty have been most brilliantly executed by the fleet of the Black Sea. The first Turkish squadron which ventured to enter into a contest with your ships has—on the 18th instant—been annihilated by Vice-Admiral Nachimoff. We had one officer and 33 sailors killed, and 230 wounded."

The intelligence of these victories was received, we are told, with enthusiasm at St. Petersburg. On the 8th there was a *Te Deum* of thanksgiving for the success of the Russian arms, in the chapel of the Winter Palace, at which the Emperor and Empress, the different members of the Imperial family, the members of the Council of the Empire, the senators, the Ministers, the high dignitaries of the Court, the generals of the army, and the admirals of St. Petersburg were present. On the same day a *Te Deum* was sung in all the churches of the capital, and a salute was fired by the fortresses of St. Petersburg. In the evening the city was illuminated."

"The Czar ordered that those who had admission at Court should repair to the Winter Palace for a general thanksgiving. The ladies appeared in the Russian national dress, and the gentlemen in grand gala. In all other churches of the capital public prayers of thanksgiving were offered, and the population came in crowds to join the service. The most pious Czar thanked the Lord of Lords for the success of the victorious Russian arms which triumphed in the sacred combat for the orthodox faith."

Authentic intelligence from Erzeroum to the 17th of November confirms all the reports of Turkish successes at the outset of the campaign in Asia. Up to that date, we now know for certain that Selim Pasha had carried more than one fort on the Black Sea; that Abdi Pasha and his lieutenants had defeated the Russians in several encounters at Valdi, Doozee, at Bayazed, twice at Gumri (the Russian Alexandropol); and that the main army, numbering upwards of 30,000 men, under Abdi Pasha, had left Kars, and crossed the Georgian frontier, leaving a force of 10,000 men to keep in check the important fortress of Gumri. So far all is clear; but from the confusion of dates in the use of the old and new style, we are unable to rely on any intelligence since received. We know for certain that the Russians claim three victories which, it is certain, were won by the Turks—one at Azur, one at Bayender, and one at Gumri. It would appear that the Turks have extended their army over a large space of territory, and it is probable that the great victories announced by the Russians on their own side have been gained, if gained at all, over isolated detachments of the Turkish army. The Russian despatch states that Abdi Pasha was defeated at Ahai-Tsické by General Andronchoff, Governor of Trebizonde. But this is hardly probable, because Ahai-Tsické lies out of the main line of the Turkish operations."

We subjoin a specimen of a Russian bulletin. It is due to the inventiveness of General Andronchoff, and our readers will agree with us, throws the feats of Munchausen into the shade. It is the climax of the despatch relating the battle of Ahai-Tsické. The combat ended at sunset; the enemy had entirely disappeared."

"I cannot help considering this combat as one of the most extraordinary, and, I might say, unprecedented feat of arms. A strong cannonade of five hours' duration, a violent fire of grape and musketry, lasting two hours, and finally a combat with sword and bayonet, for four hours, and during a pursuit on the mountains, and over broken ground, could not be sustained with honour, but by the valour and indefatigable intrepidity of Russian troops, and prove that there exists no obstacle for warriors animated by the Orthodox Faith, who at the voice of the august monarch have taken arms for religion, sovereign, and country. Nor can there be obstacles for an army which repeats the words of its monarch, 'In te Domine speravi; non confundar in eternum.'"

If there still remained any doubt of the aggressive character given to the war by Russia, the latest accounts from Bucharest of an action at Matschin (opposite Ibraila) would



undecieve even Lord Aberdeen. The attack was sharp but ineffectual. The Russians made a reconnaissance with two steamers, five gun-boats, and four battalions of riflemen, and it is said destroyed the Turkish batteries below Matschin. Their loss was severe. Matschin is a Turkish fort on the right bank of an arm of the Danube, which (says the *Times*) the Russians probably intended to convert into a *tête de pont* opposite their own fortress at Brailow.

There appears to be little doubt that the combined fleets have now entered the Black Sea, in company with the Turkish fleet. The collective note and protocol reached Constantinople on the 13th inst. The *Official Gazette* of Vienna takes care to announce that the entrance of the fleets into the Black Sea must not be considered a hostile act, but only a tutelary measure; not to attack the Russian fleet, but to protect the Turks.

It is positively stated that Persia, at the instigation of Russian intrigues, and the promise of the Czar to waive the payment of the debt due to him from the Shah, has not only declared war against the Porte, and offered Prince Woronzow 30,000 men, but has declared war against England. This is not confirmed; but it is certain that Mr. Thompson, the British Minister at Teheran, has broken off all relations with the Persian Court, and, we believe, has retired to Bagdad.

The statement of the *Times*, that Admiral Dundas had advised that the fleets should at once intercept the return of the marauders of Sinope, and that his advice had been opposed by General Baraguay d'Hilliers, has caused great sensation in Paris. In explanation, it has been asserted that Admiral Dundas could have given no such advice, because the Russian fleet could have reached Sebastopol before the combined fleets could have entered the Black Sea. But this explanation does not hold good; for the *Taif*, which brought the news of the disaster to Constantinople, arrived there before the Russian fleet left Sinope. No doubt, had Admiral Dundas's alleged advice been followed at once, the Russian fleet might have been intercepted and destroyed, for the lumbering three-deckers engaged in the butchery at Sinope were so mauled by the Turkish fire, that they had to be towed back, against a strong wind, by the Russian steamers. [We have no doubt that the true reason why the British Admiral's pugnacious counsels were refused—if, indeed, he ever gave any—was a fear lest the British and French seamen should meet the enemy, and come to blows.]

A private letter from Persia, dated Ispahan, September 20, has the following mysterious passage:—"All Persia is thrown into a state of suspense and anxiety by the disappearance of his Majesty the King of Persia from Teheran, with 30,000 cavalry, 1000 pieces of cannon, and 3000 camels loaded with ammunition. We are completely at a loss to conjecture the object of the expedition or the place of its destination."

The *Hamburg News* says:—"Travellers from St. Petersburg state, that in the shops of that city are sold maps of Constantinople, in which the Turkish capital is divided into Russian police districts. A copy of this map, which was brought to Vienna, produced a great sensation, as it is well known that at St. Petersburg no person can sell maps or engravings without the authorisation of the Government."

Letters from Smyrna state that Mr. Charlton Whittall, with other British and several foreign merchants of that city, have, in order to show their sympathy for the cause of Turkey, and at the same time their opinion of the peaceable behaviour of the *redifs*, or recruits, who have lately left that village to form the army, come forward, in a most considerate and charitable manner, to assume, during the absence of these in the defence of their country, the sole maintenance and support of their large families residing at Bournabat.

The communications on the Danube are totally suspended. The Czar has published a ukase, proclaiming a state of siege throughout Bessarabia and the Governments of Cherson and Tauris, and placing those provinces under martial law.

At Jassy a thanksgiving for the victory of Sinope had been solemnly celebrated. The Austrian, Prussian, and Greek Consuls were invited to attend on the happy occasion, but they did not appear. The English and French Consuls had already taken their departure.

The St. Petersburg journals have announced that the Russian Baltic fleet has been dismantled, and that the crews have been sent to their homes. In order to fully understand the bearing of this measure it is useful to mention that the Baltic fleet, which has the best sailors in the Russian navy, were transferred three months since to the Black Sea fleet, and only fresh levied seamen remained at Cronstadt. It is these men who have been sent to their homes for the winter season, when the fleet of the Baltic cannot move on account of the ice.

The anniversary of the Polish revolution was celebrated at Constantinople on the 29th ult. by about 100 Polish emigrants.

M. Baltazzi, who some time since made an advance to the Porte of 35 millions of piastres on the tribute to be received from Egypt, has also furnished 10,000 pieces of cloth, and all the wives of the *employés* in the war department have been set to work to convert it into cloaks for the troops. A large building has been converted into a workshop for the purpose. The females of the harems are similarly occupied, although they are not very expert at needlework.

On the 29th of November, an officer of the Somnoff Guard regiment was shot on the place of arms at St. Petersburg. He had supplied Radzevitz, Prince Gortschakoff's secretary, with the materials for his treasonable correspondence with Omar Pasha. Radzevitz, or Gudzevitz, as some correspondents call him, was shot at Bucharest as soon as his treachery was discovered.

The magnanimity and civilization of Russia and the Porte have been strangely contrasted since the breaking out

of hostilities, not only in the method of warfare, but in the treatment of neutral flags and commercial interests.

A letter from Odessa of the 3rd, states that the Egyptian steamer and the Turkish merchant vessel taken by the Russians were lying in that port. The Egyptians, who were taken, to the number of 130, had been sent to prison.

The Medjoie-Tedjaret, a Turkish steamer of 200-horsepower, was captured by the Russians before the delay accorded to commercial vessels had expired, and while a score of Russian merchantmen were lying and loading unmolested in the Bosphorus. A Russian merchantman took shelter in the Bosphorus, and was well received; every assistance was given to the crew by the Turkish authorities. Redschid Pacha, in a dignified and noble letter, in reply to a request of the Austrian intendant that the delay accorded to Russian commercial vessels should be extended, says that he declines to imitate the Russian proceedings in the Danubian provinces, and grants a further term of 45 days to Russian ships loading grain for the Black Sea, and three months to allow Russian ships on the coast of Europe or of Africa to return to the Black Sea through the Dardanelles.

Contrast these acts with the conduct of the Russians. The Czar already treats the Black Sea as a Russian lake. He has ordered all merchantmen to be searched. Two British merchantmen were "roughly handled" at Sinope; and a third, the *Phæbe*, was fired into by a Russian ship, on her passage from Constantinople to Trebizonde.

M. de Fontin, till lately the Russian Consul-General in Servia, and who it was stated was to have represented Russia in the conference, is now reported to be charged with a mission to the Shah of Persia.

Count Valentine Esterhazy goes as the new Austrian ambassador to St. Petersburg, and Count Appony, late Austrian minister at Turin, is appointed to the embassy at Munich.

The most interesting continental news, not from the theatre of war, comes from Turin this week. Everything denotes steady and hopeful progress in Piedmont, and a religious and commercial freedom are officially proclaimed as the policy of the Government.

The legislative session was opened on the 19th inst. The King delivered a speech, which was warmly applauded. He congratulated the Piedmontese nation on its political sagacity, and recommended the Parliament to encourage that spirit of union, by the aid of which the Government might find force sufficient to maintain intact the dignity of the country, and preserve the noble principle of national independence from any insult. The King concluded as follows: "Have confidence in me, and by our union we will crown the grand edifice raised by the hands of my father, and which mine will defend and preserve." M. Brennier, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in France, and having the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary, was present at the royal sitting in the diplomatic tribune.

An interesting and significant event took place at Turin on the 15th instant, on the opening of the new Protestant church of the Waldenses, whose name, and simple and devoted faith brings to the proud recollection of Englishmen the great days of Oliver Cromwell, when England was not palsied by dynastic complicities, nor slow to assert her might in the cause of justice and liberty. The church of the Waldenses, Valdesi, or Vaudois, commenced in the autumn of 1851, was consecrated by the performance of two full services, one in Italian and one in French, the congregation in the morning amounting to about 1200, and that of the evening to about 1000 or 1100. This congregation counted among its members, besides those who belong to the ancient and pure faith of the Valleys, including those who have joined this church lately, many liberal Catholics, not only Piedmontese, but Lombards, Tuscans, Romans, and Neapolitans (noble exiles who have taken refuge beneath the only cis-Alpine constitutional flag). A few Swiss, and Germans, and English were also present. The ancient protectors of the Vaudois, England and Prussia, were represented by the English Minister and his attachés, and by the Prussian Chargé d'Affaires. The church, which is said to hold about 1200, is in one of the best new streets of Turin, Via del Re, a kind of Boulevard, and its architecture, the Lombardo-Gothic, recalls that of the purer times of Italian religion. A large concourse of people was present at the solemnity, so full of happy auguries of Italian freedom, and the proceedings passed off in perfect order and harmony.

Italy has just sustained a severe loss by the death of Tommaso Grossi—next to Manzoni, her most distinguished literary man. Though the author of several poetical works, he is best known in England as the writer of "Marco Visconti," one of the few good Italian novels. He was the bosom friend of Manzoni and Massimo d'Azeglio, and although, like the former, he did not take any active part in politics, curiously enough he was the notary who drew up and attested the act of fusion between Piedmont and Lombardy in 1848.

The treaty of commerce and navigation between the Zollverein and Belgium of the 1st September, 1844, and the additional convention of the same treaty, dated the 18th February, 1852, will cease to have effect at the end of the year; and the negotiations with Belgium for the conclusion of a new arrangement by convention have not yet led to any result.

There has been a very heavy fall of snow at Vienna.

A duel has taken place at Madrid between the Duke of Alba and Mr. Soulé, jun., son of the United States envoy. The parties fought with swords, but fortunately without either being wounded; and it ended in the seconds drawing up a minute of the proceedings as having been conducted in a manner satisfactory to the honour and reputation of both parties. It was also agreed that the letters which have passed between them should be mutually withdrawn.

The Bank of San Fernando advances the money required

to pay the Christmas dividend on the home and foreign debt. The terms are 6 per cent. interest, with  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. commission on the foreign dividend, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. on the home dividend.

Political matters are in complete suspense in Spain. The Queen is expecting her *accouchement*: the Prime Minister is ill: and the *coup d'état* is at least deferred. It is reported that Sartorius contemplates the abolition of the Senate, and the creation of a single Assembly, elected, as in France, by universal suffrage—under Napoleonic conditions of voting—we suppose.

Russia is causing apprehensions in the North of Europe as well as in the East. According to advices from Copenhagen, it is asserted that a line of defence round the capital against an attack by sea is to be thrown up as in the year 1848, and that a corps of artillery has already received orders to undertake the necessary works.

In the China Seas the Russian squadron is displaying considerable activity. It has been well received by the Japanese whom it had visited, following in the track of the American squadron. One of the Russian ships engaged in this expedition bears the ominous title of "*Prince Menschikoff*."

According to an inquiry instituted by the Royal Agricultural College at Berlin, the deficiency in the corn harvest is found to be ten per cent. on wheat.

Abd-el-Kader is living a very retired life at Broussa, engaged in study, in the cultivation of poetry, and the education of his children.

#### CITY MATTERS.

The festival of St. Thomas is a great day in the City. Then the wardmotes are held, and the Common Councilmen and ward-officers are elected. This year it fell on Wednesday. As was to be expected, the Royal Commission was discussed in several wards; and as the resolutions agreed to express the feelings of the citizen we append them.

In Aldersgate the following resolutions were carried:—

"Proposed,—That this ward congratulate their fellow-citizens on the inquiry now in progress before the Royal Commissioners into the uses and abuses of the corporation of the city of London, and have reason to hope that by the manner in which that inquiry is conducted such information will be elicited as will insure an efficient measure of corporate reform.

"That it is desirable that the city of London should take some public means of expressing their undiminished attachment to municipal institutions as the best bulwarks of constitutional monarchy, the preservers of self-government, and the true barriers of feudalism.

"That the great obstructions, so much and so properly complained of, to the commerce of the port of London in the obsolete enactments under some of the late charters are matters with which the corporation have no connexion whatever; they are chartered rights conferred on a class, and the knowledge of their existence, and their galling injustice, were patent to the Government, and published in the Commons' report previous to the passing of the general measure of municipal reform in 1835."

#### "ORDER OF A PROPOSED NEW CORPORATION.

"That it confer the franchise on all paying scot and bearing lot; that the magistrates shall be elected by their fellow-citizens; that the whole of the elections in Common-hall shall be by the citizens generally, and not, as now, by the liverymen; that the Court of Aldermen, as a court, shall have no separate power over the city purse; that the right of calling on the livery companies to produce accounts and see to the due administration of the funds entrusted to them shall lie in the Aldermen and Court of Common Council; that the old officers be eligible for re-election."

Here are expressed the views of Cripplegate Within:—

"That this wardmote accepts with much regret the resignation of its late representative, Mr. Francis Bonnoch, and, while offering the expression of its sympathy with him under the circumstances which have led to his retirement from the Court of Common Council, desires to place upon record the expression of its high estimation of his upright, consistent, and earnest advocacy of all measures calculated to promote, not only the reform, economy, and improvement of the corporation of London, but also the happiness and well-being of his fellow-men; that it views with great satisfaction the inquiry under the Royal Commission, which promises to result in placing on a more satisfactory basis the affairs of the corporation; that it is more deeply impressed than ever with the necessity for such an enlargement of the municipal constituency as shall give to all ratepayers a voice in the election of its officers, who have control over the expenditure of the funds of the corporation; and it further expresses the opinion that all restraints upon trade and its free and legitimate exercise within the city should be abolished, and that the prohibition of individuals other than freemen from trading within its walls is impolitic and unjust."

The ward of Farringdon Without came to these conclusions:—

"That this wardmote, forming a large proportion of the city, about one-fifth of the whole, views with deep interest the Royal Commission now inquiring into the corporation of the city of London, and trusts that it will lead to a great improvement in the management of its affairs, so that it may be restored to what it once was, and ought to be, a pattern of sound, efficient, and useful municipal government to the metropolis and to the country.

"That, in the opinion of this wardmote, all encroachments on our municipal institutions are dangerous to the liberties and prosperity of England; and the wardmote pledges itself to support all efforts of the Court of Common Council to perfect and strengthen the corporation of the city of London as an institution of true and genuine self-government."



Mr. Alderman Copeland, presiding over the ward-mote of Bishopsgate, said he viewed the proceedings of the commission with "unspeakable disgust." The mote was also speechless; perhaps from lack of sympathy.

There appears to be only two cases of opposition: otherwise the elections have been carried out with unanimity. Two old members, Mr. Evans, who has served 32 years, and Mr. Watkins, who has served 30 years, retire from their wards, carrying with them the thanks of the citizens.

The City Commission sat on Tuesday, and adjourned to the 11th of January. Several witnesses were examined, but their evidence presented no new features of interest.

#### LECTURE ON LABOUR BY MR. DANIEL WHITTLE HARVEY.

THE appearance of Mr. Daniel Whittle Harvey, Commissioner of the London Police, as a lecturer on the rights and duties of labour, may be taken as a gratifying sign of the set of public attention in that direction. Mr. Harvey lectured on this subject at the Kelvedon Institution, Essex, on Tuesday, to about three hundred persons, among whom were "many agriculturists" from the neighbourhood.

Mr. Harvey said the requirements of labour were misunderstood on the one hand and derided on the other.

"The workmen demanded relief from ceaseless toil, a cure for involuntary idleness and unmerited poverty, an antidote against the misery, ignorance, and vice which these evils produced. Their advocates repudiated the notion that such objects were unattainable and visionary. They took comfort from what the human mind had already achieved in science, in literature, and the arts. They insisted that the time had come when mighty changes might be effected with the least injury to individuals, when, enlightened by experience, the public could correct errors in a calm dispassionate spirit, on the broad and unchangeable principle of equal rights. It was not surprising that doctrines so seductive as these found willing adherents; and, unless those to whom they were addressed were better instructed, their progress was as certain as their tendency was pernicious. That equality of rights which was claimed as the very soul of society was a mere delusion, unallied with equality of duties. It was contended that all the excessive toil and poverty and wretchedness of the working classes was solely attributable to the unjust and iniquitous manner in which labour and its reward were apportioned, and that until the social arrangements which produced and perpetuated this injustice were altered, no relief could be given to the sons of toil. This scheme of national regeneration was that of the Socialists, who sought for an equal distribution of the common stock realised by the labour of the whole community, and that without reference to the inequalities of the mental or corporeal faculties of individuals."

Mr. Harvey, however, admitted that the condition of labouring men did not correspond with their pretensions, and that it ought. The interests of masters and men are identical.

"But their interests being identical, whence, he asked, arose the dark, deep chasm which at present yawned between them? He could only find a solution of the question in the disturbance of their natural relations to each other. But existing systems, right or wrong, were too deeply rooted in the soil of ages to yield readily to change; and when a country had become great through the aids of cultivation, arts, and learning, a necessity for its preservation was established, against which sweeping abstract theories, however fascinating, could not prevail. What, therefore, ought to be done, and what pressed with increasing weight upon every considerate mind was, as quietly and effectually as possible to remove the evils and preserve the benefits that had arisen in our transit from a simple to a highly artificial state of society. The condition of existence was the right of subsistence, and food, clothing, and shelter were the elements of that right. Labour was the condition of their attainment, and nowhere could these elements be found to exist primarily, save in the cultivation of the earth—the raw material of all wealth. Were the labouring classes fed, clothed, housed, and educated in a manner corresponding with the improvements which marked the condition of the landlord and the tenant? It could not be denied that the inequalities between them were becoming daily wider and more apparent, the rural population having been better fed and less actually borne down by labour when they were the mere serfs of feudalism. A mere commercial principle, when it became subservient to a calculating spirit of accumulation, generated the idolatry of Mammon, and dried up all the social charities of life. The notion of degradation which attached to mere labour also disturbed the equality of the contracting parties, and there appeared a studied desire to forget that the toil and the privation of the working man formed the sole source of wealth. An essential means by which this prejudicial conflict of feeling might be suppressed would be found in the obligation, which every capitalist who sought to hire a farm should recognise, of being the guardian of the working classes. He calculated the number of horses he would require, and the cost of their keep, the capital necessary for cultivation, demanded new buildings, or the repair of old; but the due reward of the labourer, the cheerful cottage and its rood of ground, were little considered. When the question of rent was settled, an important party to the contract was absent. That contract involved an adequate provision for those who cultivated the soil, and a reasonable profit upon the capital and skill employed; and when these two claims were satisfied, the surplus was the rent. That these proportions were not

preserved was too evident. Territorial possessions were aggrandised and capital accumulated in heaps, while prostrate labour presented its woful lot in every distressing form that could be imagined. This state of things could not continue. The working classes had a clear conviction that the social scheme operated to their disfavour. Yet there was no portion of the population which possessed firmer elements of character or a purer sense of right. Their combinations and strikes were but the manifestation of their deep conviction that the interests of capital were in the present industrial arrangements of society welded to their disadvantage. . . . It was greatly to the prejudice of the working man that, in matters of indirect taxation, he paid, not a proportionate, but the same per-centage as the owner of 10,000*l.* a-year. One-third of the labourer's scanty pittance was subtracted by taxation upon indispensable articles of consumption, and he might justly complain that the absence or perversion of capital cheated him of his exertions, while he was excluded from a reasonable participation in the profits of the soil as tenant cultivator. . . . Mr. Harvey pointed out, as a grievance of which the working classes had a right loudly to complain, the state of ignorance in which they were kept from the absence of suitable provision for their instruction. It was because they were so kept in ignorance of their social rights that they were indifferent to their social duties. The higher classes had no security for their position but in the education of the people, who, in their turn, would discern that the comforts of life were the fruits of industry, that there could be no accumulation of property but from its saving, and that, rightly understood, labour and capital were the twin elements to which everything that advanced, improved, and elevated man was to be attributed. The first step to be taken, in order to carry out the views which he had been expounding, was to obtain a sounder and wiser appreciation of the relations of employer and employed. How often did masters seem to have no apprehension of the feelings of those under them—no idea of any duty on their side beyond "cash payment." Servants, from their want of education, were often little better than children. To cherish and reward the labours of industry, with a view to the greatest production of the comforts of life, was a pursuit worthy of the best and purest minds. It had been well said that, in the eye of Heaven, wages were unjustly withheld from the labourer when they were totally inadequate to his subsistence, and such as nothing but helpless indigence induced him to accept. Recognised rights would speedily guarantee the cheerful observance of recognised duties on the part of the working classes. It was not to be denied that great distrust pervaded their minds, but that would be mitigated by the higher tone of feeling which reflection kindled, and by the palpable evidences of consideration for their condition; the more the people knew, the better would they be able to appreciate what was worth preserving."

