

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, APRIL 24, 1852.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

INQUIRY is the order of the day in Parliament—inquiry into India—inquiry into Maynooth—inquiry into Mr. Bennett at Frome. The Easter Recess has come and passed, and Parliament is "at it again," full tilt—talking; but the complaints that it is doing nothing multiply, beyond precedent, and excel the wearisome regrets of former years. Parliament is not even preparing for the elections—except by talking against time, so as to secure the completion, not of "the business of the country," but of the *private* business. To have left *that* undone would have exasperated every country-town lawyer, every "important person in his locality," who has any measure before the House; and no Ministry would dare to do that, much less the Ministry of the bold Lord Derby. When Mr. Disraeli and his chief were asked what was the business essential to the country, they might have answered in two words—the private business.

The Indian inquiry, however, was not unneeded. In 1854, the "charter," or rather the act regulating the Government of India, will expire; and although the inquiry was scarcely requisite to collect information, it is as well to have it as the starting-point of practical deliberation. Our councils cannot get on, in modern times, until they have begun with a blue-book. Mr. Herries proposed a Select Committee; but in doing so he produced divers statistical eulogies on the progress made in all directions, in a way to show that it is not desirable to make any essential alteration of the existing system. And that was the general feeling of the House. Some few improvements were suggested—more roads, another bishop, irrigation, missionary labours, &c.—but Lord John Russell roundly declared it almost impossible to improve the outline of the present system. Evidently the committee will employ the impending two years in deciding to make no essential alteration.

The inquiry into Maynooth is only threatened, not ordered, in the shape of a motion by Mr. Spooner; but in the meanwhile, referring to a speech by Sir Fitzroy Kelly, who said that he should support that motion, Lord Clanricarde asked Lord Derby what his intentions were? No ingenuity could wring a reply from the Premier. He said that he was disappointed with the "fruits" of the act of 1845, rendering the grant to Maynooth permanent, and enlarging it; he let it be understood that he would not oppose Mr. Spooner's motion, but he would not say what he would do

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himself. His silence is construed to mean that he will revoke the grant *if he can*. And what is to prevent him? Not the hostility of the Irish—if England will support him. Evidently he cannot yet calculate his chances. Meanwhile he is recording divers fallacious representations on the subject, which may be useful to him hereafter.

Into Mr. Bennett, with his diocesan, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Mr. Horsman has compelled the too yielding Ministers to inquire. Our readers will remember Mr. Bennett as that clergyman who devoted much trouble, time, and means to building a church and schools at Knightsbridge; who became very Tractarian in his practices; and resigned on a peremptory hint from the Bishop of London. Afterwards, it seems, he went to Germany, and consorted with Roman Catholics; then went to Frome, was presented to the living by the Marchioness of Bath, and instituted by the Bishop; whereupon Mr. Horsman accuses the Bishop of violating the canons, and moves an address asking for a Royal Commission to inquire. Mr. Disraeli deprecated this haste; suggested that an appeal might be made to the Archbishop; and moved "the previous question." Mr. Gladstone recommended a "friendly" inquiry; Mr. Walpole accepted; and on that understanding the majority present in the House agreed to vote that Mr. Horsman's question should not then be put. But Ministers need hardly have been so tender to Mr. Horsman; for, in point of fact, no case was made out against the Bishop. The Bishop must institute a presentee if he be certified as a person of proper conduct and qualifications—as Mr. Bennett was—and if the Bishop be satisfied of his doctrine. The affirmative on the Bishop's part is conclusive; but not the negative: it was shown in Gorham's case, that the Bishop must prove his dissatisfaction to lie on a point of essential and established doctrine, or the rights of the patron will be maintained. And as to Mr. Bennett's personal conduct, there was no charge of technical illegality. Mr. Disraeli's notion of an appeal to the Archbishop, without previous proceedings in an ecclesiastical court, seems to be an illusion. Perhaps the "friendly" inquiry will be more penetrating and damaging than a technical attack, which might have been parried.

Mr. Milner Gibson's admirable speech, once more exposing the mischief of the Taxes on Knowledge, has wrung from Mr. Disraeli the promise to "consider" at least two of them—the Stamp and Advertisement duties.

On the whole, during the week, we should say that Ministers have neither gained ground nor

lost it. Their appearance at the Goldsmith's dinner was an opportunity—not used; except in a Californian discovery by Lord Derby, of statesman-likeworth in regions unexplored—to wit, the regions of his Protectionist and Young England grounds!

Now if he wanted to do a popular thing, he might find the occasion easy to his hand—the preservation of the Crystal Palace. We do not judge solely by the continued agitation in its favour, but still more by the numbers that had visited the building until it was forcibly closed by the Commissioners. Lord Derby might contrast the crowds who testify their liking by their visiting, with the sulky dozen that stay away, and wish to spoil the pleasure of the multitude for their own exclusive taste. But the Ministers, at present, not valuing popularity, appear inexorably to side with the sulky dozen. The public does not threaten much; but unquestionably the Ministry that actually compels the demolition of the building, will incur a considerable degree both of unpopularity and of dislike.

Another measure would be the adoption of the Sanitary scheme so well urged on Lord Derby by the deputation from the society; but Lord Derby spoke of "difficulties!"

A matter of art is creating more commotion than politics can—the appearance of Joanna Wagner, announced as forthcoming, "exclusively," yet simultaneously, at each of the two opera houses. In these days of scientific feats, such a binal appearance could not be presumed to be impossible. Mademoiselle Wagner *might* have walked bodily on one stage, and have electrified the audience in the other, telegraphically or mesmerically. However, at present "the German Lind" attempts no such feat, but goes exclusively to Covent Garden, where she is awaited with a fervour of expectation. It is presumed that all London will "go on Saturday"—to-night. So vivid and abiding is the interest of art. Tamberlik and Ronconi can draw crowded houses; and we listen with ever fresh delight to the strains of the *Martiri*; although the wails of Protectionists, the horrors of intra-mural interment, and the perils of bad water-supply grow stale with repetition.

All France is on tiptoe for the coming fête of the distribution of the eagles in the Champ de Mars. The day has been selected, with rare gusto, as that on which the constitutional powers of the President would have expired, but for the *coup d'état*. The celebration is to exceed in splendour and solemnity all that ever France has witnessed since the Federation of 1790. If the Empire be not proclaimed on the 10th of May, it

will not be the fault of the soldiers. The imperialist propaganda is now undisguised and incessant. The assumption is a mere question of days. If France be indeed unfit for a free government, it begins to be clear that she is far more unfit for a pure despotism. Already opposition, growing daily more elastic in resources and expedients, is sending out its flying skirmishers. The Press is waxing bolder in thought and language: the very *Constitutionnel*, we suppose from sheer satiety of adulation, shoots a poisoned arrow; and in the miserable Legislative, a nominee screws up courage to give his rulers a "bit of his mind." In the faubourg of the workmen, the Dictator is greeted with the flat blasphemy of *Vive la République*, hissing at his ears like an execration. What is to be done with the countless mobile elements of resistance in a country where *esprit* overflows? Even the lacqueys, the menials, the creatures of the tyranny, are prone to opposition, as a pastime. Louis Bonaparte has lost his strongest friend in Europe, Prince Schwarzenberg. The Great Powers are fain to fight shy of such a phenomenon as a second Emperor Napoleon. As a "utility" President, he was worth encouraging, but as a brother in the purple!—1815 forbids it.

The meeting of the Zollverein Congress at Berlin has discovered the smouldering jealousies of the great German Powers. If Prussia hold firm, she may yet be able to atone by commercial supremacy for political humiliations.

At Naples, the British ambassador lisps the "compliments of the season" to the royal executioner, of whom fresh cruelties to Mr. Gladstone's unhappy clients are recorded: while at Rome, "converted" Englishmen making themselves a spectacle to gods and men in religious ceremonies; and Eton and Rugby challenging "all the world," in the Capital of the Cæsars, to a match at cricket, and getting well beaten for their pains, are certainly a more pleasant, if a more ridiculous, subject for our meditations.

As official enquiries advance, the report of vessels seen on a field of ice, off the Great Bank, on the 20th of April, 1851, by the mate and crew of the *Renovation*, grows more distinct and probable. It does seem certain that two ships were so seen, and probable that they were Franklin's ships. Captain Ommanney evidently thinks so, from his desire to send to Canada for more information about them. If so, the vessels were drifted away early in 1851, and one of them was in good condition; the crews were not very likely to have perished long before: what then has become of them? Conjecture only tantalises itself by thinking of such enquiries; but in the meanwhile, the vision of the ships has stimulated both curiosity and hope, and it has been made known opportunely, just as the new Arctic expedition is leaving our shores to continue the search.

THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT.

THE serious business of the Commons began on Monday with the motion by Mr. HERRIES for the appointment of a "Select Committee to inquire into the operation of the Act 3rd and 4th William IV., c. 85, 'for the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian territories,' and to report their observations thereon." In advancing this motion, Mr. Herries glanced rapidly at the history of the authority vested in the East India Company.

The system of the Government was originally established in 1784; but since that each subsequent measure has had a tendency further to enlarge the restrictions which conferred exclusive rights, privileges, and possessions on the Company. When the Charter was renewed in 1793, a small private trade was admitted, under control of the Company; but until 1813, the introduction of private trade was very partial. In 1812 there was an important inquiry, and one immediate result of that investigation was, that in 1813 private traders were admitted to full competition with the Company, except in China, the trade with which was still retained exclusively to the Company. In 1833 still larger changes were made. The Act passed by Parliament in that year, converted the East India Company from being proprietors of the soil of the territory of India—territory acquired under their government, but by the prowess, no doubt, and the skill of the military and naval armaments of Great Britain—into individuals having no further right or property in the territory so acquired; and, at the same time, it not only

divested them of their previously exclusive right of trading with China, but positively inhibited them from trading at all; so that, from the passing of the act, and so long as the act should continue to be enforced, they ceased to be, not simply exclusive traders, but traders of any character whatever. All their possessions were made over to the Crown; their commercial assets were disposed of; their future power of trade entirely annihilated, so long as the act continued in force. The act was passed for twenty years; that was to say, it was to last from 1834 to 1854.

One of the conditions on the side of the East India Company for this—he must certainly call it immense sacrifice on their part—was, that their stock, then amounting to 6,000,000*l.*, which they had lent to the public, should not be subject to redemption before the year 1874; that was to say, not until forty years after the passing of the act. On the other hand it was enacted, that if during the continuance of those forty years the Government should at any time take from the Company any of the privileges which it then conferred upon them as agents for the administration of the empire of India, the Company should have the right of requiring the redemption of that stock, by the payment on the part of the public of 200*l.* for every 100*l.* of stock so existing; a condition on which the East India Company would not be likely to insist so long as the market value of the stock remains, as it now does, 60*l.* or 70*l.* above the value of 200*l.* Another condition was, that the Company retained the entire patronage of the Indian administration—the appointment of all the officers for the administration of Indian affairs; the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief alone excepted; and the Board of Directors further had the right of revoking, indiscriminately, all appointments to offices in India, not even excepting the Governor-Generalship, though this office they could not confer without the consent of the Crown. Under this arrangement the affairs of India had continued to be administered from 1834 to the present time; and they would continue to be so administered until the year 1854; when it will remain for Parliament and the Crown to determine whether the system shall be continued or altered.

Now since 1834, great changes have taken place. India has made great progress; and Mr. Herries rapidly indicated the nature of the progress.

The revenue of India has greatly increased. In the year 1834-5, at the commencement of the period in question, the total revenue of India was 18,407,778*l.*; and since that year there had been, upon the whole number of years, a gradual increase in that revenue, as thus;—in 1835-6, the revenue was 19,294,877*l.*; in 1836-37, 19,119,902*l.*; in 1841-42, 19,874,142*l.*; in 1842-43, 20,572,786*l.*; in 1843-44, 21,423,243*l.*; in 1848-49, 23,342,544*l.*; in 1849-50, 25,160,575*l.*; in 1850-51 (estimated), 24,579,282*l.* The difference between the first and the last years is 6,000,000*l.* He was sorry to say that the expenditure had also increased—from 18,602,250*l.*, in 1834-5 to 25,257,991*l.*, in 1850-1; the latter sum showing a deficiency of revenue of 678,709*l.* But the wars of that period—the Afghan war, the war of Scinde, the first and second Punjab war, cost altogether 36,000,000*l.* In the interval the debt had been increased only by 20,000,000*l.*; so that 16,000,000*l.* had been met by the elasticity of the revenue. The interest on the debt of India has increased from 1,774,153*l.*, in 1834-5 to 2,201,105*l.*, in 1850-1.

The trade returns show the elasticity of Indian resources. Imports have increased from 6,154,129*l.* in 1834-5, to 12,549,307*l.* in 1848-9; Exports, from 8,000,000*l.* and some odd hundreds of thousands, to 18,000,000*l.* and some odd hundreds of thousands; shipping tonnage, from 108,870 to 252,153.

And in reference to the war expenditure, it should be mentioned that in less than twenty years we have added to our Indian possessions 165,000 square miles, and 9,000,000 of population; the consolidated empire now comprising 150,000,000 of British subjects.

The interval exhibits a persevering determination on the part of the Government to promote the employment and education of the natives; as appears by the following statement of the number of natives employed by the Government in India in posts of administration (not speaking of judicial appointments, to which he should afterwards refer):—Natives employed by the Government in India upon salaries ranging above 24*l.* per annum—1 at 1,580*l.*; 8 at 840*l.* to 960*l.*; 12 at 720*l.* to 840*l.*; 68 at 600*l.* to 720*l.*; 69 at 480*l.* to 600*l.*; 58 at 360*l.* to 480*l.*; 277 at 240*l.* to 360*l.*; 1,173 at 120*l.* to 240*l.*; 1,147 at and under 120*l.*; total, 2,813 natives. A native judicial force had been constituted and invested with powers to a degree and extent wholly unknown previously to the period to which he was adverting; and that justice was administered mainly in India by natives, not only between natives and natives, but in civil causes between natives and Europeans. From these civil courts the appeals only amounted to 15 per cent., and the reversals of sentence did not exceed 4 per cent.

Mr. Herries referred to this statement to show the progress of education. "In 1823 the only native educational establishments founded by the British Government were the Mahomedan College, Calcutta, and Sanserit College, Benares. In 1835 there were 14. In 1852 there were now in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces above 40. In 1835 the great change was adopted of substituting the English for the Oriental system of education; and in the report of the Council of Education for 1849 Mr. Botham said:—'There is no institution in England where the published answers of the students are subjected to so strict and severe a test. I have no hesitation in saying, that every succeeding examination that I witness increases my admiration of the acuteness and talent, literary and scientific, which are evinced by the young men of this country.' In the Elphinstone Institution of Bombay the course of study was stated 'to be equal in extent to a course for a degree in an English University.'"

The financial deficiency for 1851-2 would be 788,000*l.*; but that would be more than absorbed in outlays for public works; canals, roads, and tanks. Mr. Herries read a

statement—"Public Works.—Grand trunk-road, Calcutta to Delhi, to be continued to Lahore and Peshawur, complete to Kurhool, north of Delhi, 965 miles, metalled throughout; cost, 1,000*l.* per mile; total cost, about 1,500,000*l.* sterling. Calcutta and Bombay mail-road, about 1,000 miles, will cost 500,000*l.*. Bombay and Agra road, 734 miles, cost about 350*l.* per mile. Ganges Canal for irrigation of lands between the Ganges and Jumna, from Hurdwar to Allahgur; thence to Cawnpore and Humeypore; whole length, 785 miles; cost about 1,500,000*l.* Railways—Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay."

Ecclesiastical Establishments in India.—In the year 1812 there were only 14 chaplains at Bengal, 12 at Madras, and 5 at Bombay. In 1813 a bishop of Calcutta and three archdeacons for the presidency were appointed; in 1832 there were in Bengal 37 chaplains, in Madras 23, and in Bombay 15; under the act of 1833 the archdeacons ceased, and two additional bishops were appointed, and now there were three bishops and 68 chaplains in Bengal, 34 in Madras, and 28 in Bombay—making 3 bishops and 130 chaplains altogether, in addition to 6 of the Scotch church.

Distribution of Patronage by the Company during the last six years.—In 1845, 28 writers, 280 cadets, and 56 surgeons; in 1846, 28 writers, 280 cadets, 28 surgeons; in 1847, 28 writers, 252 cadets, 56 surgeons; in 1848, 28 writers, 196 cadets; in 1849, 28 writers, 252 cadets, and 28 surgeons; and in 1850, 56 writers, 234 cadets, and 56 surgeons; the reason of the large addition to the number of writers being the annexation of the territory of the Punjab to the empire of India. Out of 146 cadets now at Addiscombe, 57 were sons of Indian servants; and out of 2622 appointments that had been made between 1840 and 1851, he found that 1100 had been given to sons of Indian servants; exhibiting therefore something the reverse of that partiality with which the Company had been charged.

Although her Majesty's Ministers are responsible for the government of India, said Mr. Herries, it is a mistake to suppose that the directors of the Company constitute a mere agency. On this point, however, much fuller information was given later in the evening by Sir JAMES WILKIE HOGG:—

"All matters of war and of treaty with native powers were vested, and properly vested, in her Majesty's Government, who, after framing a despatch on these topics, sent it, not to the Court of Directors, but to the Secret Committee, consisting of the chairman, the deputy chairman, and the senior member of the court; and for that despatch her Majesty's Government was exclusively responsible. This, however, was a very small and minute part of the administrative government of India; the business of the financial, judicial, and other departments being vested by law in the East India Company, and transacted practically by the directors. All letters and despatches came to the Court of Directors; and despatches, after being framed by the executive, were submitted to the committee of the department to which they belonged, and, if disapproved of, a discussion took place upon them; they were then placed upon the table for a week, and afterwards underwent discussion by the whole Court. After this, the despatch went to the Board of Control, who either approved or disapproved of it; but in this last case the law provided that, should the Court of Directors disapprove of the alteration made, they had a right to remonstrate and to call on her Majesty's Government to assign their reasons for the alterations, provided they thought it their duty to insist upon them. This was the working of the system, from which it would be seen that the great body of directors were separate and quite apart from the Secret Committee, and might know nothing of the particular business transacted by the latter. Another point referred to had been for him to touch upon this subject, but he might state that an inquiry which had been instituted had shown that, out of 2900 appointments, 1100 were given to the sons of servants of the company, 1700 to the sons of the nobility, gentry, and professional men, and the rest were given, as they ought to be, to the sons of naval and military officers in the Queen's service, and the largest proportion of all to the clergy. It would be for the committee to determine whether the patronage had been fairly administered. There was abuse everywhere, but a greater abuse there could not be than for a man to purchase votes for a seat in the direction by promises of patronage. In the whole course of his canvas no voter, either directly or indirectly, had intimated to him even a hope that he would remember him, except in one case, and the consequence was that he left the individual's room and declined his support."

Sir James also contributed some facts respecting the judicial courts. He was not speaking now of Bengal, or Madras, or Bombay alone, but of the whole of India, and he found that in 1849 there were disposed of as original suits, 258,574 cases. Of that number 258,151, or 99 per cent., were disposed of by native judicial officers, and by European judges 2423, or only 1 per cent. It might perhaps be said that natives were entrusted with original but not with appellate jurisdiction. Now, he would give them the result of the appellate jurisdiction. In the same year as that to which he had referred, the suits disposed of altogether, that to which he had referred, the suits disposed of altogether, the whole suits of India, including appeals, were 340,918, of which suits 310,554, or 91 per cent., were disposed of by natives, and 21,364, or 6 and a fraction per cent., by European judges. The only return relating to appeals was from the North Western Provinces, where the appeals were 15 per cent., and the reversals only 4 per cent.

Mr. Herries's motion met with general concurrence; the various speakers, however, throwing out various hints. Sir THOMAS COLEBROOK remarked that the real government of India must, after all, be in India itself. Mr. HUME deprecated removal of the Court of Directors, and insisted that India is better off than any of our colonies; but he advocated road-making and

irrigation. Sir ROBERT INGLIS wished to strengthen the episcopate in India; and Mr. GOULBURN held our first duty to be, the imparting of religious truth to the countless millions under our sway in India. Mr. MANGLES deprecated Government interference in religion, and advocated roads and irrigation. Sir HENRY WILLOUGHBY desiderated an India budget, to be presented to parliament yearly by the President of the Board of Control.

Mr. CHISHOLM ANSTAY, who came early in the debate, moved an amendment, by way of addition to the motion, praying the Crown to appoint a commission to inquire into the state and exigencies of India, in India itself; a motion which he supported by criticisms on the anomalous and divided authority that rules over that Empire. Our Indian revenue, he contended, had not succeeded except where there were representative assemblies; the revenue was well collected in some parts, because it was levied through the municipal assemblies of the villages. The natives ought to be admitted into the highest offices; there were natives fit for them. India would never be peaceful and contented till she was prosperous, and that would never be until she was governed according to Indian and not European views, and for Indian and not European interests—

Out of above 100,000,000, not 100 were in the receipt of incomes amounting to 1000 rupees a-month, whereas out of the 800 covenanted servants of the company, 800 were in the receipt of something like 2000 or 3000 rupees a-month at least, and of the remainder not one-third had less than the *maximum* amount of the salary of places held by natives or uncovenanted servants. Lord Dalhousie had indeed appointed one native to an office of trust and power, but the income was reduced from 1500 rupees to 800; to be raised again probably if a European should succeed him. To show the corruption of India, Mr. Anstey cited the case of Colonel Outram. A rich banker at Baroda, the capital of a tributary and protected State, died; a fraudulent agent of the bank, on his accounts being examined into, carried off the surviving child of the deceased, and denounced the widow as having palmed off a spurious offspring—a charge which was proved to be false. The Resident, Colonel Outram, being appealed to, inquired into the case, and the result was that her innocence was established, and that it was shown that the officers of the last Resident had been bribed, and that names of the highest rank and character at Bombay were implicated. The Bombay Government found itself obliged to interfere, and Colonel Outram was directed to report whether it was true that there was a general belief of the prevalence of a system of bribery, and if so, to offer any suggestions he could as to the best means of eradicating it. He made an effectual inquiry, and he found that from 1840 money had been annually sent to Bombay and there laid out in bribes; the highest persons were said to be recipients of those bribes, and Colonel Outram found, at all events, that the money reached the castle, and procured the services it was meant to buy, and he intercepted translations of the most secret minutes of the Governor in Council on the way from Bombay to Baroda, and these he sent back. For this he had been suspended, though he was bound as Resident to unmask such a system, even if he had not had special directions. This was not a new charge in the case of Baroda. Papers were laid before the House in 1848 connected with a former charge relating to Baroda before Colonel Outram's time; and Mr. Anstey had before him the report of the Advocate-General. The sum of 145,000L. was proved to have been paid in bribes, and the names of the parties were mentioned.

To these views Mr. Baillie and Mr. Hardinge replied. Mr. BAILLIE, defended the salt-tax and opium cultivation, contending that 5,000,000L. revenue could not be obtained in any other way less onerous to the natives. Mr. HARDINGE entered into several particulars to show that practically the condition of the native has improved. The salt-tax has been reduced, by 15 per cent., so that now it is but 8L. a head on the whole population; and large importations have been admitted. The condition of the people under British control is favourably contrasted with that of the rack-rented people in Oude, Cashmere, or the Nizam's territory. Sir JAMES WEIR HOGG also showed that the land-tax has been reduced at the last survey: of the nett rental, 20 per cent. is now allotted to the cultivator, 18 per cent. to the middle-man or talookdar, and 62 to the Government; or where there was no middle-man, 30 per cent. to the cultivator, and 70 to the Government.

Late in the debate came Lord JOHN RUSSELL, who uttered this sentiment—"In my opinion, it is hardly possible to improve the general outline of the Indian Government."

The amendment was negatived without division, and Mr. Herries's motion was affirmed.

CONTINUANCE OF THE POOR LAW BOARD.

Among a variety of miscellaneous business despatched after the Indian debate on Tuesday—including a stage of the Passengers' Act Amendment Bill—two bills for the continuance of the Poor Law Board, and the Poor Relief Amendment Act, each advanced a stage. On the former, Lord DUDLEY STUART said he would not oppose the second reading, because he assumed that as so many members of the present Government had been opponents of the existing Poor Law, they

merely desired to continue it until they had time to present to Parliament a better measure. But in committee he should move to substitute July, 1853, instead of "1854," and to add a clause exempting from the jurisdiction of the Poor Law Commissioners all parishes that had local acts providing for the administration of poor relief.

MR. BENNETT AND THE BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS.

The principal debate of Tuesday was raised by Mr. Horsman, on a motion to bring the conduct of Mr. Bennett once more before the House, especially as a beneficed clergyman instituted by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, after his most flagrant acts of schism. Mr. HORSMAN moved in these terms—

"That whereas, by the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical of the Church of England, it is decreed and ordained that 'no Bishop shall institute any to a benefice who hath been ordained by any other Bishop, except he first show unto him his letters of orders, and bring him a sufficient testimony of his former good life and behaviour, if the Bishop shall require it, and lastly, shall appear on due examination to be worthy of his ministry' (canon 39); also, that 'no curate or minister shall be permitted to serve in any place without examination and admission of the Bishop of the diocese, or Ordinary of the place, having episcopal jurisdiction, in writing under his hand and seal, having respect to the greatness of the cure and meetness of the party; and the said curates and ministers, if they remove from one diocese to another, shall not be by any means admitted to serve without testimony of the Bishop of the diocese, or the Ordinary of the place as aforesaid, whence they came, in writing, of their honesty, ability, and conformity to the ecclesiastical laws of the Church of England' (canon 48); an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to direct inquiry to be made whether due respect was paid to the decrees of the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical of the Church of England in the recent institution of Mr. Bennett to the vicarage of Frome."