At the close of the lecture, which was warmly applauded throughout, the meeting, on the motion of Mr. Mechi, seconded by Mr. Varenne, voted by acclamation their thanks to Mr. Harvey.

#### SABBATARIANS REBUKED.

It is not seldom that Scotland lends a helping hand to physical, political, or religious progress. The latter is by far the most infrequent; but we have one sturdy lift at the wheel to record. Our readers will remember that Sir James Colquhoun, defeated, in his appeal to the judicial authority of the district to put down the Sunday excursions of the *Emperor* steamer on the Clyde, carried his case to Edinburgh, and demanded the assistance of the Court of Session to suppress the "nuisance." As he claimed the piers, which the passengers of the *Emperor* more than once so gallantly carried by storm, he asked the Court to interdict the use of the piers to the public on Sundays.

The case was fully debated before the Lord of the Second Division on the 6th inst. For, Sir James, the complainer, it was pleaded that he had erected the piers at his own expense and on his own property, that he had been in use to levy dues there, and to exercise the rights of proprietor over them. More particularly, he contended that he was in possession of right over them to the extent of shutting them on the Sundays. He also pleaded that these parties who had infringed his rights were carrying on an illegal traffic, and that their proceedings were an infraction of the statutes passed in 1579 and 1690 to protect the sacredness of the Sabbath, the complainer considering his case to be the stronger, that the parties thus injuring his patrimonial interest were at the time engaged in an illegal act. For the respondents, it was pleaded that the piers, by whomsoever they had been erected, were built upon the public shore, and therefore upon public property, and that persons so erecting piers could not exercise patrimonial right over them, or exclude the public using the loch as a highway, from at any time landing at them. The patrimonial interest, if sustained, would equally entitle the proprietor to close the piers on saints' days, fast days, or any day he thought proper. On this side, the obligation of the old statutes was denied. The Court thought the case should be confined to patrimonial interest, leaving out of view the question of Sabbath profanation. On Thursday week the Court gave judgment in the case.

The Lord Justice Clerk remarked that the suspender had presented this suspension and interdict in respect of his alleged rights as proprietor of certain piers in the Gareloch and in Loch Long.

"In support of these rights he had not attempted to take

the ground that he could exclude the public, at all times and to any extent he chose, from these piers, but he pleaded that, as proprietor of the pier, he was entitled to have these persons interdicted from plying to them, because the day on which they chose to come was Sunday, and because they resorted to them in profanation of the Sunday. The interdict had no prayer to prohibit these persons from sailing in a steamer to and from Glasgow on the Sundays, and no public law of any kind had been stated which prevented the steamer sailing down the Clyde or entering the Gareloch or Loch Long on that day. So far as the Court knew, there was nothing to prevent this any more than to prevent any vessel leaving any public port or entering any port in the British kingdom on Sunday. But, laying aside the question of Sabbath profanation entirely—for, if the suspender could show a sufficient patrimonial, he did not require this additional plea, and, if he could not do so, this Court did not sit to try such alleged infractions of the criminal law—they came to the question of the alleged outrages and breaches of the peace of which the suspender complained. He did not think that this point really bore on the question they had now to decide. Permission for these breaches of the peace was not what the complainer could ask for in this court. If he had no right at his own hands and without authority previously obtained to extrude the public from the use of these piers on Sunday, he was wrong to attempt to erect barricades, and oppose by a sort of *posse comitatus* those whom by law he had no right *prima facie* to exclude. If he had such a right as he claimed, certainly his case could not receive aid from such unseemly proceedings. Indeed, one was surprised that any one entertaining, as they could not doubt the complainer did, a proper and pious regard for the sanctity and repose of the Sabbath, such as it had been observed in Scotland, should in the first instance have brought on the certainty of such conflicts by the measures he adopted. On the part of the respondents and those acting with them, and of the passengers, these collisions and outrages which the complainer described might have been expected as inevitable. Entertaining what their counsel termed 'their views of the Sunday question,' they could not be expected to pay any attention to the character of the day as any reason for abstaining from forcing a violent passage, notwithstanding the preparations made for resisting it. These collisions and breaches of the peace were plainly inevitable, if force were resorted to to prevent these persons landing; and the course adopted was as singular on the part of one desirous to preserve the sanctity of the Sunday, as the forcible landing was natural on the part of those who disregarded the Sunday.

"But, clearing the case of these matters as having no legal bearing on the question, they came to the real question they had to decide. By the admission of the suspender, the piers were places of public resort, and were thrown open to them for certain dues, and there was no averment that they were only used by certain persons to whom *ex gratia* he gave leave. But, assuming that these piers were built by him, as he alleged, and assuming that he was entitled to heavy dues (though he had not stated on what authority he did so, and the Court was not to be understood as giving any opinion on the legality of the exaction), if he built these piers as a source of revenue to himself, and at his own hand and without authority levied dues from the public, this did not put his piers in a better situation than any regular port, or harbour, or pier established on competent authority. If, on his own showing, he was in the situation of levying dues from the public in this manner, he must submit to the consequences of those piers being open and patent to the public, in the same way as if he had legal authority for the exaction. He admitted that it was a very laudable object for the pursuer to endeavour so to regulate the piers as to prevent a crowd of idle passengers from a great public town landing quite close to the parish church, and converting the quiet banks of the Gareloch into places of resort for idleness and noisy revelry; and for one who would go on such pleasure trips to enjoy the pure air and the elevated scenery, there were probably fifty who would go only to indulge in the habits of an ill-spent town life. But the question was, could a public landing-place of this kind be closed on Sunday on the alleged ground of private property? The suspender might make out an action of declaration that he possessed such patrimonial right as to entitle him to do so, but, on the question of granting interdict on the Bill Chamber, the Court, as at present advised, were of opinion, on the suspender's own showing, that the *prima facie* case was against him. The Court could not, on any authority or argument which had been addressed to them, hold in the Bill Chamber that the suspender was in possession of such an uncontrolled and absolute right, as proprietor, as to announce that on Sunday these piers should be no longer public. The suspender's plea would give the right to deny access to the pier to all vessels, whether seeking shelter or driven by stress of weather, or whether at sea from proper and necessary causes; and the answer, if attempted, that he would only exclude such resort to the pier as this steamer occasioned would only bring out more clearly the repugnance between his uncontrolled and arbitrary exercise of his alleged rights, as proprietor, to the exclusion of some persons and the admission of others, and the fact that the piers were resorted to by the public, and that revenue was drawn from them. The Court must recollect that there was no public law which shut up piers, harbours, or highways on the Sunday; there was no law against travelling on the Sunday by sea or land, entitling the toll-keeper to shut his gates and the harbour-master to exclude vessels from his port. The application for this prohibition rested solely on the suspender's alleged patrimonial rights, and the Court were at present of opinion that on the *prima facie* view of the question, the pier was quite sufficient to meet this application for interdict, and that the suspender had not made out such a case in support of his rights as would warrant them in granting the prohibition he now sought."

Lord Cockburn concurred. He was not at present satisfied of the right any private individual had to appropriate the seashore in any form, and parti-



cularly in the form of erecting a pier upon it; and this view of the case went more to the root of his opinion than anything else.—Lords Murray and Wood concurred; and the interdict craved was accordingly refused.

### HEALTH OF LONDON.

(From the Registrar-General's Returns.)

In the week that ended on Saturday, the total number of deaths registered in London was 1358. Increased coldness of the weather has acted unfavourably on the public health during recent weeks, and the present return shows that its effect, an advanced rate of mortality, has not abated.

In the ten weeks corresponding to last week of the years 1843-52, the average number of deaths was 1210, which, if raised in proportion to increase of population, becomes 1331. The 1358 deaths of last week show an excess of 27 on the calculated amount.

Zymotic diseases are in the aggregate scarcely more fatal than usual, but the mortality of hooping-cough is high, 64 children having died from it. Small-pox was fatal in only 3 cases, measles in 39, scarlatina in 33, croup in 10, typhus in 56, diarrhoea in 27. The number of deaths from cholera was 11.

Fatal cases arising from diseases of the respiratory organs amount to 319, whilst the corrected average of ten corresponding weeks is 299. In this class bronchitis was most fatal, numbering 163; pneumonia carried off 121 persons, nearly all children; asthma 20, laryngitis 4. The deaths from phthisis were 144.

Last week the birth of 771 boys and 786 girls, in all 1557 children, were registered in London. In the eight corresponding weeks of the years 1845-52 the average number was 1413.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.512 inches. The mean temperature of the week was 32.7 degs., which is 7.3 degs. below the average of the same week in 38 years. On Friday, "a painfully cold day," the mean temperature fell 13 degs. below the average of the same day; and on four other days it was 8 degs. or 9 degs. below it. The mean dew-point temperature was 29.4 degs. The wind blew for the most part from the north-east.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

The Court returned to Windsor Castle on Thursday to keep Christmas.

The strike question remains unsolved at Preston; the operatives remaining out, and the masters obstinate. Some of the Wigan hands have gone to work. We regret to observe that recourse is had to intimidation in the collection of contributions. The leaders of the operatives should do all they can to restrain collectors—even to the extent of disavowing them—who commit outrages.

It is currently reported that Mr. Disraeli has prepared the outlines of a measure of Parliamentary reform.—*Sun*.

Mr. John O'Connell was elected for Clonmel on Wednesday without opposition. This is a triumph over the Duffy and Lucas party.

Lord Paget has finally resolved to contest South Staffordshire. He has this week issued an address to the electors. He is for "a well-considered measure of Parliamentary reform."

A large meeting was held at Bristol on Friday week, and resolutions were adopted in favour of the ballot. Colonel Thompson made a good use of old arguments on the subject in a speech he made. The meeting was full of spirit.

Another enthusiastic meeting on the subject of the ballot has been held at Bath. The borough Members, Mr. Phinn and Captain Scobell, and Colonel Thompson addressed the meeting.

Scottish rights were vindicated once again last week. The association for their vindication met in the City-hall, Glasgow, in great numbers. Lord Eglinton, Professor Aytoun, Mr. Baillie Cochrane, Sir Archibald Alison, were again the orators. But the only novelties in their orations were the pointed declaration that no hostility is meant to the Union (1), and the *quasi* surrender of the "lion" grievance.

In less than twelve hours after the meeting broke up, news reached Glasgow of the death of Lady Eglinton! Lord Eglinton instantly left for Eglinton Castle.

At a meeting (the last under the present system) of the East India Company, on Wednesday, the papers relating to the dismissal of Mr. Grant and Mr. Le Goyt from the Bombay Sudder administration, were ordered to be produced; also some papers relating to the conduct of the late Sir Charles Napier, in India.

Sir Thomas Redington has been appointed to the newly-created office of permanent secretary to the Board of Control.

Mr. Williams, Member for Lambeth, attended a meeting of his constituents at the Horns, Kennington, on Monday, and narrated, in a speech, the doings of last session in general, and his own works in particular.

Although Lord Palmerston has refused to close the Government offices on Monday next, the Admiralty have resolved to give the Woolwich hands a holiday on that day.

At a parish meeting in Marylebone a proposition was made by Mr. Mitchell to keep Monday as a holiday by shutting shop. But, to the surprise of many, Mr. Jacob Bell and Mr. Soden opposed it, and the motion was lost; nevertheless the less money-grubbing portion of the parish will shut up shop for once in a way.

Some time ago, it will be remembered, Sir Culling Eardley called a meeting at his house, to consider the propriety of draining the Kent and Essex marshes. That meeting resulted in the appointment of a committee to consider and report upon the subject. The report has been prepared, and was sanctioned by a meeting at the Bridge House Hotel, London-bridge. The report shows at once the desirability and the practicability of the project; and Lord Palmerston, with characteristic sense, has made some valuable suggestions.

Mr. William Smith O'Brien has escaped from Van Diemen's Land!

The clergymen and parishioners of Islington desire that they may be saved the immense nuisance of having herds of cattle driven through their parish on Sundays, on their way to the Monday Smithfield Market; and they have memorialised the Lord Mayor.

The Marchioness of Wellesley, widow of the elder brother of the late Duke of Wellington, died at Hampton Court Palace last week.

Lord Robertson, one of the Judges of the Scotch Court of Session, was suddenly taken ill while on the bench last week, and carried home. He has since recovered.

The *Scotsman* understands "that Lord Aberdeen has just announced to the late Mr. Simpson's family, that in consideration of their father's public services, her Majesty has been pleased to grant them a pension, on the Civil List, of 100*l.* a year. Mr. Simpson's unwearied services for the advancement of the great cause of national education, and his exertions in aid of every movement of a philanthropic character, are well known; and a very large circle will be glad to learn that the public gratitude due to his life-long labours has been thus suitably given expression to by the Crown."

Dr. A. M'Caul succeeds the Reverend Frederick Maurice as Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College; and Mr. George Dasent as Professor of Literature and Modern History.

A rumour having spread that Mr. Maurice had offered his resignation to the benchers of Lincoln's-inn, an address to the rev. gentleman from members of the society, and members of the congregation of Lincoln's-inn Chapel, expressive of their sympathy with him under the circumstances connected with his dismissal from his professorships at King's College, London, and of their hope that he might continue his ministrations amongst them, was drawn up, and was in course of being numerously signed, when the further circulation of it was stopped in deference to what is understood to have been the feelings of the benchers, that the continuance of his connexion with Lincoln's-inn is a sufficient evidence of the satisfaction of the society with his labours. The thronged attendance in the chapel at the same time unquestionably shows the sense which the public entertain as to their value.—*Globe*.

Advices from Gibraltar to the 8th inst. state that when the Governor, from some unexplained cause, suddenly removed his land cordon on the 27th of November, the Spaniards established theirs on a liberal footing, and traffic in supplies proceeded satisfactorily until the following Saturday, the 3rd inst. But on that day an order arrived from the Real Consejo de Ministro (supposed to be in consequence of Sir Robert Gardiner's measures, the rescinding of which was not known in Madrid) ordering an immediate closing of all communications by land, excepting the post, and a rigid enforcement of ten days' quarantine by sea. Notice to that effect was promulgated, at once to be put in force from 4 p.m. the same day. At the time of the cordon a most painful spectacle was seen. Many hundred persons on each side the ropes were assembled, and much weeping and wailing going on. Great efforts were made to get in as many supplies as possible, but these were wholly inadequate to the demand. Straw and charcoal rose to prodigious prices. Straw was sold at eight and nine dollars per horse load, being a rise of 300 to 400 per cent.; charcoal in the proportion of 200 to 300 per cent. Butchers' meat has risen 50 per cent. The stock of cattle in private hands was only three or four days' consumption. The Government contractor had 300 or 400 head of cattle, but had little or no straw for them. It was reported that the Government contractor was to be indemnified by a grant of the public money for the losses incurred through the Governor's mischievous measure.

A singular case of breach of contract was tried before the Court of Queen's Bench this week. Mrs. Moysey, the wife of a Somersetshire clergyman, engaged a Miss Alerassant, a Belgian, as governess, at 50*l.* a year. Soon after the contract was made, Mrs. Moysey heard that Miss Alerassant was an infidel; that she thought the Bible an obscene book; and said that Jesus Christ had been too intimate with Martha and Mary. Direct evidence was tendered on this point. Miss Alerassant, however, explained that she had called herself an infidel in jest, and denied the other statements. The jury believed her, and gave the full damages claimed.

A trial is pending in the Irish Court of Exchequer of some interest. At the last Carlow election, a man named Dowling, was arrested for a judgment debt, upon a bond of indemnity held by a man named Crotty, who parted with it to one Lawlor. Mr. Sadleir, Lord of the Treasury, and Member of Parliament, was mixed up in the affair. Dowling sues Lawlor for false imprisonment.

Two cases of conflicts between poachers and keepers were tried at the York assizes. In both, the presiding Judges refused costs to the prosecution. Mr. Justice Coleridge said that preserving game in such quantities was a direct incentive to the commission of crime; and Mr. Justice Wightman "wondered how any man could purchase pleasure at such a price."

A Wesleyan Independent minister, keeper of a school at Walworth, named Gibson, charged a Mr. Samuel Kelly with assault. The fracas took place in the school-room; high words ensued, followed by blows on both sides. In his defence, Mr. Kelly alleged that Gibson had seduced his wife; she being at the time an attendant at his chapel. Gibson declined to answer the question whether he had or not seduced Mrs. Kelly, or lived with her. Mr. Norton, before

whom the charge was brought, remanded the case, but accepted bail for Kelly.

The naked body of a youth, with marks of violence upon it, was found on Monday, near East Acton. It is presumed the boy was murdered.

A man named Hall attended the horse fair at York this week. He drank too much, and suffered two low women to lead him to a lonely place beside the Ouse. There they tried to rob him, and before assistance arrived, they thrust him into the water, and he was drowned. The women have been arrested for "murder." Mr. Hall was "a man much respected."

Some Scripture-readers, vulgarly called "souters," have been serenaded with pots, kettles, and pans at Graigue, Kilkenny. The police were obliged to surround and protect the proselytisers.

A Dr. Smith, of Peterhead, is in custody, on a charge of shooting a blacksmith. Suspicion rests on him because he had, unknown to the blacksmith, insured his life.

Whyllie, the soldier of the 26th Regiment who fired upon the mob in the Gavazzi riots at Montreal, has been discharged from his military arrest, under a writ of habeas corpus, and has entered into recognizances to appear before the Colonial Court of Queen's Bench, to answer the charge.

A great excitement has been created in Havana by a most brutal murder perpetrated by an actor attached to the Tacon Theatre on his wife, Matilda Dominguez, *prima donna* of the Spanish Opera, also belonging to the same company, and a great favourite in that place. With a poniard he inflicted thirty-two wounds on his victim, and then stabbed himself eleven times, but without effect. In his wounded state he was taken to prison, where he now remains, and is recovering. Sentence of death has been passed upon him, and as soon as he has sufficiently recovered he will be garrotted. The cause assigned for the murder was jealousy, and the refusal of the wife to furnish him with money.

The cholera has taken a stride westward, and entered Glasgow.

Railway accidents take every form. On Monday, a train from Exeter for Crediton was stopped by the floods of the classic Exe. The water flowed over the rails; they gave way, and the engine was speedily embedded in mud. Of course the passengers were dreadfully alarmed. It was not until midnight that they were dragged back to Newton by horses. This part of the country has suffered severely from floods.

The Great Northern Railway is becoming too notorious for accidents. There was another on Tuesday near Peterborough. It appears that the night fast goods train for the north, which leaves London at ten in the evening, proceeded from King's-cross at its usual time, and when it arrived at Peterborough a coal train was approaching from the junction in an opposite direction, when both trains ran into each other with great violence. The goods train sustained considerable damage, no less than eight waggons being smashed, and their contents, consisting of tea, sugar, brandy, oysters, &c., were strewn about the line. Both engine-drivers escaped with a few superficial bruises.

From some mistake, the *Sylph*, a sea-going steamer, ran into the *Meteor*, a well-known Gravesend boat, going down the river on Tuesday night. The *Meteor* was broken almost in two; but the *Sylph*, sticking close to her, saved her passengers and crew.

The *Humboldt*, one of the American liners, struck on a rock at the entrance of Halifax harbour, and was destroyed, on the 6th instant. The fault lay in the pilot. She was run ashore. Passengers and crew saved.

There were no less than seven fires in London on Saturday night, and a great deal of property was destroyed, but none of them were of sufficient interest to call for a statement in detail.

The Irish coast was visited by a very severe storm last week, causing great destruction.

Letters for officers, seamen, and marines, serving in her Majesty's ships *Enterprise*, *Rattlesnake*, and *Plover* will be in time to be forwarded, if sent to the Admiralty on or before the 1st of January, 1854.

Sixty heavy guns are to be mounted at the battery now erecting at Sconce Point, on the Isle of Wight, to guard the entrance of the Solent Sea. Thirty guns are mounted at Hurst Castle battery, opposite the Isle of Wight, on the Hampshire coast. There is also to be another battery erected about a mile and a half distant from Sconce Point, at a place called Cliff-end. This battery will be directly opposite that of Hurst Castle. These fortifications, when completed, will render the passage of the Solent by a hostile fleet impossible.

A cannon, loaded at the breech, has been invented by Dr. Church. It has been successful on trial at Birmingham, and will be sent to Woolwich. By this process of loading, heavy ship guns can be fired five times in a minute by two men, and a field-piece six times in a minute.

The Russian squadron in the Chinese seas has recently paid a visit to Japan, and the crews of the ships are said to have been well received. The squadron consists of four vessels.

The *Star of the East* has made the passage out to Port Philip in seventy-five days and a half.

Good news for professors of spirit-rapping reaches us from America. The Fox girls, says a New York paper, having rapped a large fortune out of the pockets of the people, have purchased a fine place in Harmonia, and retired to private life. If spiritualism is a humbug, they have found it a profitable one at least.

One day last week, as Mr. Delevan, formerly in the Coast-guard service, was walking near Cross-gate, near Mr. Bigg's farm, Minster, Sheppy, he saw something glittering on the ground; he picked it up, and found it to be a nugget of gold, attached to a stone, which he sold for 3*l.*—*South-Eastern Gazette*.

A slave hunter recently followed some runaway slaves into Canada, to persuade them to return. They seized him, bound him to a tree, and gave him a hundred lashes!

A large quantity of the bone of some gigantic animal has

been found near Constantina, in Algeria, in the tertiary formation. There are thigh and leg bones, the vertebrae, ribs, upper part of the head, and several teeth.

Alexandre Dumas has written a letter to a friend in New York, in which he says:—"Find for me, on the borders of the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the Delaware, or the Ohio, a corner where, surrounded by my chosen friends, I may spend my last days, and die in tranquillity under the sun of liberty." It is stated that M. Dumas has already confided several manuscript works to the hands of his agents, who have established a publishing-house in New York, for the purpose of bringing them out originally and exclusively in this city. The manuscript of his comedy, the "Youth of Louis XIV.," which was prohibited at the Theatre Français, is in the hands of his agents. Several of our managers are in negotiation for its production.—*New York Tribune.*

## Postscript.

SATURDAY, December, 24.

THE secession of Lord Palmerston has developed into a Ministerial crisis, which rumour interprets and intensifies according to the fears and wishes, the jealousies, the antipathies, the predilections of the various sections of the political world. If Lord Palmerston can be coaxed back into the Cabinet (a supposition not easily compatible with his personal dignity), it will scarcely be to re-appear in the Home-office, or indeed in any post under the present Chief of the Administration. At all events, Lord Palmerston bids fair to be doubly avenged for the dynastic intrigues to which he fell a victim two years ago. We do not live in times when Royalty can trifle with good report, even in England: these last days have brought the highest personages in the land under discussion, in a form most destructive to that loyalty which was once a sentiment, but is now nothing more than a sense of utility. *If the Queen's Government is to be carried on at all, it must be on a national, not a dynastic, basis.* This is what men of all sections of opinion are agreed upon, without equivocation or compromise. In the present Coalition Cabinet the Peelites are, perhaps with a single exception, Russian in policy: the old Whigs are neutralised; and the solitary Radical is, we believe, the Russian *par excellence*.

It has been suggested that the Metropolitan Borough, which rejoices in the patronage of a Privy Councillor, should call a meeting on the Russian question, so as to provoke an expression of opinion from the Minister, whose devotion to self-government at home secured the votes of a Radical constituency. It is the talk of the salons that Sir William Molesworth is more Russian, in his unofficial parlance, than M. de Brunow himself. And, by way of a *tour d'esprit*, a man not recommended to official life by his rigid orthodoxy, denounces the Turks, as infidels, to the just reprisals of the Christian Czar. Perhaps Sir William Molesworth may be considered as a representative man of that doctrinaire class of Liberals which an educational suffrage would be likely to increase and multiply in the newly-reformed Parliament.

The Vienna Conference is already distanced by events. Although *La Presse* says that advices from Constantinople to the 12th inst. do not confirm the report of the entrance of the fleets into the Black Sea, we have no reason to doubt that they had entered the Euxine before receiving orders to that effect from home. The instructions given to the Admirals are said to be to the effect that they shall stop all Russian ships found cruising in the Black Sea, and force them to return to Sebastopol, which port they will not be allowed to leave till the conclusion of a treaty of peace. Contrary to the tenor of our letters from Paris, the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* says he has reason to believe that Louis Napoleon has at length resolved on an energetic resistance to Russia, and is making quiet, but effectual preparations for war.

It is stated that Lord Clarendon has disavowed to M. Drouyn de L'Huys the statement of the *Times*, that Admiral Dundas had been hampered by the opposition of General Baraguay d'Hilliers.

An insurrection was apprehended at Lyons on the night of the 20th. A military demonstration, it is pretended, crushed the design. Arrests were made, and the city was undisturbed.

General Hugo, a most distinguished Colonel of the Empire, and uncle of Victor Hugo, has died, at an advanced age, at Tulle. He was neglected by Louis Napoleon, on account of his nephew's (the poet) implacable resistance to the second Empire.

The Baltic arrived at Liverpool yesterday, from New York. The latest date is the 10th. She brought a million dollars on freight. A Treasury report presented to Congress contains the proposed alterations in the tariff, referred to by the President in his Message. The free list is to be enlarged to such an extent, that it will affect the annual revenue to the amount of eight millions of dollars. All

dutiable articles are to be 25 per cent. or 100 per cent. All such articles as are included in the highest duty-bearing list and the free list, are to be specified. Those not so named are to bear an *ad valorem* duty, except, perhaps, the article iron.

### NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received several letters confirming the sanitary advantages of the "Beard Movement."

"An Organologist" will find the subject of his letter (for which we cannot find room) fully considered in our next number.

We are unable to decipher the purpose of Mr. Paul's communication.

Will Mr. Thornbury favour us with his address? It has been mislaid.

There were many serious typographical errors in our last number, especially in the article headed "The Governing Classes," owing to the unavoidable omission of the usual revision in proofs. These errors, however, were, for the most part, too obvious to require correction.

"More Russian Generals," "Ultramontanism in Germany" (concluding article), and other papers, unavoidably omitted this week.

# The Leader.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 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.*

### MINISTERS, RUSSIA, AND OUR COURT.

ALTHOUGH the public does not appear as yet inclined to come forward for the purpose of forcing our dilatory Government to its duty, there is no doubt that a serious uneasiness begins to prevail at the results of that policy; disastrous as those results are to Turkey, and dishonourable to this country. The differences between the courses taken by Russia and by our Government may be said to consist in a difference of tense: while Russian actions are always known in the perfect tense—Russia has struck a new blow,—those of our own Government are in the future tense—it is always *about to do* something decisive. The history of events in the East constitutes a painful accusation against England, which will require some very unforeseen explanation, or some striking act of compensation, to atone for it. In March last the question arose; and, while this country has remained perfectly still, effecting no practical advance, Russia has, month by month, made an onward move. In the meantime our diplomatists have been steadfastly engaged in persuading Turkey not to use that strenuous action which would have been, not only justified, but demanded for her self-defence. After assurances that she would only occupy the Principalities as a material guarantee for the fulfilment of certain treaties, Russia has successively set aside the Government of the Principalities—has impeded the commerce of Europe as well as of Turkey—and has now made an attack upon the Turkish fleet under circumstances which stretch the treachery of war and its ferocity beyond the bounds of civilised license.

A contemporary contrasts the deference which the Porte has shown to commerce with the treatment of Russia, and the contrast is remarkable. In a note to the Baron de Brück, the Austrian ambassador, Redschid Pacha declares that a rumour of rigour on the part of the Turkish Government towards Russian ships was a malignant invention; and he has a right to call it so. How has Turkey treated commerce? She has allowed Russian vessels in Turkish ports fifteen days to clear out, with instructions to the Admiral, in the event of delays, to refer each case to the Turkish

Government for consideration of any unavoidable protraction. The Porte has, moreover, granted to Russian vessels bearing grain for friendly countries in the Black Sea or Mediterranean, a further time of forty-five days, and for vessels to Africa or Europe a further time of three months, to go and return through the Dardanelles. No accusation even has been made of any harsh and vexatious proceedings on the part of Turkey to Russian subjects. How has Russia behaved? Turkish vessels have been required to clear out from the Principalities—Turkish provinces in the unlawful possession of Russia—within forty-eight hours. The whole grain trade of Europe drawn from the Black Sea has been impeded by the malignant and vexatious obstructions of Russia. And in St. Petersburg itself the Russian Government has absolutely refused to give for British vessels any guarantee of safe-conduct, in going or returning by the Baltic, with Russian produce. But the distinction in commerce is not more remarkable than the distinction in war. The Turks have fought as bravely as the Russians by land and by sea. After the battle of Oltenitza, the Turkish gunners held their hand, by command of Omer Pacha, in order that the Russians might bear their wounded and slain off the field. At Sinope the Turks fought against a superior force with a heroism which would have extorted admiration from any noble enemy; but the Russian Admiral Nachimoff pursued carnage to extermination, and stained victory with the basest cruelty.

It is under such circumstances that our Government is still enforcing diplomatic appeals to reason; but *which* of the two does it address? Does it go to the assailant, and bid him to hold his hand while negotiations proceed? Does it remonstrate with the power that commits wanton aggression, vexes commerce, and outrages humanity in a base prosecution of the war? No, it goes to Turkey, who is already reasonable. She has held her hand only too long, and she is urged to hold it longer. She has evinced consideration, even on the battle-field, and she is urged to be more considerate. She has seen her blood sacrificed to the lawless invader, and she is urged to sacrifice more blood!

After Menschikoff's diplomatic invasion, the Four Powers interposed with their conference to arrange the matter peaceably; and then again, on the 5th of December, they assembled at Vienna, for the purpose of "seeking out means of smoothing down the difference which has arisen between the Court of Russia and the Sublime Porte." They repeat the assurances given on several occasions by the Emperor of Russia, "which excludes the idea that that august sovereign entertains any wish to interfere with the integrity of the Ottoman Empire;" and this is said after his acts for seven months had constituted a gross and an increasing interference with "the integrity of the Ottoman Empire!" In December, the Four Powers are still negotiating, and offering "good offices," after Russia has seized the Principalities, undermined the loyalty of Serbia, invaded Turkey in Asia, and committed this butchery at Sinope.

Such is the double course of events in the East, when our Government betrays signs of some serious internal disorder. One of its most important members is suddenly compelled by official representations of the reason—those representations evidently false. We say so, not only because they receive direct contradiction from well-informed sources, but because they are manifestly inconsistent with themselves. The *Times* admitted the existence of a difference in the Eastern question, while denying that it had caused Lord Palmerston's retirement. There has been no difference, it said, on that subject, "of such force" as to occasion the retirement of any Minister. We at once detected the admission conveyed in that phrase. The *Morning Post* observes that from the nature of the case, regarding a Cabinet Minister whose resignation had not yet been announced, this statement of the *Times* must have been derived from an official source; and the *Post* affirms with confidence, "that, from the first, serious differences of opinion with regard to the course to be pursued towards Russia existed between Lord Palmerston and a certain section of the Cabinet, and that the Home Secretary's views of foreign policy were opposed to those of the Premier." There is, however, something more than this confirmation of our doubt. It has been stated, also on official authority, not only that the new Reform Bill was the sole cause of the split—not only that the Russo-



Turkish question was *not* the cause of it—but that Lord Palmerston and his late colleagues remained on the most friendly footing. We do not know what Lord Palmerston says to that assertion, but we believe that it will turn out that this statement is as unfounded as any which have accompanied it. It appears, then, that there has been a serious split in the Cabinet, and that Ministers are studiously attempting to hoodwink and mislead the public on the causes of the rupture.

Certain circumstances tend to increase the uneasiness which this dispute and this studied delusion excite. We are assured, by an organ hitherto well-informed on Lord Palmerston's movements, that he differs from the Oriental policy which has prevailed in the Cabinet, and the effect of which we have described above. Contemporaneously with this dispute in the Cabinet, we see a conspiracy amongst the Bourbon princes to recover the throne of France—a conspiracy against the throne of our chief ally in the East. It is said also, and this is a subject which is necessarily clothed with much mystery, that Lord Palmerston has been opposed, not only by Lord Aberdeen, but by the Court. The Emperor of Austria sanctions, almost with his presence, the conspiracy of the Bourbon princes against the Emperor of the French. The King of the Belgians, who has recently cemented an Austrian alliance, is active in communications with our Court; and hints have been very freely current, and have even found their way into print, that the Ministers who have opposed Lord Palmerston in the Cabinet, have done so to indulge the taste of our Court for promoting dynastic projects and restorations. We are as yet without any substantial evidence which would enable us to convert these hints into direct charges against the responsible Ministers of the Crown; but when we see the course in the Black Sea tends to sacrifice Turkey to Russia—how a dilatory policy tends to sacrifice the French alliance—how it equally tends to sanction the Bourbon conspiracy—how the Minister who is regarded as the least likely to be pliant in the matter of Coburg projects is compelled to leave the Cabinet—and how the causes of his retirement are systematically misrepresented by organs which speak under official inspiration; we are compelled to admit that, although there is no evidence as yet to substantiate a distinct charge against Ministers, there is the evidence of their own acts, their own tendencies, and their own misstatements, to justify the most serious uneasiness.

#### MINISTERS IN THE NEXT SESSION.

HITHERTO the country has been remarkably passive on the subject of Turkey, and it has been more than passive on the subject of the Reform Bill. It is Ministers who have kept up the fire on the Reform, and Russia on the war question. Should the public ultimately be roused, the fault will be due, not to that harmless being itself, but to a Czar who is certainly not harmless, and to a Ministry which might have left the subject of Reform alone. Should Lord John Russell, wooing a second suffrage revolution, incur the censure which Burns passes upon King David, it will be his own fault. The public has borne the provocatives with wonderful patience, but at last it does appear to be excited.

The war question is becoming painful for any Englishmen who remember the old name of their country. Negotiating is all very well,—it is a great modern improvement; but the countrymen of Nelson, Blake, and Jervis, do begin to ask themselves how it is that Russia should attack our ally and *protégé*, almost within gunshot of the English fleet, and how our fleet, nevertheless, should await the dilatory "instructions" of diplomatists. The English mind is not yet so cultivated as to solve this problem instinctively; and the meeting at Newcastle is, perhaps, the first glimpse of genuine English feeling that we have had. It was very numerously attended; all parties were represented. While the working classes naturally constituted the most numerous section of an open public meeting, the middle classes were not absent; and we believe that all gentlemen of any consequence in the neighbourhood were on the platform. Some had proved the interest which they took by arriving half-an-hour before the time in order to secure their seats. The resolutions, calling upon Government to act, were certainly moderate enough, but, at the same time, full of stout English feeling. Now, this feeling is beginning to be awakened; the lawlessness and brutality of Russia have been admitted; the jus-

tice and moderation of Turkey are equally confessed; the duty of England to protect an ally and the law of nations are acknowledged; how, under such circumstances, Russia should be free to cut up Turkey and massacre the Turks in the presence of an English fleet, Ministers, perhaps, will be able to explain on the opening of Parliament.

They will then also, of course, explain how the promised Reform Bill stands. The public will expect that it shall at least equal Lord John Russell's "Parliamentary Representation Bill." It is true that there has been no demand for Reform; but the intellectual friends of Reform say that it is desirable to anticipate popular clamour, and to arrange the question in a quiet way while the public mind is tranquil. Decidedly a just idea; but how will the public like to be awakened from its slumber, to receive the promised boon of a Reform Bill, announced with a flourish of trumpets, and rise from repose only to welcome an abortion? Better let the public sleep than that.

We have our apprehensions. The fate of this Reform Bill, in connexion with the Eastern question, appears to be curious. There is no statement that Lord John Russell abandoned his position, but we heard, a week or two back, that Lord Palmerston had succeeded in clipping Lord John Russell's proposition very seriously. The general tendency of the Ministerial organs indicates that the basis of the franchise is not to be extended below the ten-pound scale. The grand *coup* is to consist in the disfranchisement of certain boroughs, whose representatives are to be given to great towns, or, in some cases, to county constituencies. In short, it is only to be a redistribution, with some new checks against corruption, we suppose; but this is not the Reform Bill that will satisfy the public. Although Lord Palmerston has taken exception to particular points in the Bill, he has succeeded in cutting down the dimensions of Lord John's design. The result is, that Ministers are in a strange perplexity: although Lord Palmerston leaves the Cabinet because the Eastern policy is too puny, he has succeeded in crippling their Reform Bill, and obliging them to adopt his own puny standard. Thus we have an Eastern policy measured by the Aberdeen standard, which is puny; and a Reform measured by the Palmerston standard, which is also puny.

We do not, of course, venture to assert, that Ministers will meet Parliament in what Sir Frederick Trench would call that mutilated and degraded condition; but the manful way in which he stood by his candles, is not to be expected on subjects like Europe and Turkey. It is to be doubted whether Ministers will be able to struggle out of the nightmare of littleness which is fastened upon them no less by their resident Premier, than by their departed Home Secretary.

But should they have only irritated the country on the subject of Reform; should they have acknowledged a duty in the East only to betray it; the public, though long dormant, will at last rise to demand that its recreant servants be driven from their place, and abler men called to do the work. The feelings aroused in Englishmen cannot be better expressed than in the letter which we received from an esteemed correspondent, Mr. George Crawshaw, one of the leading men at Newcastle and its meeting.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

Gateshead Iron Works, Gateshead-upon-Tyne,  
Dec. 20th, 1853.

"SIR,—To say the least, it is highly probable that the nation may shortly have to choose between a Government with a Reform Bill, but without an upright foreign policy, and a Government with an upright foreign policy, but without a Reform Bill. It can do no harm to consider what in such a case should be done. Until Parliament meets, we cannot learn the facts which we must know to enable us to decide whether we will follow Palmerston or Lord John; but I have not a moment's hesitation in saying that at the present time every other question is subordinate to that of our foreign policy. When the Reform Bill appears, I doubt not but it will be easy enough to excite the contempt of the democratic party in England towards it; but I will not anticipate its provisions or what its value may prove to be to the cause of liberty. I will stoop to no arts. I prefer to express my conviction plainly, that any Government proposing any Reform Bill, however liberal, and leaving us in any doubt as to the uprightness of its foreign policy, ought to be driven from office without delay. The paramount duty of the democratic party in England is to oppose Russia, and bitterly will they lament the day when they suffer themselves to be diverted from this by any consideration whatever. Reform our institutions as we may, if Russian influence is suffered to prevail on the continent—if Turkey is betrayed—we shall soon have to choose at home between enslavement and revolution.

"Anything more reckless, anything more desperate than such a course, I cannot possibly conceive.

"Such an endless train of calamities do I see attending upon it, that I deliberately say that any Government not announcing a foreign policy satisfactory to the nation should not be even listened to on any other subject.

"I will go further. I do not think it wise to introduce any measure for Parliamentary reform at all until the question of war or peace with Russia is definitively decided. Any measure worth a moment's consideration will have to be carried in spite of the House of Lords and at the cost of a domestic struggle. To enter upon such a struggle whilst we are undecided as to our foreign policy, would be a mistake of the first magnitude. Public attention being diverted from foreign affairs, Russia will gain her ends, and will be in the ascendant long before our Reform Bill can be carried in both Houses; and then—we shall get just such a Reform Bill as we shall deserve.

"If it should turn out that Lord Palmerston opposes Parliamentary reform at present for any such reasons as these, it will be only a reason for believing in the sincerity of whatever conviction he may express as to our foreign policy on the meeting of Parliament.—Yours, &c.,

GEORGE CRAWSHAW."

#### PERSIA AS AN ALLY OF RUSSIA.

REPORTS which reach this country by various channels, and which therefore appear the more trustworthy, state that Persia has declared war against England. The shark might almost as well declare war against the eagle; for, a bird in a sea of deserts, Persia can make but a feeble approach towards England. The most she can do is to subserve the treacheries of Russia, with whom we shall have to deal in a direct way. But, absurd as it is, the declaration of war on the part of Persia does not surprise us, nor is it without significance. There have before been differences with the Court at Tehran, and there have also been friendly relations. During the protracted war which the Persian Government carried on against the rebellious province of Khorassan, by an army under Abbas Mirza, brother of the late Shah, an English officer served with that prince; whom we remember previously as the companion of Sir John Malcolm, and who astonished that accomplished officer by the audacity of his riding. The Englishman who accompanied Abbas Mirza to Khorassan was named Vernon, and was the last of the English officers deputed to assist in the drill and improvements of the Persian army. Wearied out by the insolent inattention of the officers placed under his tuition, and by the impossibility of getting his money, this gentleman came away from Persia about the year 1849.

He had a successor; and that successor is rather a remarkable man. It was Count Karaczay, a Colonel in the Austrian army. This officer was formerly employed as Commandant de la Place at Mantua. The Commandant de la Place is charged with the duties that pertain to the keeping of the fortress, town, town-gates, keys, jails, police, &c. For some reason, to us unknown, the Count excited the displeasure of his Government; and from the language employed, we are inclined to suppose that he was suspected of a leaning towards the patriotic party; the more probably, since he is by birth an Hungarian. From the sequel, however, it is to be supposed that he confessed his fault, and was pardoned; and the circumstances may account for his having been deputed to a distant mission. He is a very agreeable man, about sixty years of age, an excellent officer, well acquainted especially with the scene of war in the East, and author of the best existing map of the district of Montenegro and Herzegovine. He was sent out about two years ago, with a staff of Austrian officers to Tehran, to renew the services relinquished by the Englishman, Vernon. Persia, therefore, has received into the staff of her army an Austrian infusion, and she is now openly subserving the treacherous advances of Russia.

#### UGHT MAJORITIES IN ALL CASES TO BE OMNIPOTENT?

In a letter, under this heading, published in the Open Council of last week, "Rusticus" proposed for our consideration a problem which we said was of practical interest and constant difficulty. The case, as stated by "Rusticus," is this: "A reading-room or Athenæum for 'the intellectual and moral improvement of its members,' by reading and lectures, has just been formed in a town of a population of about 2800. Books are to be bought for circulation among its members, but the rule for the selection of them has not yet been framed, a minority being of opinion that each member ought to be at liberty to put in one volume in turn, if not above a certain price, thereby se-

curing a fair representation of views in morals, politics, or theology." The proposal of the minority, it is expected, will meet with virulent opposition, and "Rusticus" requests us to discuss it, and to state what, if anything, can be said against it.

The question is a practical one, and must receive a practical solution. Their proposal is fair enough in a commercial point of view. Minorities also, as "Rusticus" observes, have (theoretically) their rights; but practically they do not get them, and their great privilege is to strive to become the majority. When men associate they must compromise, they must yield individual claims, and prefer the ends of their association. That end alone they must not compromise. The purpose of the society in question is the intellectual and moral improvement of its members. This should be kept steadily in view in the formation of their library. They must consider what sort of library will best answer their purpose, not what will best represent the views of individual members. A good general library is what is wanted; and such a library will fairly represent all views, those of the members as well as others unknown to them. In the first place, it should include all standard works, and, in the next, all important works of reference; or (if the funds at the disposal of the society fall short of providing all such, then) the most important standard works on all subjects; and a committee will be best able to determine which these are. How, supposing the proposal of the minority adopted, are such works to be provided? One may have a favourite author, another, another; but it does not follow that in course of time all the best authors will be selected! Besides, there is too general a tendency, under such an arrangement (which we have seen in operation) to introduce books on special subjects—of interest only to the members who order them. A doctor orders the work on medicine which he should have purchased for his own use; the clergyman orders a commentary; and the curate a book of sermons; while Mrs. — insists on the interesting new work on crotchet! Now, if a member wants a book or books on *shop* subjects, he should buy it or them for himself. It is plain that by the plan proposed by the minority the end of the association might be defeated.