To make this motion intelligible, Mr. Horsman recapitulated the conduct of Mr. Bennett as incumbent of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, with the history of the Tractarian proceedings at St. Barnabas, and his compulsory resignation under the requirement of the Bishop of London. Within twelve months after that, Mr. Bennett was installed as vicar of Frome; but strange occurrences had happened in the interval. A letter, by a clergyman, in the *Achill Herald*, reporting Mr. Bennett's conduct, first drew Mr. Horsman's attention to the subject; and he wrote to the clergyman, the Reverend Charles O'N. Pratt; Mr. Pratt referred to "a gentleman holding an office of some distinction not far from London [also described as 'professor of one of the seminaries near London'], of the highest character, and of unimpeachable veracity;" and his account Mr. Horsman read—

"An English clergyman, whose name in the hotel-book [at Kissingen] was Bennett, wearing the peculiarly longitudinal vestment affected by the Puseyite clergy, and travelling in company with Sir John Harrington, churchwarden of St. Barnabas, lodged for three weeks at the Hotel de Russie, Kissingen, on the same floor with my rooms. My attention was called to him in the first instance by hearing the German waiters, &c., talking about him; his conduct, with that of his friend, being calculated to attract inquiry as to his religion, the general idea being that he was a Jesuit or Capuchin. I then found that he and his friend went every morning between 7 and 8, as was said, to the Roman-catholic church, to the morning service. I never myself saw him in the Roman-catholic church, because I never went there, but I can testify as to the regularity of his morning excursions, and, as every one said that their object was to attend mass, I presume there is no reason to doubt the fact. If there be, any one at Kissingen can attest it. During the same period neither he nor any of his party were to be seen on Sundays in the English chapel. It is a single room, capable of holding, perhaps, 100 persons, and had he been there he must have been at once visible. But, as I believe, they remained considerably longer at Kissingen than myself, the English chaplain seems to me the person who could give the most convincing testimony on this point. I likewise heard him inquiring about a missal, and saw a Capuchin, or some such monk, going in and out of his room. But I cannot with truth asseverate that within my knowledge he was his inseparable companion. My rooms were, unluckily, next to Sir John Harrington's; unluckily, as I was very ill, and Sir John constantly talked in so loud a voice that nearly all his talk was forced upon me, the partitions between German rooms being, as you probably know, almost ventriloquial. I was therefore compelled to hear long details about Roman-catholic matters exclusively, in which Mr. Bennett was constantly implicated. The whole effect was to leave no doubt on my mind whatever that Mr. Bennett was a thorough Romanist, and I considered it so settled that I was never so astonished as at perceiving in the papers his appointment to Frome."

In reply to a letter from Mr. Horsman, the British chaplain at Kissingen stated that Mr. Bennett did not at any time form a member of his congregation. Thus Mr. Bennett's history was, that he is compelled to relinquish his London ministry in January, 1851; in the summer he is at Kissingen, habitual attendant at a Roman Catholic church; and in the autumn he is appointed by a Protestant bishop as Protestant minister over the Protestant congregation at Frome. The

clergy and laity of Frome tried in vain, by memorials to the patron of the living (the Marchioness of Bath), and the bishop of the diocese, to procure the withdrawal of Mr. Bennett, or at least to suspend his institution. To show Mr. Bennett's doctrines, Mr. Horsman quoted two passages from his public sermons. In one, alluding to the decision of the Privy Council in the Gorham case, he says, that unless it be reversed, the pastors of the church of England will have to seek salvation in the church of Rome, although not liking all the peculiarities of that church:—

"This," continues the writer, "will probably happen within ten years. Then will come the end—Protestantism will sink into its proper place and die; and whatever was catholic in the church of England will become Roman."

The following passage was specially brought under the notice of the Bishop:—

"All the ideas of the Bible, and the dispensing of the Bible, as in itself a means of propagating Christianity, are a fiction and absurdity."

The canons of the church specially guard against any impropriety in the transfer of a clergyman from one diocese to another. "No Bishop," said the law, "shall institute any to a benefice who hath been ordained by any other Bishop, except he first show unto him his letters of orders, and bring him a sufficient testimony of his former good life and behaviour, if the Bishop shall require it; and, lastly, shall appear, on due examination, to be worthy of his ministry." Three beneficed clergymen must certify of such clergyman, from personal knowledge, their veritable belief "that he lived piously, soberly, and honestly; nor have we at any time heard anything to the contrary thereof; nor hath he at any time, as far as we know or believe, held, written, or taught anything contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the United Church of England and Ireland." If all the subscribers are not beneficed in the diocese of the Bishop to whom the testimonial is addressed, the countersignature of the Bishop of the diocese wherein their benefices are respectively situate is required. Three clergymen *did* certify, and the Bishop of London attested their signatures; with the usual qualification of a marginal note, signifying that he only attested the *genuineness* of the signatures, and was no party to the statement to which they were appended. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, therefore, was duly warned. To the demands for the dismissal of Mr. Bennett, he replied thus:—

"I am fully satisfied that Mr. Bennett has a firm and deep-rooted attachment to our own church, and to all the doctrines of the church of England, repudiating all Romish doctrines. I feel that I should be acting unjustly by him, and uncourtously as well as unfairly by the Marchioness of Bath (whose firm attachment to our church is so well known), if I were to refuse him admission into my diocese. I shall, therefore, adhere as firmly to my intention of instituting Mr. Bennett."

When Mr. Bennett resigned his incumbencies of St. Paul's and St. Barnabas, three of his curates also resigned: two of them have since joined the Church of Rome; the third, Mr. G. F. de Gex, Mr. Bennett appointed his own curate at Frome, dismissing the gentleman whom he found there. In his peroration, Mr. Horsman asked where redress for these things was to be found? Not in the clergy—they are too much mistrusted; not in the prelates—they are too deeply tainted; but in the laity,—for they, thank God, are yet sound.

Mr. DISRAELI met the motion with evident disrelish. He admitted the importance of the subject; felt the extreme inconvenience of such discussions in an assembly like the House of Commons; was struck with the total inadequacy of Mr. Horsman's proposition to deal with the circumstances that he had stated; foresaw that a commission of inquiry could not compel any one to make communications which he might be unwilling to offer; had always understood that in such cases the right appeal lay to the Archbishop; urged Mr. Horsman not to press his motion; and moved "the previous question."

This was at first vigorously resisted. Sir HARRY VERNEX, Mr. HUME, and Mr. NEWDEGATE, called for the inquiry—has "the Defender of the Faith," asked Sir Harry, no power? Sir ROBERT INGLIS backed Mr. Disraeli. But Sir JOHN PAKINGTON made a concession. The Bishop of Bath is much advanced in years, and in very bad health; but the conduct of Mr. Bennett at Kissingen ought to be made the subject of inquiry; and Sir John hoped that Mr. Horsman would rest satisfied with the hope that the discussion would lead to investigation. On this hint Lord JOHN RUSSELL advised Mr. Horsman to wait until Ministers should have made themselves acquainted with the facts of the case. Mr. SPOONER and Mr. MANGLES, on different grounds, concurred in that advice for the moment. So did Mr. GLADSTONE, who showed that Mr. Horsman had stated some of the facts loosely, and advised inquiry in a friendly spirit, in order to ascertain whether the law had been infringed or not, in

letter or spirit, or whether it needed altering. Mr. WALPOLE specifically promised such inquiry, in such a spirit.

Ultimately Mr. HORSMAN pressed his motion. The division was taken on "the previous question," whether the main motion should be put or not: the House decided in the negative; the numbers standing thus—

For the motion, 80; against it, 100.
Majority, 20.

ECCLESIASTICAL ENCROACHMENT.

A little incident among the odds and ends of business at the day sitting, on Wednesday, signifies much. Mr. FREWEN had moved the second reading of his Building of Churches, &c., Bill; but the SPEAKER pointed out that the second clause did not come within the title of the bill; and Mr. GLADSTONE made the same discovery with regard to the fourth clause. The title of the bill was—"To promote the building of churches in benefices that had no church, and to prevent the union of benefices above a certain value." The fourth clause related to *non-residence* on their benefices by masters of endowed public schools. The second clause provided that persons should be allowed to have *chapels in their private houses*. The order of the day for the second reading was discharged—so that the bill is thrown out.

REVOCATION OF THE MAYNOOTH GRANT.

On Tuesday, the Marquis of CLANRICARDE called for an explanation of the Ministerial intentions respecting the annual grant of 26,000*l.* a-year to Maynooth College. To show the importance of the subject, Lord Clanricarde quoted the following passage from a speech by Lord Derby himself, in 1845:—

"They asked whether this measure was to stand alone? He replied, that this was to be taken by itself; but, at the same time, to be taken as an indication of the future conduct of Government. The Government desired that this measure should be considered in the eyes of the people of Ireland as a manifestation that the Government resolved to treat them with conciliation, and in a spirit as honourable to their Roman Catholic subjects as to any other portion of her Majesty's subjects. This was not to be treated as the harbinger of future measures, but as an indication of what would be the conduct of the Government towards Ireland. He believed that it would be so received in Ireland."

Doubts as to the intentions of Ministers, however, had been especially suggested by the following passage from a speech by the Solicitor-General, Sir Fitzroy Kelly, to his constituents in Suffolk:—

"I shall support, and cordially support, the motion for a committee of inquiry into the whole circumstances attending that grant, which is about to be brought before the House of Commons. And if, gentlemen, as the result of the inquiries of that committee, and as the report of that committee, it shall be found that, consistently with the good faith of Parliament, and consistently with what becomes all public men to observe, strict honour and integrity with their fellow-countrymen, it is possible to put an end to that grant, I for one shall rejoice in concurring with the Government, of which I am an unworthy member, in an act entirely to put an end to it."

Now what is the committee to which Sir Fitzroy Kelly adverted? There is on the notice paper of the Commons a notice of a motion by Mr. Spooner, for a select committee on the national system of education in Ireland—a totally different subject from that of Maynooth. The doubts are rendered more cogent by other circumstances. This very Solicitor-General was Solicitor-General of the Government which introduced the bill of 1845 to render the Maynooth grant permanent; and among the present Ministers are several who opposed that bill—Mr. George Banks, Major Beresford, Mr. G. A. Hamilton, Mr. Henley, Mr. Christopher, and Mr. Disraeli. There would be no inconsistency in opposing a bill, and yet refusing to repeal it; but the fact of the original opposition could not be forgotten.

Adverting to a former question of the same kind, the Earl of DERBY now repeated that her Majesty's Government had no present intention of altering the law with respect to the College of Maynooth; but the attitude which the Roman-catholic church had assumed, and the spirit of aggression which it had adopted, added greatly to the difficulties of those who desired to defend the continuance of the grant to Maynooth, which was made permanent by the act of 1845. He must now say, that the difficulty of defending the continuance of that grant would be considerably increased by the speech which the Marquis of Clanricarde had delivered that evening—

"For there were only two grounds on which the vindication of the grant could rest. The first was the ground of general policy; and the second was the ground of good faith given or implied by the Government of this country. Now, as to the second ground, that of good faith—which was the main proposition of that evening, and on which a large majority of the country rested the continuance of a grant very repugnant to its principles and feelings—the noble marquis had thrown it completely overboard, alleging that Parliament was not bound to continue the grant by any contract, engagement, or obligation. The noble Marquis then rested the defence of the grant on the policy

alone of the Government. That policy was from the first, and still continued to be, founded on a desire to give to the Irish population within the Queen's dominions a sound, liberal, and theological education, and, on the hope that liberality on the part of Parliament, continued from year to year, and confirmed by formal enactment in the year 1845, would produce that which it was natural to expect, an enlightened and well-educated priesthood, well affected to the Crown and respecting the authority of the Government, disposed to inculcate charity and forbearance and peace among all classes of society, together with devoted loyalty to the Sovereign and obedience to the law of the land. That was the policy which originally dictated and subsequently confirmed the grant. The noble Marquis said, that he could easily understand the conduct of those who in the year 1845 opposed the grant on principle, and who afterwards when the law was passed,—there the noble Marquis stopped, and would not say 'and when the fruit which it produced was clearly seen,'—the noble Marquis, he repeated, said that he could easily understand the conduct of those who, first opposing, afterwards supported the law, or at any rate did not press for its repeal, and that he did not see any inconsistency in their so doing. The converse of that proposition was equally true: there were very many who supported the original grant in the hope and expectation that it would produce other fruits than those which had been derived from it, and who were now not guilty of any inconsistency if they had changed their opinions as to the policy of that grant from sad experience of the fruits which it had borne."

Observing that he could not be responsible for speeches at the hustings, Lord Derby said that the Government had no present intention of altering the existing law, but he would add, that if circumstances should arise to induce the Government to take another course, ample notice would be given in both Houses of Parliament, and then the noble Marquis would have an opportunity of opposing the contemplated change, or of taunting individuals with supposed inconsistency between their present principles and past conduct.

After this reply, followed a heated and acrimonious debate. Earl GREY called for a more explicit answer, remarking that Lord Derby ought to declare whether he adhered to the opinion expressed by him in 1845, and, if he did adhere to it, he should also inform the House whether he held it merely as his own private and abstract opinion, like that in favour of the imposition of a duty on foreign corn, or whether it was to govern the policy of the Government.

No reply. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE wished to know whether the noble Earl intended to intimate that his course was to depend on the result of an inquiry? The Earl of DERBY was aware, from the votes of the other House, that there was to be an inquiry: further than that he had said nothing, and farther than that he would say nothing. Earl GREY asked whether the noble Earl adhered to his opinions of 1845? The Earl of DERBY rejoined, "That is a question which the noble Earl had no right to ask of me or any man:" he would add, however, that he was greatly disappointed at the result of the measure of 1845. The Earl of MINTO asked whether the noble Earl was prepared to resist a motion for the discontinuance of the grant? The Earl of DERBY would intimate the course which Government was prepared to pursue if the noble Earl would move the repeal of the act of 1845. (Cheers and laughter.) The Earl of HARROWBY asked the noble Earl (Grey) if he adhered to the opinion which he expressed in 1845? Earl GREY said, that in putting that question, the noble Earl was taking a most unusual course. (A roar of laughter.) In 1845 he had formed no opinion as to the probable results of the measure; but still, contrasting the wealthy Protestant Church in Ireland, and the endowed Dissenting bodies, with the small endowment for Maynooth, he retained his opinion, that such a state of things could not continue with justice to the people of Ireland, or with safety to the Empire.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE here gave the debate a higher turn; observing that he would take the most unusual course, of replying to a question that had not been put. He declared that he did not support the grant on the ground of the favourable impression that it might produce on the minds of the Roman Catholics—he looked to no such bargain; but he supported it on the ground assigned by Sir Robert Peel—that it was important for the Roman Catholic clergy to have a good education—important to Catholics, to Protestants, to the whole community. And he adjured his noble friend opposite not to lay the foundation for a perpetual renewal of the annual votes.

The conversation closed with a few words from the Bishop of CASHIEL as to the progress of "the truth," through the exertions of the Protestant clergy, in the United States; a progress, rejoined Earl GREY, which showed how the Protestant religion had been kept down in Ireland through the injustice of the present arrangements.

CHANCERY REFORM.

The LORD CHANCELLOR laid upon the table of the Lords on Monday, a bill to abolish the office of the

Masters in Chancery, and to substitute other officers in their stead. The plan is this:—

The four senior masters would be dismissed to their seniority, and would retain their full salaries when dismissed. The five remaining Masters would carry on the business of the court, but under new powers. The four Judges in Equity—namely, the Master of the Rolls, and the three Vice-Chancellors, each having one chief clerk, and each chief clerk having one second clerk under him, should carry on in chambers all the business of their respective courts hitherto transacted by the Masters. Henceforward there would be no references to the Masters—no reports from the Masters—no statement of facts. All these matters of form were to be abolished, and the judge was to transact in chambers so much of the business of the court as may not be proper to be heard by himself in public. He would go into his chamber at whatever hour of the day he might think fitting or convenient, or even for the whole day, and there he would consult with his clerks as to what ought to be done. If a report should be necessary, he would either draw it up himself in his chambers, or would send for the registrar to draw it up for him. This bill would also define the power which the judge was to have in chambers, for it was quite evident that, if the new scheme were to have any chance of success, you must work it out yourself, and see clearly what it was: for the mere fact of giving general powers was not a fair way of testing the merits of any new scheme. When the judge got into his chamber, each of them would have a chief clerk under him. He had only thought it right that each judge should have the power of appointing his own chief clerk; so that he should have the power of approving his exertions. He also intended to give the appointment of the second clerk to the chief clerk, for the same reason which induced him to give to the judge the appointment of his chief clerk—namely, a desire to encourage a strong feeling of sympathy between those who had to appoint and those who had to obey. He also intended that, when the bill came into operation, there should be some place provided where the judge could have at once the benefit of the co-operation of his chief clerk. He would not delay the operation of his bill until fitting places were provided for such purposes. He should therefore propose that, for the present, the Master of the Rolls should meet his clerk at the Rolls-office, and that each of the three Vice-Chancellors should be provided with commodious chambers in Lincoln's-inn until the country should furnish them better accommodation.

Having made some allusion to the present chambers reserved for the Masters (which was not heard distinctly in the gallery), the Lord Chancellor said that he proposed to take a power to sell those chambers, believing that the money produced from such a sale would be sufficient to build three commodious courts for the three Vice-Chancellors, with rooms annexed for the accommodation of their clerks. He was most anxious that the new clerks should not find their way into Southampton-buildings; for if they were once placed there they would act as if they were Masters, and not clerks; and in that case the new scheme would not answer. He would not go further into the details of the bill; but he must remind their lordships that as the law now stood there was no power, if one of the three Vice-Chancellors was obliged to resign or vacate his appointment, to appoint his successor. He therefore proposed to give to the Crown power to appoint a successor from time to time to any Vice-Chancellor so vacating.

He admitted that there was one inconvenience in the new scheme. In each of the courts of common law there were at present five judges, and when one of them was absent at chambers, the business of the Court proceeded, and was not disturbed. Yet in each of the courts of equity the judge might have to leave his court for a part of, or even for the whole day. In the latter case his court must be entirely closed, and then no business whatever could be carried on. He hoped, however, that the facility, the cheapness, the rapidity, and the ease which the suitor and the judge would both feel in the transaction of business would be more than a compensation for this inconvenience.

Lord St. Leonards stated that the bill would remedy the defect of the existing law, under which the court cannot bring the parties before it and compel them to wind up a suit. In the course of a very brief discussion on the bill, Lord CAMPBELL expressed desire for a measure which would prevent the practice of sending the suitor from one court to another. In the Clapham case, for instance, the Court of Law ought to have had the power to grant an injunction to arrest the proved nuisance. He and Lord CRANWORTH both approved of the introduction of the bill.

TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

On Thursday, Mr. MILNER GIBSON again laid before the House of Commons the reasons for repealing the Taxes on Knowledge—the Paper-tax, the newspaper Stamp-tax, and the Advertisement-duty. He did so with great clearness and effect, although the subject-matter is the same with that long familiar to the public. He read letters from Mr. Charles Knight, and Mr. Ingram, proprietor of the *Illustrated London News*, relating their experience, especially against the Paper duty; to which Mr. Gibson devoted the larger portion of his speech. He also showed how the repeal of that particular tax would give immensely increased employment to the men, women, and children, whose labour is the chief item of the cost-price. Citing the case of many unstamped papers already existing, which freely comment on political affairs, Mr. Gibson contended that the Stamp-tax is maintained, not for its paltry revenue, 150,000*l.*, but for the purpose of checking the increase of the press.

Mr. DISRAELI averred that he did not regard the press with any feeling of malevolence or apprehension; he was bound, however, to consider these questions, not under philanthropical or popular aspects, but as a financier. With regard to the paper duty, he did not deny its injurious incidents; but the same might be alleged against other excise duties; but the paper duty was too productive to be abandoned. With respect to the advertisement and stamp duties, especially the latter, he thought they were subjects which deserved the gravest consideration; but, he repeated, he must consider them *primarily* with reference to the effect of their repeal upon the general revenue. He reminded the House that there was a determination on its part not to impose new taxes; that the two great sources of our indirect taxation had been attacked, and that a committee was now making war upon a principal source of our direct taxation. On Friday, the 30th, he would place before the House the real state of the finances of the country, and when Mr. Gibson and his friends were in possession of that statement it would be open to them to declare their views. Under these circumstances the House should pause before it adopted a motion that would reduce the revenue nearly 1,500,000*l.*, and he thought it was not asking too much to call upon it to permit him to make his financial statement without the incumbrance of such a vote.

These declarations gave an unexpected turn to the debate. Mr. COBDEN, and other friends, advised Mr. MILNER GIBSON to adjourn the debate. He first endeavoured to obtain a more distinct pledge from the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, that the subject should be *practically* taken into "consideration," but in vain; and, eventually, the debate was adjourned to the 12th of May.

GOVERNMENT NIGHTS.—In consideration of arrangements already made by private members, Mr. DISRAELI agreed, on Tuesday, not to take Thursdays for precedence of Government business until *after* the 29th instant.

OUTRAGES ON BRITISH SUBJECTS ABROAD.—In reply to LORD DUDLEY STUART, on Tuesday, Mr. DISRAELI stated that the incarceration of the chief of the police, for eight days, at Leghorn, had *not* been accepted by her Majesty's Government, as sufficient reparation for the indignities offered to corporal Baggs; but the affair is still the subject of correspondence.

The case of Mr. Mather, also, is still the subject of active communications.

HUNGARIAN REFUGEES.—Moving, on Tuesday, for copies or extracts of correspondence between the British Government and foreign governments on the subject of the Hungarian refugees at Kutayeh, Lord DUDLEY STUART expressed regret at the intention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to oppose the motion. Lord PALMERSTON supported the production of extracts, which would show the part taken by the British Government, and its effectual character. Mr. DISRAELI had hesitated from the desire not to disturb the friendly feeling that *now* exists, not only between the British and Austrian Governments, but between the Austrian and Turkish. But he deferred to Lord Palmerston's wish, and to Lord Dudley Stuart's remark, that materials for Lord Palmerston's vindication ought not to be withheld. Papers ordered.

IRISH FISHERIES.—On the second reading of Mr. Conolly's Irish Fisheries Bill—one to consolidate all existing acts—on Wednesday, Lord NAAS objected to the bill for sweeping away the fixed weir interests, and disregarding the virtual compact in the legislation of 1842. Sir WILLIAM SOMERVILLE counselled the withdrawal, but insisted on the necessity of *some* new legislation, the fish constantly decreasing under the existing acts. The understanding was, that the subject should be left in the hands of government.

THE ST. ALBANS' DISFRANCHISEMENT BILL was read a second time in the House of Lords on Thursday; but the debate was wholly devoid of interest. It was moved by the Earl of DERBY, with a long account of the well-known practices in St. Albans, and a long appendix relating to the hopes of Alderman Carden that he really should amend the borough. After a very slight discussion, the bill was read a second time without division. Following up some scattered remarks, Lord REDDESDALE moved that leave be given that counsel be heard at the bar against the bill; a motion opposed by Earl GREY, the Earl of DERBY, the Duke of ARGYLE, and the Duke of NEWCASTLE; the Marquis of CLANRICARDE also strongly concurring it as a derogatory sham; while it was supported by Lord CAMPBELL, Lord MONTEAGLE, Lord BRAUMONT, and the Earl of WICKLOW. On a division, the motion to hear counsel was carried by 41 to 15.

MINISTERIAL BANQUET AT GOLDSMITH'S HALL.

A GREAT banquet was given to Ministers on Saturday, by the Wardens of the Goldsmith's Company at their hall; which glittered with a magnificent display of gold and plate, ancient as well as modern. Alderman Copeland, Prime Warden, presided. Among the guests were the Earl of Derby, Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Walpole, Sir John Pakington, and several more of the Ministers; also some of the Judges, several Members of Parliament, and others, principally, we believe, of Conservative politics. The toasts began with "Church and Queen." After the routine toasts came "The health of a brother Goldsmith, the Earl of Derby." The Earl of Derby,

with many compliments to the Prime Warden and to the company for its munificence in charity, responded "as a brother goldsmith." He expatiated on certain new discoveries of the day,—

"GENTLEMEN,—Among the strange variations and changes that have taken place, perhaps there are few which are calculated to produce so great an effect—few, certainly, have produced so great a feeling of astonishment and of wonder—as the recent discovery in various quarters of the world of that which we have heretofore been accustomed to consider a "precious metal," that which is the staple of the industry of our craft. Hitherto that metal has been considered to be confined to a very limited quarter, capable of very small extension, and spread over a very small portion of the globe; but suddenly, to the astonishment of the world, from various distant regions, at one and the same time, it is pouring in upon us with a profusion that is astonishing all ranks and all classes, the effect of which it is difficult to foresee, but of which it is not difficult to say that it must work strange and extraordinary revolutions in the system of society. (Loud cries of "Hear.") But it is not only in regard to the discovery of gold that new mines appear to be opened to us. Within a very short time, as with regard to gold, so there was (as it turns out) a popular delusion that the field of statesmen and of the political metal was almost as limited—(laughter)—it was supposed that the crop of statesmen was one of very limited amount, for which, if you were disposed to search, you must dig in certain favoured localities, and confine yourself to searching for them there. (Laughter and cheering.) I am happy to think, gentlemen, that, to some degree, I have been instrumental in dispelling that illusion. (Loud cheers.) An unfortunate adventurer, as I was to consider myself—(a laugh)—honoured with the commission from Her Majesty to do the best that he could for her service—(hear, hear)—I have ventured boldly to open a new mine—(cheers)—and I am happy to say that in the opinion of competent judges, so far as it has yet been worked, the ore that has been raised contains among it as large a proportion of sterling metal, with as little admixture of dross, as any that was ever drawn from the old and exclusive mines to which we were formerly confined. (Loud cheers.)

"Gentlemen, to speak seriously, the Prime Warden has told you that he is convinced—and he has done us justice in saying so—that we come forward, not as the advocates or supporters of any particular interest, but feeling deeply our responsibility to maintain and uphold all the great interests, of which it must be said that, if any one suffers in this country, it cannot suffer without affecting more or less the rest. (Hear.) We feel that it is our duty not to be the promoters of this or that class, but to be the protectors and defenders and upholders of the whole—(cheers)—and by maintaining and encouraging the industry of the country—by upholding and supporting those laws which are the best encouragement to that industry, because they secure to industry of every denomination the safe return for its successful exertion—by upholding in their integrity the institutions of the country, whether in church or in State—(cheers)—by maintaining inviolate the constitution, and upholding the religious liberties of this country, and the rights of the Protestant religion, from whatever quarter they may be assailed—(loud cheering)—by such a course, neither at home nor abroad assailing any, but neither at home nor abroad tolerating assault or insult on the part of any—(renewed cheering)—we feel sure that we shall best discharge those arduous duties which are cast upon us—(cheers)—that we shall best warrant the confidence that has been reposed in us by our gracious Sovereign—(cheers)—and best merit the support and the confidence of that people over whose interests we are about to watch. (Much cheering.) And, gentlemen, whether our course be long or short, to recur again, for a single moment, to the metaphor that has been used,—whether our course be long or short, it is our hope and trust, and will be our exertion, to secure that, when our career shall be closed, the country shall have no right to regret having subjected us to this our first assay. (Lord Derby sat down amid loud cheering from all parts of the hall.)

In toasting the Chancellor of the Exchequer, alluding to these discoveries of precious metal, the Prime Warden showed a desire to elicit equal information respecting the budget. Mr. Disraeli parried the inquiry:—

"Mr. Prime Warden and gentlemen, I feel the great advantage of a Finance Minister dining with the Goldsmith's Company before an impending budget (a laugh); but I am sure you will agree with me that in my position discretion is the better part of valour (laughter and cheers), and that you will not insist to-night upon any revelations with regard to that important subject, which I am not surprised at this moment to find engaging all your attention."