So far we differ from "Rusticus," that we recommend the appointment of a committee to superintend the formation of the library. But let its members be well selected. The committee should contain one representative, at least, of every class in the association; if possible, the most intelligent of his class, and there rarely is a difficulty in deciding who he is. Towards the object which "Rusticus" appears to have especially in view, we would recommend that the committee be obliged to place on the library shelves any book agreed upon by a certain number (to be determined) of the members, and that the number be small in proportion to the whole society. By this means, a book for which there is a class of readers provided will always be certain of introduction. With this proviso, and care in the selection of the committee, difficulties should be partially removed from the harmonious association of men of different creeds either in politics or religion.

As for the bigoted intolerance complained of by "Rusticus," we have not overlooked it, and are sorry to say that there are few places in which it is not to be found. In small country towns it must be particularly irritating. When a book is forbidden because of the opinions it contains, there is danger of a split in the camp. It is curious enough that our parsons erect themselves into popes within the limits of their parishes, and undertake to determine what their flocks shall read and what they shall not read. No doubt they do so in pursuit of that grand end—self-interest; and have a peculiar pleasure in standing sentinel over the forbidden fruit of knowledge. They denounce the Pope because he forbids inquiry, and especially because he prohibits the reading of the *Word*. In their turn they damn other *Words*, forbidding their flocks to read them under penalty of eternal death, and are too stupid as a rule to be struck by the inconsistency of their conduct. We do not expect that any library, formed under such auspices, will fairly represent the views of the people.

In a case which came under our own observation, a mechanics' institute having got into financial difficulties, an appeal was made to the clergyman, among others, for assistance; which he refused, on the grounds that the mechanics' library contained the works of Channing and

Emerson, both of whom he classed with infidel writers! Having intimated his intention to erect a Christian Young Men's Association on the ruins of the institute, the efforts of its friends were redoubled, and its finances repaired, not only without his assistance, but in spite of his intervention. It was found, on inquiry, that he had read neither of the works to which he objected, on the principle that one should not taste poison to ascertain its injurious properties. It is useless to remark on the deplorable ignorance which classed Channing with infidels, or the still more deplorable weakness which induced this clergyman to arrest the progress of his mind by abstaining from whatever did not go to back up his own dearly-loved prejudices, or to contract his already narrow views. "Try all things; hold fast that which is good," was a maxim worthy of the Christian gentleman and philosopher who used it. "Try nothing; and hold fast what I tell you," is the unphilosophic version of the apostolic maxim now in use with the majority of parsons.

#### THE PROTESTANT TURRETS IN ITALY.

THE traveller entering Turin by the Via del Rè, one of the newest and handsomest streets in a capital whose approaches are amongst the finest of Europe, would lift his eyes at the sight of a building which he had never seen before—a tall church, in the old Lombard style, with turrets and pinnacles rising against the open sky. Churches are not uncommon sights in Italy, nor is it unusual to see a concourse gathering to the edifice; and the traveller would enter without any feelings of astonishment. But what would be his surprise to mark the absence of the costume with which he is familiar in that theatre, and to hear from the pulpit the doctrines, not of Popery, but of Protestantism! Where is he? Amongst whom does he stand?

He stands in a Protestant congregation. The people around him are the Valdesi or Waldenses, that Protestant race who so early adopted the doctrines of the Reformation. Although proscribed, persecuted, and put to the sword, long years have they undergone their tribulation faithfully. Recently the English Government and people had extended to them a faint sympathy. An English divine wrote a book about them, and was rewarded with a prebendal stall in Durham Cathedral. An English gentleman, General Beckwith, has generously given money for their congregational and scholastic institutions; but the hand of Popery remained heavy upon them, and they were still a proscribed sect.

In the meanwhile changes have taken place in Italy; 1848 has not been quite in vain. King Charles Albert once more conceived the idea of introducing constitutional freedom into his patrimonial kingdom; and although, as it had done before, his saturnine temperament vacillated; although the uncompleted effort cost him his life, and his dying ears listened in exile to reproaches more strongly expressed than praises, his heart is still in his country, and his son has carried on his mission. Our Government, after many earnest despatches rebuking Austria, after inciting the Duke of Genoa to accept the crown of Sicily, left Sicily and Sardinia to their fate. There have been conflicting councils in Turin, disaffections in Genoa, uncertainty of purpose in the very Ministry, and intrigues against Victor Emanuel, which Austria levelled at him from Milan, and the Pope could introduce into the churches of Turin itself. Still, sustained by the great body of the public in Piedmont, the Government has stood firm to constitutional freedom; and the ceremony which was performed in that new church on the 15th of this month marked the crowning triumph for the course on which the King, Government, and people of Piedmont have taken their march. No longer proscribed, the Waldenses are taken by the hand and admitted to equality of citizenship and religious freedom. The representatives of Prussia and England assisted at the ceremony; the newly-elected Deputy of the Valdesi was one of the congregation; and the congregation, under their pastors, put forth, in the capital of the Catholic King, the Protestant prayer of a common Christianity, beseeching safety and stability for a state which has secured to its people these great immunities.

And this was on Italian soil. Much has been made by Protestants of proselytes here and there. A courier and his wife were the objects of welcome and rejoicing; but how much more rejoicing is

demanding by this event! A great tract of ground is secured, on which Protestant and Catholic may freely tread with equal step. Nor is it only a gain to the Waldenses or to Protestantism; in granting what he has, King Victor Emanuel has not only vouchsafed a boon from his own bounty, but he has braved the enemies who before sought to undermine his power. They will now have greater reason than ever to hate the constitutional Sovereign who has established on Italian soil an exemplar and model of constitutional and religious freedom. To raze the church which lifts its turrets to the sky, and proclaims to all Italy, from the Alps to the Bay of Naples, immunity for Protestant doctrine—to raze that church, Pope and Emperor, Grand Duke and Priest, will have a new impulse to pull down the crown and the constitution that guard the church. The Protestant Alliance was not long since importuning Lord Clarendon to secure immunity for the fellow-proselytes of the Madiari, still languishing under Tuscan proscription; some would have made Miss Cunningham the Helen of a Protestant crusade; but here is a kingdom spontaneously establishing itself as the constitutional stronghold of political and religious freedom in Italy—braving by the act the enmity of ancient and powerful adversaries; and surely claiming, far more than any precarious proselytism, the political support of an ally like England.

#### "SCOTS WHA HAE WI' WALLACE BLED."

If Scotland would only be equal to herself, she would not have any occasion to complain of being put upon by England. The allegation which Lord Eglinton makes on behalf of his beloved country, and amid acclamations of his beloved countrymen, from platforms in Edinburgh and Glasgow, is, that Scotland is slighted by the Government, does not have its due share in the *personnel* of office, does not occupy its right place in the "achievement" of the royal arms, lacks a floor to its Holyrood Palace, and a roof to its Glasgow Post-office; and, in short, is neglected and despised by the very Government to whom it furnishes a Premier. According to this statement by the Lord of the Tournament, the Thistle, which so boldly declares "Nemo me impune lacessit"—"no one unscathed shall hurt me"—is quite accustomed to be gnawed by every English jackass, and is kicked even by its own native ass, when that animal is promoted to some English capacity.

It is to no purpose that English writers answer Lord Eglinton and his coadjutors out of their own mouths. Professor Aytoun, for instance, complains that Scotland has no Secretary of State, but only a Lord Advocate, and stultifies his complaint by the admission that the Scottish Lords Advocate have been distinguished for zeal and ability, only they have the Lordly instead of the Secretarial title. You refute yourselves, cries the *Times*. Still we do not see the force of the retort. If Scotland wishes its Lord Advocate to be called Secretary of State, and cannot obtain even that trifling boon, the great nation of the North is humbled; and no representation that its demand is trifling, can have any effect but to aggravate the humiliation. It is true that the national palace has been cursed with a floor so unstable that the public could not come into look at the Peers at the last election of a representative, for fear of falling through; while Hampton Court rejoices in a flooring as stable as it is ornamental, and every week sustains the public thronging to look at the pictures. It is true that St. Martin's-le-Grand has a Post-office which vies with the Parthenon, and that Glasgow still complains of a post exposed to the pelting of the pitiless storm. And if Holyrood cannot obtain a roof, nor Glasgow a floor, the privation is not disproved by showing that the claim is small.

Still, as success is the test of merit, so helplessness is the proof of demerit; and one naturally asks how it is that Scotland, which can boast of such great achievements, cannot get a floor to its palace, a roof to its post-office, or a secretarial title to its Minister? Is it because Scotland is behind Scotchmen? It is rather remarkable to contrast the boasts Scotchmen put forth for their own countrymen with the way in which they adopt the teaching of those countrymen. "We glory," says Lord Eglinton—

"We glory in the triumphs of a Marlborough, a Nelson, and a Wellington; but are we not to look with pride to the achievements of a Wallace and a Bruce? (Great applause.) We read with delight the works of Byron, Wordsworth, Dickens, and Bulwer, but can we not claim as specially our



own a Scott and a Burns? (Cheers.) We admire the pages of Gibbon; but may we not hail with even more delight the works of Hume, Robertson, Alison, and Macaulay? (Renewed cheers.) We admire the works of Lawrence and Reynolds, but we claim as our own a Wilkie, a Grant, and a Swinton."

If Scotland is obliged to go a great way back to counterbalance a Wellington by a Wallace, we know well enough that she can find a Napier and an Abercrombie in our own day; but then we find these gallant Scotchmen exercising their prowess upon other fields; not content to renew achievements on Bannockburn, nor returning to haunt the glens of their native highlands. Lord Eglinton's countrymen delight in Hume and Macaulay,—those thoroughly *English* writers; but how is it that they borrow their historical philosophy from Alison rather than Macaulay, and behave as if they dreaded the liberal humanities of Macaulay scarcely less than the scepticism of Hume? They especially claim as their own Robert Burns; but do they thoroughly take to their heart the hearty democratic manliness of the poet, who says that "the rank is but the guinea stamp?" Do they accept the broad Church of the songster, who was such an Universalist that he even hoped Old Nick would "take a thought an' men'?" Do they enter into the thorough enjoyment of the Epicurean philosopher, who declared that "Church and State might go to—" another place, rather than interfere with his assignation? Or do they, out of the works of Robert Burns, take only what the exciseman might have written, and what the Kirk Session might sanction with its imprimatur? Perhaps if Scotchmen had permitted to their country a little more verisimilitude, in claiming to be the birth-place of Burns—had taken less pains to cover the land with the darkness and desolation of Knox's asceticism—they might not have driven high Scotch influences to freer climes and a happier metropolis, and would not have had to complain that, though meritorious, they are neglected.

A Scotch judge has just declared that there is no law which obliges Scotchmen to stop at home on Sundays, or to go abroad only as if the whole nation were marching to the funeral of its happiness. The announcement has come like a clap of thunder upon a people which did not know its own freedom; and perhaps if Scotchmen can muster courage to use that freedom, they may render residence amongst them tolerable, and may produce that fusion of English and Scotch society which would give them what they want, more than any titular concessions to the Lord Advocate, or pecuniary concessions to palace and post-office.

## THE GOVERNING CLASSES.

No. XV.

### LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

THERE are painful difficulties in the way of any man who attempts, in order to illustrate a system, to sketch the portraits of contemporaries. If you praise, you are suspected of flattery; and if you sneer, you are supposed to be guilty of the partiality of a political opponent, or of the impartiality of a private enemy. But there is this excuse for painting your contemporaries—you paint men who have sat to you. It is a cant to conclude that you can draw accurately the features of those only whom you see at a vast distance, and to extol the impartiality of posterity. The impartiality of posterity is the impartiality of those who are uninterested in the verdict—of judges who notice facts, and not feelings, and therefore never see the facts from the right point of view. And, at least, it is good that contemporaries should mention their opinions of one another, or how would posterity obtain material for arbitration? Those who have laudations to offer do not hesitate in presenting them; and would it not be an injury to posterity, if those who do not coincide in the praise, were to withhold their criticisms? Certainly, whatever the disadvantages or the improprieties of the system, we find that no scruples of delicacy restrain either sycophancy or indignation; and it is a mistake to suppose that in the gallery of the "Governing Classes" the writer has done anything unusual. We live in an age when it is decorous to refer to a spade merely as a garden implement; but cautious criticism is not the characteristic of a free country, and we see bold exceptions tolerably applauded. It is to be observed, too, that there is no decay in the exercise of our immemorial privilege of political insolence. Rather, indeed, a salutary im-

provement. Fox was more severe on North than Junius on Grafton. There is nothing Fox said of North so severe as Canning said of Ogden, or Brougham of Canning. And there is nothing in our Parliamentary history comparable, for vehement impertinence, to Disraeli's 1846 assaults on Peel. And nothing Mr. Disraeli said of Sir Robert Peel was so severe as genteel Tory organs say, daily and weekly, of the present Prime Minister. The justifications for this free speech are ample. We are ruled by an oligarchy; and during a recess, when representative institutions are taking rest, we don't know what is going on; but at least we possess the glorious right of freemen, to suggest Tower-hill for Peers who won't let us, a self-governed people, into the secrets of the State.

It is a painful thing to approach a deliberate comment on the career of Lord John Russell. Not only for the ordinary reason, that you tread upon ashes underneath which the fire has not yet been extinguished, but for the special reason that, if he has disappointed a nation's hopes, it may be because the nation never had a logical basis for its belief in him. There is also a present reason for delicacy in reference to him. He—"as a Minister of State, is renowned for ruining Great Britain gratis;" he is taking care of the Constitution without a salary, which is very good of him, and to a great extent disarms those public writers who are entitled to bully the moment the victim takes public money. But there are precedents for abusing Lord John Russell. His best friends have been all their lives ridiculing him; and there is good ground for surmising that he does not mind it. He prints, himself, Moore's remark on his great fault—his irresolution and vacillation; and in his new preface to the sixth volume of the Moore publication—a preface which, for its utter inconsequence and malappropriateness, suggests doubts of the writer's sanity—he interjects an *éloge* on that Sydney Smith (whose principal joke, in Lord John's estimation, was jumping over the prostrate Sir James Mackintosh and exclaiming "*Ruat Justitia!*") whomade such cruel *mots* on Lord John that the Tories are for ever quoting them. Either from great magnanimity or great conceit, he is indifferent to what the world says of him; and that is a great encouragement to historical students when engaged in the dissection of so distinguished a man. How the world could ever be in doubts about his character, after the evidence of those who knew and know him best, is very suprising. It is not suprising that he should undertake the government of the State, seeing that we have the assurance of a high authority, who knew him intimately, that he was the sort of man who would undertake the command of the Channel fleet, or an operation for the stone. But it is suprising that we should always have been expecting great measures from a man who, we were informed, is "squirrel-minded," and "made up of well-regulated party feeling." It is astonishing that we should be disappointed in a son of a duke, the chosen leader of the great Whig families, not turning out as decided a democrat as we would have desired. It is marvellous that we should be disgusted because a feeble nature and a cold temperament never took to enthusiastic Liberalism and ardent Radicalism. It is wonderful that we should be angry because a man of scholarly taste, and refined tendencies, and cultivated piety, would never sympathise with the political school which has no traditions, civil or religious, and no etiquette, and which would govern in a vulgar way. When the Sandwich Islanders burnt the ship's figure-head, which they had set up as a god, because the figure-head did not oblige the islanders by keeping off a storm, as requested, great injustice was done to the Gosport carpenter who originally, very innocently, carved the statue. Is it Lord John's fault that he is only wood,—and not a divinity? When he was put up by the old Whigs, to propose the Reform Bills of 1830-2, his simple object—clever young man—was to pass such a measure as would enable the Whigs to keep in for ever. But the country insisted that he was a young Republican, of unheard-of patriotism and purity; and ever since the country has been debating him, because, after all, he was found to be a mere Whig. Lord John Russell is, in fact, in character and morality, only an average member of the governing classes; a little cleverer

than any of the others, and therefore in a first place. Of course, it is rather wrong that he should have deluded a great people with his Reform Bill, and that he should continue to govern, indifferent, or inactive, in the midst of English social horrors and English political shams; but a people is generally responsible for its own position. A Whig party is, doubtless, a real political swindle; but a Whig party could only exist among a base and barbarous people. But that this remarkably enlightened nation is so attached to Peers, the Peers would be better persons than they are. If a Marquis of Exeter returns Members for Stamford, it is not because his Lordship is a villain, but because the inhabitants of Stamford are cowards and rogues. And Great Britain is the Stamford of the British aristocracy.

There would be nothing to say against Lord John, were it not that the Whigs are for ever proclaiming that he is a man of genius. Unfortunately, he has written himself down. Had he been content with politics, he would have lived and died with as high a reputation as Charles Fox (who carefully wrote little), or as Lord Derby, who, more carefully, never wrote anything. But he possessed a taste for reading, and would write; and what he has written, though, like his more important speeches, it suggests and indicates a capacity superior to the clerks and administrators of his caste, must be pronounced, on the whole, the emanations of a mediocre mind. The Whigs say, that the man who wins the leadership of the House of Commons must be a great man. There is no ground for that conclusion. The House of Commons is an assembly where prominence is obtained by those who devote themselves to it; who work for it, and obtain the "knack" of the place—the knack of statesmanship, or the simulation of statesmanship, being obtained by a certain class of not necessarily brilliant intellect with the same facility as the knack of special pleading, of journalism, or of actuaries. And, strangely enough, the House of Commons [both sides] has generally been led by notoriously inferior men. Walpole was not a first class intellect; and certainly Pulteney was not. The first Lord Holland was not a first-rate man; nor was Lord North. What clever leader have the Whigs had since their idol, Fox, who, we may assume, was as able as Lord Derby? Tierney left no impression upon history. Lord Althorpe was decidedly dull. Why, then, take for granted that Lord John is a great man, because he got a position, obtained perhaps, by a technical cleverness, and the accident of birth? The most successful "leader" the House of Commons ever possessed was Sir Robert Peel, both as Opposition chief and as Minister; and yet a comparison between Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell would be favourable to the latter. Lord John is hardly so able a man as Tierney was, but he has had this advantage—which accounts for most of the mistakes about him—over Tierney: that Tierney died before the Whigs got in; and that Lord John has had his name connected, not only with great debates, but with great measures. Lord John, at this moment, does not at all occupy the first place in the House of Commons. His defects when pitted against Mr. Disraeli are conspicuous; and a comparison with Mr. Gladstone would be disastrous to him. He has a rarer capacity, and a more philosophic intellect, than Lord Palmerston; he has a higher character than Sir James Graham; he is immeasurably superior to the Sir John Pakington species of member; and he has the advantage of the Cobdens and Brights in knowledge of, and sympathy with, the House. In contrast and comparison with these and their class he shines, and is generally supposed to be a very able man—particularly when he speaks from the right hand of Mr. Speaker, for then there is always a corps on duty to cheer him. But an accurate, uninfluenced observer can only come to the conclusion that Lord John is, as Mr. Moore said, "always mild and sensible"—nothing more. A perfect gentleman, and an accomplished man, with a pleasant style, which is distinctive, and not mere Parliamentary slang, like Graham's or Pakington's, he gained the affection of his party and the good will of the House—a not very difficult feat, since he could always command attention as the confidential mouthpiece of the great Whig families, and often could command attention as the Minister of the

Crown. During the last two or three years, Lord John has perhaps hardly been equal to his position; and evidences of his failing strength and confidence are too clear. But, in forming an opinion of him, we must remember the Lord John of 1830 as well as the Lord John of the Durham Letter, the Militia Bill, and the Villiers' motion. When he was writing to Mr. Attwood, of Birmingham, approving of the intention of that gentleman, and other members of the Union, not to pay taxes till the Reform Bill was passed, and suggesting that the "whisper of a faction" (viz., a large majority of the House of Lords, the Crown, and the Church) could not prevail against the "voice of a nation" (which abolished old Sarum and left Stamford), he must have been a magnificent young fellow, quite prepared for being Mirabeau, if there was to be a revolution. He was still a splendid and vigorous party leader when he backed out of the appropriation clause, and when he made the sudden discovery, one recess, that the Corn Laws were a cheat upon the people. We cannot forget these things. Sculptors and painters, in arranging to hand down heroes to posterity on canvas or in marble, do not depict the decaying hero—grey hairs and the palsy, but take the countenance and the costume of lusty manhood. When we think of Napoleon, we think of the man of Marengo, not of the man of St. Helena; and we must remember, in considering Lord John Russell, the hero of the Reform Bill—not the martyr of the Durham Letter. We have also to bear in mind that there is to be another Reform Bill, and that the heroic may then re-appear.

As a statesman, Lord John Russell is to be regarded under two aspects; and we have to inquire, first, what has he done for his country? and next, what has he done for his party? The answer is that he has passed his life in leading his country into quandaries; and that he has finally landed his party in a *cul-de-sac*—a coalition. Tested, in the first place, by what he has done on reform, this is so far only apparent that his work of '32 has to be done over again in '54, not because of the multiplication of population, redistribution of property, or increase of intelligence, but because the Bill of '32 failed in all that it pretended to do—being a sham in Schedule A, and a still greater sham in Schedule B, while the aggregate representation of the nation remains as completely delusive as in the days of Walpole. That Lord John has to reproduce himself in 1854 is discreditable; but what is most discreditable, is that the necessity of the reproduction having been seen in the general election which brought Sir Robert Peel into the Premiership, Lord John has so long delayed an inevitable work, more particularly as the delay destroyed the Whig party. For his mismanagement of Reform he has no excuses. He studied the question, to the exclusion of nearly every other question, from 1821 to 1831, having over and over again, in the interval, proposed various "cobbles," as Cobbett called them; and when he was selected by Lord Grey's Cabinet, of which he was not a member, to arrange and propose the great Bill, he, whatever the ignorant errors of the Parliament and the people, could not but have been thoroughly aware of the exact nature of what he was doing. For party purposes he hoaxed a great nation, confidingly worshipping its possible Astyanax; and though party purposes—if he could only have perceived them before it was too late—have since perpetually provoked a new hoax, and though, from irresolution and feebleness, he has never seized the opportunity, yet is he not to be forgiven. It has been more than a crime in him to distrust England—it has been a stupidity. Something near universal suffrage could have been safely conceded in 1832. The people worshipped the King and adored the Whig Peers, to the detriment of democrats like Orator Hunt; and all that Lord John Russell did was to answer a demand for a revolution by creating about half a million additional votes, 250,000 of which were certainly left as votes at the disposal of great lords and landowners. Again, when Queen Victoria ascended the throne, the nation was fully entitled to a new charter, and, in passive loyalty and humble love of lords, was quite worthy of confidence; and still Lord John Russell left the people unrepresented,—and so cleverly played the game of the Tories. At this mo-

ment the state of the representation of Great Britain is a mighty scandal in Europe; and still Lord John will adhere to a petty "cobble,"—acquiescently creating sufficient capital for the Peelites Tories, but creating none at all for himself and his party. And all this maladroitness is the result either of gross ignorance of the character of the English people, or of criminal intention to continue the reign of a stupid oligarchy and a rotten system; and, in either case, Lord John Russell is deserving of contempt,—as a simpleton, or as a conspirator. It is unjust, however, to judge him for one lache; and if we examine his career continuously, we shall find reason to suspect that he is not grandly criminal enough ever to have had a plan. Inheriting "Whig principles," he has talked them eternally, and they have sounded very well; and no doubt he has carried them out: but the only uniform result they appear to produce is confusion. Since the Reform Bill there have been three difficulties for the English Government—Finance, the Colonies, Foreign Policy; and, in each direction, Lord John, with the aid of his friends, has admirably broken down. In Finance, Lord Melbourne's Government succeeded so far, that it left power in 1841, ten years after a Whig Reform Bill, because it was yearly adding a deficit of a million. Whig principles, which were, in finance, founded on Adam Smith's, should have suggested a repeal of the Corn Laws. But the Whigs were Protectionists up to 1846, then became Free-traders merely because a party manoeuvre (which failed) required it, and to this day shake their heads, and say, "Pity the Tories wouldn't take our 8s. fixed duty in '46." And their Chancellor of the Exchequer, who succeeded Baring, was more disastrous even than Baring; though yearly, consequent upon the arrangements established by Sir Robert Peel, he had a surplus, and not a deficit, to deal with. Sir Charles Wood had no system, and none of his budgets grew out of the preceding ones; and if there are sound principles of finance now fixed in the public mind and in the public accounts, we are indebted to Sir Robert Peel and his Conservative pupil, Mr. Gladstone. And for the failures of Whig Finance, Lord John is accountable; or, if his friends maintain he was above finance, then, manifestly, he was below his office. For the Colonial system of the Whigs, he is fully as responsible as Lord Grey, and clearly, in the colonies, Whig principles led to general insurrection—in Canada, at the Cape, in the Australias, in the Ionian Isles. In India the Whigs never succeeded; and during all their rule they never sent a first-rate man or a first-rate measure there, the Bill of last session which Whigs drew up being in the old Whig way—a complicated, temporary cobble. Then, in Foreign Policy, Whig principles have led to the Russianising of Europe. One or two other questions have presented themselves during Whig rule for adjustment, and have been dismally dealt with. For instance, the question of Religion and the question of Education. Whig principles, which could permit the encampment of an Alien Church in Ireland, and the maintenance of church-rates leviable on Dissenters in England, have led to an Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, a dead letter as a statute, but a living insult as a protest; and the solitary justification of which, as urged by Lord John Russell, was, that it was a measure rendered necessary by a continental conspiracy against England; this conspiracy being, of course, the consequence of Whig foreign policy. Whig principles have served but slightly to promote the cause of education. A revenue of a million and a half has been obtained by the taxation of the press—an odd feature in a Whig civil and religious system—and not one-half that revenue has been proffered by the Whigs in aid of national education. Shortcomings, such as these, are attributable to the deficient character of the leader and chief of the party—to his want of grasp and to lack of courage. Weakness, contagious in a party, was to be seen always in Whig manipulation of departments. They never did anything well—they never did anything thoroughly. The most striking illustration of their style of business was their mismanagement of the navy—of the defences. It took the Duke of Wellington ten years to talk them into a militia which, in the end, was so ludicrous an abortion, that they had to go out on it; and there can be very little

doubt that if a general war, as was a probability, had broken out in 1847-1850, the English navy would have been beaten by the French navy.

Lord [John's crime to his party is identical with his crime to the country; for, as he governed badly, feebly, and foolishly, he destroyed the reputation of the Whigs, and sank them in their competition with the Tories. The Whigs have disappeared in the coalition; but they entered the coalition simply, because they could not stand alone. To maintain an appearance of equality with the Tories in the Cabinet, the two leading Whigs, Lord Lansdowne and Lord John Russell, occupy seats without holding offices; and Lord John is supposed to sustain his position by not taking a subordinate post under Lord Aberdeen; and, in pursuance of this petty policy, Lord John has now refused to resign his nominal rank, taking the Home-office, which Lord Aberdeen astutely offered him. But the country does not comprehend these refinements, and does not forget recent Whig history. The confusion of party politics compelled by Sir Robert Peel's Free-trade conversion, forced an endurance of the Whig Ministry of 1846-1850; but it was, undoubtedly, one of the most unpopular Ministries which ever held power in England. England, in that time, was governed not merely by an oligarchy, but by one family—the clan of Russells, Elliots, and Greys; and as this offensive nepotism was not redeemed by any display of intellect or energy, either in general policy, or in particular departments, the national loathing was indulged without disguise. Without national support, without a policy of any sort, and pressed in the House by Mr. Disraeli, who, in four years organised an Opposition more formidable than that organised by Sir Robert Peel between 1832 and 1841, this Whig "family party" could not stand—and fell, out of utter rottenness, impotence, and idiocy, amid the rejoicings of the country, which even preferred Lord Derby, and amid the contempt of mankind.

In the extremity of his bewilderment and despair, Lord John Russell, in a party perplexity, has attempted to play over again the game of 1832; and, with a Reform Bill, now seeks to revivify a dying faction. But there are two obstacles in his path likely to defeat his scheme. There are two classes who have found out the trick—the country and the Tories. If the country be again induced to believe that an oligarchy can be desirous of enfranchising a people, the country will deserve an eternity of Russells and Greys. If the Tories be induced to believe that there is danger to property or religion, by abolishing the Stamfords and making boroughs of the Burnleys and Birkenheads, the Tories will deserve the degradation which they endured from 1820 to 1840—unpopularity. But there is, now, as little chance of the one being deluded as of the other being misled; and we see, accordingly, that the people are suspiciously apathetic, and that the Tories are suspiciously liberal.

In mid career, about to open up a new chapter in our history, Lord John Russell cannot yet challenge a definitive verdict upon his character or his services. And if—Whiggism being for the future impossible—he should be enabled, free from all party, to be simply an Englishman, and to devote himself exclusively to his country, the historian may, after all, have to count him among the greatest of British worthies. Vast, even yet, are his opportunities; and great will be the sin if they are misused.

## 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.

LORD PALMERSTON.

Kemptown, Dec. 21st.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—It has been asserted that the real cause of Lord Palmerston's sudden dismissal by Lord John Russell in December, 1851, was the indiscreet and



hasty zeal with which he sanctioned the absolutist revolution of the 2nd of December, although, two months afterwards, the most formal and emphatic approval of the Premier was expressed in the House of Commons after mature deliberation. Lord Palmerston's reply, on that occasion, to the unfair attack made upon him by Lord John Russell, who well knew that his adversary's tongue was tied, and that he had consented to withhold certain painful disclosures, was, notwithstanding these disadvantages, a triumphant one. He affirmed, without contradiction, that, on the very day upon which he had expressed his qualified approval of the *coup d'état*, in conversation with the French Ambassador, his censor, Lord John Russell, the President of the Council, and even his successor at the Foreign Office, had likewise expressed favourable opinions on the subject. Therefore a too hasty expression of opinion could not have been the real cause of his dismissal.

On the 6th of December, Lord Normanby stated to M. de Turgot, in Paris, that "He was sure, that had his Government known of the suppression of the *Rouges* at the time he had heard from them, *he should have been commissioned to add their congratulations to his own!*" But Lord Palmerston, in his celebrated despatch to Lord Normanby, written ten days afterwards, gave it as *his* opinion that, "As to approving or condemning the step taken by the President in dissolving the Assembly, he conceived it was for the French nation, and not for the British Secretary of State, or for the British Ambassador, to pronounce judgment upon that event; but if his Excellency wished to know his own opinion on the change which had taken place in France, it was that such a state of antagonism had arisen between the President and the Assembly, that it was becoming every day more clear that their co-existence could not be of long duration; and it seemed to him better for the interests of France, and through them for the rest of Europe, that the power of the President should prevail, inasmuch as the continuance of his authority might afford a prospect of the maintenance of social order in France, whereas the divisions of opinions and parties in the Assembly appeared to betoken that their victory over the President would be the starting point for disastrous civil strife."

The fact was that Lord Palmerston's dismissal was a preconcerted scheme, as the following paragraph of a letter from Vienna, dated December 23rd, where intelligence of that unexpected event could not then have been received, clearly proves. The alleged reason, therefore, was merely a pretext, and the real cause of the dismissal of the British Minister for Foreign Affairs was, not that he had approved of an absolutist revolution, but, that he had refused to become a mere instrument in the hands of foreigners to forward the intrigues of certain Princes of the House of Coburg, who were closely allied to almost every despot or pretender in Europe, except Louis Napoleon, and were, therefore, resolved to supplant him at the first favourable opportunity in the interest of their Bourbon relatives. The following is the paragraph I allude to, which was published at the time in the *Breslau Gazette*, dated Vienna, 23rd December, 1851:—"Rumours are here current of negotiations said to have been engaged in by high personages in England with our Court without the knowledge of Lord Palmerston. Their object is said to be a *rapprochement* between the two Courts, and the retirement of the noble lord from office is announced as certain to happen soon. The first index of this *rapprochement* has been the admission of Lord Westmoreland to an audience, and his invitation to dinner by the Emperor."

With respect to Lord Palmerston's late resignation, it has been asserted that he now quits the service of the public because he cannot induce himself to support even a moderate scheme of reform. But an attentive observer of political events in this country is of opinion, that the noble lord has, in truth, resigned his office from an unwillingness to see the alliance between England and France compromised by German intrigue, or the honour and interest of Great Britain sacrificed to the Austrian policy of the King of the Belgians, who now secretly rules the councils and destinies of England.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. C.

## THE ANTI-POOR-LAW MOVEMENT.

Sheffield, Dec. 22, 1853.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—Will you permit me to offer a few observations on your strictures upon the Anti-Poor-law meeting which was held in Manchester last week? You say the movement *ought* to fail, because it is not confined to the "abuses" of the Poor-law Board. In my judgment this opinion is somewhat hastily formed, or else your real meaning is not very clearly expressed. The whole history of the New Poor-law is one of deceit and trickery. It was passed by interested misrepresentation, and has been continued ever since by the same unscrupulous means. All the *abuses* flow from the principle involved in the law—that of centralisation. The yoke is becoming more and more galling every day. None can conceive the extent of the evil except they experience it in a practical manner. In Sheffield we have felt it in many ways, and groaned under it, until there is a fixed resolve amongst many of our best men not to hold office so long as the harassing and vexatious centralising action of the Poor-law Board exists. I will give you a recent instance of this absurd and improper, though legal interference. The parish of Sheffield is divided into five townships, of which Nether Hallam, wherein I have long resided, is one. In the year 1800, a common was enclosed, and a central portion was awarded to the township, upon which a workhouse was built. The figure of a working bee-hive, in stone, adorns the front of the building, indicating that it was really a *work-house*. The present "unions," or workhouses, are places where the inmates are compelled to *play*, by way of a *labour* test. On the introduction of the New Poor-law into Sheffield, the township of Nether Hallam was absorbed in one of the unions, where a magnificent "Bastille" (the name by which it is commonly designated) was erected out of borrowed money. The centralisers have long cast a covetous eye upon our old workhouse, which they wished to be sold, but the rate-payers have always resisted the various attempts that were made to accomplish this object, and have retained possession of the workhouse for meetings on parochial and other public business. In consequence of the rapid increase of population in the township, and the far greater activity displayed by the rate-payers on local matters than heretofore, it has been found that the building which was sufficient for the requirements of the year 1800, is inconvenient for the present period. The overseers of the poor have had the subject under their careful consideration a long time. In June last (six months ago), they called a special public vestry meeting for the purpose of considering the matter, and the meeting was numerously attended. The overseers submitted plans, specifications, and estimates for a new vestry hall, which was to cost 600*l*. They stated that they had saved this sum from time to time, and it was then in the Bank; so that no rate would be wanted to erect the new hall. After considerable discussion, the report of the overseers was unanimously adopted, and they were authorised to proceed forthwith. So far for local self-government; now for the centralising Poor-law Board. It appears that it was necessary for the overseers to obtain the consent of the Poor-law Board to what the vestry had decided upon, and all the documents were sent up for that purpose. Nothing could apparently be more easy and simple; but what is the fact? A public wardmote of the burgesses of the township was held in the workhouse on the 5th of this month. The *Sheffield Free Press*, of the 10th inst., contains the following report of part of the proceedings:—"New Vestry Hall.—Mr. Smith, the vestry-clerk, stated that the overseers had had a very long and tedious correspondence with the Poor-law Board, on the subject of the new vestry hall. The correspondence was, in fact, immense. The Poor-law Board had raised many objections, and made many inquiries, which were promptly met and answered by the overseers. He thought they were approaching a conclusion now, and that the Board were nearly satisfied. The overseers had been fettered in every step that they had taken in the matter by the Poor-law Board; and in consequence of the long delay which the Board had occasioned, the hall would cost more in erection than was originally estimated, labour and materials having advanced." This is one instance of the obstruction caused by the obnoxious principle inherent in the New Poor-law. Similar annoyances are being experienced all over the country, wherever its baleful influence extends. Is it to be wondered at, therefore, that the Manchester meeting decided on going for the entire abolition of the Board? The fact is, that we in the provinces manage our highways well enough without any central influence; and we think we can also manage the relief of the poor in the same manner. At all events we are determined to try.—Yours, faithfully,

ISAAC IRONSIDE.

## THE GLASGOW ATHENÆUM.

Glasgow Athenæum, Dec. 21, 1853.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—Our Athenæum is a non-sectarian institution, professedly. In theory, it knows nothing of religious sect nor political party. It is strictly a secular institution, and is supported by men of every shade of theological opinion. Still, it is an eminently pious institution. It has an orthodox board of directors, purged some years ago, by special effort of Free Kirk, and other "evangelicals" of all heresy, honest enough to avow itself. It is strict as to the reputed orthodoxy of its lecturers, and, as an unfortunate result, its lectures are very tame and very uninteresting. Indeed, our Athenæum is a very model of pious respectability, but somewhat whining and sickly withal. It keeps the Sabbath, too, and connives at no reading of profane newspapers or magazines on that holy day; consequently, its reading-room, a beautiful hall capable of accommodating about 600 persons, is unoccupied on the Sabbath, for the purposes of the institution, and a revenue has been derived from letting it as a place of worship. The members never regarded this as anything but a matter of business; it never occurred to them that it was any part of the duties of the directors whom they elected to sit in judgment on the peculiar opinions of those who from time to time applied to rent it, and decide that "this sect may worship here, but that shall not." Nor, indeed, until very recently, did it ever occur to the directors themselves, that such was their duty; and, in blessed ignorance, of this weighty responsibility, they rented their hall to the "Morisonians," who occupied it so long as they required its use. Afterwards the hall was let to the Wesleyans, who now occupy it, and another hall in the institution is, I believe, let to a "Christian Institute," the members of which, with more zeal than wisdom, wage war from week to week with Scepticism, Secularism, and all manner of obnoxious isms. The halls were, however, let as sources of revenue, and it was never supposed by any one that the institution, in so doing, identified itself with either Morisonianism, or Wesleyanism, or with this termagant Christian Institute. So matters went smoothly on until the Unitarians applied for the hall, on the usual terms, when it should be evacuated by its present occupants. Well, the course of action was clear. The hall had been let without any question as to the views of its occupants heretofore, why should the Unitarians be subjected to exclusion more than others? The rent would be as safe from them, and they would at least conduct their worship with no less decorum than those to whom the hall had been let. Let them have it. So would you have disposed of the question south of the Tweed. Not so thought the directors of the Glasgow Athenæum. It was a serious matter to act consistently; with fear of parsons before them, they couldn't do it. And a sleek member of the board suggested that the matter should be disposed of quietly—that the secretary should be instructed to inform the parties that the directors did not feel at liberty to enter into any further arrangements regarding the hall at present. The suggestion was approved, and communicated to the applicants; but the Unitarians, plain-dealing, matter-of-fact sort of people as they are, wouldn't see the full meaning of the smooth reply, accordingly, after allowing some time to elapse, they renewed their application, with a request that they should have a final *yea* or *nay*, in reply. This was too direct to be evaded; the matter was discussed, and, after confessing that the Unitarians were "above the average of the community in intelligence," that they were "men of unimpeachable integrity," &c., the board decided that, being Unitarians, they should not worship their God in the hall of the Athenæum. Let it be said, however, for the honour of the institution, that this infamous decision was not unanimous, that there was even amongst those *orthodox* directors five "good men and true," who entered their protest against it, and gave consistent testimony in behalf of complete religious toleration. Could you have believed it, Mr. Editor, that at this time of day, when even our universities are ridding themselves of religious tests, the directors of an institution, purely literary in its character, could be so bigoted and priest-ridden as to stultify themselves by the introduction into its management of theological tests, which the spirit and letter of its constitution disown? The decision seems to me, Sir, a disgrace to the institution, and unless its members bestir themselves to reverse this procedure on the part of the directors, it must be regarded simply as a tool of sectarianism, and it must become a question with the liberal members how far they can, in justice to themselves, continue to support it.—I am, yours, &c.,

AN OLD MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTION.

## 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*.

In a recent visit to Oxford, we were greatly struck by the enormous capabilities and their enormous waste which that "centre of learning" presents. If anything in this country imperatively demands organic reform it is this University. Wandering through its beautiful colleges, reflecting on its wealth, its prestige, its libraries, and its opportunities, Oxford appeared to us wholly to have lost its *raison d'être*—its function in the social organism. It is no more the centre of learning than a fossil is the representative of a living animal. It produces gentlemen, excellent fellows, a few scholars, and some distinguished men; but it produces the last named in spite of, not in virtue of, its system. Its system is one which, admirably adapted to the age which originated it, is in complete discordance with this age. When Greek and Latin, the *Organon* and Euclid, formed the culture of Europe, when the educated class was almost exclusively an ecclesiastical class, then, indeed, Oxford had its *raison d'être*; and if only ecclesiastical students were received there now, some reasons might be urged for the continuance of its system. But to suppose that such a training is the one best fitted for youth in the nineteenth century is profoundly to misunderstand the needs of our age. Incessant prayers, grinding of THUCYDIDES alternating with grinding of the Gospels, "getting up" a Greek play, or construing TACITUS—what has all this to do with our Life? The boasted benefits of "intellectual training" which are claimed for the classic languages would be far more efficiently secured by Science. But Science is not dead; if it were Oxford would teach it.

We are told, indeed, that from THUCYDIDES and LIVY, from PLATO and TACITUS, we gain our best moral and political instruction; a proposition which must be received with considerable qualification, but which, even if admitted to the fullest, in no way legitimates the enormous devotion of time to the acquirement of such instruction. Our readers know the position we assume in this question of the study of ancient languages; how indispensable we hold that study as a *special* study for a certain class of men; and how impossible we hold it to be for translations ever to adequately reproduce the æsthetic qualities of ancient works. But with regard to the practical instruction supposed to be derived from ancient writers, who will deny that translations are even more available than originals which have to be "construed?" Observe this curious contradiction: those who deem classical literature of such immense importance because of its bearings on life, and will not hear of its being studied in translations, do, nevertheless, content themselves with a translation of the Bible, and never insist on the necessity for its being studied in Hebrew!

What Latin and Greek were for the Middle Ages, Science is for our Mother Age. In days when such as Lady JANE GREY turned over the pages of BOETHIUS or PLATO, as our educated women turn over those of FENELON or GOETHE—when Latin and Greek were accomplishments such as French and German are now, Oxford was a centre of learning. It is now a centre of superstition. It travels in the lumbering old coach, while the railway car is flashing past. [And as a piquant illustration, let us add that even now it refuses to have its libraries lighted with gas!] Clinging to the dead past, less from reverence than from fear of the present, it pretends to mould the young generations by training them as they would have been trained centuries ago!

Beside these evils, which we indicate in passing, there are, however, hopeful signs. Men there are in Oxford who deeply feel how much is to be done, and how little the present system is competent to do it; men who love Oxford, and would retain what is powerful for good, while eliminating the obstacles. Science also has no Temple, indeed, yet some small Chapels. Oxford is proud of her BUCKLAND, her DAUBENEY, her MASKELEYNE, her PHILLIPS, her ACLAND, few as are the students who listen to them: the few will become the many if Oxford continues.

It is something to say that in eight years Dr. ACLAND has been able to form that small, yet, for its size, rich and admirably arranged Museum of Christ Church, wherein the student may learn comparative anatomy; and although very few students as yet have availed themselves of these riches, nevertheless a beginning has been made, and those who have listened to Dr. ACLAND have learned the grandeur and importance of Anatomy as a science to be studied apart from professional necessities, as Astronomy and Chemistry are studied apart from Navigation and Manufactures.

The reader may smile, and whisper "Nothing like leather;" but we are quite serious in saying that our visit to this Museum, and the conversation with its accomplished curator, suggested more hope for Oxford than anything else we saw there; not because Biology, being the science of our predilection, appears to us all-important, but because it is a great science, and is taught here on scientific principles, as an instrument of Education, not merely as a professional requirement.

By an easy transition we pass from this Museum of Comparative Anatomy to an illustration recently afforded of the direct application of Comparison as a means of elucidating problems in human physiology. We are going

to borrow from the last number of the *Annales des Sciences Naturelles* a very curious verification of an hypothesis respecting the formation of fat; but, before doing so, it may be well to state what was the state of opinion on this subject.