He, too, found historic compliments for the great company—

"To dine with the Goldsmiths, gentlemen, I assure you, is not a party question. (Renewed laughter and cheers.) But, believe me, that feeling exists, not merely from their sense of the graceful hospitality which within these beautiful walls they are sure to experience; it is also because in corporations of this kind, founded upon wealth, they also recognise the best embodiments of public liberty, because in confederations like the present they observe two characteristics, which they hope will long remain those of the English nation, as they feel that they are two of the best securities for human happiness—property and freedom. (Cheers.) It is with these feelings, gentlemen, because, I assure you, the members of the House of Commons look to these great companies in the metropolis of the country, and feel that at moments of emergency, when public liberty is at stake, and the fortunes of a great empire are in peril, they can appeal with security to the patriotism, the courage, and the high feeling of bodies of independent men—it is from these convictions that they have felt it always one of

the first duties to uphold corporations and bodies of men like the Goldsmiths and other great companies, in the city of London—it is from these public feelings, as well as from the sympathy that at all times makes them enjoy the festive hour which calls them within these walls, that they look forward to meetings like the present with pleasure and satisfaction."

The company began to break up about eleven o'clock.

LORD DERBY'S CONFERENCE WITH THE SANITARY REFORMERS.

A NUMBER of gentlemen, deputed by the Sanitary Reform Association, had an interview with Lord Derby on Wednesday. The party, headed by the Bishop of London, comprised the Rev. Dr. Cumming, the Rev. C. Hume, Mr. B. Bond Cabbell, M.P., Mr. T. Abraham, Dr. W. H. Brown, Mr. Wm. Rogers, Mr. P. H. Holland, Mr. George Godwin, F.R.S., Mr. W. D. Bruce, F.S.A., Mr. Louis Hume, Mr. John W. Smith, Dr. Gavin Milroy, Mr. C. F. J. Lord, Mr. Robert Fox, Mr. H. Roberts, F.S.A., Mr. F. O. Ward, with the Rev. M. W. Lushington, M.A., Mr. A. Barnett, M.B., and Mr. R. Walsh, honorary secretaries. Lord John Manners was with the Premier. The members of the deputation were introduced by the Bishop of London, and they were received by Lord Derby with marked courtesy. Several of them then delivered the statements of their case, to the following effect:—

The Bishop of LONDON said that he did not propose to trespass at any length upon his Lordship's time, as there were several gentlemen present who would lay before him the different subjects to which the Metropolitan Sanitary Association desired the attention of the Government to be directed; but he must be permitted especially to convey to his Lordship the deep anxiety he felt with reference to the delay that had occurred in carrying into effect the Metropolitan Interments Act. Connected as he was with the metropolis, and representing, as on this subject he felt he did, the opinions of the clergy, he was desirous of urging upon the Government the imperative necessity of something being at once done to remedy the evils so fully admitted and loudly complained of. From the reports and minutes of correspondence which had emanated from the Board of Health, it appeared that the principal difficulty which prevented the Interments Act being carried into operation was, that that body not being of a permanent character, capitalists were unwilling to advance money, considering the security insufficient; so that though companies were willing to advance the necessary funds for carrying the act into execution a technical difficulty was discovered. He would on this occasion, therefore, urge upon his Lordship to take immediate steps to put an end to the present system of intramural interments which reflected disgrace upon the metropolis. During the past year 40,000 bodies had been interred in the same graveyards, which *eight or ten years ago* were found to be filled to overflowing. The public had long been expecting that a discontinuance should be put to a system which was not only dangerous to health, but opposed to all decency. He did, therefore, hope that her Majesty's Government would direct earnest and immediate attention to this most important subject.

The Bishop then pointed out the present impure and insufficient state of the water supply to the metropolis, and the exorbitant rates charged for such an essential element of life, whilst it had been shown that it might be supplied at a cost which would render to all a constant, unlimited supply at 2*d.* per house per week.

Mr. LORD observed that the memorial now lying before him stated that the death-rate of London was 25 per thousand per annum, or double the attainable minimum, of mortality as established by the Registrar-General. That this needless rate of excessive mortality implies a proportionate excess of disease, and a corresponding depression of the public health. That this high rate of avoidable death bore directly on the Nuisances Removal and Disease Prevention Act, which the Association felt to require some alteration to render it permanent in its operation and effective in its machinery, so that the measure may operate effectually against ordinary and domestic, as well as against extraordinary or foreign pestilences. It is shown that the direct cost of, and estimated money loss through, typhus fever alone in the metropolis amounted during the years 1843 to 1847 to 1,328,000*l.*, or 265,600*l.* annually. This sum is exclusive of the amounts contributed for the purchase and maintenance of fever hospitals. For, in 1848, when the mortality from typhus had increased to 3560, the direct cost and money loss was estimated at 440,000*l.*

Mr. Lord specially drew attention to the large class of preventible disease which was still allowed to scourge the helpless poor and infect society at large, and he quoted the following from the Registrar-General's remarks on the sad mortality at Albion-terrace, Wandsworth:—

"No medical police had interfered to disturb the contents of Mr. Biddle's cellars, and now, when the nineteen—masters, servants, parents, and children—who perished during the late epidemic, at Albion-terrace, Wandsworth-road, rest in their graves, it appears to be taken for granted that blame attaches to nobody, to nothing—neither to the householders themselves—nor to the guardians of the district—nor to the institutions of the country. Such mean inanimate instruments of death can be invested with no dramatic interest; but fixing our eyes on the victims, it is well worth considering whether substantially it is not as much a part of the sound policy of the country that lives like those in Albion-terrace should be saved, as that the murderers of a man in Bermondsey should be hanged."

Numerous cases were daily coming under the observation of medical men which suggested similar reflections. Mr. Lord added that the Association were in earnest in the expression of their opinion that to one body or class of officers alone should be committed the execution of the Nuisances Removal Act in each district, so that the responsibility should be real and not apparent, as at present.

The sanitary duties now imposed on numerous executive bodies should devolve on competent Officers of Health. The Building Act required some alteration too, so as to insure that all buildings hereafter constructed in the metropolis shall be suitable for healthy habitation.

In conclusion, Mr. Lord urged his Lordship to give some assurance to the Association that the two points mentioned should promptly receive the attention they deserved, and that the friends of Sanitary Reform might have the satisfaction of finding that there was a certainty that the excessive mortality should have such a check as legal enactments could secure—such as her Majesty had alluded to in an early speech from the throne, and which had been anxiously looked for by the public.

Mr. F. O. WARD expressed his entire concurrence in the remark of the right reverend Prelate, that Sanitary Reform could only be effectively carried out on a broad and comprehensive scale. The sanitary reorganization of this great metropolis, embracing as it did the reconstruction, on new principles, of its entire arterial and venous circulating system, constituted an enterprise more colossal and more pregnant of good to mankind than any civic undertaking recorded in the history of civilized man. And when this vast enterprise was contemplated, in connexion with the further and still vaster scheme of applying the venous outflow of the town for the fertilization of the country, the boldest mind might well be startled by the magnitude of the work to be accomplished, and of the beneficial results to be attained. With so wide a range of topics before him, and so short a time to handle them, he would be unable to do more than to touch cursorily on some more salient points in each department of the subject; but even in this rapid review he hoped to show his Lordship direct burdens of several millions sterling per annum, now needlessly pressing on the population of London, in consequence of the existing defective arrangements—burdens which might at once be removed by the adoption of the new sanitary system; nay, more, which might be exchanged for a positive money revenue of fully equal amount, so soon as the two great movements, sanitary and agricultural, should be combined and organized in the manner he would set forth.

Taking first the subject of water supply, and looking to the question of source, he showed the incontestible superiority of water from barren sandy hill-tops over water from cultivated valley-bottoms; the former being the pure rain, received on sand washed clean by the rainfall of ages, filtering through this sand to the clay beneath, and guided by the impermeable clay to the shoulder of the hill, whence it issued in pure sparkling springs: while the latter was the rainfall received on cultivated lands, and passing over fields dressed with stable manures, rotten sprats, guano, and similar impurities, or creeping through semi-stagnant ditches into the river drain of the valley, where it was further polluted, in the case of the Thames, by the sewage of towns and villages inhabited by a population of three quarters of a million, even above Teddington-lock, even above the tidal reflux of the London sewage. Mr. Ward here exhibited a diagram representing the Surrey uplands, with the sand spring water issuing above, and the Thames river drain, contaminated with manure and sewage, flowing below; and he showed in a very convincing way that common sense, let alone chemistry and science, dictated our resorting for water supplies to the hill tops, and not to the valley bottoms; while the proved waste in soap, soda, tea, &c., occasioned by the twenty tons of chalk contained in each day's supply of Thames water, amounted annually in London to no less than 1,000,000*l.* a year. Passing to the question of distribution, he expressed his gratification that the Sanitary party had at length forced the companies to abandon the intermittent cistern service, and to adopt the constant supply at high pressure; the value of which he illustrated by showing that even the seven years' delay for which the companies asked, before introducing the constant supply, would involve an expense, in interest and repairs, of old cisterns, and in needless construction of new ones, amounting to no less a total than 875,000*l.*

Entering on the next topic, that of house drainage, he compared the cost of hand labour, cleansing of cesspools, and of cartage-cleansing and flushing of the old-fashioned sewers of deposit, with the economy of the new tubular drains and sewers, scouring themselves by the flow of steam-pumped water; and he showed that the saving in the flushing costs alone averaged 20*l.* per mile per annum, so as to exceed the annual charge (10*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.*) which would pay the cost of a self-scouring tubular sewer in 20 years; thus showing that London might be drained, *de novo*, not only without any increase, but with a large reduction of existing charges. After some remarks on surface-cleansing by hose and jet, and on subsoil-drainage of the low-lying water-logged districts, which he showed might be kept dry by steam-pumping, as fens and marshes are kept dry, at from 2*s.* to 5*s.* per acre per annum (equal to about 1*d.* per house per annum for the 4000 acres of Southwark), Mr. Ward proceeded to describe the new tubular organization of farms, with iron pipes, hydrants, and hose and jet, by which the London sewage might be distributed over the adjacent lands, so soon as the mains for carrying it thither out of London were provided. He showed that this was no theoretical speculation, but was already in successful operation on many farms, and had raised the produce in one case to seventy tons of grass per acre per annum, and in another from twelve to eighty stacks per acre per annum, while in other cases it had raised land previously barren to a yearly value in produce exceeding 12*l.* per acre. The necessary sewage mains for London would cost about a million sterling, the value of the excrement they would save (computed on the market price of human soil in Belgium) would be, at two tons per house per annum, 4,800,000*l.* a year—yielding, with large allowance for all possible contingencies and drawbacks, a net revenue of at least 2,000,000*l.* per annum.

He then referred to the monopolist water companies as the chief obstacle to a comprehensive sanitary orga-

nization of the metropolis, and brought forward a financial scheme for buying them out at their full capital of 5,269,999*l.*, and so putting an end to the universally detested water monopoly, not only without burdensome charge on the public, but with an annual saving of 273,000*l.* out of the 431,000*l.* now paid in water rental to the companies. By a further charge of 121,000*l.* per annum he showed that we could pay off the debt incurred in this transaction in thirty years, so as to leave the water-works in fee simple to our successors; still saving ourselves 32,000*l.* per annum of the present extortionate rates.

Recapitulating the savings of expense, and the gain of revenue, he showed that on the few points he had mentioned in this rapid review, 4,825,936*l.* might be secured to the inhabitants of London by a vigorous and comprehensive sanitary reorganization of the town; and he urged on his Lordship, in conclusion, to press forward boldly in this arduous but noble work, which would give us the protection we most needed—protection against disease and its ghastly consequences—crime, pauperism, and misery; and which would defend us against an invasion more terrible and more imminent than that of any human potentates—the fell invasion of the Asiatic pestilence.

The Earl of DERBY thanked the speakers for their valuable suggestions, and replied at considerable length; commenting on the various obstacles to grapple at once with all the details of so vast a scheme. But he assured the Deputation that the Sanitary question occupied a large share of the attention of her Majesty's Government; and that, short as the session would be, they were in hopes of doing something towards settling the important question of extramural sepulture before the separation of Parliament.

ELECTION MATTERS.

FACTS ABOUT THE ELECTIONS.

COLONEL THOMPSON and Mr. Milligan, the present members for Bradford, have met a large body of the electors and non-electors. So hopeless is Mr. Wickham's case thought to be, that several gentlemen who have been furnished with books for the purpose of canvassing the electors on his behalf, have allowed them to remain untouched. In an address to the electors, Colonel Thompson says that—

"On the question of the Militia I voted that a permanent militia was better than a local. But since that time the Government has shifted the whole grounds of the demand. It has declared that it sees no danger from the quarter where I believe you and I thought the danger was, and that the militia is demanded as a precaution against what you and I conceive to be our friends. In other words, the militia is to be called out to help to preserve what at Paris is nick-named 'Order,' and as a hostile demonstration to those who may be disposed to restore constitutional government. Those of us who are not young, have had some understanding of what this means. In addition, the Government has thrown cold water on the offer of Volunteers. Like the man on the other side the Channel, it does not want National Guards. It is for a force that must be paid, and not for a force that will pay itself. Under these circumstances, unless pressed to the contrary by the constituency, I propose to vote both against the Militia Bill and the increase of the regular army; and before all this is settled, I see chances that the danger may have died away. . . . On my last presence in Bradford, I declared in public meeting, that I supported the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, because the Catholics behaved ill to us; but that I would not support the opposition to the Maynooth Grant, because that would be behaving ill to them. I have a strong persuasion that if the two sides could change places for half an hour, both these opinions would be voted correct."

For the first time within the memory of the "oldest inhabitant," there will be no "court candidate" for the borough of Windsor at the ensuing general election. The number of voters now attached to the royal household is about 50; tradesmen, pensioners, and others employed on the royal domain, who would be expected to obey orders, might bring this number up to 120; and there are 710 names on the register. It will thus be seen that, supposing the whip to be used in the most unscrupulous manner, the court voters might place a candidate respectably on the poll, but would by no means secure his return. This was felt by the friends of Mr. Grenfell, the Liberal and Free-trade candidate, who made these calculations on the clear understanding that the Castle *employés* would all poll for General Reid and Mr. Vansittart. The friends of freedom of election will, however, rejoice to learn that Mr. Vansittart and General Reid have reckoned without their host on the present occasion. One of the last acts of her Majesty, during the recent sojourn of the court at the Castle, was to issue her royal commands that no officer attached to her person, however high his position, should interfere with the free exercise of the electoral franchise of her servants or tradesmen at the coming election, on pain of dismissal. Such an order needs no comment. It has already annihilated the hopes of one, and it only requires the presence of a second Liberal in the field to ensure the rejection of both the ministerial candidates.

Mr. William Coningham, of Brighton, who lately offered his services to the Tower Hamlets, is a candidate for Waterford. The *Waterford Chronicle* says:—

"Mr. Coningham possesses an ample private fortune, is completely independent of all party or Government influ-

ence, and from his connexion with Ireland (he being an Irishman), as well as his intimate knowledge of its requirements, we know no better man to represent us. We may add, that Mr. Coningham, in conjunction with Lord Goderich, has distinguished himself by endeavouring to bring about an adjustment of the difference between the engineers and their employers. He is a warm supporter of Mr. Sharman Crawford, and we know, most sincerely desirous of a speedy settlement of the landlord and tenant question. It is needless to say he is a Free-trader."

Mr. Edward Miall, whose canvass in Rochdale proceeds enthusiastically, has addressed the electors at a public meeting, Mr. Jacob Bright in the chair. In the course of his speech Mr. Miall said:—

"Why, when we are improving so rapidly in so many respects, should there not also be some improvement in the science and practice of civil government? Why should not some portion of that energy and wisdom that are now engaged in elevating the whole mass of the people, be likewise employed in carrying on public affairs? For my own part, I must profess, that, unless I greatly mistake the spirit of the age, the people are calling for an administration constructed upon a much wider basis than we have ever seen heretofore,—an administration which shall fairly represent English common sense, English love of fair play, English sturdy independence, English self-denial. We want something of that wisdom, something of these qualities, that have done so much to alter the destinies of this country already,—we want them permeating and penetrating every department of public affairs in this country. And there is no reason in the world why we should not have it. We do not ask that statesmanship should be given up by the aristocratic portion of society, but we do require that they should surrender their monopoly of it. We are strong enough now to walk alone; we need no go-cart. We do not want a head nurse, in the person either of Lord John Russell or the Earl of Derby. We understand our interests equally as well as they; we are actively engaged every day in looking after those interests in all their various and detailed ramifications; surely then among us are the men best capable of looking after our interests in their more important and general relations. Government by the people and for the people, is the maxim by which I desire my politics to be regulated. Government by the people, and for the people, will, I hope, be the effectual response you will give at the next general election to the appeal made to you by the Earl of Derby."

The Hon. T. Trevor, Mr. Bosanquet, and Mr. Fuller, says the *Hertford Mercury*, have agreed, on requisition, to contest the county of Herts upon Liberal and Free-trade principles.

Mr. T. B. Hobhouse, the present member for Lincoln, will be invited to contest the borough of Ipswich, on Liberal principles.

No Liberal Members are at present announced for Sligo County, but two, it is expected, will be put in nomination, with every prospect of success.

The candidate for Bridgewater is Mr. Serjeant Kinglake of the Western Circuit, cousin of the author of *Eothen*.

Seven candidates are in the field for the borough of Bodmin.

Seven candidates are also mentioned for Sheffield, the last one talked of being a Chartist; but here, as elsewhere, it is to be hoped what are called "People's Candidates" will be restricted to those who really intend to go to the poll, otherwise it will be said that an illegitimate advantage is taken of the election.

Mr. Whateley, Q.C., Tory member, in his address to the electors of Bath, declares his intentions with respect to Free-trade. "I will vote against reimposing a tax upon the importation of corn, or any other measure which, in my judgment, will raise the price of bread, for, from much personal intercourse with the poor, I well know the blessing of a cheap loaf. I would, however, heartily concur in any practicable measures for the relief of the agricultural or trading interests."

The Liberal interest progresses satisfactorily.

Mr. Shearman retires from the representation of Durham. Mr. Granger, Q.C., and Mr. Wm. Atherton, Q.C., stand as Free-trade and Liberal candidates.

THE NATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY REFORM ASSOCIATION.

To the Electors and Non-Electors of Great Britain and Ireland.

GENTLEMEN,—On the eve of a general election it is our imperative duty to understand and rightly to appreciate the issues of the coming struggle—the responsibilities of electors, and the duties of non-electors.

We address you as an association which regards measures more than men—the interests of the many more than the advantages of the few. We address you earnestly, patriotically—free from party bias.

The Government of the day indicates its hostility to political as well as to commercial freedom. It denounces parliamentary reform as Republicanism, and its supporters as demagogues. It repudiates Free-trade as injurious to the interests of the country, and proclaims its desire to return to Protection.

The next Parliament will have to decide whether the great body of the taxpayers shall remain unenfranchised,

and whether the food of the whole people shall be taxed for the advantage of a class.

No government can be entitled to confidence which refuses the constitutional rights of the people; nor can any government deserve support which would tax the first necessities of life.

"There is no uncertainty as to the relative merits of Free-trade and Protection. The one means abundance and contentment; the other scarcity and sedition." Neither is there any uncertainty as to the relative rights of electors and non-electors. The one is the might of the numerical few; the other the right of the tax-paying many.

Free-trade can only be permanently secured when sustained by a broad extension of the franchise; and the franchise is a constitutional right.

Such, then, are the interests at stake. Let no pretences mislead you. Other questions there are, great and heart-stirring; but each should be decided by the fiat of the whole people, and to that fiat we desire to appeal.

Test your candidates for the House of Commons; not as Whigs, or as Tories; not alone as Free-traders or Protectionists, but also by their unequivocal pledges to support a broad extension of the franchise, a redistribution of electoral power, and the protection of the ballot. Remember, those who repose no confidence in the people, are entitled to no confidence from the people.

Electors.—Yours is a delegated trust. You are placed in an advanced position, and it devolves upon you to decide between the political freedom and the perpetuated thralldom of your unenfranchised fellow citizens.

Non-Electors.—Prove that you are not "unthinking masses." Organize in each locality. Unite with and sustain the efforts of liberal electors by every legal means. You have numbers—you have energy; have firmness and determination.

Electors and Non-Electors.—Your union, honestly sustained, will result in the overthrow of class legislation, will advance commercial freedom, elevate the industrious to their right position in the state, and secure the peace, the prosperity, and the contentment of the whole people.

Signed on behalf of the Council,

JOSHUA WALMSLEY, President.

PRESERVATION OF THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

As the time for removal draws nigh, the efforts to preserve the Crystal Palace multiply and strengthen. Meetings to petition continue to be held from day to day; and they are attended by men who are fair specimens of the different classes of society. At the Westminster meeting, in Willis's Rooms, on Saturday, for instance, the speakers were Mr. Geesin, Mr. T. Atkinson, Dr. Lancaster, Mr. J. W. Marshall, Mr. Geach, M.P., Mr. Beale, Mr. G. Smith, Mr. Grosjean, Admiral Sir George Sartorius, Mr. D. Nicoll, Dr. Daniel, Mr. Jacob Bell, M.P., Sir C. Aldis, Mr. Bonny, and Mr. E. Smith; with Mr. Jackson and Mr. Miley against. Mr. Nicoll noticed the evident feeling of the public. He felt assured that if the people thought there was a real intention to destroy the palace, there would be an expression of but one opinion from the Land's-end to John o'Groat's that it ought to be preserved, and that any government would feel bound to defer to that opinion. The opposition at this, as at other meetings, only sufficed to test the real feeling of the public. Indeed, some of the best arguments for retaining the building are supplied by its few opponents. Hear Jackson:—

During the whole of the Exhibition last year he suffered in a pecuniary point of view from the ceaseless hum (cries of "Oh!" and laughter), and the countless crowds of cabs, omnibuses, and vehicles pouring through the streets. (Laughter.) They were now told that this popular agitation was to be kept up, and the tradesmen of Westminster, and of St. George's, and St. James's, were to be ruined. (Laughter, and cries of "Nonsense, Jackson!") In a personal point of view he was reluctant that the building should stand, for, if it did, Piccadilly would become a nuisance. ("Oh, oh!") Last Saturday, when it was opened at 1s., the crowd of vehicles was so great that no one could drive up to his doors. (Laughter.) In a public point of view also he disapproved of it. The tradesmen and housekeepers of the metropolis were looking forward for some relief from a diminution of taxation; but if the Chancellor of the Exchequer were to be called on for 200,000*l.*—(Cries of "No, no; the place will be self-supporting.") If he was wrong he would fall back on the other ground. (Laughter.) In his opinion it would prove a total failure, and the only parties to be benefited would be the contractors. They might all recollect that when the Colosseum was erected in the Regent's Park; the first projector spent 100,000*l.* and was ruined. It was to have been on a similar plan to the Crystal Palace, and twelve acres of land were to have been added. Poor Braham, who was now singing at Exeter Hall, spent 20,000*l.* on it, and ruined himself. (Cries of "Question.") As a frequenter of Hyde Park he considered that it would suffer very much from the retention of the building. ("Oh, oh!" and laughter.)

Miley is not less useful in showing the straits to which opponents are reduced:—

He maintained that the building was injurious to the health, salubrity, and enjoyment of the park. Let any one go there, and he would find, in the first place, twenty acres covered with the building. (A voice.—"Only eighteen.") Well, then, there were eighteen more trampled down, so as not to produce a particle of herbage. (A voice.—"That's Rotten-row.") Forty years ago the Serpentine was limpid water—let any one look at it now. (Cries of "Question.") It was now the common sewer of Bayswater; and the noxious effluvia arising from it were retained in the hollow between the hill on the north side and the Palace. (Much laughter.) He begged to submit his amendment, believing that the continuance of the building would be a breach of good faith, and would be forty acres of the lungs of the metropolis taken away from it. (Great laughter, and cries of "Oh!")

The amendment was at first seconded by Mr. Garbanatti, of Oxford-street, but he subsequently withdrew his support, on the ground that in his opinion the salubrity of the park would not be affected by the retention of the palace. The amendment, therefore, fell to the ground.

Manchester pronounces in public meeting on the propriety of petitioning Parliament for the retention of the Crystal Palace. Sir John Potter opened the business of the day, and referred to the petitions sent from Warrington, Salford, and other towns. He said it had been suggested the fund contributed by Manchester could be made of great benefit in supporting the Manchester Free Library and the School of Design. Mr. Bazley having been called upon as a Royal Commissioner, said he was not authorized to say anything; but he reminded the meeting that the money was given unconditionally, and with the understanding that it should be applied to some kindred object in London. It must be recollected that the Continent and other parts of the world contributed magnificently to the Exhibition, and he could have wished some institution could be raised by the surplus from which they could derive some advantages as well as this country. The suggestion which had been most favourably received at present was a great industrial institution in London at which people going up to London could study and receive diplomas—marking the progress they had made. The Bishop of Manchester objected to the fund being broken up into small sums to the contributing towns, and as to a great institution like that Mr. Bazley spoke of, why should young men go to London to receive diplomas? Why could not commissioners be appointed to go round the country to make examinations and grant diplomas on the spot?

THE FATE OF FRANKLIN.

THE SHIPS SEEN ON THE ICE-FIELD.

A FURTHER report has been made to the Admiralty, by Captain Erasmus Ommanney, R.N., respecting the two ships on the ice seen from the deck of the brig *Renovation*, on the 20th of April, 1851. The documents are, a letter by Captain Ommanney; a written statement, and also a report of replies made by Mr. Robert Simpson, then mate, and subsequently master of the *Renovation*, under examination by Captain Ommanney, in the presence of Commander J. J. Palmer, Commander W. Ellis, R.N., and Captain W. Caldwell, Inspector of Police, at Limerick; and Remarks on the passage to Quebec, by Mr. Daniel Gorman, master of the *Jessy* of Limerick. From these documents we compile the following very brief resumé; selecting those points which are new, or tend to explain obscurities. A private letter by Mr. Simpson to his uncle, Mr. E. Landells, of 294, Strand, also assists us. Mr. Simpson is at present at Limerick, in the *British Queen*.

The persons of the story are Mr. Coward, master of the *Renovation*, a man of good character, with whom Mr. Simpson had been four years before the voyage to Quebec; Mr. Simpson himself, evidently a young man of superior nature and faculties, with high testimonials to his character; Mr. John Supple Lynch, a passenger on board the *Renovation*, and Davis, the seaman at the wheel. Davis's share in the evidence is slight: he only looked with his naked eye; but what he could see thus confirms the other reports. "Mr. Lynch," says Captain Ommanney, "is a person of intelligence and good education. In his youth he passed three years at sea, and since has been engaged in business and agricultural pursuits. While employed under the Board of Public Works as a pay-clerk, he received a reward for his gallant conduct in defending himself against a party who attacked him for the purpose of robbing him of about 1200*l.* of Government money under his charge, which he was instrumental in saving."

The *Renovation* does not appear to have been well found in the appliances for noting occurrences at sea, or making communications. She had no chronometer. The only spyglass on board was old, and very indifferent. There was one gun, a two or three-pounder;

but probably no powder; and the gun was not fired. Mr. Coward appears to have been very ill; and when Mr. Simpson reported the two ships in sight, he "groaned out" "Never mind," or something to that effect; but gave no authority to alter the course; against which he had previously given Mr. Simpson strict injunctions. When the vessels were in sight, Mr. Lynch urged the mate to approach them; but we have already stated the reason why he did not. Nobody on board knew of the reward offered for the discovery of Franklin's ships. After Mr. Lynch got to Quebec—he is still in Canada—he urged Mr. Simpson to go back and look for the ships; he having a strong impression that they were Franklin's.

The *Renovation* left Limerick on the 6th of April, 1851; it being the first American voyage both of Mr. Coward and of Mr. Simpson; though the latter had been frozen-up in the Black Sea. On the 20th, the brig was probably 80 miles northward of her reckoning, which would make her nearly in the 47th parallel. She was running some seven knots an hour. The ships were sighted about 6 A.M. on the 20th. They lay on a field of ice, five or six miles off, about five miles long; the most elevated part was not more than 30 or 40 feet high—the ice being probably a heavy floe, with a hummock upon it; not a "berg," as it was first called. In that part, along the eastern edge of the Great Bank, is always found a steady current setting to the S.E., at the rate of two miles and a half an hour; icebergs are usually seen there, and there were many in sight at the time. The current had probably brought them from a high latitude in Davis's Straits.

The large ship lay on her beam ends, her decks flush, her lower masts and bowsprit standing, her hull deeply imbedded in the ice; she looked like a wreck. The other was higher on the ice, upright, in good condition; her topmasts on end, her yards across, her running rigging unrove. The bottom of that ship appeared to be not coppered; the bottom of the other was not to be seen. The ships appeared to be painted all black, with white masts. There appeared to be no cut-water. Any person in either ship must have seen the brig.

Captain Ommanney thinks it desirable to send out to Canada, for information from Mr. Lynch.

It is known that three whalers were wrecked in Baffin's Bay in 1849—namely, the *Lady Jane*, of Newcastle, the *Prince of Wales*, of Hull, and the *Superior*, of Peterhead. Inquiry is being made as to the particulars of these wrecks.

There has been published in the *Times*, an extract of a letter from Captain Penny, giving his opinion on the subject of the ships said to have been seen on the ice in the spring of last year; given, however, before the last report:—

"You ask me what I think of the two ships seen upon the iceberg. I think they were 'country ships,' as we whalers call them—formations upon an iceberg which deceive even practised eyes.

"To place ships in such a position by the process of freezing into an iceberg would require 30 to 40 years, and floe ice would have been broken up with the western ocean swell before it had even reached Cape Farewell. Not a piece of sufficient size would be found to contain even one ship, much less two. No iceberg of one-fourth of a mile would reach such a position: it must have been two pieces of icebergs, and the vessel being five miles distant could not observe the water over the detached ice.

"We have the experience of the eleven whalers wintered on the ice; they all broke from their icebergs long before they reached Cape Farewell."

The subject was also alluded to on board the *Assistance*, and Sir Edward Belcher expressed his belief that two ships *had* been seen, not on, but beyond the iceberg, and that they were not the *Erebus* and *Terror*. No reliance, he said, could be placed on the position or correctness of the objects seen over a field of ice. He instanced a case which occurred to Captain Sir Edward Parry, who, with a shooting party in the Arctic regions, pursued what every one of the party would have taken his oath was a herd of moose deer, until they came up to them, after nearly a whole day's exertion, and found they were a flock of ptarmigan. The opinion is however strengthening that these ships were Franklin's.

THE ARCTIC EXPEDITION.

THE vessels intended for the Arctic Expedition have been at Greenhithe to have their compasses adjusted by Captain Johnson. The papers supply several scraps of intelligence and gossip.

The *Assistance*, Captain Sir Edward Belcher, C.B., has on board a number of boxes, each box containing four cylinders, and each cylinder 20*lbs.* of powder, for blowing up the ice when required to force a passage, through Wellington Channel, to the open water seen in Victoria Channel, by parties employed in the recent expedition, after the three graves had been discovered on Beechy

Island. These cases will be discharged by means of galvanic batteries supplied to the expedition for service in the Arctic regions. The Ordnance department have also supplied 300 whale rockets, weighing one and a-half pounds each, and two superior-made rocket tubes for firing them by means of percussion locks and percussion quill tubes. One of Greener's harpoon guns, with percussion locks, has been mounted on the gunwale of the *Assistance*, and turns in any direction, being fitted with a swivel near the stern of the vessel. Photographic artists have been to Greenhithe for the purpose of taking portraits of the officers of Capt. Sir Edward Belcher's expedition, and they were taken under favourable circumstances by the photographic process. The officers of the *Resolute*, the *North Star*, the *Intrepid*, and the *Pioneer*, are also all to be taken by the photographic process previous to their departure. The Admiralty have ordered a Calotype apparatus for the Arctic ships. Dr. Domville, of the *Resolute*, takes charge of the instrument. Capt. Washington, R.N., has visited the whole of the vessels of the squadron, having brought down a box for the commanding officer of each. The contents of the boxes were six dozens of dolls, dressed by the ladies of Woolwich, and intended as presents for the Esquimaux. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean have, with great liberality and kindness, sent to the Arctic ships a quantity of theatrical dresses for the use of the theatre, which has always proved such a fertile and successful source of amusement in previous expeditions. The *Basilisk* steamer, under the command of Commander Gardiner, and the *Desperate* steamer, under the command of Lieutenant Stevens, have remained several days at the Nore waiting to tow the *Assistance* and *Resolute* sailing vessels to the edge of the ice.

A number of ladies have presented Captain Sir Edward Belcher with 22 handsome silk flags, and a number of worked articles for the comfort of the officers when in the Arctic Regions.

THE IRON SHIP QUESTION.

THE loss of the *Birkenhead* has occasioned a controversy as to the safety of iron ships. Last week a correspondent of the *Times*—"Navigator"—asked whether the *Birkenhead* was provided with water-tight bulkheads? This week "A Captain in the Royal Navy" answers the question:

"I can answer that she was, and that, having been originally intended to carry a heavy armament (as a ship of war), her talented and well-known builders—Messrs. Laird—spared no trouble or expense in constructing her as strongly as iron could make her.

"When she struck on the rock off Point Danger it appears that as soon as the foremost compartment filled, all that part of the vessel broke from the midship compartment; that on this filling it broke from the after one, and in 20 minutes, in a fine night, and the sea so smooth as not to endanger her two overloaded cutters, did this large ship break into three pieces as if she had been built of card-paper, sending 438 human beings to a horrible and sudden death.

"It appears from the loss of this ship and that of the *Pasha* in the China Sea, that the so-called water-tight compartments are useless; that the destruction of these iron ships was so rapid as not to afford time for getting out their boats or resorting to many of the usual means of saving life; and that sheet-iron is unable to bear the weight of the ship when one compartment is full of water, immediately tearing away, in the case of the *Birkenhead*, and the ship sinking in three separate pieces.

"As iron ships are now much used as packets, their apparent insecurity, as compared with those built of wood, seems to demand on the part of the public a serious inquiry as to some means of enabling the former to hold together for a longer period when wrecked. I consider their weakness to be caused by the keel and frame being made of iron, and that if these were of wood, and three courses of strong oak stringers used to bind all together, the desired object would be obtained; but probably at so increased a cost as to render the difference in price between iron and wood ships but little in favour of the iron.

"I believe that the recent melancholy instances of the rapid destruction of iron ships will, in the event of any future accidents, cause so immediate a rush to the boats as to produce a fearful struggle—the panic will be universal, and all discipline at an end. I hope, therefore, that out of the free discussion of this important subject some means may be devised for improving the strength of iron ships, and thereby giving the seagoing portion of the public greater confidence in them."

"Ferrous" supplies a bit more information:—

"Having lately laid down an iron steamer myself, I was greatly surprised to find, that notwithstanding she was specified by her builders to be provided with water-tight bulkheads, yet that her hollow keel was to furnish an uninterrupted bilge way from stem to stern. On my remonstrating with them on the subject, and showing them that this trifling omission entirely destroyed the value of the bulkheads in that very particular for which they are, it seems, erroneously considered by the general public to be provided, they assured me that it was the general custom, and that I should hardly find any ships afloat in which the bulkheads were what they purport to be, water-tight.

On the other hand, we have testimony to this effect, given by Mr. A. F. B. Creuze, Chief-Surveyor of Lloyd's, before the Committee on Army and Navy Estimates of 1848:—

"Are there any points in which, in your opinion, iron has an advantage over wood as a material for building ships?—It has, from the before mentioned reasoning, the advantage of greater lightness combined with the same quantity of strength, or more strength combined with equal lightness; you may consequently build a better formed ship of iron; you may take advantage of its com-

parative lightness to build a ship of a better form. The expenses of the repair of iron is exceedingly trifling compared with the expense of the repair of wood, and the facilities for repair extraordinary. There are two or three remarkable instances of this on record. There is the *Nemesis*, one of the vessels of which I spoke, which went out to China. When she was passing round the Cape she encountered a gale of wind, and she literally split down; she was run on shore and repaired by her crew in a very short space of time, and went to sea again, and they went with her straight to the China war. The *Phlegethon* ran on a rock; she knocked a hole in her bottom that was 12 feet in length. I saw a letter from the commander to say he could walk in and out of it. In ten days she was repaired and fit for all purposes by the crew alone. That would have been perfectly impossible with a timber-built ship. The *Nemesis* ran upon a rock off the Scilly Islands in going from Liverpool to Odessa; she put into Portsmouth; she had knocked a hole in her stem; she was repaired at an expense of 30%, though Mr. Laird had to send for the workmen from Liverpool to do so.

"If a wooden vessel had struck in the same way, do you think she would have gone down?—Decidedly so."

The *New York Truth-Teller* quotes the following from one of its contemporaries:—"As we are going to press, we learn that orders have been issued for the release of the Irish state prisoners, Smith O'Brien, John Mitchell, and their companions; subject, however, to the condition that they are not to set foot in the United Kingdom."

By advices received from Erzeroom, it appears that cholera has again broken out with severity in Persia, where the pestilence commenced before its recent visit to this country and the rest of Europe. It has appeared at Souk Boolek, near Suleimanich; and it is also reported that typhus was raging at Tehran, as well as Tabreez. The local government, in a state of alarm, are taking measures to cleanse the city, in the hope of preventing it from visiting Erzeroom. There can be no assurance that it will not spread and take its former course.

IRELAND AND HER CHRONIC "SYMPTOMS."

REPORTS from all parts of Ireland all agree that there is not the least symptom of abatement in the outrushing human tide; on the contrary, the vessels clearing out direct for America, from Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and other ports, are more numerous than at this time last spring; numbers proceed by steam to Liverpool, to take shipping there. The remittances by the American mails, to families of the humbler classes, are very large in the aggregate, accompanied by encouraging representations of the prospects for the emigrants in the United States. The *Galway Mercury* gives the following account of a lottery, adopted by the labourers on the drainage works in that district, to afford the means of emigrating:—

"They are paid fortnightly, and when the pay night arrives, about three hundred of them assemble and pay sixpence each into a general fund. A number of tickets, corresponding with the number of persons present, are then placed in a hat, and on one of these the word 'America' is written—all the rest being blank. A ballot then takes place, and the lucky drawer of the prize ticket has his passage to America paid for him, and receives a small sum to subsist him for some time after his landing there."

The inexplicable mountain fires continue to blaze up in special districts:—

"The mountains in the neighbourhood of Tralee, from Glounskheen on to the old Killarney road, have again presented quite a volcanic appearance. Over a space of several miles towards the summit of that mountain chain the heather was in a blaze, presenting a beautiful spectacle. The Paps, in the county of Cork, and Drung Hill, in Iveragh, were also in a blaze, and the *ensemble* from that portion of the Atlantic where the eye could take in a portion of each (for the blaze on the Tralee mountains was visible at its southern side also) must have been very imposing. All the mountains from Castlemain to Inch have been on fire during the past week."

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER XVII.

Paris, Tuesday Evening, 20th April, 1852.

THE Review for the grand ceremony of the distribution of eagles is to take place on the 10th of May, and not on the 5th, as I had previously announced. The 5th of May, however, had originally been fixed upon, as being the anniversary of the death of Napoleon. But it was afterwards thought more *piquant*, at the Elysée, to have it on the 10th of May, that being precisely the day on which, by the terms of the Constitution of 1848, the President of the Republic was to have retired into private life. L. Bonaparte, who becomes Emperor, will cease on that day to be President. What more could the Republicans desire?

M. Bonaparte has completely thrown off the mask; he now advances openly towards the long-coveted object of his ambition.

At the reception of the officers of the National Guard, recently named by the government, M. Vieyra, one of Louis Bonaparte's familiars, and Chief of the Staff of the National Guard, made a speech

fitted for the occasion, in which, after having said he relied upon their devotion to the Prince, he added that he hoped the National Guard in future would never cry *Vive la Réforme*, or *Vive la République*, as the Republic was quite dead.

During the review on Easter Monday, General St. Arnaud, the Minister at War, called out several times *Vive l'Empereur*, as though he had partaken of the extra allowance of brandy given to the soldiers. The General Magnan hearing him thus cry out, approached L. Bonaparte, and asked him if there was anything new on foot. "Why?" said M. Bonaparte. "Because," added the General, "I have just heard St. Arnaud calling out '*Vive l'Empereur*.' " "It may probably be that his tongue has been turned,—*la langue lui aura tourné*,"* drily rejoined the President.

Here are some further symptoms of the Empire. There is to be a display of fireworks on the night of the 10th of May, on the heights of Chaillot, opposite the *Champ de Mars*, and I have been assured by well-informed persons, that orders have been given to prepare a design for a transparency, in which will be read, in letters of fire, *Vive l'Empereur*. Officers' schakos, to the number of 10,000, have been ordered for the 10th of May. At first, it had been arranged that an eagle only, was to figure upon them; but since then, M. Rigal, the manufacturer in the *rue du Temple*, has received orders to place an Imperial crown above each eagle. A committee has been formed to organize and spread the petition movement, as mentioned in a previous letter, which is to be made to appear to represent the will of the French people. The committee is neither more nor less than the late committee for revising the Constitution, at the head of which figured M. de Turgot, now a minister; Königswarser, now a deputy; De Montour, now *chef du Cabinet* of the Minister of the Interior, &c., &c. To give you an idea of the means by which the Bonapartists have come into power; wearing and casting aside first one disguise, and then another, observe, this same committee for the revision of the Constitution consisted of the men who formed the committee for *procuring* petitions for the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, organized a few days after the election of L. Bonaparte to the presidency. The committee for *procuring* these petitions was but a new phase of the Bonapartist Electoral Committee of the 10th of December, which was itself but a transformation of the celebrated *Société de Décembristes*, organized under some other name, so far back as the month of April, 1848; and whose members instigated the fatal barricades of June. Vishnu had ten incarnations. This is nothing to Bonapartism; it has had at least a hundred.

The Committee of the Empire, for some days past, has been doing its work with fabulous activity. Millions of blank petition-forms are daily expedited to the provinces. The Committee are in direct correspondence with the prefects, who have become the mere instruments by which this *job* is to be accomplished. The petitions by this channel reach the villages, with orders to be presented for the signatures of the peasants. Would it not be surprising if, under such coercion, the petitions were not speedily filled up?

The expectation of the Empire has brought out the vultures; they are casting lots for the plunder. Old Jérôme is to have *four millions*, Lucien Murat *two millions*, the Princess Camerata *one million*, and an equal proportion for each of the other members of the Bonaparte family.

Preparations are already on foot for the *fête* of the 10th of May. The workmen are erecting platforms in the *Champ de Mars*, in front of the *Ecole Militaire*. There will be five principal platforms. The one in the centre will contain Louis Bonaparte, his ministers and staff. The two adjoining are intended for the great Bodies of the State; the Council of State, the Senate and the Legislative Chamber. The two outwards are for the magistracy of Paris, and the corps diplomatique. There will be a number of other platforms, destined for the persons who are to be invited; including the distinguished foreigners in Paris. Three thousand English are spoken of as having solicited that favour. The entire army of Paris will be massed into the *Champ de Mars*. Including the 24,000 of the new National Guard, there will not be less than 75,000 men under arms. Besides the army of Paris, each regiment will be represented by a deputation, consisting of the colonel, two officers, two sergeants, two corporals, and two private soldiers. Detachments from the Cavalry School of Saumur, the Zouaves, the Foreign Legion, the battalions of Africa, the Chasseurs d'Afrique, and the Spahis, are to be present. The Arab chiefs have also been invited to assist at the ceremony. The *fête* will be a military version of the Grand Civil Federation of 1790. As on that occasion,

* It is impossible to give an English equivalent for M. Bonaparte's pun,—"*la langue lui aura tourné*."

a monumental altar will be raised in the *Champ de Mars*, and a solemn mass will invoke the blessing of the Most High (this is the official style of our new converts). To complete the ceremony, but one thing is wanting; Louis Bonaparte should put on the surplice of an *enfant de chœur*, and take the juvenile department of the Mass, which is to be sung by M. Donnet, the new Cardinal of Bordeaux. Truly the ceremony of the 10th of May is but another Imperial reminiscence; for in 1815, after the return from Elba, Napoleon, to make it appear that the power which he had re-assumed was consecrated by the people, commanded a Federation to be held, which he decorated with the name of *Champ de Mai*. All the details of the approaching ceremony are scrupulously copied from the original. At that time a throne was raised in front of the building of the Military School, surrounded by a vast amphitheatre, in which 15,000 persons were seated. An altar was erected in the middle of the *Champ de Mars*; mass was celebrated by the Archbishop of Tours, assisted by the Cardinal of Bayonne, and four other bishops. So will it be on the 10th of May.

The Legislative Body has again resumed its sittings, but they are made as unimportant, as M. Bonaparte, who considers himself the sole representative of the national will, could wish them to be. The members of the Legislative Body are steeped in continual humiliations (*abrévées d'humiliations*), and treated as very small fry indeed. They are indignant at being thus crushed. The doors of the Ministers are closed to them; and scarcely can they get an audience from even a head clerk. If they have any favour to ask, they are obliged to wait their turn in the antechambers of the Ministers. Some five or six days ago, they represented their grievances to L. Bonaparte. The President replied, that they were to keep themselves quieter; that his Ministers knew what they were about; and that, under any circumstances, it was not befitting they should come in contact with deputies.

The press meets with no better treatment than the deputies; even the Bonapartist papers, *La Patrie*, and the *Constitutionnel*, have been snubbed. No more communications or news are they to receive. "I don't want any newspapers," said M. Bonaparte; "on the contrary, the newspapers need me." As for the opposition press, if such a term can be applied to the mild lucubrations with which they favour the public, they are ruled by *the rod*. Notwithstanding the law, the prefects in the departments continue to exercise a rigorous censorship on the country papers. They do more—they dismiss editors and replace them without so much as consulting the proprietors. Thus it was that the successor of M. Crugy, of the *Courrier de la Gironde*, was named on the 15th of April, by a simple notification of the prefect. In fact, the prefects, in mimicry of the minister of police, have set about giving a first warning to the journals in their departments. You know that two warnings are sufficient for the suppression of a newspaper. The *Réformiste* of Douai had taken upon itself to write an article describing the deplorable tendency of the recent Decree on the sugar question as affecting the interests of the manufacturers of beet-sugar. Now the sugar decree was a personal and autocratic emanation of the President's own concocting; the prefect *du Nord* lost no time, therefore, in sending a first warning to the *Réformiste*, under the pretence that the article "excited the citizens to disaffection towards the Prince President, in attributing to him ideas hostile to the interests of agriculture and the sugar trade; which he had always protected with much solicitude."

The Government is unceasing in its persecution of the Republicans. L. Bonaparte has succeeded in obtaining from Belgium, that refugees shall not be admitted into that country. He feared their increasing number might at length tempt them to an armed invasion of the French territory.

Persons confined to particular residences, and citizens under surveillance of police, are both suffering from the special rigours of the government. They are now compelled to report themselves to the local authorities every fortnight, and they are not allowed to leave their homes on any pretext whatever.

The situation of the provinces begins to present an uneasy aspect. In the North, Orleansism is in activity. In the South, the Centre, and the East, it is Republicanism. In the South, especially there is a good deal of agitation. The feeling against the priests is intense. In many districts they are exposed to insults and ill-treatment. The Legitimists do not, as formerly, receive them in their châteaux, and have ceased to entrust them with the distribution of their charities. They openly accuse the clergy of having aided in the election of L. Bonaparte.

There was a quasi manifestation against Bonaparte

on the 15th of April. It having come to the ears of the ouvriers of the faubourg St. Antoine, that L. Bonaparte had gone to Vincennes, they turned out to the number of 20,000, and lined the *grande rue* of the faubourg, to wait for his return. The greatest excitement prevailed; and epithets, such as *badinguet*, a synonyme of *paillasse* (mountebank), the nickname given to Bonaparte by the workmen, varied with *tyrant* and *traitor*, were bandied about in the crowd. As soon as he appeared, preceded and followed by a body of cuirassiers, he was greeted with deafening shouts of *Vive la République*, which, shouted by 20,000 men, followed him from the *Barrière du Trône* to the *Place de la Bastille*.

L. Bonaparte already looks upon himself as a second Charlemagne. The *Moniteur* of to-day publishes a curious circular addressed by the Minister of Police to the Inspectors-General of Police. The Inspectors are pompously compared to the *Missi Dominici* of the Emperors of the West. They are enjoined to put themselves in communication with the masses; to look after any political plots that may be preparing; and especially to convince the masses "of the immense services rendered by the Chief of the State; the country saved from a *jacquerie*; authority restored, religion made honourable, and all accomplished in less than four months. It would seem as if having endured so much misery, France had each day been consoled by a blessing."

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

Marshal Gérard is dead. He was, since the deaths of Marshals Soult and Marmont, the senior Marshal in France, his appointment dating as far back as the 17th of August, 1830. He was in the seventy-ninth year of his age. Etienne Maurice Gérard, Count and Marshal of France, was born in April, 1773, at Damvilliers (Meuse). He entered the army as a volunteer in 1791. He was present at Fleurus; was at one time Aide-de-camp of Bernadotte; was Colonel at Austerlitz; General of Brigade in the Russian campaign; General of Division in September, 1812; Count of the Empire in 1813; Marshal of France in 1830; Peer of France at the same time; General-in-Chief at the taking of Antwerp in 1832; twice Minister of War; twice President of the Council of Ministers; Commander-in-Chief of the National Guards of the Seine; twice Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour; Grand Cross of that Order since July 29, 1814. The deceased took part in all the great battles of the Empire. In consequence of the death of Marshal Gérard there remain at present only five Marshals in France—Reille, promoted in 1847; Jérôme Bonaparte, in 1850; and Excelsmans, Harispe, and Vaillant, in 1851. According to the last wishes of the deceased, his obsequies are to take place without any pomp. His remains are to be conveyed to the department of the Oise, to be there placed in a family vault, where his children have been placed. The illustrious Marshal has besides ordered that the sums generally expended for persons of his rank should be distributed for charitable purposes.

Prince Paul of Wurtemberg died last week in Paris, after a long and painful illness. His death-bed was attended by the Minister of Wurtemberg, the Russian Minister, the Duke of Nassau, M. de Montessuy, Marshal Jérôme Bonaparte, and his son Napoleon, and some others, when the Papal Nuncio announced that the Prince had a fortnight previously abjured the Protestant faith, and become a Roman Catholic. This announcement took all present by surprise, as the affair had been kept a profound secret. The priests of the parish of the Madeleine also attended, and in the presence of the Nuncio administered extreme unction to the dying man. It was when the prince was in *extremis*, that the Papal Nuncio, to the surprise and scandal of everybody, entered the chamber of the hotel where the nearest friends and relations of the deceased, whose family is protestant, were gathered. Madame de Montessuy, the prince's natural daughter, then announced to the company that the prince had abjured protestantism, and embraced the Roman Catholic religion. Great scandal and a painful impression was caused among the relatives of the deceased by this sudden disclosure. The members of the family of Nassau protested energetically against the clandestine abjuration snatched from the prince in a moment when he was in the grasp of death, and immediately retired. The nuncio administered the sacrament, the reception of which disqualified the prince for succession in case of survival to the throne of Wurtemberg. Prince Paul was in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was the only brother of the reigning King of Wurtemberg, and brother-in-law of Prince Jérôme Bonaparte. One of his daughters is the widow of the Grand Duke Michael of Russia, and the other is Duchess Dowager of Nassau.

Circular follows circular from the Minister of Police to the Prefects, and to the newly-created Inspectors-General of Police in the provinces. The circular to the Prefects of Departments contains directions with respect to political offenders who have been condemned by the departmental commissions to *internement* (forced residence in a particular place), and to the surveillance of the police.

The *Journal des Débats* has a very sharp and skilful attack on the functions of the Inspectors, who are to be in fact intermediate representatives between the executive and the people, and to absorb the business of a parliament.

Opposition is awakened even among the deputies patronized by the Government. Even the *Constitutionnel* of Tuesday had an article maintaining that the sending of the budget to the Council of State, instead of the *Corps Législatif*, was an invasion of the rights of the representa-

tives of the people. To this article a *communicated* reply appears in the *Patrie*, accusing the *Constitutionnel* of "reasoning on old parliamentary traditions, and of forming an erroneous opinion of the actual character of the Council of State."

The *Constitutionnel* rejoins: and Dr. Veron permits himself certain expressions, reserved and courteous in tone, but full of bitter intention, deprecating the appearance of "a dissimulating despotism."

The *Charivari* has (says the *Patrie*) received an official warning from the Minister of Police.

The article of the *Charivari* which gave offence, was by M. Taxile Delord, the most serious and powerful writer in that paper, which, since last December, has exhibited marvellous skill in its masked political allusions.

The eagles are not to be distributed to the National Guard at the review of the army on the 10th of May; but will be presented to that force on the 15th of August.

The *Public* says that a camp of 60,000 troops is to be established at Compiègne, when a variety of evolutions are to be gone through, under the command of the Prince President in person.

During the parliamentary session the President of the Republic intends to hold receptions at the Elysée every Monday and Saturday evening.

M. Poizat, a deputy for the Ain under Louis Philippe, has written a letter to the *Débats* against the Copper Coinage Bill in an unusually bold strain of opposition. He refers to the part taken by him in throwing out a similar bill in 1843. He continues to hold the opinion which he then frankly expressed, that "the little dynastic satisfaction" of replacing unpalatable effigies by a new image is no compensation for the inconvenience of the measure.

The President remitted the remaining term of imprisonment to M. Victor Hugo (the son), confined in the Conciergerie for a Press offence. The young prisoner has addressed the following letter to the *Siccle*:

"I have just seen in the *Indépendance* of Brussels that the Government has remitted the remaining four months of the imprisonment to which I had been condemned. The punishment inflicted on my father, and on my friend, Paul Meurice, who is still undergoing confinement for an article signed by me alone, prevents me from accepting a pardon which I have in no way solicited."