It was maintained by one school that all the fats found in animals are derived from vegetables; the vegetables form them from inorganic matter; the animals assimilate them when thus formed, but are quite unable to do what the vegetables do, form them in their own bodies. Another school maintained that animals did both: they assimilated the fats found in vegetables, and formed them also directly in their bodies by new combinations of the materials furnished in their food. According to the one school, you must feed an animal on fatty matters; according to the other, he will make the fat for himself if you give him food, even though the food contain no fat. In LEHMANN'S "Physiological Chemistry" (vol. i., p. 239, of the last German edition), the curious reader will find ample details, which prove the second hypothesis to be the more probable. LEHMANN adds, however, that the experiments have only been statistical. They turn upon comparisons of the quantity in the food and in the animal. In the investigations announced by the *Annales des Sciences* we see the problem simplified, and the demonstration placed beyond a doubt.

MM. LACAZE and RICHE examined the little Hymenopterous insects named *Cynipidæ*. These insects pierce the skin of certain vegetables and deposit their eggs in the cavity; this produces an excrescence called the gall. This gall is found to be a series of concentric layers enveloping the alimentary mass, in the centre of which the insect grows, feeding on this mass of cells containing fecula (starch). It occurred to the gentlemen, just named, that here was an experiment, so to speak, of Nature's own instituting. They analysed the alimentary mass on which the insect fed, and compared it with the analysis of the insect. We cannot here give the details: one will suffice. They found in the gall of one plant that the alimentary mass contained 0.236 milligrammes of fatty matter; whereas the insect contained 5.010 milligrammes, an excess of more than 4 milligrammes, which it must have formed from the fecula.

## NOBLE ON INSANITY.

*Elements of Psychological Medicine. An Introduction to the practical study of Insanity*  
By Daniel Noble. Price 7s. 6d. Churchill.

## (SECOND ARTICLE.)

INSANITY is one of the most interesting subjects, as well as one of the most urgent importance, which can engage the philosophic mind; it is, however, also one of the most delicate and difficult. Before we can hope to arrive at any satisfactory knowledge of it, we must first settle our Psychology and Physiology, neither of which are at present in a condition to furnish us with absolute data. While therefore we wish to recommend Dr. Noble's work as a suggestive and serviceable contribution to the science, we must at the same time warn the student that it is only a tentative essay, and that its teachings must be received with caution, and in some cases with direct negation; this less from any fault in the author than from the condition of our knowledge. But the author is in fault too, as we conceive; and we must lay before him and our readers the reasons which make us question certain passages of these "elements."

First of Psychology. Dr. Noble belongs to a school so entirely opposed to the one we follow, that a more indelicate of two fundamental positions must suffice. While maintaining with all Physiologists that the Brain is the organ of the Mind, he ranges with those Psychologists who maintain that the Mind is an immaterial Entity—a spirit superadded to the Brain. And, like them, talking as if Spirit were a thing with which we are perfectly acquainted, lays down this proposition:—

"If there be one characteristic which, more than another, may be said to distinguish spirit from matter, it is its absolute unity."

We do not profess to characterise "spirit," nor do we understand the process by which its nature is rendered intelligible. Dr. Noble, however, hints that those who do not recognise his distinction want fresh air and exercise to restore them to mental health. On the next page we are told, "In one word, it is the immaterial spirit which WILLs." As this is not the time for a discussion of immaterialism, we indicate these two positions and pass on.

"Non ragioniam di lor  
Ma guarda e passa."

Next of Physiology. On the whole the student will find a very clear account of what is known of the nervous system in its bearings on Insanity, but we deem it right to caution him against one or two passages. To enable the reader to follow the argument we commence by a quotation:—

"You are aware that, whilst the structural appearances and constitution of the brain and nervous system have a certain general similarity, there is yet an obvious divisibility of the tissues into two distinct kinds—the grey and the white matter; a divisibility which applies alike to the encephalon, the spinal cord, and the nerves. The difference in these nervous substances is not an affair of colour only; it refers also to their intimate structure and organisation; the white matter is made up of bundles of tubular fibres, whilst the grey is composed of aggregated cells, and is often denominated the vesicular neurine. To collections of this vesicular substance, the term ganglion is very generally applied, because the knots of nervous matter which were formerly supposed to give origin to the nerves, and which are distributed so largely throughout the body, are vesicular in their composition. And thus the identity in structural constitution has led to employment of the word ganglion as a common term, although the ganglionic or spheroidal form is not at all essential, as was at one time supposed, to the constitution of what is now called ganglionic substance. Physiological and pathological researches have rendered it more than probable that the vesicular and the fibrous substances have, universally, separate and distinct offices in the animal economy: the ganglionic structures being the source of functional change, and the fibrous matter being simply for the conduction of impressions originating in the former. This theory, in the promulgation of which Mr. Solly shares probably in the most eminent degree, is now received very generally as scientific truth."

"In the anatomical structures within the head, various collections of grey, or vesicular



matter, are discovered, with large quantities of the white, fibrous substance interposed. There is all the certainty that is attainable upon such a subject, that the several ganglionic masses in the encephalon subserve different functions, and that the office of the white matter is to bring these masses into mutual relation and harmonious action."

We now pass to what is questionable. Having described the vesicular neurine, or nerve-cells, Dr. Noble says:—

"Although not actually demonstrated, it is yet a tolerably certain inference, that, distributed largely and very minutely along the whole cutaneous and mucous surfaces, there is vesicular neurine; this forms the peripheral expansion of nervous filaments, and may be likened to the structure of the retina as it expands itself behind the vitreous humour."

So far from this being a tolerably certain inference, we have no hesitation in saying that it is an hypothesis quite ahead of all present knowledge, and not corresponding with what anatomy has discovered up to this time. It may turn out to be true; meanwhile, the facts to justify it are wanting. No one has dabbled in the literature of the nervous system without being aware of the *vetata questio* of the peripheral termination of nerves; and we are at a loss to conceive where Dr. Noble found authorities for the following hypothesis:—

"The nerves and ganglia of the five external senses constitute the instruments whereby the primary and more simple forms of consciousness display themselves. Vesicular neurine distributed upon the lining membrane of the nostrils possesses a specific sensibility to odorous matters; the impression which these make is conveyed by conducting fibrous filaments to the *bulbi olfactorii*—the ganglionic centres wherein the sense of *smell* is called into exercise. The retina is composed of vesicular neurine; visual impressions are carried along the course of the optic nerves, and attain the corpora quadrigemina, which there is every reason for concluding to be the ganglia of *sight*. Vesicular neurine, spread largely within the internal ear, receives the vibratory undulations constituting the external cause of sound; the fibrous filaments of the auditory nerve conduct the influence to certain grey nuclei in the posterior pyramids of the medulla oblongata, that form the ganglia of *hearing*. The vesicular termination of nervous filaments upon the lingual surface and the palate are specifically impressed by sapid particles, and the impression being passed along fibrous filaments to the proper ganglionic centre (yet undetermined), induces the consciousness of *taste*."

As before hinted, this may turn out to be true; but what is already known is insufficient, we believe, to justify it. Dr. Noble speaks of "vesicular neurine distributed upon the lining membranes of the nostrils." Who has ever seen it there? Dr. Carpenter, whom he seems to be following, suggests that "perhaps" it may be there; but in anatomy, "perhaps" will not do. Dr. Noble further says, that the retina is "composed of vesicular neurine." If this be not a very vague use of the term, we must altogether deny it. A reference to Kölliker, *Handbuch der Gewebelehre*, p. 607, will inform him of what is known, and what is hypothetical on the structure of the retina. And as to *taste*, the nerve-cells terminating the nerves of the tongue, have not even been suspected.

Having made this necessary criticism on an hypothesis presented as "tolerably certain," we continue Dr. Noble's exposition:—

"But there is developed a sense-consciousness which is not limited to any particular organ, but which may be said to pervade the entire fabric; it comprehends that general sensibility which resides principally in the cutaneous and mucous surfaces, and, to a less extent, the interior structures. It is by it we appreciate the state of the muscles,—obtain the *muscular sense*, as it has been called. This 'common sensation' is best illustrated by the simple notion of *resistance*. Its various modifications comprise the several impressions essential to ideas of the hard, the soft, the rough, the smooth, the painful, the titillatory, and so on. This fifth sense is also awakened through the vesicular extremities of fibrous filaments. Whether the grey expansion and white cords engaged in common sensation be the same as those which subserve the spinal reflex function, is a question yet undecided. This much, however, is certain: the communicated impression ascends along the posterior columns of the spinal cord, and attains a grey, vesicular centre—the ganglia of common sensation. Physiologists are not agreed upon the structures which fulfil this office; they must, however, like the other sensory ganglia, be somewhere at the base of the cranium; and, for my own part, I am disposed to think that some portion of the cerebellum constitutes the encephalic centre of common sensation. Many years ago Foville assigned this function to the entire organ; and others have, with great plausibility, advocated the same notion. The anatomical connexion between the restiform bodies and certain ganglionic masses within the cerebellum favours the idea which I have advanced; and there are various physiological and pathological facts and considerations which corroborate it. It is a view, moreover, which would seem to reconcile, in a great degree, the doctrine of Gall with that of Flourens. The former, as everybody is aware, taught that the cerebellum is the organ of the sexual instinct; and the latter, supported by most modern physiologists, states that its office is to co-ordinate muscular action, as in balancing the body and other such instinctive acts. Now, if some portion of the cerebellum subserve ordinary feeling, its influence upon the function imputed to it by Gall is conceivable, without the adoption of his actual teaching. The facts receive another explanation. In the other view, regarding the muscular office of the cerebellum, the explanation may be afforded by reference to the existence of its cortical grey matter, which may determine some influence to the muscles responsively to their feeling, it being generally held that the muscular sense comes from their possessing common sensation, though in a less degree than the skin. However all this may be, it is certain that this fifth sense must have ganglia; and it cannot be doubted that these, through the spinal cord, are in some sort of connexion with every sentient structure."

"All the sensory ganglia, it may here be noticed, besides their instrumentality in inducing the simpler forms of consciousness, react upon the muscular system when stimulated from without, and that, too, in apparent independence of thought or volition. The movements thus arising Dr. Carpenter very aptly designates *consensual*; they are seen when the dazzled eye withdraws, instinctively, from the light; when the startle follows upon a loud and unexpected sound; and when the young infant, from contiguity to its mother's bosom, exhibits restlessness, provoked by the odour of the mammary fluid. These muscular actions are *reflex* as to their modes of occurrence; but they differ from the spinal reflex acts in being, in their nature, attended with consciousness; and they differ from ordinary movements in the circumstance that neither ideas, nor will, nor mental emotion, properly speaking, are concerned in their production."

"But man is much more than a sentient and instinctive animal. Sensations supply the primitive material for *ideas*, or those mental perceptions of external things and their qualities, which constitute the basis of all positive knowledge; and which, once in the mind, can be reproduced and employed in reasoning."

"The consciousness of objects, facts, and circumstances, in the reception and combination of ideas, has without doubt some cerebral instrumentality for its manifestation, and evidence from all sources, anatomical, physiological, and pathological, points to the cortical grey matter of the brain, investing the convolutions, as supplying the requisite organic conditions—a structure to which has been applied, very appropriately, the term *hemispherical ganglia*."

"White matter intervenes between the vesicular neurine of the sensory ganglia and that of the cerebral convolutions; the conscious impressions received by these former may be regarded as ascending along the white fibres, and, on the grey summit being attained, developing changes in its condition which minister to the intelligence. Ideas arise. If we reflect upon the processes that go on within our own minds, there is no difficulty in distinguishing between a sensation and an idea; or in marking the sequential origin of the latter. How often do we find that, when the full consciousness of sensation is obtained, the idea suggested by it does not follow until many seconds, or even minutes, afterwards. You hear the utterance of certain words, as sounds; their signification does not strike you; no effort

of attention is made; yet, suddenly, the sense breaks in upon your intelligence. The correlated physiological phenomena may thus be stated. The auditory ganglia take up the sentient impression at once; its passage upwards to the region of thought is delayed; presently, however, its natural course is freed from hindrance, and it attains the hemispherical ganglia, forming, or awakening, ideas in the mind. The anterior convolutions would appear from cranioscopic facts to be especially concerned with those ideas and combinations of thought which flow from science and philosophy; the superior convolutions with classes of ideas, or states of the intelligence, related to the higher sentiments, as of justice, veneration, and benevolence, and the posterior convolutions would seem to be operative in combinations of ideas and habits of thinking, referring themselves more particularly to the lower affections and propensities of our nature."

We now come to an hypothesis which is Dr. Noble's own, namely, that the seat of the emotions is in the *optic thalami* and *corpora striata*:—

"But there are large masses of vesicular neurine entering into the constitution of the encephalon, of which as yet no mention has been made, and which, nevertheless, must have important functions in the display of psychical energy. There are several tracts of grey matter near the base, that have probably some connexion with particular instincts—of hunger and thirst, for example; but I allude, more especially, to the optic thalami and the corpora striata. These are ganglionic structures intimately communicating, in the ascending direction, with the cortical grey matter of the hemispheres, and, downwards, with the spinal cord; in each case, through the medium of white fibrous substance. The office of these bodies has not been decisively made out. Physiologists differ in their opinion upon the question. It is most probable, however, that the optic thalami, notwithstanding their designation, have no immediate share in the production of vision. Dr. Carpenter, and some others, think that they are most likely the ganglia of common sensation. I differ from this view, for many reasons. It would, however, be tedious and out of place to argue this point, at any length, upon this occasion. I have myself a strong persuasion that the structures under consideration form the ganglia of that inner sensibility, which ideas, rather than external impressions, call forth; I regard them as the seat of the *emotions*. Their locality, midway as it were, between the hemispherical and the sensory ganglia; their universal and very close connexion, by means of the central white mass of the brain, with the grey expansion of the convolutions; and their fibrous communication with the spinal cord, constitute good anatomical reasons for the opinion of their function which I have been led to entertain. The necessity, upon psychological grounds, for separating the emotional sensibility, as evinced in grief, joy, hope, fear, pride, vanity, affection, and so on, from the sensibility of the five senses, is sufficiently obvious; and the distinctness of these states of consciousness from all necessary activity of the intelligence, however dependent upon ideas primarily, is very clear to the self-observer. Hence, every antecedent probability would suggest the speciality of nervous centres; and, as already stated, I regard the optic thalami and corpora striata as the organic site of all sensibility that is internal and emotional."

Inasmuch as those two masses of the brain are at present without known functions, we may expect a number of tentative guesses to be put forth before the real function be discovered. This hypothesis of Dr. Noble's suggesting we have already combated (in the review of Morell's *Elements of Psychology*, where it was first broached) as one contradicted formally by anatomical considerations. These bodies are *structurally* different; different in anatomical connexion, different in colour, so much so that the grey *corpora striata* are at once distinguishable from the *café au lait* coloured *optic thalami*. Todd and Bowman describing these bodies say:—"In the *corpora striata* the fibrous matter is arranged in distinct fascicles of very different size many, if not all, of which form a special connexion with its vesicular matter. In the *optic thalami*, on the other hand, the fibrous matter forms a very intricate interlacement, which is equally complicated at every part." So much for structure; and no anatomist need be told how much difference of function is involved in difference of structure. Then, again, with regard to connexion; while they have in common an extensive connexion with the convoluted surface of the brain, they are in the most marked way connected inferiorly with *separate and distinct portions of the medulla oblongata*. In fact, be the functions of these bodies what they may, assuredly they are different functions. That they have anything specially to do with the emotions there is not, we believe, the shadow of a proof."

We have dwelt so long on these details that the main purpose of Dr. Noble's book has been lost sight of; that purpose was to describe insanity in its various forms and modes of treatment. Let us now turn to it.

Insanity is disease of the mind—in other words, altered *function* of the brain. We very much prefer Dr. Noble's definition of "altered function" to the ordinary one of a disease of the brain; for, although strictly speaking there must be disease of the brain, there need not necessarily be *lesion* of the brain. It is because men confound *structure* with *composition* that so much confusion exists on this subject; the *structure* of a room may remain unaltered, but if a mephitic gas takes the place of wholesome atmosphere, the *composition* of the room is so altered that it becomes uninhabitable. So with the brain: its structure may be without perceptible alteration, but the blood which flows through it, or the state of its electricity, may be so altered as totally to destroy the function. Hence we are disposed to accept Dr. Noble's conclusion that the "true locality of psychological disease is within the head," only as localising the function—the *cause* of the disturbance may be a diseased stomach or liver. He says truly enough:—

"But disease of the brain does not in every case provoke insanity. There are cerebral maladies which do not give rise to mental derangement. Simple congestion, some forms of inflammation, certain tuberculous affections, and even serous accumulations in the ventricles, will often exist, without perverting thought so as to prejudice moral liberty. Still these facts are not in opposition to the doctrine that the brain subserves the mental operations, for the exercise of the mind is nearly always influenced in some way or another, though insanity may not arise as a consequence of such affections as those just cited."

Not only so, but insanity is often unaccompanied by disease of the brain:—

"No reasonable doubt can exist as to the physical site of mental derangement, so far, at least, as concerns its relation to the encephalon. Yet there have been authors and practitioners who have had some difficulty in admitting this doctrine, owing to what they deem to be the want of corroboration from morbid anatomy. Thus Jacobi, Nasse, Flemming, and others, have been influenced by the consideration that, in the bodies of insane patients, anatomical lesions are discovered more frequently in the viscera than in the brain; that, in fact, this latter sometimes exhibits no alteration at all, whilst, on the contrary, very decided change is apparent in the organs of nutrition. The precise lesion, indeed, which the encephalon sustains in disordered mind, has not been determined. But in many of our investigations, and in much of our reasoning, we are most of us very apt to conceive that a more intimate correspondence exists between changes found in the organs after death and the symptoms of disease appreciable during life, than the actual state of things warrants. Marks of inflammation or venous congestion, tubercles, cysts, collections of water, induration and softening of tissue, have again and again been discovered in examination of the dead brain, where there has been no insanity. But, still, according to the statistics of establishments for treatment of the insane, in every hundred bodies inspected after death, a state of cerebral congestion is found in twenty-five instances; induration of the structure of the brain is witnessed in somewhere about the same proportion; and atrophy of the encephalic tissue in about eleven cases. It must be admitted that there is no form or degree of mental derangement, which has not been known to exist unaccompanied by any physical changes



revealed by the scalpel after death. Nevertheless, it is beyond all question, that the injury which constitutes the immediate cause of insanity is in the brain.

"In some departments of practical medicine, it is true, there subsists an admirable relation between sensible alterations of structure and their symptoms during life; take chest-diseases, for example. Still, in the case of many organs besides the brain, the pathologist who looks to morbid anatomy for every explanation, will be seriously disappointed; for as a matter of fact, the relations between the main seat of diseases and the irregular manifestations to which particular diseases lead, are most uncertain and variable—bidding defiance to every attempt at successful classification. A set of symptoms will often display themselves, referable to some obvious change that may be detected after death; and the very same symptoms, so far as an observer can judge, will, in another case, be dependent upon some very different condition of the structures, as revealed by post-mortem inspection. It will not unfrequently happen that the central disease shall originate external indications that direct the medical observer's attention far more to the organs secondarily or sympathetically affected, than to those which are the subjects of permanent physical change, noticeable after death. Moreover, some very vital structure shall become so seriously affected by disease as to induce a fatal termination, and yet no very material alterations in its appreciable characteristics be afterwards witnessed; and, on the other hand, deep and irreparable changes in the organisation will, at times, have advanced to the most serious lengths, without any very sensible alteration in the functional manifestations. Cases have occurred in which complete destruction of the anterior columns of the spinal cord appeared to have taken place, without loss of voluntary motion in the parts below; whilst a similar destruction of the posterior columns has occurred without corresponding lesion of sensibility. There are instances in which the whole thickness of the cord has undergone softening, and apparent disintegration, without the destruction of the functional connexion between the encephalon and the parts below the seat of the disease. Again, whilst blindness from paralysis of the optic nerve dependent upon recognisable fault in its tissue, or in that of its connexions, will sometimes come on; at others, the exciting cause may be the presence of intestinal worms implicating the visual apparatus only by sympathy. How very little constancy of relation subsists between some very notable derangements of the functions of the stomach, and the changes found in its structure after death. Most troublesome dyspepsia exists sometimes, and the patient dies from some other disease; very often, in such cases, there is no change discoverable in the stomach itself."

But we must cease: our limits are already passed, and we have not touched on half the points of this suggestive volume. We must refer our readers to its pages, confident they will thank us for the recommendation.

#### NEW BOOK ON AUSTRALIA.

*Victoria; late Australia Felix, or Port Phillip District of New South Wales; being an Historical and Descriptive Account of the Colony and its Gold Mines. With an Appendix, containing the Reports of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce for the last Two Years, upon the Condition and Progress of the Colony.* By William Westgarth, late Member of the Legislative Council of Victoria. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1853

**AUSTRALIA** outgrows history. We have for some years been accustomed to the rapid changes on the North American continent, but they are matched by the changes in Australia. Here is a land that twenty years ago was barely known. Thirty years ago, the emu and the kangaroo ran and leapt through the open forest, where now the squatter depastures his sheep, and the digger finds the rich red gold. Thirty years ago there was not a single ship in the magnificent waters of Port Phillip; by the shipping lists brought home this week, we find there were 404 sail there on the 23rd September. We dare not write that in Melbourne life and property are very insecure; for the next mail may inform us that efficient Peelers have been instituted; and speedy justice done. Neither can we say that education is overlooked in the race for gold; for ere the passing review is forgotten the reader may learn that new colleges have sprung up here, and new public schools there; that Sydney has her university, and Victoria her national schools; and that both colonies are fully served by the press. It is all very well to write that none of the colonies have good roads; but next post may inform us of half a dozen railways projected or completed. It is not even safe to assert that Australia has no aristocracy, seeing that some surprising people in New South Wales seem determined upon presenting us with, say—a Duke of Sydney, a Marquis of Willowdilly, or an Earl of Bungoora. What a faculty for imitation! Well might Lord Monboddo think he had discovered the fundamental similarity between the ape and the man.