The term of imprisonment of M. Proudhon having expired, he has been exiled into Belgium, and Bastogne has been fixed as his place of residence.

There is a somewhat musty proverb about a certain sable personage of quite unquestionable reputation, "re-buking sin." What shall we say to the following example of the same "figure of speech?"

The President having heard of some questionable transactions at the Bourse, in which near friends of the Elysée were said to be implicated lately, made a very serious speech to his assembled military household, in which he reminded the members of that body of the fatal influence which corruption in pecuniary matters had had upon the destinies of the late monarchy, and added, that the least laxity in this respect that came to his knowledge would be summarily punished. But while he gave these warnings, he affected to believe that no one about him could ever be guilty of such an offence.

Even the majesty of the law is to be sacrificed to the tailoring mania of the present ruler of France. The Minister of the Interior, on the motion of the President, has now issued a commission, consisting of four first presidents and four procureurs-general of the courts of law, and has charged them to propose a new costume for the judges. The *Débats* says, that these respectable personages have taken this important subject into consideration, and that they seem disposed to adopt "a dress of black velvet trimmed with gold and silk embroidery, pantaloons with bands of velvet trimmed with gold, a hat with a plume of white feathers, a sword, a cravat with lace frills, and a red sash with a gold or silver fringe." Such are the uses to which Louis Napoleon puts the gravest personages in the law, as well as the so-called representatives of the people.

The *Bulletin de Paris* has published, and the journals in the service of the government have received orders to insert an article, which represents Louis Napoleon and France as bound by a joint obligation to demand from foreign newspapers a more respectful language towards the government of the Prince President, and announces that it is become impossible any longer to tolerate their insulting attacks. Lord Cowley is reported to have had a lengthened interview with the President on this subject; and the interview to have terminated satisfactorily.

Letters from Berlin state that the Zollverein congress was opened there on Monday morning at eleven o'clock, when the Minister President, M. von Manteuffel, delivered a discourse. He expressed his regret that the government had not been able to convoke the congress earlier, but cherished the hope that the bond of material interests, now uniting the various states represented, would retain all its strength in the prospective renewal and extension of the Zollverein. When this, the chief end of their deliberations, had been secured, other questions might become the subject of discussion. When M. Manteuffel had concluded his address, the representative of Bavaria, Customs-Councillor Meixner, replied. He expressed his wish that Austria should be admitted to participate in the deliberations of the congress by the organ of a plenipotentiary; but he did not fix any precise period for this admission.

The authorities of Posen, writes the Correspondent of the *Times*, have enough to do to answer the strange applications that are sometimes made to them by the Polish and German peasantry. The idea that has got abroad among them of the vast grants of land Kossuth has received from the "King of America" does not stand alone; another impression that has taken root in their minds is much more extraordinary; for some time past the officials have received numbers of applications for shares in a "Rothschild Lottery," of which they of course knew nothing; but, on inquiry, it was found the peasants have been persuaded

that the "great Rothschild" has been sentenced to be beheaded! But from his intimate relations with the European monarchs he has been allowed to procure a substitute (if he can) by lottery! For this purpose a sum of many millions is devoted, all the tickets to be prizes of 3,000 thalers each, except one; that fatal number is a blank, and whoever draws it is to be decapitated instead of the celebrated banker!

Count de Buol-Schauenstein, appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs and of the Imperial House, as successor to Prince Schwarzenberg, by letters patent, dated April 21, is to be President of the "Conferences of Ministers," instead of M. de Bach. The word "Conferences" is used, as the Ministers are no longer to meet as a deliberative council, resolving questions by the majority of votes, but simply as a body of high functionaries to discuss questions of which the formal decision is to be left to the Emperor.

The Grand-Duke Constantine, and the Grand-Duchess, his wife, have given at Venice a sumptuous banquet to the Count and Countess de Chambord and the Duchess de Berry.

Great umbrage has been given to Louis Bonaparte by the recent royal reception of the Count de Chambord, who figures, we are told, in the Imperial Russian Almanack, as the "King." The Russian Princes gave the Count de Chambord a magnificent Album with an inscription to "the King of France."

Count Rechberg is expected to succeed Count Buol-Schauenstein as ambassador to London.

Accounts from Naples, dated the 14th instant, state that during the last few days the politically accused, amounting to 28, had been removed from the prisons of Naples to the penal islands. Each had undergone examination, but the Court had agreed that they should not be brought to trial, probably for want of material. By such means the criminal courts are saved trouble and exposure of their injustice, while the great aim—viz., the banishment of leading men of the constitutional party—is just as effectually secured as by the most formal process. One of these victims, M. Pizzutti, is the brother-in-law of Baron Mazziotti, now an exile in Genoa.

But it will be pleasant to our readers to know that her Majesty's Government are on the best terms with King Bomba.

On the 9th instant, his Excellency the Hon. Sir William Temple went to the Royal Palace at Caserta to pay the compliments of the season to his Sicilian Majesty. The King is described as looking careworn and anxious. Poor amiable man!

The accounts from Montefusco, where Poerio and his companions are confined, are still very sad. A special order has arrived, from the general of the district, at Montefusco, which says, "These prisoners are to be treated with the full prison severity, especially Poerio and Nisco, who are not worthy to live. They are to have no medical treatment."

Such is the treatment of the constitutional prisoners of Naples by the man to whom our ambassador goes to "pay the compliments of the season."

A Genoa letter of April 16 states, that the municipality intend to convert the Darsena into a commercial dock, in imitation of the Katherine Docks of London. The expense is estimated at 720,000*l.* sterling.

From the *Daily News*.

(BY ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH.)

PARIS, THURSDAY.

A note communicated to the *Moniteur* says:

"Many imagine the empire is to be proclaimed at a fête. Such are strangely mistaken in attributing to the Government the desire of a pretext to change the established order of things. Such a change, if rendered necessary, could only be accomplished on the initiative of the constituted powers with the assent of the whole people. The sixty thousand soldiers to be assembled in the Champ de Mars, on May 10, would vainly salute the President as Emperor, the empire would not be brought one hour nearer."

By decree the precedence of the great bodies is thus fixed: Senate, Legislative, Council of state.

THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN MAZZINI AND LOUIS BLANC.

(From the *Reasoner*.)

WHEN two men like Louis Blanc and Mazzini enter the lists of controversy, they exercise an influence beyond that which pertains to the intrinsic accuracy of their views. Their manner of controversy becomes an example to others for good or evil. Lesser disputants will become imitators of their tone. Temper and tone are the tactics of modern social warfare. We have seen France lose its foremost place among the nations because its leaders talked like assailants, and wrote like duellists. We have had much—too much of this among us. Let us take care that it be not augmented by importation. Mazzini is essentially great, both as a man of thought, and a man of action. A mystic so profound, that he distances transcendentalism in some of his speculations; yet he can throw aside the airy wand of Prospero at will, grasp the sword with the practical circumspection of the soldier, and traverse the fields of the possible with the calculating astuteness of the Utilitarian. Acknowledging all this, we must yet say that his brief reply to the French Socialists in the *Leader* was painful to read. Chiefly the last words "the personal [attack I pass by] with contempt." Contempt is not the feeling which the impassioned errors—if errors they be—of his critics should excite. The feeling—we say it deferentially—seems to us wrong, and the example bad. If great men have but "con-

tempt" for the criticisms or attacks of each other, lesser disputants, only able to imitate greatness in such a respect, will have its disastrous "contempts" also. Worse than this, the public, who have to be instructed, inspired, and elevated, exclaim—"If 'contempt' is what one leader feels for another, we may be excused any serious attention to the matter they hold in dispute."

It is not for us to say what the French leaders should have done. But the humbler privilege we may exercise of saying what we should wish had been done. Mr. Mazzini should have been expostulated with, not denounced. His misconception should have been pointed out, and the defence would have had dignity and strength, and a lofty moderation which would have been an example to lesser disputants. If we denounce those who merely misconceive us, we deprive ourselves of the reproof of friends. Then the enemy is too subtle to discover to us our weakness, and our partisans are too intimidated to warn us, and we perish of our independence and our pride. This is no doubt spirited, but farewell to our philanthropy and our love of a great cause when this evil hour comes.

For similar reasons, when V. Schoelcher, Representative of the people, writes to the *Times*, as on April 10, saying Mazzini "seeks to excite between kindred nations a fatal antagonism, and to insult French democracy," we pass away from such a writer in despair. If the motives of a man like Mazzini are not to be respected, there is an end of the honour of publicists, and progress is again condemned to the vicissitudes of accident. This was the serious mistake made by the French leaders in their attack on Mazzini. The English people would have listened to their arguments—but turned in sadness away from their accusations. Louis Blanc, Pierre Leroux, Cabet, we have learned to regard, nor can we permit even themselves to dispel the attachment.

Those who read that emphatic passage (in the *Circular* on the "Duties of Democracy," furnished by Mazzini to the *Leader*), beginning "I do not accuse the great Social Idea which will be the glory and the mission of the epoch of which we are the precursors," can scarcely fail to see that the writer is not the opponent of a wise Socialism. Nor is he the enemy of France who puts upon the record that paragraph in the same *Circular*, ending with the words—"It is necessary now that the whole of democratic Europe aid her to arise, as formerly she aided Europe. It is necessary that, instead of flattering France in her follies, it should speak to her in the frank and severe words which are the inheritance of the strong."

This is nobly said. In this manful thought, which concludes this extract, let us also find a justification for the few words of remonstrance which we employ.

Those who may have seen the *Westminster Review* for April will have probably read an article entitled "Europe: its Condition and Prospects," by a writer of whom the *Leader* observes, "his signature is in every sentence." Those who read the article will ascribe it to Mazzini, if internal evidence may be trusted. In how wise, in how wide and practical a sense Mr. Mazzini is a Socialist the reader will see when he reads what follows, which we quote from the *Westminster*:—"The great social idea now prevailing in Europe may be thus defined: the abolition of the proletariat; the emancipation of producers from the tyranny of capital concentrated in a small number of hands; re-division of productions, or of the value arising from productions, in proportion to the work performed; the moral and intellectual education of the operative; voluntary association between workmen substituted gradually and peacefully, as much as possible, for individual labour paid at the will of the capitalist. This sums up all the reasonable aspirations of the present time. It is not a question of destroying, abolishing, or violently transferring wealth from one class to another; it is a question of extending the circle of consumers, of consequently augmenting production, of giving a larger share to producers, of opening a wide road to the operative for the acquisition of wealth and property; in short, of putting capital and the instruments of labour within reach of every man offering a guarantee of good will, capacity, and morality. THESE IDEAS ARE JUST, and they are destined eventually to triumph; historically, the time is ripe for their realization. To the emancipation of the slave has succeeded that of the serf; that of the serf must be followed by that of the workman. In the course of human progress the patriciate has undermined the despotic privilege of royalty; the bourgeoisie, the financial aristocracy, has undermined the privilege of birth, and now the people, the workers, will undermine the privilege of the proprietary and moneyed bourgeoisie, until society, founded upon labour, shall recognise no other privilege than that of virtuous intelligence, presiding, by the choice of the people, enlightened by education, over the full development of its faculties and its social capabilities."

This statement is as accurate as it is comprehensive, and could only be produced by one who has studied Socialism, and could only be sent forth by one who believes it. It ought not to be overlooked that the political 'situation' in France has been forfeited to the enemy by controversial tactics which have proved fatal. Not to look this full in the face is sheer madness—not to attack the source of weakness is to give up the contest. The first shock of criticism will be felt through Europe. Time, we believe, will show more wisdom in Mr. Mazzini's course than we can at present demonstrate. In some eminent respects, we reiterate his strictures are unjust to Socialists; still his friendly and manful attitude towards Socialist views cannot be doubted. Right or wrong, the critical pen of so competent an observer must do good service.

Reviewing in another publication Gourard's work on *Socialisme Dévoilé*, we said:—"It seems worth while pointing out a curious fact in the metaphysics of public credulity. Gourard represents the usual heroes of the *Times*, and is a great gun among the party of Fear in France. Granting all to be true alleged of the reckless mendacity of the *Times*, we see what their estimate is of public intelligence. They calculate that prevarication will succeed. They believe there is a demand for it among the upper classes, and they supply it. Their success is no doubt very annoying to those traduced, but we think it ought to be borne with patience. In war, wounds are looked upon as a matter of course, and in civil conflicts lies seem to be the weapons used by an unscrupulous enemy, and are to be expected accordingly, and borne with equanimity. A lie has been well defined as the murder of intelligence, and such an issue must be looked for and braved, like death on the battle-field, as the casualty of conflict."

If we would listen to a libel without perturbation, and give battle to a lie with as little discomposure as we would meet any other enemy, how much more dispassionately should we analyze the criticism of one, however severely he spoke, who spoke for our profit? At home or in exile, at liberty or in prison, we should thank him for those 'frank and severe words, which are alone the inheritance of the strong.'

THE GREAT HEBREW OATH CASE.

JUDGMENT in the case of Mr. Salomons, the Hebrew Member for Greenwich (argued at the Hilary Term), was given in the Court of Exchequer on Monday.

MR. BARON MARTIN, who pleaded that construction of the case which good sense and public opinion would adopt, (the three other Judges stood on the technicalities of the case,) said—This is an action to recover penalties alleged to be forfeited by the defendant under the statutes 1st George I., sess. 2, c. 13, s. 17, and 6th George III., c. 53 s. 1, by reason of his having voted in the House of Commons without having taken the oath of abjuration contained in the latter statute. The declaration stated that the defendant was duly returned to serve in Parliament as a Burgess for the borough of Greenwich, and that he voted in the House of Commons without having taken and subscribed the above oath, and thereby forfeited the sum of 500*l.* A special verdict was found, which stated that the defendant was elected to serve in Parliament for Greenwich, and whilst he was a member voted in the House of Commons. That he was a British born subject of the Jewish religion, and that the form and manner of taking an oath binding on the conscience of a Jew in cases where the words of the oath are to be repeated by the person taking the oath is, that he takes in his hand the Old Testament and repeats the words of the oath, and at the conclusion says, "So help me God!" and then kisses the book; and that this form of taking an oath was and is binding upon the conscience of the defendant. That before he voted he came to the table of the House in the usual manner, and demanded to be sworn to the oaths required by law in the manner and form abovementioned, upon the Old Testament, alleging it to be, as in truth it was, the form which was binding upon his conscience. That he then took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy in the form and manner aforesaid upon the Old Testament, and proceeded to repeat the oath of abjuration contained in the 6th George III., c. 53, substituting the name of Queen Victoria for that of King George, down to the words "upon the true faith of a Christian," which he deliberately and intentionally refused to repeat, and then added the words "So help me God," and kissed the book. That the Speaker objected that he had not taken the oaths in the manner required by law, and requested him to withdraw, which he did not do, and declared that he had taken the oath in the form binding upon his conscience, which the special verdict finds to be the truth. The verdict concludes by submitting to the Court whether the defendant had lawfully taken the oath of abjuration. With respect to this oath it is noticeable that at the time of the Popish plot an act was passed containing these words—the very words of the abjuration oath:—"And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation or mental evasion or secret reservation whatsoever; and I do make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian: So help me God!" it is apparent that at the time when this contested phrase, "Upon the true faith of a Christian," was enacted, an idea prevailed that Roman Catholics were in a different

condition with regard to oaths from persons of other religious denominations, and that the Jesuits taught that the Pope had power to grant absolution from oaths, and that the Roman Catholics themselves made these parliamentary oaths with mental evasions and secret reservations, which were supposed to have the effect of nullifying their obligation; and the conclusion of the oath is expressly directed against this supposed state of things. Now, Jews were not then resident in the kingdom, so that it is clear that the words "upon the true faith of a Christian" were not inserted with any hostile objects towards them; and the statute expressly declares that the oath was imposed "for the better trial of the loyalty and obedience of his Majesty's subjects;" and it is perfectly obvious to my mind that the words were introduced into the oath, not as a test of Christianity, but in order the more effectually to bind and affect the conscience of Roman Catholics. They were, according to their then and present opinion, the most perfect Christians, and I think these words were added in order to create the most sacred and binding obligation upon them, and for no other purpose. The Jews were never thought of, and, indeed, the Legislature, in all probability, never contemplated that there were any subjects of the kingdom who were not Christians. At the time when the oath of abjuration was passed, Jews were living in England in very considerable numbers, and in common with the other subjects of the realm were liable to be called on to take the oath, and their neglect or refusal to take it subjected them to penalties. Now, to permit a Jew to make—much more to insist upon his making—an oath "upon the true faith of a Christian," seems to me to be absurd. If, however, it was intended by the Legislature that these words should be of the substance and essence of the oath, and that no one except a Christian should be admissible to take it, it was undoubtedly competent for them so to enact, and the oath could not be lawfully taken except they were used; but I think that there was no such intention. We are called on to interpret highly penal statutes, and they should receive a liberal construction. For a Jew who refuses to use the words "upon the true faith of a Christian," which are not at all applicable to him, and which if used by him would render the oath null and absurd, if not worse—is, by such refusal, incapable of suing either at law or in equity, to be guardian of his own children, to be confined within the limits of five miles from his home, to be incapable of keeping arms for his defence, or of having property bequeathed to him, and, at the discretion or caprice of four justices of the peace, to be liable to be banished, and in the event of his returning to the kingdom, without the leave of the Crown, to suffer death as a felon. I think I best carry out the intention of the Legislature, and give the true legal construction to the statute, by holding the legal form of administering the oath to a Jew is to omit these words, and that I thereby render the statute more effective by suppressing the mischief and advancing the remedy contemplated by it. For these reasons I am of opinion that the defendant lawfully took the oath and is entitled to the judgment of the court.

MR. BARON ALDERSON said, a Jew is to be sworn upon the Book of the Law, and with his head covered; a Brahmin by the mode prescribed by his peculiar faith; a Chinese by his special ceremonies, and the like. But it is also clear, that in the case of oaths of office or of qualification, where the very form of the oath is prescribed by the Legislature, the directions of the Legislature must be literally followed, and the oath must and can only lawfully be taken in the prescribed form, until that form be altered by the same authority which appointed it. The question, therefore, here is, has the Legislature required the oath of abjuration to be taken in a prescribed form, and are the words "on the true faith of a Christian" a part of that prescribed form? In 1739 an act was passed to relieve the Jews from the necessity of using this phrase in certain cases—but the oath of abjuration was not one of the exceptions. It must, therefore, have been the intention of the Legislature that they should use these words. And this act was passed in 1739, when Lord Hardwicke was Chancellor, and Sir Dudley Ryder and Sir John Strange were Attorney and Solicitor Generals, and the acts of 9th and 10th George I. were passed when Lord Macclesfield was Chancellor, and Lord Raymond and Lord Hardwicke respectively Attorney and Solicitor-General. But it is now said that these acts were wholly unnecessary, and that these great lawyers ought to have known it; and we are now, in the year of the Lord 1852, to awake from a sleep into which these great lawyers and the whole Legislature of those periods fell, and in which all persons ever since have remained, from 1739 down to the time of this argument. For within our time these words have been left out of the oath in the case of the Jews, in the act passed by the present Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. I cannot, therefore, believe this to be a reasonable conclusion. I think, therefore, that the oath is not taken at all if these words are omitted by the person swearing, and that Mr. Salomons has therefore voted without previously taking the oath of abjuration. I do most sincerely regret that I am obliged, as a mere expounder of the law, to come to this conclusion: for I do not believe that the case of the Jews was at all thought of by the Legislature when they framed these provisions. I think that it would be more worthy of this country to exclude the Jews from these privileges (if they are to be excluded at all, as to which I say nothing) by some direct enactment, and not merely by the casual operation of a clause intended apparently in its object and origin to apply to a very different class of the subjects of England. I regret also that the consequences are so serious, involving disabilities of the most fearful kind, in addition to the penalty sought to be in this action recovered, and, in fact, making Mr. Salomons for the future almost an outlaw. It is to be hoped that some remedy will be provided for those consequences, at least, by the Legislature. My duty is, however, plain. It is to expound, not to make, the law; to decide on it as I find it—not as I may wish it to be. It seems to me that the law on this point is quite clear, and that the judgment must be for the plaintiff.

MR. BARON PARKE.—We must construe these acts without allowing ourselves to be influenced by any of the political feelings of the present day, as to the proper policy to be pursued with respect to her Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish faith. Looking at these provisions in a judicial spirit, which we are bound to do, how can we say that it is a flagrant violation of natural justice, and a manifest wrong, to make a provision which has the effect of preventing all but Christians from being members of the legislature of a Christian country? Whether it is a politic measure or not to exclude them is not within our province to inquire; and it would be very wrong in us to offer or even to hint any opinion. There is no reason, therefore, on the ground of inconsistency, to modify or alter the language of the oath in the case of members of the legislature, which alone is the present question. It is a fallacy to argue, that because the immediate object of the legislature was to give a more binding effect to a Christian oath, not to exclude the Jews and others than Christians, therefore they meant all such to be admitted, and, consequently, that the terms of the oath ought to be modified so as to carry that object into effect, and to admit all not of the Christian faith to take the oath in a form binding on their consciences. Nothing was further from the contemplation of the legislature. The truth is, they never supposed that any but Christians would form a part of either House of Parliament. The possibility that persons of the Jewish persuasion should be peers, or be elected members of Parliament, probably entered into their contemplation as little as that of Mahomedans or Pagans being placed in either category. In enacting a provision aimed at a peculiar class only of Christians, the legislature have, in the most positive terms, required an oath from every member of the legislature which none but a Christian can take; and this enactment must have the effect of closing both Houses of Parliament against every one but a Christian. To alter such strong words the clearest proof must be required of the intention of the legislature to allow all who were not Christians to be admitted. No statute appears to continue the 10th Geo. I. c. 4, with respect to Jews, or to have any bearing upon the present question. Nor does the statute 1st and 2nd, c. 105, the act to relieve doubts as to the validity of oaths, affect the present case. If the words in question were only the mode of administering the oath, the statute could have that effect, because the oath was administered in a form and with ceremonies, which the defendant declared to be binding. But if this forms part of the statutes themselves, the statute has the application, and I am clearly of opinion that they form part of the matter to be sworn to; that is, part of the oath itself. I, therefore, am clearly of opinion that our judgment must be for the plaintiff.

SIR F. POLLOCK, C.B.—A judicial oath (for justice is of all countries and climes) is governed by the law of nations; but an oath of office or qualification is governed by the municipal laws of the state which requires it to be taken, and by those laws alone. If a man cannot obey the municipal laws of the country in which he resides, he is at perfect liberty to quit it. It may be a very sound reason for altering the law, by a competent authority, but we are not justified in substituting another law in its place. According to the view of my brother Martin, it never was necessary to pass any act to relieve the Jews in respect of the registration of their names: but for every purpose whatever it was competent not only for a Jew, a Turk, a Hindoo, a Pagan, or any other, if, by accident, he were born in the realm, to take the abjuration oath, omitting the words, "on the true faith of a Christian," and to be elected and take his seat as a member of Parliament. With these acts before me, and with the legislative commentary on them, which the last statutes of the 13th George II., chap. 7, furnish, I think, we are not as judges (living though we do in a more enlightened and liberal age) to be liberal above what is written, or by any method of construction when the statutes distinctly, expressly, and imperatively, require one form to substitute another as equivalent for the object or purpose of the Legislature, when every one acquainted with our history and the course of our legislation must in candour acknowledge that in any part of the reign of George I., George II., or the early part of George III., it was the furthest from the intention of the Legislature to admit into the House of Commons persons of the Jewish religion. The language used appears to me to be so clear, so distinct, so express, and stringent, as to exclude a relaxed (and what may be called a liberal) construction by judges, quite as much as it is intended to guard against a mental reservation by those who think that the effect of an oath can honestly be so evaded. On these grounds I agree with my brothers Parke and Alderson that our judgment ought to be for the plaintiff, and the judgment of the Court is, therefore, for the plaintiff.

It is stated, that a writ of error is being prosecuted for the purpose of obtaining the decision of the highest judicial tribunal in the kingdom upon the important question recently decided by the Court of Exchequer.

MR. SALOMONS has again addressed the electors of Greenwich:—"By the terms of the decision," says Mr. Salomons, "I have become a popish recusant convict! Will the people of England, will the constituencies of the empire, permit such a perversion of justice as this very name implies? If the right of private judgment and the free exercise of conscience are to be denied to any British subject, let this be plainly stated. Let England openly become like those despotic countries of Europe in which it is a part of their written law that religious disabilities should prevail, but do not let us, by a stringent construction of statutes almost obsolete, virtually enact disqualifying laws, utterly and entirely opposed to the spirit of the age, and to the constitution under which we have the happiness to live—a constitution which is the pride and protection of every man born on British soil, and which never abridged the liberty of the subject unless it were necessary for the safety of the State."

RAILWAY AGREEABLENESS.

THE *Daily News* on this topic observes.—The most extraordinary improvements are daily made in all arts—and in particular in the art of "making things pleasant" at meetings of railway shareholders. It was thought a year or two ago that Mr. George Hudson had imparted to this art the last finish of which it was susceptible; but the directors of the Birmingham and Shrewsbury Railway Company have fairly distanced the railway king. At the half-yearly meeting recently held, a large bundle of proxies on the table caught the eyes of Mr. Geach, M.P., who asked whether the directors intended to use them, and was answered "Yes." Mr. Geach remarked that the proxies represented more votes than were present at the meeting. The cost of issuing these proxies was charged against the company, under the appropriate designation of extraordinary expenses. But the precautions of the directors did not stop here. They sent free passes to certain shareholders, to enable them to be present at the meeting, and not to others. When asked why this partial issue of free passes had been made, they replied that any other shareholders might have had them for applying. But why send them to some and withhold them from others? The dissentients from the directorial policy declared explicitly that free passes had been sent to those only who it was known would vote with the directors. As only one holder of a free pass opposed to them was named at the meeting, this charge may be held to be substantiated. It appears, therefore, that the meeting was packed by enabling the supporters of the directors (and them only) to travel to it free of expense; and that the directors, reluctant to face even a packed meeting, had collected proxies out-numbering the votes present. After such preparations it is needless to add that "all things were made pleasant," at least to the directors, and in so far as the votes of the meeting are concerned.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A memorial from a number of country publishers was forwarded, on Saturday last, by Mr. W. Williams, M.P. for Lambeth, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, stating that they had been illegally interfered with by the Stamp-office, and praying for compensation.

MR. R. R. R. MOORE, the Anti-corn-law lecturer, so well known for his triplicate initials, is out on his former mission. Warrington, Carlisle, Lancaster, York, and other places, have already been visited by him.

MR. HUME has obtained a very interesting return to the House of Commons, showing the number of passenger ships which have sailed from ports in the United Kingdom with emigrants on board, during the last five years, distinguishing the ports under the superintendence of an emigration office, and showing the number of such ships which have been wrecked, or destroyed at sea, and the number of lives so lost. It appears that from 1847 to 1851, inclusive, the number of emigrant vessels that sailed from ports in the United Kingdom was 7129, of which 252 were chartered by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, of which there was only one wreck. The per centage of loss was .396, or 1 in 252. Of ships despatched from ports under the superintendence of Government emigration offices, there were 5,964, out of which there were 30 wrecks, and the per centage of loss was .503, or 1 in 199. There were 913 despatched from ports not under the superintendence of Government emigration offices, of which there were 13 wrecks, and the loss was 1.42 per centage, or 1 in 70. In the 7129 ships which sailed in the five years, there were 1,494,044 passengers. The number of lives lost by shipwreck was 1043. The per centage of loss was .069, or 1 in 1432. No lives were lost by the ships chartered by the Emigration Commissioners.

The *Liverpool Mercury* has prepared a sort of Ready Reference Table, of the opinions represented by that ingenious phrase the "Country party," who are anything but Unitarians in policy. Political analysis reduces the compound to the following elements:—

- "1. Derbyites, pure and thorough (habits not known).
- "2. Derbyites, faltering and hesitant (habits unknown).
- "3. Derbyites simple, who will not hurt free trade unless they cannot help it.
- "4. Agriculturists, who can do very well with free trade, but who will not refuse protection, if they can get it.
- "5. So-called moderate Protectionists, who do not like free trade, but who dare not attempt to reverse it.
- "6. Medium Protectionists, who would be content with a 5s. duty on corn, but would rather have a 10s. duty.
- "7. Ultra-Protectionists, who would go back, if they could, to the old policy of a sliding scale, navigation laws, and all kinds of monopoly.
- "8. Special burden men, who think that free trade is good and bad—good for the people and bad for the landlords.
- "9. Free-traders, but strong Conservatives.
- "10. Pretended Free-traders.
- "11. Ultra Free-traders, who, if there must be free trade in corn, will have free trade in land, sugar, ships, malt, hops, tobacco, timber, wine, and every other mortal thing.
- "12. Reciprocity men.
- "13. Free-traders in corn, but Protectionists in shipping.
- "14. Anti-Maynoothites.
- "15. Pro-Maynoothites.
- "16. Anti-pro-Maynoothites, a very singular variety, of which we have a specimen in Mr. William Forbes Mackenzie, who voted against small grants to Maynooth because they were small, and in favour of large grants because they were large, and who is nevertheless resolutely determined to oppose all grants to the Roman Catholic Church.
- "17. Opponents of all Parliamentary reform.
- "18. Advocates of an extension of the franchise to such an extent and to such classes as would not be likely to injure the balance of interest, or, in other words, to interfere with the undue preponderance of the territorial element."

The Metropolis Water Supply Committee, after hearing Professors Cooper and Brande on the question of the chemical peculiarities of Thames water, the committee have passed the first clause of the government measure, which sets forth "that from and after (a date to be named) it shall not be lawful for any water company to take for the supply of the metropolis, or of any part thereof, any water from any part of the river Thames below Teddington Lock, or from any part of the tributary rivers or streams of the river Thames, below the highest point where the tide flows in such tributary rivers and streams respectively."

Officers have been appointed to see that the provisions of the amended Steam Navigation Act, for the prevention of overcrowding on board river steamers, are complied with. By the 12th section, the owner, master, or person in charge, will be fined 20*l.*, and also 5*s.* for every additional passenger he carries beyond the number for which he is certified.

Upwards of a hundred vessels, cutter-rigged craft, says the *Morning Chronicle*, are now lying in the Hull docks; the fishmongers' shops are almost destitute of stock, and the middle-men, whose business is done upon the south-end pier there, in transmitting packages of fish across the country to the inland towns, are doing next to nothing. The fishermen have struck, not "for wages," but on account of certain perquisites and usages, which have hitherto been by consent recognised as part of the agreement between the owners and the crews.

The project for the establishment of a Crystal Palace in the Champs Elysées is going on with great activity. A company, formed of capitalists, has already subscribed the amount necessary for this undertaking, and it is occupied in examining the plans which have been submitted by a number of French and foreign architects. M. Sallandrouze de Lamornaix, commissary of the Government at the London Exhibition, is at the head of this company.

That useful feature in large towns, the Penny News' Room, is multiplying itself in the Metropolis. Six doors west of Somerset House another has been opened, which thus expresses its "mission":—"Whoever takes an interest in public news, desires to note the current statics of his business, or has sometimes a leisure hour which he would turn agreeably to account—who is liable to occasional need of information from directory, chart, or time-table; or of convenience for writing an impromptu note; or of a central address for letters and appointments—has felt some of the requirements which the STRAND NEWS ROOMS are intended to fulfil."

Advices received at Liverpool communicate a discovery at Porto Rico in the chemistry of sugar-making. Don Juan Ramos, a native of Port Rico, is the discoverer; the agent is a vegetable extract, which cleanses the saccharine liquor to a degree far beyond that at which the tempered lime hitherto used ceases to operate, while the result is an immensely increased produce of sugar, of a quality very superior to that produced under the present mode; and the greatest merits of the discovery are, "that it requires no change of the existing apparatus, involves no additional outlay," and it is "so simple as to be easily acquired."

The Course of People's Lectures, in New York, has closed successfully. Its object, avowed from the outset, was the wider and cheaper diffusion of the benefits of popular lectures, while the best lecturers should at the same time be more liberally rewarded than had hitherto been usual. These objects have been obtained. The *New York Tribune* adds:—"These lectures will be resumed next autumn, and preparations will be made to render them effective and popular. We hope they may succeed; for we do think the habit of requiring lecturers to give their time and audiences their money for purposes of local, personal, or sectarian importance, has been stretched somewhat. Besides, under the old plan, attractive and uninteresting lecturers are paid alike, while in this course each receives according to his power of commanding an audience. We hope the hint will be improved in our sister cities, and to this end commend it to general consideration."

The *Swansea Herald* relates this touching instance of a woman's heroism and courage:—"A child about four or five years of age fell over the Pothouse-quay, Carmarthen, into the Towey, a strong tide running at the time. Two young men were standing near, but, being unable to swim, made no effort to rescue the boy, merely crying out, 'He is drowning!' but a woman named Hannah Evans, who was in her house attending her sick daughter, saw the accident, and gallantly rushed into the water up to her arm-pits, although totally ignorant of the art of swimming, and saved the child, just as it was on the point of finally sinking."

Illustrative of how early a sentiment of honour may exist in the young, a curious instance has occurred in Derby, where a little boy, ten years old, has drowned himself, from mortification at his mother having discovered that he had stolen sixpence.

The *New York Tribune* gives this curious instance of the creation of a public wonder:—"Some years ago an optician of this city made a glass eye of the proper size, filled it with distilled water, and put therein a small eel. A gentleman of subtle wit saw the bauble, was struck with an idea, purchased it, and departed. Shortly afterwards the public were running down Park-row, somewhere, to see 'a horse with a snake in his eye,' the greatest wonder of the age. Money came plentifully to the camp, and the show went on bravely until the optician inadvertently mentioned the glass eye, and then the whole affair collapsed."

It appears there are reasons for supposing that Mr. Boyd may not be killed, but merely retained in captivity. The American whalers will be directed to sound the natives, these adventurous seamen being adroit at this perilous diplomacy.

The *Record* relates that Mr. Spencer, better known as Father Ignatius, is in Vienna, raising funds for the "conversion" of the Protestants of England.

The son of Prince Murat has joined the Chasseurs d'Afrique as a private soldier.

Mr. Frank Forster, recently the engineer to the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers, died suddenly last week, at the age of fifty-two. He was a man of great attainment and large practice as a mining and civil engineer. A contemporary sketches his career—After a long exercise of his talents in pursuits not devoid of contention, and into which personal feelings are frequently imported, his knowledge, his untiring assiduity, and his high integrity, left him without an enemy. For many years he was the energetic coadjutor of Sir Robert Stephenson, having had entrusted to him the direction of many works of magnitude, among which may be particularly mentioned the Kilsby Tunnel and the masonry of the piers of the Britannia Bridge, and the general arrangements of that great work. On the formation of the present Commission of Sewers for the metropolis, Mr. Forster was appointed chief engineer; but his health failing he tendered his resignation, which had been, however, too long delayed. The labours entailed by the system of centralization now sought to be introduced, and the anxieties of the position, proved too much for his frame. He has left a widow and a large circle of relations. Mr. Forster was interred in the Highgate Cemetery. In the cortege were the carriages of Sir W. Cubitt, Mr. Rendel (President of the Institution of Civil Engineers), Mr. Stephenson, M.P., and Mr. Trezerant. A considerable number of gentlemen met the procession at the gate of the cemetery. Among them were—S. M. Peto, Esq., M.P.; Capt. Claxton, R.N.; Messrs. Errington, Betts, Gregory, Martin, Glynn, C. Manby, Edwin Clark, Phillips, Donaldson, Bazalgetti, Smith, Munday, Wild, Gotto, Pollard, Humphries, Harding, Hatton, Scott, and other members of the profession.

The mental state of Mr. Feargus O'Connor has been brought before one bench of magistrates of the metropolis. The *Sun* reports that the preliminary steps have been taken in the Lord Chancellor's office for issuing a commission of lunacy upon this unfortunate gentleman, whose eccentricities have for some time past been known to the public, with a view to his confinement.

As a man was crossing a field near Barnsbury Park, Islington, he found the body of an infant lying in a ditch. Dr. Adams, who examined the body, declared that notwithstanding its decomposed state the deceased was born alive, and that, if not from violence, at least its death was caused by neglect. The coroner has ordered an inquest to be held on the body.

Mr. Richard Cartwright committed suicide at the Star Coffee-house, Old-street, on Saturday. Mr. Cartwright was a butler out of place.

Ferdinand Bock, a powerful German, has been apprehended, after attempting to rob a shop, through the resolution of Mrs. Knight, who is described as a "delicate-looking" woman. Bock had broken, by night, into the shop of Mr. Heirons, in Leadenhall-street. Mrs. Knight, wife of a policeman, and housekeeper to the premises, heard a noise, and detected Bock as he came out of the shop heavily laden with plunder; she grappled with him, and compelled him to relinquish his load, before he could shake her off. He then ran into the street; but she pursued him, and raised an alarm, and he was chased and arrested.

Abel Ovans underwent capital punishment, in front of Monmouth gaol, on Friday, for the murder of his illegitimate child, by drowning it in a stream of water at Newport. About four thousand persons collected to view the execution, most of them women; who "behaved in anything but a becoming manner." The mother, Sarah Dove, lies under respite; doubts having been cast upon the degree of her complicity.

A Dutch trader, *Maria Johannna*, ran foul of the *Triton*, from Cardiff to Bremen, off the Dorsetshire coast, six or seven of the Dutch crew sinking with the ship.

The Glencove, of New Orleans, has exploded at St. Louis, utterly destroying the vessel, and many passengers. Accidents in America are on a scale commensurate with the people; and their utter contempt for human life is, perhaps, explained by the constant stream of fresh life ever pouring in.

At ten minutes before 1, on Sunday morning, a fire broke out at 212, Piccadilly, a brush-maker's, the back chiefly suffering. Engines, manned by 100 hired auxiliaries, rendered prompt assistance. Several houses were injured. Jermyn-street was crowded with spectators, many of them gentlemen accustomed to gaiety and late hours: not less, probably, than half of the whole number, women.

The village of Renton, situated about sixteen miles west from Glasgow, has been the scene of an appalling catastrophe, the destruction of two dwelling houses by fire, and the death of seven children by the same means. There is reason to believe that the poor children were suffocated before the flames reached them.

The *Manchester Examiner* furnishes these local statistics of strikes taken from the returns published by the various trades unions where the several strikes took place: To support the weavers' strike, at Heywood, in 1844-5, the operatives of that district had to subscribe nearly 500*l.*, which, with the loss of 150 persons' wages for ten weeks, at 7*s.* each, will make the above sum into 1120*l.*; this sum, added to the loss sustained through all the mills stopping in consequence of the strike, may be put down at 2000*l.* The money subscribed to support Messrs. Jones's weavers, of Oldham, in 1845, amounted to 3500*l.*, which, with the loss of the weavers' wages for thirty-six weeks, will amount to 7000*l.* The weavers' strike at Royton, in the same year, cost the operatives, in money subscribed and loss of wages for eight weeks, 700*l.* The turn-out of Messrs. Collinge and Marsden's weavers, Oldham, in 1850, cost, in loss of wages for twenty weeks, 1000*l.*, and the money subscribed to support them amounted to 718*l.*, total, 1718*l.* The strike of the Limesfield weavers, near Bury, and the weavers and mill hands of Messrs. Schofield, near Little-

borough, cost in money subscribed 1300*l.*; loss of wages, for eight weeks, about 1800*l.*; total cost of strike, 2900*l.* During the strike of Messrs. Ogden's weavers, of Oldham, in 1851, the operatives lost 1200*l.* in loss of wages and money subscribed to support the turn-outs. The weavers' strike at Stalybridge, in 1850, cost about 1000*l.* The weavers' strike at Droylsden, in 1851, cost in money subscribed 1200*l.*, which, with the loss of twenty-four weeks' wages, will make a total of 3220*l.* The strikes at Hyde have cost the operatives more than 2000*l.* To support the Pendleton strike the operatives had to subscribe between 7000*l.* and 8000*l.*, which, with the loss of wages during the strike, will not be far short of 20,000*l.* as the money lost to the operatives in that contest. Total cost of the above strikes, 39,736*l.* During the last few years the weavers within a circle of ten miles around Manchester have lost 40,000*l.*

DEPARTMENT OF PRACTICAL ART.

We are informed that at the forthcoming Exhibition of the works of the students at Marlborough-house, the Board of Trade have decided that medals shall be awarded to the producers of meritorious works. Hitherto the prizes have been limited to the students in the head schools, but in future they will be thrown open to the students of all the provincial schools as well. The President of the Royal Academy, Sir C. Eastlake, and Mr. Maclise, R.A., have consented to act as Honorary Examiners of the students' works on the present occasion, in co-operation with Mr. Redgrave, R.A., the Art Superintendent.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

THE mortality of London again exhibits a slight increase, the deaths in the previous week (ending April 10) having been 1,051, those in the week that ended last Saturday being 1,092. In the 10 corresponding weeks of 1842-51 the average number of deaths was 944, which, if raised in proportion to increase of population, becomes 1,038. The mortality of last week, therefore, exceeds the corrected average by 54 deaths.

In comparing the returns of the last two weeks it appears that there is a small increase in epidemics, in diseases of the nervous system, the heart, and the digestive organs; but a decrease in diseases of the organs of respiration, and also in the tubercular class. Smallpox, which in the previous week was fatal in 34 cases, numbers in the present return 38, which are those of 31 children and 7 adults, 6 of whom were 20 years of age and upwards. In 6 cases it is stated that vaccination had been previously performed, and in these the patients died at the following ages:—2, 3, 7, 10, 22, 27 years. Measles has increased in the two weeks from 11 deaths to 18; typhus, remittent fever, &c., from 51 to 56. Influenza numbered in the two weeks respectively 4 and 6 cases; croup 8 and 10. The wife of a labourer, aged 26 years, died suddenly on the 31st of March at 21, Goodman's-yard, Whitechapel, from cholera. An inquest was held on the body.

The class which includes diseases of the respiratory organs still exhibits a great excess above the ordinary amount at this period, the number of deaths referred to it last week being 214, while the average of corresponding weeks corrected for increase of population is only 165. In these weeks the actual numbers ranged from 107 to 185, which latter amount is much below what is now experienced. Bronchitis predominates, and, with the exception of phthisis, produces at present a greater mortality than any other disease on the list; it carried off 102 persons, pneumonia 77. Phthisis was fatal to 139; its mortality, which is always great, is not sensibly aggravated by causes that have given additional force to other diseases.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 16th inst., at Cavendish-square, Lady J. Manners: a son.
On the 16th inst., at 6, Eaton-place West, Lady Elizabeth Russell: a son.
On the 16th inst., at 17, Nottingham-place, Regent's-park, Mrs. Howitt Davis: a son.
On the 20th inst., at Escrik-park, the Lady Elizabeth Lawley, prematurely: a son, who only survived one hour.
On the 21st inst., at Henrietta-street, Mrs. Charles Few: a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

On the 17th inst., at St. Mary's, Hammersmith, George Hooper, Esq., to Jane Margaret Winnard, of North-end.
On the 17th inst., at Christ Church, Marylebone, Mr. W. Macfarren, of Albert-street, Mornington-crescent, to Julia, second daughter of H. A. Fanner, Esq., of St. John's-wood.
On the 20th inst., at St. John's, Paddington, by the Lord Bishop of Winchester, Fuller Maitland Wilson, Esq., eldest son of Henry Wilson, of Stowlangtoft-hall, Suffolk, Esq., to Agnes Caroline, second daughter of the Hon. the Vice-Chancellor Kindersley.
On the 20th inst., at Leamington Priors, by the Rev. Nathaniel Heywood, Charles, second son of the late George Heywood, Esq., of Brockmore, Staffordshire, to Katherine, elder daughter of Albert W. Beetham, F.R.S., barrister-at-law, of Lincoln's-inn, and Rope-hill, near Lynton, Hampshire.
On the 20th inst., at St. Peter's Church, Frome, by the Rev. F. D. Wickham, incumbent of Holmwood, Surrey, assisted by the Rev. J. B. B. Clarke, rector of Bagborough, Somerset, John Sheppard, Esq., of the Iron-gates, Frome, to Susan Anne Dawe, youngest daughter of James Anthony Wickham, Esq., of North-hill, Frome.

DEATHS.

On the 12th inst., at Clapham, Isaac Cullimore, Esq., F.R.S.L., aged 61.
On the 17th inst., at Worthing, of whooping-cough, Jesse, aged 2 years and 8 months, the last surviving child of Joseph Bonomi, Esq., of Cheyne-row, Chelsea.
On the 18th inst., at the Vicarage, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Blanche Amelia, the youngest daughter of the Rev. Henry Mackenzie, aged 15 months.
On the 18th inst., at Swallowfield, in the county of Berks, Sir Henry Russell, Bart., in the 60th year of his age.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, April 24.

THE House of Commons occupied almost the whole of last evening in a long debate, which lasted till one o'clock this morning, and was then adjourned, on the Militia Bill, which was strongly contested. All the speakers, however, admitted the necessity of increased defences; though the members of the party attached to the late Ministry spoke as if there were no need for hurry in the matter.

On the order of the day for the second reading of the bill, Sir DE LACY EVANS moved that the bill be read a second time that day three months. He contended that if the military force now spread over our colonies were concentrated, and made available for home defence, there would be no need of a militia at all; but if such a force were to be raised, he should prefer that its character be local, as proposed by the late Government, rather than general. In seconding this amendment, Mr. RICH (a Lord of the Treasury, under Lord John Russell) objected that the scheme embodied in the bill would instruct in the use of arms only one class of the people, to whom it was least desirable to impart this instruction. In lieu of a militia, he proposed to extend the yeomanry force, to arm and discipline the constabulary police, and to increase the numbers and efficiency of the battalions of pensioners, according to a plan which he developed. An aggregate force might thus be collected for the defence of the country of 200,000 men. Mr. Law Hodges and Mr. FREDERICK PEEL spoke on the same side. Mr. PEEL took his position on the opinion of the late Lord Hardwicke, that a nation of shopkeepers, artisans, and manufacturers should be defended by regular soldiers. Looking on a militia as useless in time of peace, and unserviceable in time of war, he should cordially support the amendment.

Mr. NEWDEGATE retorted that Mr. Peel had supported the principle of a militia under Lord John Russell's bill; and he advanced the argument, subsequently urged with more force by Sir JOHN PAKINGTON, that no one had grappled with the proposition contained in the letter of the Duke of Wellington in 1847, who thought the defences of the country not such as in common prudence they ought to be; and that the most expedient and economical mode of providing an addition to those defences was by the old plan of a militia. Colonel CHATTERTON and Mr. PHILIP HOWARD also supported the bill.

Sir ROBERT PEEL delivered a curious speech. Having no faith in universal brotherhood, he was opposed to any permanent reduction of our military establishments, exorbitantly expensive as they are; but he blamed the late Government, and especially Lord Palmerston, for fomenting a panic; and he wholly condemned a militia. Coming into power by the spontaneous combustion of their predecessors, the present Ministry could do no other than take the measure up. Making a general reference to Lord Derby's Government, Sir Robert declared that he should support it so long as it did not attempt to subvert the free trade policy of his father.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL made a party speech against the bill; giving the preference to the local militia proposed by his own Ministry, with a better arrangement of our existing military force. There were two modes of making soldiers, one by the influence of patriotic excitement, as in the case of Cromwell's cavalry, the other by discipline and drill; but the present plan had not the advantage of either. The motive to serve was to be entirely mercenary—the men would take the 6l., serve the 21 days, and when afterwards wanted might perhaps be working on the railways in Canada, and then we should have a raw and undisciplined force to meet the enemy. The rejection of the measure would not exonerate Ministers from the duty of providing, by other means, for the defence of the country. Nor could it affect them as a Government; for, like the pheasants, it appeared they were not to be brought down till the 1st of October.

LORD PALMERSTON endeavoured to restore the debate to a national purpose,—the defence and security of the realm; having witnessed with pain the course taken by Lord John Russell and those who acted with him. Great misapprehension prevails with regard to the position of the country in reference to its defence. It is impossible to reckon with confidence upon the non-occurrence of some unforeseen event which may require the country to resist or to submit to injury. Some say, "Why alarm yourselves with the fear of invasion?" Because circumstances have in the last few years materially changed; the facilities for invasion have increased, and our force, regulars and pensioners, is insufficient to meet such an emergency. There are

two ways in which this deficiency might be made good—one by adding materially to our standing army, to which he decidedly objected—for 8,000 regulars would cost as much as 80,000 militia: the other by a militia force. The main difference between the bills of the two Governments is, that in this one voluntary enlistment is the rule, compulsory enlistment the exception; whereas in that of the late Government compulsory service was the rule, and voluntary service the exception; so that the reason why the late Government opposed this bill must be because it was not compulsory enough.

The noble Lord says—"Ah, but my ballot is a very different thing from yours." In what the difference consisted he omitted, however, to explain, except it was that his ballot would be all accumulated upon one particular class of the community, whereas this ballot would not only be deferred, but would be spread over a very wide range. "Oh," but the noble Lord says, "mine would be a discriminating ballot—it would bring you good subjects, bring you only worthy men, of proper habits and good conduct, who would return home to their families all the better men for the training they had received. Whereas, your ballot! it would bring nothing but bad subjects and worthless people, who would vanish the moment you wanted them." Now, sir, I have not that opinion of the people of England. (Cheers.) I believe that you will not find 80,000 men who will take the bounty and then go off to America. (Renewed cheers.) I may be wrong in this view. I may, perhaps, in my simplicity of nature—(laughter)—have too good an opinion of the British people, but I really do believe that, making the abatement which must be always made for occasional default in a large body of men, my belief is that, if you do proceed to raise by voluntary enlistment for a militia, or an army of reserve, or whatever you like to call it, you will be able to get the number together you want, and they would obey their country's call, even if the real danger arrived.

Regarding the measure as calculated to do essential good to the country, he should vote for the second reading, and go into committee in a friendly spirit, with a view to improve the measure. (Loud Ministerial cheers.)

On the motion of Mr. MOFFATT, the debate was adjourned till Monday.

Earlier in the evening, explanations took place between Sir James Weir Hogg and Mr. Anstey respecting certain statements made by the latter, on Monday, with reference to Colonel Outram and the affairs of Baroda; Sir James, on the part of the gallant officer, disclaiming any participation by him in those statements; which Mr. Anstey avowed he had made on his own responsibility.

MADEMOISELLE JOHANNA WAGNER.

In Vice Chancellor Parker's Court, yesterday, Mr. Bacon and Mr. H. Clark moved *ex parte*, for an injunction to restrain Mademoiselle Johanna Wagner from singing at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden, and to restrain Mr. Albert Wagner, and Mr. Frederick Gye from promoting such singing without the permission of Mr. Lumley.

In November last, Mr. Lumley, through Dr. Bacher, (a mutual friend,) concluded an engagement with Mdlle. Wagner, cantatrice at the court of the King of Prussia, to appear at Her Majesty's Theatre at London, and sing twice a week for three months, beginning on the 1st of April, 1852. She was to appear in six operas, and no other cantatrice was to presume to sing the said parts during her engagement. Her salary to be 400l. per month, a sum of 300l. in advance was to be paid at Berlin on March 15th. Mdlle. Wagner agreeing, under a clause added by Bacher, not to appear at any other theatre without Mr. Lumley's consent. On the 9th of March, Mr. Wagner wrote asking for a postponement of his daughter's appearance until April 16th. On this account the 300l. appears not to have been paid, though Mr. Wagner was apprised that Dr. Bacher had it in hand ready to pay. On the 10th instant, Mr. Lumley received notice that his agreement was broken by the non-payment of the 300l. on the day specified, and that in the interim, Mdlle. Wagner had engaged with Mr. Gye, for much higher terms, to appear at Covent Garden on the 21st, under representations untrue as to Mr. Lumley's Theatre. Mr. Lumley estimates his pecuniary loss at 30,000l., if Mdlle. Wagner be allowed so to break her engagement.

Mr. Malins (with Mr. Martindale) contended that the payment of the 300l. was a condition preliminary to the obligation binding on the defendants, which therefore must fail; also that the additional clause signed by Dr. Bacher was inserted without their authority, and that it had not been ratified by them.

The Vice Chancellor had no doubt that the contract (the only contract which Mr. Lumley signed, and the defendants possessed) included the last article signed by Dr. Bacher, and Mr. and Mdlle. Wagner had referred to that very clause without protesting against it. Now, if an individual contract to perform an act for valuable consideration, and, as part of the same contract, to forbear to do whatever was inconsistent with it, this court will interfere by injunction to restrain from acting in derogation of the latter part, although it might be unable to enforce specific performance of the former part, of the agreement. As to the objection that the 300l. had not been paid at the precise time specified, the transactions between the parties showed that the right to payment at the time had been waived. His Honour granted the *ex parte* injunction, but gave the defendants leave to move to-morrow (this day) to dissolve it.

The Leader

SATURDAY, APRIL 24, 1852.

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.

MAINTENANCE OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

IN spite of one-sided economy and of a more one-sided philanthropy, our empire in India is beneficial both to this country and to the natives. Not indeed so beneficial as it might be to either; but recent changes have improved it for both. In spite of conflicting opinions and conflicting interests, of narrow professional or political views, on the whole the concurrent exertions of Anglo-Indians and English politicians are in the right direction; we only want more of the same kind. If the intended inquiry under Mr. Herries's committee can be of any service, it will not be so much in supplying more information, where we have abundance already, as in freeing the practical opinion from a useless deference to certain notions and prejudices which prevent its effective action, and in concentrating authority upon a definite purpose. India must not be governed on fancies, or we might soon see that fancy indulged which inclines to throw away the Empire; but upon facts, and the facts show us how our rule may be strengthened while we render the vast territory doubly available for both Englishman and Hindû.