At present the history of Victoria is a romance, not certainly one of the most elevated sort, but still profoundly interesting, and illustrative of the "pace" which characterises the nineteenth century. As early as 1804 Government made an effort to inoculate the southern coast of the Australian continent with the poison of a penal establishment; but, fortunately for Australia Felix, the attempt to convert Port Phillip into a den for convicts failed. It was not until 1835 that two men carried flocks and herds over to the shores of that splendid bay, from Tasmania—one settling down on the spot where Geelong now stands, and the other on the site of Melbourne. Three years afterwards the latter town boasted a newspaper. In 1837 Port Phillip, then a district of New South Wales, exported 175,000 lbs. weight of wool; and the progress of the colony may well be gathered from the fact that this quantity had, in 1852, increased to 20,247,000 lbs. An allotment of land, worth 50*l.* in 1837, is—start not credulous reader—worth 15,000*l.* in 1853. The revenue of Victoria in 1851, was 380,000*l.*; in 1852, no less than 1,577,000*l.* During the same period the tonnage in the port advanced from 126,000 to 408,000, and the number of ships from 669 to 1657. The population sprung from 95,000 to 200,000; and the value of the produce of the colony exported was not less than 15,000,000*l.*, of course including the gold!

Mr. Westgarth has undertaken to write an initiative chapter of the history of Australia, so far as New South Wales and Victoria are concerned; and he has ably performed his task. We say an initiative chapter, because the book before us does not contain the history of those two colonies, it merely explains, in a full and lucid way, several perplexing questions, which all students of the colonial policy of Great Britain require to know. Thus he treats of the great squatting interest; the land monopoly; the constitution of political parties; and the working of our methods of colonial government. He gives the fullest information upon the commerce of the colonies, and supplies us, in an appendix, with the admirable reports of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce. In his account of the gold discoveries we find nothing strikingly new, but much of interest; and, from a long and animated narrative of a ride through the diggings, we quote the following passages:—

"The diggings that indicated the most improved processes in these nascent arts were those of the 'White Hills,' so called from the quantities of dazzling white pipe clay or soft schist that was ejected from the pit in the progress of digging, and that now overspread the

surface of the entire hill like a cap of snow. Our steps were promptly directed to this interesting quarter. We found the diggings penetrating to a depth of fifty feet perpendicular. Seeing a windlass at work over one of the pits, we made for the spot, and met a bucketful of the material as it reached the surface. This was a description of auriferous matter that I had never met with before. It consisted of a white quartz grit, between sand and small gravel, of very uniform appearance. It was evidently very auriferous, for the gold was quite visible to the eye, scattered in small particles throughout the grit. This was more particularly the case in portions that were discoloured of a reddish-brown, apparently from a mixture of iron.

"Feeling some curiosity to explore so promising a mine, I adventured a descent by a rude ladder, consisting of a straight sapling with cross pieces for steps driven through the stem. 'I guess it's twenty-five feet to the bottom,' said a voice from below, in answer to our inquiry. We, of course, took the speaker for a Yankee, and so it proved. He had been tempted from the States by the gold news, had recently arrived, and had joined three colonists in working this claim. Australia had no attractions for him, however, beyond its gold, which would detain him only a short year or two. There was no place like home.

"At the foot of the pit, I found two men with lighted candles, who guided me into the side workings. These were entered most easily upon all fours; for the auriferous stratum being quite thin, no more of other material was excavated than was absolutely necessary. The first circumstance that drew my attention was a draft of air that played upon our faces, and deflected the candle-flame as we crawled onwards. I then learned that the tunnelling was continuous over the entire hill, the claimants and their claims having repeatedly encountered and run into each other. A system of under-propping by posts was also in operation, to prevent any subsidence of the upper beds.

"The auriferous grit I have alluded to was a distinct bed of between one and two inches in thickness, of a dull grayish white colour in the upper part, the lower being uniformly, as far as my observation went, of the reddish-brown hue already alluded to. Above this stratum was a thick bed of large stones and boulders of pure white quartz, embedded in gravel or grit, or still minuter material; all being apparently derived from the same substance, the original quartz mass. This bed seemed to merge upwards into gravel of the usual colour, but of irregularly-sized pieces, and one part of the formation, situated about half-way up the pit, opposed great difficulties to the miners from the strength of its binding. I had observed the same characteristics at the Ballarat gold-fields, as regarded this iron binding, on which many a pick was rung and broken. Between this part and the summit was an ochre-coloured clay, sometimes interspersed with gravel of the ordinary characteristics.

"The stratum beneath the auriferous grit was the famous and universal pipeclay, which appears almost everywhere in this colony, in some form or hue. This formation is a soft schist of the finest grain, with a texture like that of the most delicate satin. The colour was nearly pure white, the departure in shade being towards a satin gray. The same formation appears to prevail in many other parts of the country. It is found at Ballarat under very similar circumstances to those that were now before us; and having there a slight bluish cast, it became the celebrated 'blue clay' of October 1851, which turned the heads of all classes, and out of which both diggers and amateurs were reported to be picking small gold nuggets to their hearts' content, with the sole aid of a penknife. It is also met with beneath the site of Melbourne; and as the surface there in many parts exhibits also a gravelly character, the auriferous conditions are certainly present, and the gold may yet be found much nearer to the worthy citizens than the localities, inaccessible to many of them, of Mount Alexander or Bendigo. This auriferous character continues for some miles north of the town, and is resumed at intervals still further on. In this direction, about sixteen miles from Melbourne, a small gold-diggings suddenly started into existence lately, and for a time as many as two to three hundred were at work, who were said to have averaged a fair result.

"A few inches of the upper part of this pipeclay was taken out and washed with the auriferous grit, and about three feet of additional depth was cleared away to form a convenient passage for the diggers. Their account of the yield of this grit was to the effect, that a bucketful gave them between two and three ounces of gold after washing, and that a cart-load would give nearly two pounds weight. I had no reason to doubt this statement. But in estimating the profits of the miners of the Whitehills, we must bear in mind the preliminary expenses of the excavations. We understood, also, that this extra rich hill, which it was admitted to be, was now nearly worked out, all that remained being comprehended in the claims of particular diggers. Under efficient appliances, how enormous might be the rewards from such gold-fields! It seems as though the stimulus of necessity and hard-earned gains were alone wanting here, and that we should collect more gold if it were not acquired so easily.

"But what might there be below the pipeclay? This was a question asked by many a digger, but I never found any one who had succeeded in solving the problem. The bed was supposed to be of immense depth, and a mysterious possibility of countless gold lying beneath, seemed to weigh upon many minds. Some had adventured partially into its recesses, but the uncertainty or poverty of present results soon tired out their zeal. The pipeclay itself was not generally auriferous, although quantities of gold particles appeared to have insinuated themselves into its soft substance from the superincumbent quartz or gravel. This was particularly the case at Ballarat, where the metal was found in crevices upon the surface of the bed, or met with in irregular veins of gold particles within a few feet beneath. On this account there was quite a rage at that locality to dive into the recesses of the pipeclay. One man, whom I there noticed, had gone down thirty feet from the surface, twenty of which was into the bed of this clay, but without any results either as to acquiring gold, or sounding the abysses of the stratum. As this formation had generally, in the accidents of time, been thrown considerably off its original horizontal line of stratification, there was a good field for the services of the geologist, who might trace the cropping-out of the lower parts of the bed, and so save a long and perhaps useless labour to the digger.

"The gold-fields are a scene pre-eminently calculated to exhibit the continuous powers of human bones and muscles, and a gold digger, working on his own account, is the personification of these powers. Few know what men can do, and how willingly they do it, too, under an adequate stimulus. We gazed at laborious and incessant industry, which neither dazzling sun nor pelting rain could cause to intermit. A number of German mining parties were met with, which had been generally successful. Little accustomed even to see gold, much less to possess it in such abundance, the peasantry of the 'Fatherland' roused their every energy, and we heard of labours in their pits and tunnels continued by torchlight during the night, as well as by light of day. We passed other foreign parties. Here and there a Swiss, a Frenchman, an American party, or a few Dutch sailors. A New Zealander might be distinguished; and we were amused at one spot by a whole party of Malays and Chinamen, who worked as laboriously for the root of all evil as any orderly Christian.

"In the midst of the busy crowd, and of the restless upturning of the soil, we noticed a small spot of ground enclosed by a rustic fence, which, on our nearer approach, proved to be a grave. Who lay here, no one seemed to know or care. Before the discovery of gold in this colony, I read a rather affecting article in a Californian newspaper upon 'The Unrecorded Dead,' and little thought at that time that the cases there stated would so soon be our own. But such was now emphatically our case, and to an extent and character quite Californian. At the seabeach, by the highway-side, and scattered over the expanse of the gold-fields, were the graves of the unrecorded dead of our young Australia. We encountered in our walk a number of such graves. The deaths upon these grounds are, as might be expected, numerous; and frequently does it occur that there are not only no friends around the departing spirit, but there is no knowledge whatever of the party who is thus leaving his earthly remains to the last offices and sympathies of his fellow-men."

Without pledging ourselves to all the views, political or economical, put forth by Mr. Westgarth, we feel warranted in saying that the reader will find in this volume more sterling information, in the same space, than in any other book that has come under our notice. To one who looks more deeply than common, the chapters on gold will not be the most interesting. The foundation of Australian society must not be sought in the gullies of Mount Alexander or Ballarat. In fact, Australia has yet to show of what metal she is made, and whether the ring be true. She has exhibited pluck in getting rid of transportation; she has yet to show what she can do in reforming her defective political institutions, not, we hope, like the gentlemen



of Sydney, by attempting to set up a sort of brass-farthing Peerage, but by enabling the worth, substance, and manliness of the colonists, to get themselves embodied in the tissues of her political frame. Meanwhile, as a country for the strong and indefatigable, the working-men of Great Britain, Australia still offers the best chances for the acquisition of independence, social status, and substantial wealth.

## CHILDREN'S BOOKS.

A PILE of books lies before us vividly recalling the days when Christmas brought to us not only mince pies, such as now are never made, and "presents" no one thinks of making, but also the eager possibility of exchanging those presents for the treasures of Soho Bazaar. Among those treasures foremost stood Books, with apple-cheeked girls in blue frocks, and odious "good" boys, who made virtue hateful to the young rebellious mind. What a change since then! (we mean in the books). No such splendours awaited us as those which now await our children; few such really good books, no such excellent pictures. Literature has become democratised; colliers read Plato, and artisans of all kinds are not only omnivorous readers, but vigorous thinkers; the railway stalls are richer now in thought and poetry than libraries were in those days; and even the nursery has its "march of intellect." A terrible juvenile in our own, announced his intention the other day of poisoning his nurse "with the fumes of sodium and mercury," and, in a milder mood, advised her not to drink too much filtered water, for the earthy ingredients of water were necessary to the perfect structure of her bones. If grandmothers have imperfect views of Ovology, it will not be the fault of grandsons!

As it has never been our wont to pretend to have read the books we have not read, and as it will be obvious that we have had much more pressing calls upon our time than the reading of a pile of children's books, you will please to understand that in the following remarks, we are, for the most part, guided by juvenile critics who have read them, and pronounced very unbiassed, if not very discriminating, verdicts.

Messrs. Addey and Co., send us the second volume of *The Charm*, a magazine for boys and girls, well-written, well-varied, and well-illustrated. We have on two or three occasions expressed ourselves on this charming work, and have only now to say that it keeps up to its original mark. *The Picture Pleasure Book*, for its cheapness as well as for its merits, deserves hearty commendation. We have seen children aged ten and two lingering over its pages with delight. It is simply a collection of engravings taken from the works published by Messrs. Addey. Miss Martineau's *Playfellow* appears in a new edition of four small volumes. Is there any reader of ours unacquainted with this work? Let him buy it for his children or godchildren, and read it first himself. She has written nothing in the way of fiction to surpass *Feats on the Fiord*; and Miss Edgeworth has written nothing superior to *The Crofton Boys*. In *All is not Gold that Glitters*, we have a story by an American lady, in which California is brought upon the youthful stage. *Natural History in Stories* is a pretty little book for pretty little children, abundantly illustrated by Harrison Weir. A book to be bought! *The Ice King and the Sweet South Wind*, by Mrs. Caroline Butler, is a sort of German romance for older boys, pronounced "so stunning" by a fascinated critic, from whom it was with difficulty secured, for the purpose of notice. *Pretty Poll* is the autobiography of a parrot; and *Pretty Plate* is the history of a bit of crockery, setting forth how honesty is the best policy. *The Adventures of a Dog*, and *a Good Dog too*, is a companion to a former volume, the *Adventures of a Bear*, illustrated by Harrison Weir.

David Bogue sends us a real boys' delight in the spirited volume by Captain Mayne Reid, *The Young Voyageurs; or the Boy Hunters in the North*, with twelve illustrations by Harvey. It is full of adventure, natural history, and American scenery. Emphatically to be recommended. *The Footprints of Famous Men* is a compact volume of biographies, "designed as incitements to intellectual industry," by John Edgar. It comprises Men of Action, Men of Letters, Men of Art, and Men of Science. If, as Longfellow truly sings,

"Lives of great men all remind us,  
We can live a life sublime,"

then such books as these are influential as well as interesting.

Nathaniel Cooke gives us in the Illustrated Library, a new edition of that immortal work, *White's Natural History of Selborne*, with Sir William Jardine's notes, and seventy engravings, beautifully executed. Nor should *Jacob Abbott's Histories* be passed over without a word of recommendation. In shilling volumes, separate yet serial, the lives of great men are popularly, engagingly written. Alfred the Great, Pyrrhus, William the Conqueror, and Alexander the Great, have already appeared; the series will extend to four-and-twenty. *Flowers from the Garden of Knowledge* is a collection of prose rhymes for very young children, with abundant illustrations.

Messrs. Dean and Son, great publishers of such books, have sent *Beauty and the Beast*, by Miss Corner, which is to be the first of a series of Little Plays for Little Actors. It is the old fairy tale thrown into a dramatic form in rhyme, and illustrated by Alfred Crowquill.

Messrs. Routledge and Co., among their endless enterprises, have not omitted books for children. *The Oriental Fairy Tales; or Fancy's Wanderings in the East*, has not only thirty-two illustrations by Harvey, but has a fascination of fiction which will keep a school-room of boys quiet.

There are still some works on our table, but they are of the kind named religious, and of them we are suspicious; so, without speaking of them, we close this ramble through nursery literature with the *Loves of an Apothecary* (Clarke, Beeton, and Co.), which is a story of more pretension, and addressed to older boys and girls. Not having read it, nor heard an opinion of it from our critics, we must confine ourselves to this announcement.

## Portfolio.

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

## CHRISTMAS.

DARK is this Christmas—dark on every quarter of the horizon, physically, socially, politically. The sun of prosperity which shone upon the summer, seems now, in looking back, only to have excited the passion of grasping in the masters, or hope in the men, to entail upon us the strife which is carried on into the winter of adversity. That movement which was the "rise of wages" in the sunny season, is now the bitter "strike," which arouses bad passions in the wealthy, bitterness in the industrious; threatening one side with the workhouse, and the other with some unannounced retribution. The poverty is aggravated in its suffering by a climate which abates its rigours only to try the frame with the incessant diversities of a pitiless sky. War is raging in the East, and our Government, professing to side with the weaker and with justice, permits the wrong of the stronger. We are beginning to doubt whether our rulers are strong enough, and wise enough, to resist that invasion of despotic iniquity which is encroaching in Europe, and may, one day, come to fight the battle upon our own shores. And the wrong is done in the name of that faith which has its birthday at this season!

Some two thousand years ago, a scene is familiarly pictured to have occurred in the humblest of places. An event happened such as visits the home of the humblest of mortals—the birth of a little child. That little child was born of a parent flying from persecution, and the home in which he was born was beneath that which the humblest of English householders owns—he shared his cradle with the ass and the ox. Strange, when we look back upon that scene, the fate of that little child. Before his birth and after it, events were as strange as those which attended his life. Before him came prophecies and persecutions—prophecies of his divine mission, and persecution for the sake of that mission. In order to suppress his life before it began, Herod—the Nicholas of that day—sent forth an order to put down the life of all the first-born in his lands—an Austrian edict; a Russian ukase. But, for all the slaughter in the cities of Herod, there, in the manger, unharmed in its humility, embodied in the frailest shape which humanity can present, that divine spark of life came to worldly existence.

Our painters now picture a light emanating from that cradle: whatever may have been seen by the eyes that then watched the dawning life, the light which arose from that tender couch has indeed spread throughout the whole globe, and has been seen by eyes century after century. Yet for all that certainty, descending to our own day, we are disputing, not only the truth embodied in that light, but the existence of the child. The light, say nice philosophers, who analyse it with their prisms, is not substantiated by legal evidence, and the Registrar-General of Births, Marriages, and Deaths cannot produce for you the certificate. It is an invention, says the philosopher; as if he could produce in the whole round of fiction anything that could approach the stupendous idea of the divine principle which that little child came forth to utter for the world; any history that could so thoroughly embody that principle, in itself, in all that went before it, or in all that came after it! Fiction is not capable of creation. To have invented the history of a Jesus, it would have needed a Jesus to be born to conceive, and to write it. It took more than humanity to create that history or to be it.

Humbler men have told it in their rude and erring accents, and baser men have fallen to quibble upon the mistakes, instead of seizing the body of the light, and carrying it forward with simple faith. The prism of pedantry may split the light into many rays, and one shall be of blood red. That is the light of Christianity which Russia is casting over the East; and the same lurid glare of sectarianism conceals the truth of Christianity amongst ourselves, who are fighting to convict each other of heresies, when we might unite to discover so much of the truth as it is in humanity to know. We cry out that we are in the dark, and in the dark we thicken the midnight by our own scuffling. The light still exists, and will exist for ever, for those who choose to turn to it. And they may so turn to it, whether they have knowledge or have it not; whether they are taught or untaught. For those who speak in sectarian language, and tell you that truth can only reach you when you have grace in your heart, utter a great truth in the midst of their huge falsehood. The heart of grace is the gift of nature, or of that divine power which restores nature when it faints. It does not need book learning or dogmatic teaching to perceive the life which could survive the hurtling slaughter sent forth by Herod to destroy it; as the snowdrop can rise to life through the storm of the elements which seem to threaten its frail tenderness, but which form its native atmosphere. If neither Herod nor the orthodox Jews, Knox nor Calvin, Pope nor Czar, have been able to crush the flower which seems so frail, assuredly it has a chartered life which belongs to centuries yet to come.

Life is stronger than destruction. The darkest hour which we undergo at this moment is destined to burst upon a spring of vitality. If Turkey and Russia are now slaying each other on the Danube, the Bulgarian, who lies between the two, has caught the idea of industry and education, and is at this moment rearing the products of a fertile soil, and the ideas of an awakening mind, which will one day possess the happy federation traversed by that great river, when Turk and Russian shall have passed away into the tomb of history. It is possible for the dread laws of nature sometimes to surprise us with gifts or blessings out of curses: thus the conflict which is raging upon the Black Sea and the mud-impeled river, may be hastening the clearance of the day for that sunnier period. And so at home, we are perplexed by many troubles that press upon us for solution. Next door to us, a great practical philosopher has, with his sword, presumed to cut the Gordian knot of representative government, and has given to his country government by gift of dictator; while our own Ministers, dallying with reform, are trying to discover how far it is safe to entrust the free-born Englishman with the franchise. Masters and men are fighting, in the battle of combination, the great problem of competition or co-operation.

While cholera is suspended for the winter, sanitary reformers are contending with old custom in the effort to make great artificial systems conform to those laws of nature, which reign on the mountain and the prairie, in the river and the ocean. We are asking ourselves whether the death entailed by a too protracted and effeminate peace is not worse than the summary death visited upon nations by war; and we cannot yet answer.

The book of nature is still as dark for us as the sky of this mid-winter Christmas. But the one thing we know is, that destruction is the servant of life, and that he who has failed to follow the simple light which God has raised like the pillar of fire in the broad wilderness of nature itself, shall be able, through industry or through destruction, to work out the blessing which mankind must attain,—through blood perchance, through the sweat of the brow certainly; but at all events shall attain, and shall foretaste in some degree, even in the midst of suffering.

It is the midnight of the year; but while we gather round the fire, and listen to the howling of the elements outside, or to the howling of the elements in the East, we may comfort ourselves with the certainty that dawn follows midnight; and if we have done the duty that lies before us, be it simple or great, we may, even in the midst of trouble, sanctify our own enjoyment by the faith that it belongs to that which is to come.

## The Arts.

### THREE WEDNESDAY EVENING CONCERTS.

SINCE the farewell of Mademoiselle WILHELMINE CLAUSS, and the departure of Benedict, these Concerts have fallen into the miscellaneous and popular line to a degree below criticism. Last Wednesday evening, for instance, the performance was one of the most wearisome ever inflicted even on an all-suffering British public. It was all "miscellaneous" except Mendelssohn's ever welcome *Midsummer Night's Dream*, which was indifferently played. A solo on the double bass by Mr. Rowland deserves a word of praise for its cleverness. The rest of the concert was what Sam Slick would call "cautionary." Madame Amadei sang, or rather dragged through the *In si Barbara* from *Semiramide* (inseparably identified with the voluptuous tenderness of Alboni) with a disregard to time quite exasperating. A lady of the name of Limpus sang *Robert, toi que j'aime*, transposed a third lower; and, by way of a climax and a contrast, Mr. Genge—the idol of the tavern—squeaked through his nose and teeth *The Fairy Tempter*, a third higher than it was written. A solo on the harp was as interesting as could be expected, and the pianiste of the evening, a Miss Kate Rogers, attempted Mendelssohn's *Rondo brillante* in E flat not discreditably. However, we had not the courage to remain to the close of the concert. Mr. Genge—that "popular British tenor"—was too much even for musical nerves hardened in the service of an ungrateful public.

We have little to record about last week's Concert, and that little not so favourable as we could desire. The March composed expressly for the Sultan by Rossini, and which was announced with a flourish of trumpets to be strengthened by two military bands, turned out a very trashy affair; apparently a mere pasticcio of leavings from some forgotten commonplace-book of the eminent and obdurate pig-fancier of Bologna. The only performance that compensated for the poverty of the programme, so horribly miscellaneous and "popular," was the selections from Benedict's compositions, which were full of science, interest, and beauty, besides including songs which are household favourites of the English public.