Our dominion is based on the Indian sense of our power, on our superior intelligence, and our moral force: but if we want to maintain the dominion, we must come to a distinct understanding with ourselves as to the mode in which those elements of strength are presented to the Indian mind. Our moral force, for example, is *not* based upon an appreciation of morals such as would hold good in Exeter Hall, or in the prelections of the professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh; but on the feeling in native India that we understand better than the Hindûs themselves the arts of public life, and especially the art of retaining dominion and profiting by it. "John Coompany" is worshipped in a species of political demonology, as the transcendent man of business, who knows how to fill his treasury, and beat every opponent. Who knows how to be cheated, on occasion, with a discriminating sagacity superhuman, and suited to his abstract existence. But the native appreciation of our moral force will be strengthened and developed in proportion as we train the natives to understand it. And *our empire in India depends upon our not being stationary.*

We have made some progress in the true direction, but only enough to show how much more we might make. By keeping the natives only in the subordinate offices, however well qualified they may be, we not only fill them with a natural exasperation, but we compel them to fall back for consideration among their own race, upon their own institutions alien to ours; and we thus keep up a sort of *imperium sub imperio* hostile to any permanent establishment of our own power. We might give the highest class of native talent a footing on British institutions; what we do is, to insist on their keeping to their own.

If we attempt something different, it is in the shape of religious missions—which do no good. The progress of Christianity in India is confessedly slow, and what appearance there is of it is mostly delusion or cant. The whole training of the Hindû mind alienates the race from Christianity. Its dogmata they hold to be beneath the notice of speculators who can display much more refined and abstruse excogitations. Its moral is miles above their level. The mind indelibly moulded in caste, addicted to suttee, and enslaved to childish ceremonial, cannot comprehend the sublimity of the faith, which, as Charles Kingsley proclaims, teaches freedom, brotherhood, and equal rights; especially when its pioneers are a military

force of conquerors. Secular and social education must precede Christianity in India; and perhaps by the time we have trained our dark fellow-subjects up to the European level, we may be able to give them a more Catholic form of faith than that perverse and unintelligible dogma which the half-taught missionary now carries at the heels of the soldier.

Meanwhile, practically, the Hindû has a strong sense of our intelligence; and may have a stronger sense, when we have illustrated it more copiously in practical works for his benefit. Mr. Herries enumerated several public works completed, in progress, or contemplated; the latter category being the most extensive; but our administrators had better make haste. A revenue with a standing deficiency is a strong memento to be diligent in fetching out the resources of the country. A method of taxing that leaves only 20 or 30 per cent. to the actual cultivator may be an improvement on the old plan, but it is an improvement only in embryo. Luckily the State has not alienated the land in India; it therefore keeps open the way to improve the condition of the actual cultivator; and there is no reason to believe that the system of tenure will be rashly altered. The prime objects must be, to relieve the labouring class of excessive taxes, and to seek for revenue out of enlarged production. Mr. Hardinge boasts that the salt-tax is reduced to 8*d.* a-head; but 8*d.* a-head is no trifle when the income of a labourer is not always more than 40*s.* a-year. The tax is one impeding production: let it be abolished, and let the cultivator be aided with roads and irrigation,—not suddenly, perhaps, but gradually,—and the 8*d.* a-head will soon be supplied to the revenue, and more with it. In India, as everywhere else, production is the true basis of social wealth and of official revenue. But we should only suspend improvement, or arrest it altogether, if we went upon any bigoted plan of Europeanizing the country.

Perhaps in no department however is deference for that paramount British tyrant, Cant, carried to such injurious length as in the military. Not that Cant can altogether prevail in the teeth of facts: Cant forbids conquest, and we have added provinces comprising 9,000,000 souls to our empire within twenty years. But, in deference to thrice-ignorant Cant, the military rule consents to enfeeble itself, shrinks into undue cringing, instead of being bold, frank, and thoroughly effectual. It is mainly by our victories that we stand in India. Instead then of affecting to avoid conquest, it should be pushed steadily forward. In the sense perhaps of consolidation rather than extension; but always in the sense of complete subjugation to the foe, of full victory to our arms. While natives are admitted to a new exaltation through our own institutions, let contumacious chiefs be absolutely crushed, or scored with chastisement until they tremble at the very sound of the name of England. The Burmans, the Affghans, ought to be guards for us to the tribes beyond; lackeys to England, hearing her voice "with an obedient start." Idle toys like "the Nizam," inflated with the fantastical delusion of an existence, ought to pass into traditions. In consolidating our territory, rooting out the political "snags" that still beset our course, and correcting the erroneous ideas of the border tribes, there is ample work for some years to come: but it would be done better if it were done frankly, boldly, and in the once-for-all style.

Talk not of "inquiry" as the preliminary to some "altered course" in India, some reduction of the army, and vast recruitment of missionary force: such dreams cannot attain practical existence amid the rough facts of Indian life. Meddle rashly with the rule of "John Company" and who shall answer for the consequences? No, if there be any change, let it be in the direction of boldness, efficiency, and expedition. Let "John Company" send over the very best Governors he can find—not men to be "provided for," but efficient Proconsuls. Let local affairs be managed as much as possible locally, with local knowledge and local sympathy, and always in Indian fashion. If India is to be of any service to us, it must be as India can only be; and her service is great, in illustrating our power before the nations, in contributing to our commerce, in finding employment for numbers who would otherwise be driven in upon us at home in these little islands.

But, we say, the field may be cultivated with double, with five-fold, with ten-fold profit, if pretences be abandoned and realities sought. In

more efficient service, there is extended employment for our civil servants—there is promotion for our young officers, to be trained in the nursery that produced a Wellington—there is new and incalculable employment for our civil engineers, disbanded from railway service at home; yes, wealth, hope, activity, honour, life and fame, for the sons of many a family which at home can scarcely hold its own in the incessant race from the workhouse. Honest action in India may be new existence for the Indian tribes, wealth for Englishmen, strength for England in the great movements that await the world.

CHURCH ANARCHY AND ORTHODOX DISSENT.

"It cannot be pretended by Sir Robert's worst enemy," says the *Times*,—summing up the Maynooth case, with a due regard to the "popular" taste for truth and error, in the form of "half-and-half,"—it cannot be pretended "that the elaborate arrangements of 1845, comprehending the formation of these new colleges, and, in fact, a new university, were aimed only at a momentary pacification. The whole scheme, both in its religious and its secular aspects, was designed for posterity; and it is for us who survive to watch over the results. They have not been satisfactory hitherto. So far there is a case for inquiry; and that inquiry constituencies may very properly demand, and the Legislature as properly concede." *Cui bono?* What we want, in Ireland as well as in England, is not "inquiry,"—that refuge of indecision and insincerity, but religious liberty. Liberty, so admirably defined by Kossuth, is the one thing that men are the last to concede to others. In commerce, men desire free trade, except in their own wares. The Spitalfields weaver deprecates free trade in silk. In politics, the Republican, Democrat, or Chartist, would train up the young in his own opinion, and cannot tolerate others who differ from him. In religion, even the dissenter has his "orthodoxy." We know all about what has happened in Ireland, without any inquiry; a church is kept up, with endowments taken originally from the Catholics, and is specially enjoined to teach the falsehood of catholicity; the soldiers of the church quartered on the conquered people. Still a large portion of the church of the conquered was but lately half inclined to enlarge its opinions and fraternize with all knowledge, scientific activity, and liberal feeling; but, for party purposes, English statesmen raised a howl against the very name of "popery," so that the most liberal Catholics would have been craven had they sided with the aggressors. Religious opinion is not free in Ireland: it is required to call itself anti-papal, required to take an oath of abjuration, required to confess itself conquered, arrested, beaten, even by low dogmatists, whose protestantism is nothing but the incapacity, through ignorance and grossness, for understanding the dogmata of the Roman creed. Religious opinion is not free in Ireland to purify itself by its own working,—as it is so well inclined to do.

Nor in England. While courts of law are deciding that a man must not be a Jew—not even that wholly modern form of the stiff-necked race, which is found in the Liberal English gentleman versed in all the amenities of the nineteenth century; while the Prime Minister is suffering to peep through reserves and disclaimers the intention of a new crusade against Popery,—while the House of Commons is fomenting a new and aggravated converse of the Gorham case, in the diocese of Bath and Wells: while all this is going forward in courts of law, and law-making, the council of the London College of Dissenting Ministers is expelling three students for—*non-conformity!*

Yes, a pamphlet is before us, by Mr. Robert M. Theobald, "one of the expelled," relating how it all happened.* Briefly to tell the facts as they happened practically, the story is this:—On the 3rd of February last, in class, Dr. Harris, the Principal, whose attention seems to have been directed to the heresies of certain students, put questions, which led to a conversation that lasted three quarters of an hour. Three of the students, Mr. Theobald, Mr. Hale White, and Mr. Frederick White, were summoned before a meeting

* *Statement of Facts connected with the Expulsion of Three Students from the New College, London.* By Robert M. Theobald, A.M., One of the Expelled. A shilling pamphlet, published by Mr. Robert Theobald, of Paternoster-row.

of the Council, on the 13th, and, in the interval, invited each to hold a conversation, severally, with Professor Godwin. On the 13th, each was before the council for about half an hour, and cross-examined, by laymen as well as ministers. Next day, the students were told that they had expressed opinions incompatible with their retention in the College. The father of the two gentlemen named White attended at the next meeting of the council, and made three demands:—That the moral character of the students should be placed above suspicion; that the opinions for which they were condemned should be distinctly stated; that the creed, or law, according to which they were judged, should be produced. These demands were not granted. A few brief conversations resulted in a new proposition by the council, that the three students should withdraw from the college for three months, to reconsider their position. The students declined this species of voluntary rustication, and desired to know in what way they had broken the law? Still no compliance was made with this repeated demand; but, on the 27th of March, the students were peremptorily told by the council that their connexion with the college must cease.

The points in controversy with Mr. Theobald appear to have been these. He regarded the Bible as being not in itself a revelation, but the record of a revelation; he accepted the Bible as an historical record of authority resting on its internal worth; he repudiated a comparison of the inspiration accorded to the writers and that accorded to men of genius like Shakespeare, although derived from the same origin, because in the one case directly conveying injunctions to mankind, and in the other, indirectly instructing. This is our own summary of his views, in order to let the reader have some idea of the nature of the controversy, and Mr. Theobald must not be held responsible for it. He must be held only partially responsible for the subjoined extract from a letter to his father, because it is avowedly hurried and imperfect; but it is more compact and sharp than his more studied exposition, and therefore better suited to let the reader see the spirit at work.

"I believe that the opinion which makes the Bible so unique in its origin and nature arises from a false intellectual expression and interpretation of a true feeling. Men have felt that the Bible is the greatest of books, and that it contains an articulate and clear expression of the very truth which they need in their most important relationships—their spiritual position before God,—and they have rightly said, 'This is God's Book, His chosen guide for life, His appointed messenger concerning Himself and immortality.' Now, so long as this truth remains thus in the region of mere feeling, not as yet clothed in precisely scientific notions, it is true. Directly it is translated into the language of the intellect, there are a thousand chances that it will be misrepresented and perverted. And so it has been. That it is *God's Word* is made to mean another thing than the same expression does mean when it is spoken of every true, beautiful thought that stirs and inspires a man's being, and gives life to his spirit:—and thus God is represented as having two voices, one very uncertain, indistinct, inarticulate, and even distorted, in nature, consciousness, books in general, history, and humanity,—another voice, perfectly clear, distinct, articulate, &c., in the Bible. The two are opposed to one another instead of being identified, and what is contained in a book, subject to all the uncertainties of interpretation (&c., &c., &c.) which necessarily belong to literature of all kinds, is made by confident and baseless assumptions more certain and final than the teachings of nature and consciousness, however enlightened by culture and by the Book itself. In truth the New Testament is valuable not so much for its statements as for its descriptions; its pictorial representations of the most perfect and divine life that has ever lived upon earth; and, presenting this picture, it leaves man, if he dare, to theorize upon it, and spend his intellectual resources rather in curious investigations concerning the nature of the colours in which it is drawn, than the divine beauty which is represented."

In the main, the two other expelled students are understood to hold similar opinions.

Our readers will remember that we have before pointed to the general schism which divides almost every Dissenting body, from the Wesleyans to the Unitarians, into two,—the "orthodox," or reactionary, and the heterodox, or progressive. We believe we shall not be wrong in saying, that the number of those in the New College who hold progressive opinions is by no means limited to the three expelled. The leaven is still there; it consists in the difference between the young and the old. Dr. Harris and his coadjutors did not produce the Thirty-nine Articles of their corporation; but verbally, the Principal pronounced the opinions of the three students to be not "orthodox"; practically, the students were required to subscribe, by a kind of hinted understanding, to some unwritten Thirty-nine Articles; and in

default, expulsion was enforced in eight weeks. On the side of the Council, says Mr. Theobald, very truly, "every feature of the matter is that of a dead, cold, impersonal officialism"; it is orthodoxy in St. John's Wood, the "Church as by law established" of Dissent, forbidding conviction.

Contrast with this mechanical, frozen, crystallized aspect of "Religious Liberty" incorporate, the spirit of the expelled student:—

"I am myself quite disinclined to endorse, as a finally matured conviction, either all that I may have before said, or may now write, on subjects which expand into larger dimensions, and present new aspects at every renewed investigation into them. Only the exigency of circumstances could have induced me to speak at this time on these mighty themes, and I cannot be expected at present to profess full and complete ideas, but only to indicate the direction of my views so far as they are at present formed."

Nor can any man. With the "orthodox" of all creeds, faith is "a geographical expression," inasmuch that "the truth or falsity of any opinion," as Mr. Theobald says, "has become, in many quarters, almost identical with the question as to the identity of the locality in which they are advocated." Yes, as Lambeth hath its own Truth, and Maynooth its own, so hath the New College, and each backs itself against the truth of the Universe. It is *not* under the starry dome of open nature that man must seek Truth: it is made up for him, in packets, assorted, in the "orthodox" dispensaries; and "religious freedom," in the orthodox interpretation, means free trade at those shops. But there is a young spirit abroad which will not be bound down by these degrading conventions—a spirit truly Catholic, which issues forth seeking "its own hereditary skies" in God's creation, its brotherhood in all bound on that sublime quest.

ENGLAND'S RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS EUROPE.

THE deeds of despotism were not over with the paroxysm that burst forth on the 2nd of December, even in France; nor, although the papers leave off saying much about the victims of Italy or the sufferings of Hungary, have those countries been really tranquillized. Occasionally a word or two from Italy reminds us that the prisons are still gorged. Even through Austrian darkness penetrates some sight of the impatience with which Hungary endures her degradation; for the occasional arrest and imprisonment, both of men and women, here and there, indicates either that the Government is exercising the most wanton tyranny, or that the people are still restless under the oppression; and therefore indicates that they still feel the misery.

Yes, Hungary is tortured with tyranny and the sense of degradation. Italy is bent under the yoke—we repeat those things; but we do not keep them present to our minds in their full reality. Imagine what it must be to the Italian parent to see his son draughted off, a conscript, to set out "coll' aquila on fronte,"—with the two-beaked eagle on his brow,—to serve the tyrant of his own country in keeping down the Hungarian and the Pole; yet that is a curse still visiting the hearth of the Italian. Imagine it our own case. Suppose French gendarmes swaggering about the Strand and Piccadilly, or the parks, insulting our daughters; insulting our sons even with personal indignity, and defended against resentment. Imagine a French officer, hardly able to speak your language, not caring to be understood, seizing your son, and carrying him off to serve Louis Napoleon as a soldier in Algiers. The case is imaginary only in so far as it includes England: it is the *real* case of Italy, of Bohemia, of all the countries subject to Austria.

And France is rapidly emulating Austria. The scene at Vendres, where the exiles were carried off to the penal settlements, amid the shrieks of the women who stood on the quay, is but an outburst of the feeling that is working everywhere in the heart of France. The true Frenchman, even when he is not transported, is an exile in his own country, an alien, an outcast, persecuted, not protected by the law of the day. It is so in France, because it is so in Austria, in Germany, in Russia. If absolutism had not been re-enthroned in those countries, it would not have been authorized in France—next door to England.

We are a very proud people, and a successful, thus far; but there is no logical necessity why we should continue so. A few reverses, and the

scene of Vendres might be paralleled at Blackwall or Portsmouth. Indeed, so far have our internal dissensions—the fruit of bad government,—betrayed us, thus we *have* had scenes all too similar, in Dublin. And now we have already in power a Ministry of whom one is decrying the freedom of the press!

But let us cast aside selfish considerations; they have already done but too much mischief in the world, and in this country; for they have afflicted us with feeble councils and national paralysis of will. The scenes which we witness on the continent—the violated hearth of Italy, the broken laws of Hungary, the subjugation of Germany, the degradation of France—exist in great part by the sufferance of England. When we read of the heart-broken shrieks at Vendres, we may reflect that England has her share of responsibility for those social visitations. The fanatical dogma which falsely monopolizes the title of "Peace" teaches us, in the name of humanity, to tolerate them; the doctrine of self-interest teaches us to stand by and permit them; although it is plain to all the world, that if England had vindicated liberty—liberty of nation and of man—a strength would have been given to the peoples which would have added victory to endeavours. Perhaps the lessons of 1848-9 may not have been lost?

Peace still preaches non-intervention: the people are gathering a deep hatred under their oppression; and if *they* rise alone, without constitutional allies, or leaders having some sympathy with the traditions and institutions of the past, the next revolution will be sanguinary and destructive enough to make the strongest men shudder. We know where the demon of Anarchy lies chained, but not killed, under the feet of his elder brother Tyranny. Blood and destruction are the threatened doom of Europe, unless leaders be found to give the contest a higher and humaner enterprise—that of establishing rather than destroying. The tyrant boasts his mission "to save society," and he has destroyed it, substituting Prætorian controul and the feasting of minions at the palace: Anarchy bursting in will complete the destruction, unless true statesmen of Liberty rise up really "to save society." The true men of Liberty are not extinct. Switzerland is its outpost; England is not quite degenerate; America has nurtured a new band of the free-born family; and the chivalry still liveth throughout Europe, scattered, but only demanding leaders and a common banner. Forget it not.

BOOKSELLING AND THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

A REDUCTION in the per centage of the retailer's profit is the immediate result which most practical men foresee from the present agitation in the bookselling trade; but it is manifest that that change must inevitably be followed by others. To some extent the succession of ulterior changes is clear enough.

A reduction of profit involves the necessity of an extended business. That a field exists for extended business most of us know, since the spread of education, the working of free inquiry, the growth of taste, and many other changes in our social condition, have multiplied all classes of readers. The great obstacle to an extension of business is the conventionally high price of books; and the next step, therefore, must be a reduction in the price of books.

That process has already commenced; but it is impeded by the want of some other processes. In the first place, the very material on which the book is printed is burthened with a tax of the very worst sort—an excise tax; and that not only enhances the price, but compels both the maker and the purchaser to submit to restrictions on their methods of doing business. It enforces a preference for thin paper, interposes delays, and locks up capital in duty-paid stock in a manner almost incompatible with investment in a book at once cheap in price, and yet suited to a slow but continuous sale. Yet a slow but continuous sale is exactly the kind of sale best fitted to the best books in the language—those which become classics, and therefore continue to sell as the population grows. One of the first changes to follow a reduction of profits, therefore, in order to render the bookselling trade possible, is the removal of the paper-tax.

Even then you have not got rid of all the impediment to the cheapening of books. In order to render books available for the public at large,

a certain simplicity of price is desirable, and the "shilling volume" is a tribute to that want. The public gladly falls in with aliquot ideas, and greatly affects penny papers or shilling volumes. Were the practice generally adopted, the mere size of a book would in itself afford a certain index of the price—one volume, one shilling; so many volumes, so many shillings. And a considerable gain to our literature would be effected by breaking away from the present plan of forcing books to conform to certain standards of size, like recruits for the army. As promising youths are stunted into the proper jockey dimensions, so, *e converso*, small books are stretched into three-volume novels, or into an octavo size befitting grave subjects. A beginning has been made in the emancipation of literature from this absurd bed of Procrustes; but there is a serious impediment in the advertisement duty. The public at large is hardly aware how that duty operates to raise the cost of advertizing. First of all, by fastening upon every announcement as a separate advertisement, it seriously impedes combined or collective advertisements. The newspaper proprietor would be content to sell his space at so much a line, but the taxing department charges so much for every *thing* advertized, and thus offers a kind of compulsory bonus on the process of spreading the advertisement over a larger space. Responsible for the 1s. 6d. on each advertisement, payable by the newspaper proprietor, whether he be paid or not, and payable by him at short date, whatever credit he may give, of course he is obliged to charge upon the paying body of advertisers his bad debts, and upon all the interest for his locked up capital. Dear prices make a dull trade, and the whole machinery is rendered more costly. The cost of advertizing, thus artificially enhanced, probably to the extent of four hundred per cent. at least, has to be incurred as well on unsuccessful as on successful books; but, of course, the publisher must make the successful books pay for the failures. For the price of every book that it buys, therefore, the public pays something towards the cost of books that it does not buy; and a large item in that cost is the advertisement duty. A book is hardly worth advertizing unless its price be high; and to justify a high price, it must be of a certain size; hence the chief reason for retaining the three volume form of the novel. The next move, therefore, will be the abolition of the newspaper advertisement duty.

But a *very* extensive sale is not to be had without appealing to a very large portion of the public—to the whole body of the people; and in approaching that widest of all markets, the bookseller encounters another fiscal impediment. The Stamp-Tax on newspapers returns a very paltry amount to the revenue, but it is confessedly retained as a measure of police, to restrict the number of journals, lest, the bulk of the people desiring papers of a "democratic" tendency, the press should at once extend beyond its present manageable compass and grow more "democratic." We have no belief that it would be so excessively democratic in the sense implied by those who use the word with fear; but in the meanwhile, the tax prevents the *existence* of a huge advertizing medium. The advertisement-tax, also, has an operation besides that which we have already noticed, in restricting specific commendatory mention in the body of a paper under penalty of enforcing the tax; and thus a large means of laying literary wares before the public is checked. We do not mean "puffing," but that kind of commendation which would fall specifically within the province of every journal having a special vocation. Special journals, however, are also kept under, by the operation of the Stamp-Tax and of the cumbersome machinery attending it; otherwise every parish, every profession, every coterie, might have its own special journal. The newspaper Stamp-Tax, therefore, is a very effective impediment to universal advertizing, and thus its abolition becomes an accompaniment almost necessary to the process of enlarging the sale of books by cheapening them.

Publishers in England next raise the question of author's payment. Americans, who have such cheap books, such vast sales, and such immense advertizing facilities, have still no copyright to pay. We believe this copyright charge to be a bugbear; but the difficulty is solved by the French plan, of paying to the author so much a volume for every copy sold. Even this plan has been begun amongst us. Having abolished the

Taxes on Knowledge, therefore, the booksellers and publishers would have to come to an understanding with the members of the writing profession as to the best means of arranging that matter of copyright. We believe that the change would be of immense advantage to all concerned—to authors, publishers, booksellers, and the reading public, not excepting, also, the newspaper advertising interests; and we believe that such a series of changes is involved in the one which is immediately expected from the present agitation, the reduction in the retail bookseller's percentage. In the meanwhile, the beneficial changes will be brought about more smoothly and more expeditiously if those who have the operation in charge foresee the successive steps of the whole reform.

SCHWARZENBERG'S TESTAMENT.

PRINCE SCHWARZENBERG was the keystone of the new Holy Alliance in Europe. His was the strong brain and the uncompromising will, clear in purpose, compact in policy, thorough in execution. The task to which he addressed himself with all that energy, vehemence, and audacity of character and temperament, which in his earlier youth had been wasted in excesses, was gigantic as the disorder and dismay of the crumbling Empire. His chief task was to re-establish and to re-consolidate Austria. But to re-establish and to re-consolidate Austrianism in Europe was the abstract "mission," of which the renovation of the house of Hapsburg was but a concrete and tangible expression. True, Schwarzenberg was pre-eminently Austrian in the national sense; and to aggrandize Austria, Prussia was to be humbled, and the Czar invoked. Schwarzenberg never forgave the vaulting mysticism and the revolutionary antics of the former in '48; and he secretly resented the overwhelming arbitration of the latter, when the danger was overpast, and Hungary trodden underfoot by the Cossack. But he never allowed his jealousies or resentments to divert him from the supreme resolve of annihilating the Revolution in all its developments, in its very spirit and essence.

Not content with exterminating the men of the Democracy, he pursued the idea with unrelenting rancour. He effaced every vestige of constitutional figments, and swept out every trace of parliamentary institutions. When death struck him from the pride of power, he had restored the Metternichian system, but in a more complete, more severe, more absolute shape of unmixed, unchecked, untempered despotism. No bigot of the right divine, or of hereditary legitimacy, monarchy was for him neither a romance nor a religion: but Order, by the grace of bayonets, and the extinction of democracy by Courts Martial, and the organization of society by bullets and bastinadoes—these were his sovereign and summary remedies for the peoples in insurrection, and the nationalities in arms.

We have no space here to do more than resume, in a few words, the history of Schwarzenberg's policy from November, 1848, till the day of his death. We are not surprised, then, to find that one of the last state papers he ever drew up was in earnest approval of the *coup d'état* in France, and of the congenial vigour of the French dictator's acts. Louis Bonaparte had crushed the revolution: he had extinguished 1852; he had abolished even the forms of palavering liberties; he had played the game of reaction with the high hand of success: he had won his spurs in the army of despotism; he deserved to be honoured, caressed, and encouraged, by the thrones which he had served and saved; though his power reposed nominally on the popular will, and threatened the ominous phenomenon of an elective empire.

It is clear that Schwarzenberg had the penetration to perceive that despotism itself could only be reconstituted on a quasi-revolutionary basis; that it was idle to dream of impossible restorations, when the very principle of authority was at stake. He promised the support of Austria to one who had rendered inestimable service to the general interests of the conservative system, and he urgently recommended the other great Powers to waive the treaties in his favour, which they had so often broken in their own.

Thus far Schwarzenberg. But Russia and Prussia are reported to have replied with a certain hesitancy to that recommendation, and without expressing any prejudice against Louis Bonaparte,

to have shrunk from countenancing his imperial designs.

This is either seeing too far, or not far enough: for, undoubtedly, Louis Bonaparte belongs to the camp of the Counter-Revolution hitherto, to whatever courses he may be hereafter driven by his giddy star.

Schwarzenberg, wise in his generation, counselled union against Democracy. The Monarchies are for union, too, but possibly against Louis Napoleon himself, at some future date.

Ah! if the nations would only better the instruction of their enslavers, and learn *union*; how speedy and how certain would be that deliverance, which is now but a distant hope, when it is not a despair.

ASTONISHING CONCESSION TO THE JEWS.