We crave leave to repair an involuntary omission, and to say a word or two on the Concert of the week before last, which, for many reasons, and especially for one, was the most interesting of the series. The first part was a repetition of the Mendelssohn night, which a fortnight before was so cruelly used by the fog. The *Fingal's Cave* overture, that grand reminiscence of the land of mountain and flood—passages of which sound like the chant of the old sea-gods departing, was given with fire and spirit by an orchestra of very moderate pretensions, under the energetic *bâton* of Mr. Benedict: and the symphony in which, as in an enchanted mirror of sound, the life, the

history, the fatal beauty, the skies, and seas, the plains, and groves, and palaces; the antique glory, the luxurious decay, the passionate aspirations of Italy are pictured—the Italian symphony held the Hall in rapturous attention. But the special interest of the Concert was the farewell appearance at the piano of the most divinely gifted, most delicate, and most sensitive musical genius an age of innumerable executants has yet produced. Mademoiselle Clauss repeated her performance of Mendelssohn's concerto in G minor; and it was the opinion of the whole host of critics present in the Hall, that never had she played more finely; never was that marvellous touch more soft and full, more airy and tender, more round and melting: never was the expression more intense and passionate: never was the *largo*, with all its lingering and wayward melancholy, more sympathetically, more caressingly cadenced. Mademoiselle Clauss seemed resolved to bring admiration and delight with her, and to leave despair behind. The career of this young celebrity is a lesson to students. When she first appeared in Paris and in London, two years ago, her childlike and gentle aspect, touched with the shadow of an early grief, conquered the affections of the public even before her accomplished genius secured their admiration. She became the darling of her audiences. But to calm and cold critics there was still much to be desired, and much to be feared, in that success and in that enthusiasm. There was still so much to learn, and if this uncritical applause should "spoil," there would be so much to unlearn. All that genius could give was there indeed: feeling, touch, expression, and that indefinable something called *charm*: but a thorough grasp of the composer's intention, an unfailing correctness of reading and certainty of hand, were often wanting. How fortunate for the young artist that she should have found friends as well as admirers, and that she should have had the sense and courage to listen to the judicious few who sometimes shook their heads when applause was the loudest! She went away and studied, and came back and studied, never resting, ever aspiring. And now this intense devotion to her Art, for the Art's sake, has its reward. Those sterner critics say that to all the charms and graces that only genius can bestow, she now unites that correctness, grasp, and certainty, which nothing but severe, ardent, conscientious study can achieve. And she is only nineteen—this gifted and devoted girl—and she studies unrelaxingly, with that finer sense which ever sees a better beyond the best accomplished yet, and never rests content in the excellence of to-day!

Need we say that on this farewell night the exquisite performance of the concerto in G minor was listened to in rapt and breathless silence, and that the gentle sorceress whose soul was in the chords was rapturously recalled by an audience that thronged the Hall, and would not willingly let their favourite depart? Mademoiselle Clauss is now in Paris, where, at pressing solicitations, she gives one concert. Before the New Year she will be on the wing to St. Petersburg, where imperial honours and triumphs await her. She has promised to return to us with the spring, when the swallows and the green leaves come again.

One word about the miscellaneous portion of these concerts. It was on this occasion, with few exceptions, a continual burlesque, little calculated to elevate the popular taste, but rather to convince foreigners of the deplorable absence of real musical intelligence in England. There was a British tenor hissing ballads, with occasional vociferations of "No! by Heaven," through his teeth and nose; two commanding young ladies jerking out a duo, in that nervous and intense manner familiar to drawing-rooms, always accentuating in the wrong place; there was a fine bass voice and manly style shouting with forty-lung power; a confident and courageous *débutante*, who executed Rode's Variations with an audacity of incompetence worthy of a better cause. There were exceptions to this strange medley. In Madame Amadei we recognised at once the *physique* of a powerful contralto, which is always supposed to be constructed on the principle of a steam-frigate—to carry an 84-pounder amidships. But we also found a rich and sonorous voice totally beyond control: in a word, there was too much powder in her guns. Mr. Chipp the younger, who appeared nervous, played a fantasia on the violoncello, with an excellent tone and bow, but with a timidity that failed to do him justice. We protest against a horrible *pot pourri* overture—beginning with *Euryanthe*, going on with *Don Giovanni*, and ending with *Masaniello*. We are bound to say, with sincere regret in the avowal, that the audience rapturously enjoyed all these vulgarities. Our only wonder is, where do the people come from who applaud such things? M. Jullien gave us miscellaneous concerts: but the music, if only polkas, waltzes, and mazurkas, was always the best of the kind, and always given in the best style.

### BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

#### BIRTHS.

On the 2nd November, at Rawul Pindce, in the Punjab the wife of W. S. R. Hodson, Esq., Commandant of the Corps of Guides, and Assistant-Commissioner: a daughter.  
On the 17th December, at Oban, Argyshire, the wife of Lieutenant John Ward, R.N.: a son.  
On the 18th, at 15, Herford-street, the wife of Thomas Somers Cooks, jun., Esq., M.P.: a daughter.  
On the 18th, at 6, James's-square, the Lady Alfred Hervey: a daughter.  
On the 18th, at Torquay, the wife of Sir Paul Hunter, Bart.: a son and heir.  
On the 18th, at 25, Gordon-street, Gordon-square, the wife of George d'Olier Gowan, Esq.: a daughter.  
On the 20th, at 44, Torrington-place, Plymouth, the wife of Commander B. H. Bunce, R.N., H.M. ship Prince Regent: a daughter.

#### MARRIAGES.

On the 13th December, at Thurles, county of Tipperary, Major Gaisford, of the Seventy-second Highlanders, son of the very Rev. the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, to Jane Vaughan, daughter of the Venerable H. Cotton, Archdeacon of Cashel, and widow of Major Montizambert, of the Tenth Regiment of Foot.  
On the 17th, by the Right Hon. Rev. Lord Thynne, William Lowther, Esq., youngest son of the Hon. Colonel Lowther, and H.B.M. Secretary of Legation at Naples, to Charlotte Alice, daughter of the Right Hon. Baron Parko.  
On the 20th, at St. Thomas's Church, Ryde, Isle of Wight, Frederick Charles, only son of the late Major-General Sir Charles Ashworth, K.C.B. and K.T.S., to Elizabeth, daughter of Arthur Frederick, Esq.  
On the 20th, at Hungerford Church, Berks, J. G. Thentsted, Esq., late second officer. H.M. Customs, Sierra Leone, to Frederica, daughter of the late Captain Carpenter, J. P. for the county of Middlesex.  
On the 20th, at St. Alphege Church, Greenwich, R. F. Morrison, Esq., Nineteenth Regiment, only son of Richard Morrison, Esq., and grandson of the late Sir Richard Morrison, of Walcot, near Bray, county of Wicklow, to Jane, fourth daughter of the late Colquhoun Grant, Esq., Staff Surgeon at Zante, and of Kinchirdy, Morayshire, N.B.

#### DEATHS.

At Simla, on the 26th of October, whither he had gone to recruit his health after his return from Burmah, Major-General Sir Henry T. Godwin, K.C.B., Colonel of the Twentieth Regiment, aged sixty-nine.  
On the 12th December, Eliza Dorothea, relict of Captain Sydenham T. Wylde, and only surviving daughter of the late Penystone Portlock Pounney, Esq., of Ives-place, Maidenhead, Berks, M.P. for Windsor, aged seventy-five.  
On the 15th, at Alloo Park, N.B., Philadelphia, the Countess of Mar and Kellie, eldest daughter of the late Sir Charles Granville Stuart Menteath, of Closeburn and Mansfield, Bart.  
On the 16th, at Eglinton Castle, the Countess of Eglinton.  
On the 17th, at Hazeley, the Hon. Frances Mary Waldegrave, infant daughter of Viscount and Viscountess Chawton.  
On the 17th, at Flesk-lodge, Killarney, after a short but severe illness, Major William Serjeantson Dalton, youngest son of the late John Dalton, Esq., of Slingsford-park, in the county of York, and Fillingham Castle, in the county of Lincoln, aged fifty.

## Commercial Affairs.

### MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, December 23, 1853.

BUSINESS in the Stock Exchange has been at a stand-still during the week, save a few transactions in "Consols," a sensitive plant which looks very languid and shaky this morning. The impression gains ground that the days of the Aberdeen Ministry are numbered, and that Lord Palmerston must be Premier eventually, despite of Court opposition—at the latter, by the way, one hears most irreverend grumblings. There have been some few transactions in

Peruvians, owing to the belief that the scheme proposed by the Government of that country will fall to the ground, and the bonds maintained in their original integrity. Reports are rife this morning of the possible sudden departure of M. de Brunow and M. de Kissileff from their respective stations, should the news of the entrance of the combined fleets into the Black Sea be officially confirmed. Reports, too, of serious disagreements at the Cabinet Council yesterday, and a report wilder than all, of a French agent in this country, who is said to be endeavouring to hire steamers for the conveying troops from Toulon and Marseilles to Constantinople, so that there is some reason, as you may perceive, for Consols going to 94 sellers. However, a rally is likely enough to take place this afternoon, if nothing more decided come to light. Mining Shares have been sparingly dealt in; some of the English copper mines that are reported to be auriferous—in some instances to the extent of 8 oz. to the ton—have been inquired for. South Devon Consols, Quintrell Down, and above all, Poltimore—the shares of the last have been done at  $\frac{1}{2}$ , or fifty per cent. premium. Land Company Shares have been very languid. Australian Agriculturalists have declined 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  per share. The reports of the Peninsular copper mines near Bilbao, and the Rhinish of "Oberhof" lead mines are highly satisfactory. Indeed, of the first-mentioned mine—if the Company's report be in every particular correct—Burra Burra and Devon Consols (Wheat Maria) may hide their diminished heads.  
At this time, 2 30, Consols are 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; but a rally is not unlikely to occur before the hours of business close.  
Four o'clock. Market closes firmer. Consols for the opening, 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 93 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Caledonian, 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Eastern Counties, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Edinburgh and Glasgow, 64, 66; Great Western, 83 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 83 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Lancashire and Yorkshire, 67, 67 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; London, Brighton, and South Coast, 99, 100; London and North Western, 103 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 104; London and South Western, 78, 79; Midland, 63, 63 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, 37, 38; Scottish Central, 91, 93; South Eastern, 62, 63; York, Newcastle, and Berwick, 63 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 64; York and North Midland, 47 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 48 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Dijon and Besançon, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  pm.; East Indian, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  pm.; Luxembourg, 11, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Ditto (Railway), 7, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Ditto, Pref., 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 2; Northern of pm.; Namur and Liege (with Int.), 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 8; Northern of France, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Paris and Lyons, 10, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  pm.; Paris and Orleans, 40, 43; Paris and Rouen, 41, 43; Rouen and Havre,



19, 20; Paris and Strasbourg, 32½, 33; Paris, Caen, and Cherbourg, 3, 4 pm.; Sambre and Meuse, 8½, 9; West Flanders, 4½, 5; Western of France, 7½, 8½ pm.; Agua Frias, 1 pm.; Brazil Imperial, 5½, 6½; Colonial Gold, 1½, 2 pm.; Linares (Spain) lead, 11, 12 x. n.; Nouveau Monde, 1½, 2 pm.; United Mexican, 4½, 5½; Wallers, 1½, 2 dis.; West Mariporas, 1½, 2 dis.; Poltimore, 1½, 2 pm.; Port Royals, 1½, 2 pm.; Peninsular Mining, 1½, 2 pm.; Obernhof, 3-16, 5-16 pm.; Gladbach Zinc, par, 1 pm.; London Chartered Bank of Australia, 1½, 1 pm.; Union of Australia, 73, 75; Oriental Banks, 47, 49; Australian Agricultural, 45, 46; Peel Rivers, 1½, 2 pm.; South Australian Land, 39, 41; North British Australians, 1½, 2 pm.; Scottish Investment (Australian), 1½, 1½ pm.

## CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday Evening, Dec. 23.

**LOCAL TRADE.**—The supplies of English wheat during the week have been insignificant, but liberal of foreign wheat and of Irish and foreign oats. The trade in all articles is firm at Monday's rates.

**FLOATING TRADE.**—Out of thirty-two arrivals reported this week, only about nine remain for sale. The general rise in prices throughout the country, and the firm tone of the French and Belgian markets, have not been without influence on the value of floating cargoes. Since our last, sales have been made at an advance of 2s. per qr. It is an important feature in the trade, that after a temporary depression, arising from immense supplies, the markets in the south of Europe have again begun to advance, so that there is, at present, no reason to expect that cargoes originally destined for Mediterranean ports will be sent forward to this country, as was feared by some persons about three weeks ago. We have certainly more inquiries for wheat from Ireland as well as England this week. The stocks of this article in the former country are getting very low, and we expect before long to have such a demand from thence as shall make up, in a great measure, for the want of a French demand, should this fall off as some persons seem rather disposed to anticipate. The shipments from Odessa continue in the same proportions as before to the Mediterranean and this country.

## BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Frid.
Bank Stock.....	.....	.....	220	220	.....	219
3 per Cent. Red. ....	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½	94
3 per Cent. Con. An. ....	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½	93½
Consols for Account ..	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	95½
3½ per Cent. An. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New 5 per Cents. ....	5½	.....	5	5½	5½	.....
Long Ans. 1860. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
India Stock.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ditto Bonds, £1000 .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ditto, under £1000 .....	par	4 p	.....	par	.....	.....
Ex. Bills, £1000.....	6 p	5 p	5 p	2 p	6 p	6 p
Ditto, £500.....	6 p	5 p	5 p	2 p	.....	6 p
Ditto, Small .....	6 p	5 p	5 p	6 p	6 p	.....

## FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Brazilian Bonds .....	99½	Russian Bonds, 5 per Cents 1822 .....	113½
Buenos Ayres 6 per Cents. ....	.....	Russian 4½ per Cents. ....	98
Chilian 6 per Cents.....	103	Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def. ....	22
Danish 5 per Cents.....	.....	Spanish Committee Cert. of Coup. not fun. ....	5½
Ecuador Bonds.....	.....	Venezuela 3½ per Cents. ....	.....
Mexican 3 per Cents. ....	24½	Belgian 4½ per Cents. ....	96
Mexican 3 per Ct. for Acc., December 16.....	.....	Dutch 2½ per Cents.....	64½
Portuguese 4 per Cents. ....	40½	Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif. ....	96
Portuguese 3 p. Cts., 1848 .....	37½		

## OLYMPIC THEATRE—

Lessee and Manager, MR. ALFRED WIGAN.  
On Monday, December 26th, and during the week, PLOT AND PASSION. After which, will be presented a New Grand Comic Christmas Historico-Geographical Pantomime, entitled, HARLEQUIN COLUMBUS; or, THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW. Harlequin, Mr. F. Moreland; Clown, Mr. Rochez; Columbine, Miss Wyndham; Pantaloon, Mr. W. Rochez.

Doors open at Seven o'clock, and commence at Half-past Seven. Stalls, 5s.; Boxes, 4s.; Pit, 2s.; Gallery, 1s.

## WEDNESDAY EVENING CONCERTS, EXETER HALL.

CHRISTMAS WEEK.

MISS LOUISA PYNE and MR. W. HARRISON will appear on Wednesday next, December 28th, 1853, for positively one night only.

Also, Miss Thirlwall, the Misses Wells, Mrs. Distin, Mr. Alfred Pierre, and Mr. Lawlor.

The performance will consist of selections from Mozart's Opera (*Zauberflöte*) of THE MAGIC FLUTE.

After which, selections from MARITANA and other popular works.

**SOLOISTS:**—Grand Pianoforte, Mr. W. G. Cusins (who will perform W. Sterndale Bennett's Fourth Concerto in F minor); Concertina, Mr. Blagrove; Ophicleide, Mr. Prospero; Violoncello, Mr. Horatio Chipp.

Admission, 1s.; 1s. 6d.; 3s.; and Stalls, 5s.

## 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.

## WHITTINGTON CLUB AND METROPOLITAN ATHENAEUM.

## WEEKLY Assemblies for Music and

Dancing—Lectures, Classes, and Entertainments—Dining, Coffee, Smoking, and Drawing Rooms—Library, Reading, and News Rooms, supplied with 30 daily and 100 weekly and provincial Papers.—Subscriptions, Two Guineas the year; One Guinea the half year. Ladies, half these rates. Tickets for the ensuing year and half year are now ready. No Entrance Fee.

H. Y. BRACE, Secretary.

37, Arundel-street, Strand.

## ITALIAN NATIONAL PARTY.

**LECTURE on the WRITINGS of DOUGLAS JERROLD** will be delivered at the National Hall, Holborn, by GOLDING PENROSE, on Thursday evening, December 29th, at eight o'clock. Admission: Reserved Seats, 1s.; Gallery, 6d.; Body of the Hall, 3d.

The proceeds will be handed over to the funds of the Italian National Party.

## JOHN B. GOUGH will deliver ORATIONS as follow:—

Exeter Hall, Strand, on Tuesday, 27th, and Thursday, 29th December. Doors open at Seven. Chair taken at Eight o'clock precisely. Admission 6d. each; reserved seats 1s.; to be had at 337, Strand; or in the Hall on the evenings of the Lectures.

John B. Gough will also deliver an Address to Children on the evening of Wednesday, 28th, in St. Martin's Hall, Long-acre. Doors open at Half-past Five. Chair to be taken at Half-past Six by the Right Hon. the EARL of SHAFTESBURY.

The body of the Hall will be reserved for Children of the Bands of Hope, who will be admitted by ticket (free), to be had of their Superintendents. Admission to other parts of the Hall 1s.; reserved seats 2s. 6d. each; children, with their parents, half-price.

London Temperance League-office and Reading-room, 337, Strand.

## THE most comfortable NEW YEAR'S

Present is HEAL & SON'S EIDER DOWN QUILT. It is the warmest, the lightest, and the most elegant Covering, suitable for the Bed, the Couch, or the Carriage; and for Invalids its comfort cannot be too highly appreciated. It is made in three varieties, of which a large assortment can be seen at their Establishment. Lists of Prices of the above, together with the Catalogue of Bedsteads, sent free by post. HEAL & SON, Bedstead and Bedding Manufacturers, 196, Tottenham-court-road.

## REGISTERED AS THE ACT DIRECTS.

## STEPHENS' IMPROVED PARALLEL

**RULER.**—In the use of the common Desk Ruler every person knows that there is a constant motion of the fingers to accompany the revolution of the Ruler; this motion, besides the inconvenience to the operator, occasions it to roll out of the parallel, and lines so ruled do not in any length of surface correspond. Another inconvenience in the common Ruler is, that, by its contact with the Pen, ink stains are left on the sides of the Ruler, which, in revolving, soil the fingers and the paper; both these inconveniences are removed by the above-named improved Ruler, which having the rollers underneath a flat upper surface, rolls over the paper without coming in contact with the fingers; and by a peculiarity of formation at the ruling edge the Pen is kept from contact with the ruling parts on the paper, so that soiling the fingers on the paper is completely prevented.

Rulers of various lengths, from seven to eighteen inches, at prices varying from 2s. 6d. to 5s.

Manufactured and Sold by the Proprietor, HENRY STEPHENS, 54, Stamford-street, Blackfriars-road, London. Sold by all Booksellers and Stationers.

## DAVIES' 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, 7d.; 8d., 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.

## THE NEW CORK RESPIRATOR.—

The lightest, cheapest, and most effectual ever produced, remains perfectly dry while worn, allowing for respiration without being acted on by the acids of the stomach. It is particularly recommended to Invalids, and all who attend evening meetings or places of amusement. The ease with which it is applied and removed cannot fail to make it appreciated by ladies.

Price 3s. each, free by post.

Wholesale and retail of William T. Cooper, Pharmaceutical Chemist, 26, Oxford-street, London.

## MESSRS. FARRELL AND HIGGINS,

NAVAL and MILITARY TAILORS, OUTFITTERS for INDIA and the COLONIES, 5, Princes-street, Hanover-square.

F. and H. deem it unnecessary to adopt any of the modern systems of advertisement. They enjoy the patronage and support of the most distinguished men of the day in social position, fortune, science, and literature; and whilst their order-books can boast of the most illustrious of names, their unrivalled cut is equally within the reach of the most limited in their means.

Liveries from the highest to the plainest style executed on the shortest notice.

The best Irish made Shirts, Six for 36s.; Coloured, Six for 21s.

## 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 observance; 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.

## THE COMFORT of a FIXED WATER-

CLOSET for £1.—Places in Gardens converted into comfortable Water-closets by the PATENT HERMETICALLY-SEALED PAN, with its self-acting water-trap valve, entirely preventing the return of cold air or effluvia. Price £1. Any carpenter can fix it in two hours. Also PATENT HERMETICALLY-SEALED INODOROUS COMMODORES for the Sick-room, price £1 4s., £2 6s., and £3. A Prospectus with Engravings forwarded by enclosing a post-stamp. At FIFE and CO.'S, 26, Tavistock-street, Covent-garden.

## 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; or to Dr. Lovell, Winslow Hall, Bucks.

## MR. ROCHE'S EDUCATIONAL IN-

STITUTES for YOUNG LADIES, Cadogan-gardens, and 1, North Audley-street. 18th Year.

French History, Geography, and Astronomy ..... Mr. Roche.  
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Drawing and Painting ..... Mr. James Doyle.  
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Applications to be addressed to Mr. A. Roche, Cadogan-gardens.

## 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.

## 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

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

This is the most pleasant and nutritious preparation of Cocoa.

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

All goods delivered by our own vans, free of charge, within eight miles of London. 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.  
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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, CURRENTS, IMPERIAL PLUMS, FIGS, &c., is now ready, and is sent, post free, on application.

## TO THE LOVERS OF FISH.

## CHRISTMAS PRESENTS for COUN-

TRY FRIENDS. 25 Real Yarmouth Blonkers delivered in London for 2s.; 100 forwarded to any part of the Kingdom for 6s.; 100 fine Devonshire Kipper Herrings, quite a luxury, for 8s.; 100 fine American Herrings for 8s.; they are highly dried, and will keep for years; they are well adapted for emigrants and residents in the Colonies. Also, 12 dozen of fine Albion Dried Sprats for 1s. 6d. Fine Fennel Haddock, 4s., 5s., and 6s. per dozen. A Barrel of the best Native Oysters for 5s. 6d.; or a bag containing Half-a-Bushel of good quality Oysters for 10s. All orders immediately attended to by WILLIAM DEEKS, 7, Bow-street, Covent-garden.

N.B. Country residents requiring fresh Fish from London may rely on their orders being punctually attended to, both in price and quality. All Post-office orders, as above, to be made payable at the Strand Money Order-office. The Trade supplied.

## 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 authorise 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, H. K. BOND, sole executrix and widow of the late John Bond, 28, Long-lane, West Smithfield, London.



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