"THANK GOD," exclaims the fashionably religious *Morning Post*, "we have, and for the present at least shall have, a Christian Parliament." Thus the Pharisaical *Post* rejoiceth in the judicial decision that Mr. Salomons has made an unlawful adjuration in omitting the contested phrase, "on the true faith of a Christian," when upon his oath at the bar of the Commons. Yet if the moral doctrines of Christianity insist upon good-will to men, brotherly kindness, toleration, and equality of rights, we do not see that Parliament would be less essentially Christian, if our Hebrew fellow-citizen should also be admitted to a seat there. If all men are equal in the sight of God, it is at least conceivable that they should be equal in sight of Mr. Speaker. When a certain Roman Catholic dignitary was reminded, that the tortures of the Inquisition were not exactly consistent with the divine injunction to "love your enemies," he replied, "True, we are commanded to love our enemies, but we may do as we please with *God's* enemies." Verily the *Post*, notwithstanding its very discreet detestation of Roman Catholicism, has condescended to borrow somewhat of the facile logic of Escobar, when in the cause of bigotry it invokes the name of that Being, of whom it has been grandly said, "he sendeth his sun to shine (equally) upon the just and the unjust."

But the *Morning Post* has its own notions of liberality, and we will not conceal them in extenuation. It has its own magnificent concessions. It tells us that "the liberty of a man to be a Jew is not restrained, but to act as a Jew in things which concern Christians is, and must be, restrained and prevented. To act otherwise would be to deliver Christianity to the will of its enemies, for who so great an enemy to Christianity as he who denies the existence of CHRIST?"

Magnanimous *Post*! A Jew may be a Jew because the *Post* cannot help it—cannot uncircumcise him. A Jew may be a Jew, if he will not say so. He may possess an otiose, but not an active faith. He may hold convictions, but he may not carry them out. The light by which he walks—the light vouchsafed him, as he believes, by the God of his fathers, he may enjoy in barren impotence, but it shall have no political recognition—and the deep, inextinguishable faith of his race, no civil representation. Wonderful liberality of concession! The *Post* deplors that the Jews should persist in obstinately denying the existence of Christ; how can they be well disposed towards an historical fact whose influence is made so malevolent to them? The *Post* would not deliver Christianity to the will of its "enemies," then why so blindly and doggedly insist on an exclusion which raises up against Christianity enemies, both among Jews and Gentiles?

ION.

THE DINNER-BELL OF DOOM.

"SINCE the days of Burke," says Sir James Weir Hogg, "India has been the dinner-bell of the House." The debate of Monday evening involved the interests of 150,000,000 of British subjects, not to say the interests of the whole empire; and yet "there were moments when there were hardly Members enough to make a House." Such is the care that Members have of the largest interests!

It is only one of the many traits which attest the incapacity of our governing classes to govern. If men cannot stay from dinner to discuss the empire of 150,000,000, they are not fit for that empire—and they will lose it.

It is the same with colonial interests: Australia is torn with social anarchy consequent on the sudden discovery of gold. The sudden concentration of industry on that one tempting bait has caused a collapse in all the other and higher branches of industry; yet the Imperial Government does—nothing! It is the same with Ireland—torn with economical difficulties and sectarian feuds. It is the same with England, and the great Labour question—who cares about it? The necessary consequences are likely enough

to follow: governing classes paralyzed with indifference will lose that to which they are indifferent—India, the Colonies, Ireland, England!

CHOLERA COMING AGAIN.

THE shepherds who paid no attention when the idle boy cried "Wolf!" because he had deceived them several times, were almost as foolish as he was; since they suffered the impatience for an idle trick to harden them against providing for a danger which was probable enough: but how much more absurd would they have been if the wolf had really come before, several times, and had not only eaten the naughty boy's sheep, but their own, or themselves? Yet, stupid as those shepherds would have been, they only typify our worthy Ministers since the last attack of cholera; the pest that has now broken out again in Persia, and will probably make the grand tour as before.

It frightened us very much, and we appointed a Board of Health to lock the empty stable. We resolved to set our house in order—to drain our towns, to get us a good supply of water, to discontinue the practice of burying our dead under our noses. But in effect the Board of Health was only appointed to be bullied by its official superiors: it has been the substitute for the bear or badger in the bear-garden of the Treasury. To resist the next attack of cholera it has been permitted to prepare—Croydon. The practice of burying our dead in towns has been prohibited, and—continued. The supply of water for the metropolis has been systematically referred to—"next session;" probably the session after the cholera!



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.

LOCALIZATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—Your correspondent, "Catholic," deserves credit for novelty of idea, at any rate, in his proposal (in effect) to confiscate Church property; for he does not appear to make any exceptions whatever, either as regards that portion of Church property which is decidedly national, or with respect to that very large amount which has been raised entirely by voluntary means, of late years, and which no one can say belongs to the nation, but entirely to the Church as a sect. I should like to know how he would deal with this difficulty.

But, sir, to my mind, there is even a greater problem to be solved. Where is that parish throughout the United Kingdom that could or would agree in electing a pastor to teach them? Unanimity is out of the question, in the present state of society at least, when everybody seems to agree to differ. Would it not, then, be felt a grievous hardship by the minority to be compelled by what they would consider a tyrannical majority, to put up with whoever they (the majority) thought fit.

Your correspondent invited discussion, and I have thrown these observations together, rather to induce him to enter more fully into detail than to make an attack on his plan. In the first part of his letter I cordially concur; and I believe that any one deserves well of his country who endeavours by those means in his power to assist at a solution of what has hitherto proved so difficult a question.

G. J. P.

WILLIAM BARN.—"A. L." acknowledges receipt of his gratifying note, which, through the Editor of the *Leader*, he received by post.



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*.

To metaphysical readers the announcement of SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON'S *Discussions on Philosophy, Literature, and University Reform*, will be welcome news. These essays, long known to the philosophical world, and already collected and translated in France and Italy, Sir WILLIAM has been urged to collect and republish, for the convenience of all students. He has done so now. On a future occasion we shall notice them at length; it is merely as literary news that we announce the volume now. Men, who having lost all anchorage of traditional belief, and who nevertheless feel within them a self-determination towards paramount and regulating principles, cling to the visionary hope that Metaphysical speculation may yet wrest the secret from the Universe; and even among those who share no such hope, but feel the helplessness of all attempts, there are some willing to encourage metaphysics as "intellectual gymnastics." To the latter, HAMILTON will be invaluable. His pages are the training school for Athletes. In these days of second-hand erudition, his pages are marvellous for the extent, variety, and originality of the citations.

Apropos of second-hand erudition, weak as it is, there is much to be said in its defence, provided it be not dishonestly used. PASCAL, somewhere in *Les Provinciales*, alludes to having been twitted with the citation of authors he had never read, and replies, "It is quite true that I have not read all the books I have cited, or I should have passed a great part of my life in reading very bad books!" The edge of the sarcasm will be turned, unless we remember the kind of books he repudiates having wasted his life upon.

EXCEPT that Professor NICHOL is at last about to bring out his *Travels in America*, and Mr. STIRLING, a work on the *Cloister Life of Charles V*, gossip has nothing to circulate. The Bookselling System is the literary topic; and unless the voice of authors, aided by the obvious interests of the public, be impotent, we may conclude the question as good as settled. Only one remark we pause to make. The strongest point in the Protectionist defence lies, as usual, in an epithet, and the epithet is "underselling." Those who declare the discount allowed to the trade to be disproportionately large, are sneeringly termed "undersellers;" and as the public instinct rises up against "underselling," the assailants of the old system appear in a false light. Now the object of those who agitate for a new arrangement, is not to agitate for the privilege of underselling, but for the privilege of not paying forty per cent. *portage* upon all books.

GRANIER DE CASSAGNAC, long known to France as an impudent, unveracious, reckless journalist and critic, anxious to "make noise," were it even by firing a pistol in the air, and so attract attention to himself, has become a "personage" since the blessed Restoration (that, namely, of Religion, Property, and the Family—Oh! above all, the Family!); and this prominence has induced the republication of some critical essays written in his obscurer days. He calls them, by an involuntary irony, *Œuvres Littéraires*: if these are his literary works, what are his other works? The volume contains articles on Chateaubriand, Lamennais, Lacordaire, Corneille, and Racine, Dumas, Hugo, &c., all written in the brilliant style of French journalism—the fireworks of literature! CASSAGNAC is always on the side of paradox, and the Romantic School finds in him a headlong advocate, as LOUIS NAPOLEON finds him an unscrupulous tool.

Since the loved name of LOUIS NAPOLEON falls from our pen, we may record here the anagram on that name which now amuses Paris; after the *Honor est a Nilo* of HORATIO NELSON—after the *Un Corse voté le finira* of *La Revolution Française*—may certainly be placed this anagram on LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE: *Né plat et polisson; bon à lier ou à pendre!* ("Born a brute and a blackguard; fit for chains or the gallows.")

THE FASCINATION OF CRIME.

Narratives from Criminal Trials in Scotland. By John Hill Burton, author of *Life of David Hume*, &c. Two vols. Chapman and Hall.

WHEREIN consists the deep, irrepressible interest felt by all, high and low, literate and illiterate, brave and timid, healthy and morbid, in the recitals of crimes that disgrace humanity, and make the heart ache with pity? Wherein lies this fascination of crime? Delicate women who faint at the sight of blood, and gentle men who cannot witness any act of brutality without disgust, are found eagerly reading all the details—the prosaic and disgusting details—of the last "shocking murder;" and next to a great hero in the excitement of an ovation, there is no one gathers to such a focus of admiration all the eyes and minds of people, as a great criminal on his trial. No great Artist ever roused such deep and feverish anxiety. A wretched brute, whose very stupidity, perhaps, is the main cause of the atrocity of his crime, suddenly finds himself the "cynosure of neighbouring eyes," because his passions have found issue in a vengeance more "shocking" in its details than the daily murders are.

Something of this is traceable in the profound remark of Goethe, that he never read or heard of any crime, no matter how atrocious, the thought of which had not, at some time, passed through his mind, as a diabolic suggestion of an act. We believe this to be true of the most virtuous. The difference between the virtuous and the vicious consists in the suggestion as a *passing thought*, and the suggestion as an *abiding*

thought, realized in act. In the criminal, the suggestion is taken up and viewed as a simple means to an end—it is isolated from all relations of circumstance and feeling, which form *consequences* and *conscience*, and being thus isolated is acted upon; whereas, in a larger mind the relations which this act bears to all circumstances, and to the whole moral being, render it so repugnant that it is rejected. Hence Socrates could say, with considerable truth, that Vice was Ignorance; if we could

"See, as from a tower, the end of all,"

we should never be criminal.

In the recital of some criminal action, then, we recognise within ourselves a something which betrays a dim possibility of our committing that deed under temptation. The criminal is felt to be a brother. We are startled at seeing "as in a glass darkly" a fearful reflection of the worst parts of ourselves; and this snatches hold of our interest, and forces us through all the details of the history. But beyond that dim feeling of intimate connexion with the prisoner at the bar, there comes also into play the natural human *appetite for emotion*, which makes the "luxury of woe," and which gives to sorrows a keen edge of pleasure unsuspected by the bystander. A fire—a wreck—a murder—a domestic brawl—whatever it may be that calls the emotions into play, is thereby a source of gratification; and women, who are far more emotive than men, are notoriously "fond of scenes," because in "scenes" their emotional activity is called forth. A great crime makes us shudder; and we like shuddering. The horrible details haunt a terrified imagination; and the greater the terror the more exquisite the delight.

Such appear to us, briefly stated, to be the two main sources of the fascination of criminal stories. Every new contribution to the literature of crime, therefore, may be certain of attention; and Mr. Hill Burton's volumes will not need the adventitious aid of reviewers to secure a public. For the sake of our readers, however, we will briefly indicate the nature of these *Criminal Trials of Scotland*. The work is no Scottish Newgate Calendar. Crimes there are, of course; but the crimes are not selected for their own sake, so much as for the sake of illustrating history.

Mr. Burton has well chosen his task, and executed it with felicity and care. By a skilful mixture of history and moral reflection with the narratives found in old archives and undisturbed collections, he has produced volumes that have the abiding interest of fiction, with the far-reaching suggestiveness of historical thought. With the picture of barbaric existence painted by him in his opening section, *Proceedings against the Clan Gregor*, the thoughtful reader will be delighted; and, indeed, throughout, the materials for reflection are abundant. The criticism and reflection introduced by Mr. Burton are always spontaneous, and to the purpose. The narratives are well told, often in the words of contemporaries; while the variety of the subjects prevents the reader's interest from failing. We shall, in a future article, describe more in detail the contents of these volumes; meanwhile, we will extract this characteristic

STORY OF THE FIRE OF FRENDRAUGHT.

"Gordon of Rothiemay having estates which, being contiguous to those of Crichton, had to bear all the evils of a frontier territory, there were conflicts in the law courts, followed out by hand-to-hand battles with broadsword and matchlock. One of these engagements took place in 1630, and was fought with great obstinacy. Rothiemay was mortally wounded, and only survived for a few days. The relations of the slain man made arrangements for taking signal vengeance; and in addition to their own followers, they obtained the aid of a kind of mercenary soldiery, ready at that time for any service in any part of the world—the Highland freebooters, of whom 200 well armed, were encamped round the house of Rothiemay, under two renowned robber chieftains named Grant, against whom the law had in vain been fulminating for years together. The head of the Gordons, however, the Marquis of Huntly, and his relation, Sir Robert Gordon, used all their efforts to arrest the threatened 'harrying,' as it was termed, of the territory of the Crichtons. They were unusually successful in producing, at least, an apparent reconciliation, and so all parties having shaken hands in the orchard of Strathbogie, they were heartily reconciled."

"The Crichtons agreed to pay a sum of 50,000 merks to Rothiemay's widow 'in composition of the slaughter.' A follower or client of Crichton, called John Meldrum, of Redhill, had been wounded in the fray with Rothiemay. He expected some reward for his services, which he did not obtain, and took umbrage at his chief. For a gentleman of landed property his method of seeking redress would in the present day be considered somewhat strange. 'Whereupon, John Meldrum cometh secretly, under silence of the night, to the park of Frendraught, and conveyeth away two of Frendraught's best horses. Frendraught taketh this lightly, and calleth John Meldrum before the justice for theft. He turneth rebel, and doth not appear.' He was sheltered in the strong fortalice of his brother-in-law, Leslie of Pitcaple. Frendraught and his relation, Crichton of Conland, met by accident the son of Leslie of Pitcaple, and high words passed about the sheltering of Meldrum. In the middle of the dispute Crichton of Conland drew forth a pistol, and shot young Leslie. Thus out of a family who had been their warm friends, the Crichtons made bitter feudal enemies. Frendraught, alarmed apparently at his position, appeared desirous to conciliate the Gordons, and asked the Marquis of Huntly to use his influence to heal the feud with the Leslies. But young Leslie was lying in his father's hall between life and death, and a reconciliation under such circumstances was impossible. Frendraught had urged his suit when on a visit to Huntly's castle, and the chivalrous chief of the Gordons was desirous that he should, at all events, be safe in returning from the castle of Strathbogie to his own home; a very unlikely consummation, since an armed band of the Leslies were on the watch to waylay him. Huntly, after having entertained him for a few days, sent his son, Lord Aboyne, and the young Laird of Rothiemay as his escorts.

"When they reached Frendraught, they were desired to remain there and partake of its hospitalities. The Lady Frendraught was especially anxious that they should seal the abandonment of the old feud between the Gordons and the Crichtons in conviviality. In the words of an old ballad:

"When steeds were saddled and well bridled
And ready for to ride;
Then out came she and false Frendraught,
Inviting them to bide.

"Said, 'Stay this night until we sup,
The morn until we dine;
'Twill be a token of good greement,
'Twixt your good lord and mine.'"

"They remained, and thus Frendraught had under his roof the son of his great feudal enemy, Huntly, and the son of the man for whose slaughter he had to make pecuniary compensation. Part of the Castle of Frendraught was the grim, windowless old square tower, so common in Scotland. Each floor had but one chamber, the thick walls occupying the greater part of the space. The lowest chamber was vaulted, the others were covered with wood. The owners of such edifices were sometimes jealous of permanent stairs, and in the centre of the vault at Frendraught there was a round hole for reaching the floor above by a ladder. In the room thus entered slept Aboyne, with his follower Robert Gordon, and his page 'English Will.' In the floor above slept Rothiemay with some of his followers, and in the third another band of followers; it was observed that the whole of the party who had escorted Frendraught from Strathbogie were lodged in this tower. After a convivial evening they slept soundly. What afterwards happened cannot be better told than in the simple words of a contemporary annalist:

"Thus all being at rest, about midnight this dolorous tour took fire in so sudden and furious a manner, yea, in one clap, that this noble viscount, the Laird of Rothiemay, English Will, Colin Ivat, another of Aboyne's servitors, and other twa, being six in number, were cruelly brunt and tormented to the death, but help or relief, the Laird of Frendraught, his lady and whole household looking on, without moving or stirring to deliver them fra the fury of this fearful fire as was reported.

"Robert Gordon, called Sutherland Robert, being in the viscount's chamber, escaped this fire with his life. George Chalmer and Captain Rollok being in the third room, escaped also this fire, and, as was said, Aboyne might have saved himself also if he had gone out of doors, quhilk he would not do, but sudaintly ran upstairs to Rothiemay's chamber and wakened him to rise; and as he is wakening him the timber passage and lofting of the passage hastily takes fire, so that none of them could come down stairs again. So they turned to ane window looking to the close, where they piteously cried help, help, many times, for God's cause. The laird and the lady with their servants, all seeing and hearing this woful crying, but made no help nor maner of helping, which they perceiving, they cried often times mercy at God's hands for their sins, syne claspt in each other's armes and cheerfully suffered this cruel martyrdom. Thus died this noble viscount of singular expectation, Rothiemay, a brave youth, and the rest, by this doleful fire never enough to be deplored, to the great sorrow and grief of their kin, friends, parents, and hail country people, especially the noble marquis, who for his good-will got this reward."

OERSTED'S SOUL IN NATURE.

The Soul in Nature; with Supplementary Contributions. By Hans Christian Oersted. Translated from the German by Leonora and Joanna Horner. (Bohn's Scientific Library.) H. G. Bohn.

THE readers of this journal have not to learn our wide dissidence from German Metaphysics, (and the term dissidence must be understood according to its etymology, as a "sitting apart," in supreme disregard of all that Metaphysics may have in debate); if, therefore, we commend this last volume of Mr. Bohn's Scientific Library, we must do so with the reservation, that it is to some extent vitiated by German philosophy. The great merit of the book consists in its being the production of a scientific thinker—one whose life has been given to positive science, and whose discoveries prove him to have the imagination and high generalizing power necessary to a philosopher. It is not a treatise, but a collection of articles, essays, conversations, and speeches, all more or less remotely bearing on the one subject—the Spiritual Presence in the Material World.

Schelling, after Spinoza, and Coleridge after both, have rendered tolerably familiar the conception of a Law of Nature as the correlate of an Idea. They, and most other metaphysicians, owing to their primary assumption of Man being the measure of all things—the microcosm, of whom whatever is true must likewise be true of the universe—conclude that if we can make a logical series of explanations of the phenomena of the universe, it will follow that the laws themselves must be logical. In other words, that what we reason about must be Reason! See how Oersted sums up:—

"We are all agreed that, except the fundamental forces in Nature, the creating forces, there is nothing constant but those laws by which everything is regulated, and that these Laws in Nature may justly be called the Thoughts of Nature. The fundamental forces themselves exist in all bodies; their difference only depends upon the natural laws by which they are governed. That from which an object derives its enduring peculiarity, its peculiar essence, is, therefore, as we have already admitted, that combination of Nature's laws by which it was produced and is sustained. But the Laws of Nature are the Thoughts of Nature, and the essence of things depends upon the Thoughts that are expressed in them. In so far as anything is said to be a distinct essence, all the Thoughts of Nature expressed in it must combine in one essential Thought, which we call the Idea of the thing. The essence of a thing is therefore its living Idea.

"S. Then the essence of a thing becomes a mere thought.

"A. Do not let us forget that I said its *living* idea, and I mean by that the idea realized by the forces of nature."

There can be no difficulty in proving *All Existence a Dominion of Reason*, as Oersted entitles one essay, if we are allowed thus to measure the universe by our mental standard; and for those who like speculations of such refined anthropomorphism, Oersted's book will be a delightful guide. For ourselves, we object profoundly to the whole scope and method of such speculations.

In the scientific aspect the book is more acceptable, and we would especially direct attention to the luminous essay on the *History of Chemistry*, exhibiting a masterly power of tracing the filiation of ideas—to the essay on *Superstition and Infidelity in their Relation to Science*—and, in general, to the fine vindication of Science as itself an exercise of Religion. There are many profound thoughts and noble sentiments scattered through these pages, but we limit our extracts to this on

THE POETRY OF SCIENCE.

"Let us first consider the impression produced, on a quiet night, by a clear

cloudless sky. There is a universal impression in it which is felt by all men. The clearness and force of the impression, however, is not alone modified according to the different temperaments peculiar to each man, but also in proportion to the different degrees of mental culture each may have received. It is this point towards which we will principally direct our attention, but we must first take into account and lay aside that which is common to all.

"We need scarcely mention the vastness of the impression which the starry heavens produce, since it is so powerful as to be felt by every one. He even who seeks no more than the gratification of his senses, and whose dawning reason is but faintly traceable in his sensational apprehensions, must acknowledge that the canopy of heaven is the grandest object he knows: this vast extent however would be dead and blank to us were it not enlivened by the innumerable host of stars. Their light comes to us with double force from the darkness of the surrounding earth, when those objects which remind us of the trivial circumstances of daily life or which are of transitory importance, and which would otherwise attract our attention on all sides, are invisible. This enlarges the scale of our ideas, and quickens our perceptions for the reception of that light which proceeds from a higher, a greater, and a less transitory world. The glorious nature of light is here wonderfully manifested; its animating and beneficial effects have in all times caused it to be the most beautiful emblem of life and virtue. Beneath the mild, clear, undazzling light of stars, which scarcely enables us to see anything around us, while, if I may so express myself, the light shines but to manifest itself, we feel as if Light, and Life, and Happiness dwelt far away above us in those distant regions, while, on the other hand, Darkness, Death, and Terror remained here on earth. This idea interpreted in one manner may be easily misunderstood; but the feeling which such a sight exercises upon the unperturbed senses has nothing to do with these misconstructions.

"Added to all this, we have the deep, and, we may say, tangible silence of night, by which the ear receives as faint impressions of the world beneath us, as are conveyed to the eye by the mild starlight. In short, it is not a mere flight of the imagination which causes our devotional feelings to be excited on a starlight night, but it springs from a feeling deeply rooted in our nature.

"How different is the impression of a moonlight night. The mild light of the moon's disk, unlike that of the sun, does not oblige us to lower our eyes, but rather draws them upwards to Heaven. At the same time, it so far overpowers the light of stars that they no longer attract our notice, and sometimes become almost invisible. Moonlight also shows just so much of earth as to prevent our entirely forgetting it; thus, Fancy and Thought, rapt in mild enthusiasm, hover indefinitely between Heaven and Earth.

"Let us now consider the forms which this original view assumes in the different degrees of development of the human mind. We can easily fancy the impression of a starlight night on the mind of uncivilized man: the expansive vault, rising above the surrounding woods and mountains, embraces all that is known to him of the earth's surface. His ideas of measurement are indeed far too limited to grasp the expanse of Heaven: and yet it is the most imposing object he knows; the stars to him are only points of light, but the clearness and purity of that light is not without its influence. The contrast between the bright vault of heaven and the dark earth, the silence, and the accompanying repose of mind, are so familiar to our senses, that we are none of us strangers to the impression.

"Let us now imagine a man whose powers of intellect and observation are perceptibly developed; his conception of the immensity of the heavens will have proportionately increased. He has noticed particular stars, which he again recognises, and some distinguished groups more especially attract his attention: he has watched them over distant mountain summits, and as he advanced, perceived how their remoteness to each other seemed to increase, while their distance from him remained the same; this distance must consequently be so immense, that the journey he has made can bear no comparison with it. He now therefore has a greater standard by which to take his measurements: this enlarges his conception of the extent of the heavens. He observes that all terrestrial lights grow feebler and feebler the farther they are removed from us, and at a comparatively small distance they totally disappear. But the lights of heaven which he knows, are many times more distant than the farthest hills, yet remain as pure and clear as if they belonged to a different order of things. He has arrived at these conclusions by observation and reflection, but the recollection of the results follow him in those hours in which he quietly resigns himself to the great impression of nature.

"We will now imagine one so far advanced as to have acquired a certain knowledge of astronomy, as much as we may suppose was the case with the Chaldeans, and the aspect of the heavens increases in magnitude and completeness. He now knows that among the lesser stars, some wander in a pre-ordained path, while others are fixed in the vault of heaven; and he knows that these, as well as the sun and moon, have a regulated course. The uninterrupted observations of successive races have led to some knowledge of the unequal distances of these wandering bodies, but we may feel sure that he does not recapitulate all the knowledge which has resulted from the inquiries of the human race, and which is in some part his own, whenever he resigns himself to the impression which the heavenly bodies produce; yet, still those discoveries are as present to his contemplation as the occurrences of every-day life are to men in general. His scale of measurement is far larger than on the former position he held; the remoteness of the moon seems to him now enormous compared to all the distances on earth, and yet very small in comparison with those of the other heavenly bodies before which the moon frequently passes, and which it conceals from our view. It will be evident to every one how the idea of the magnitude of the heavens has increased in size and in importance; and added to this, there is now the still grander idea of an order existing among the heavenly movements, which is also full of beneficial results to our earth. It is the thought of a reasonable guidance, independent of the earth; of a higher Reason manifested in accordance with the condition of human nature, though not devoid of extraneous elements. From the previous position on which we stood, imagination filled up the empty space in knowledge, by the idea that a Sun-god guided the flaming car of Day across the Heavens, that he might repose at night on the lap of Ocean. The moon traversing the vault of heaven was also deified. These ideas yield at a very early stage of astronomical science, though they linger long among the multitude; and not only among the ignorant, but even with those who have received some education, which however may not have included a diligent study of the heavens. The idea, on the other hand, has not yet reached the unity of a divine guidance; each of the wandering

stars receives the name of a particular divinity endowed with earthly attributes. The incalculable influence of the sun upon the earth, as well as that of the moon, which is by no means inconsiderable, easily gives rise to the thought, that by their light, as by their periodical variations, the other lights of heaven are also not without their influence on human events; and this idea must have been still more firmly grounded, because no one ever imagined that the influence of the heavens extended beyond the earth. Though the gods had a higher existence, they were still gods of the earth, and this earth was the central point of the whole. People then began to ascribe to the lesser planets an influence on the fate of individual men; thus arose Astrology, which among other human follies has been so warmly supported. It is easy to perceive how the worship of the sun, or all the heavenly bodies, suited these views; but, on the other hand, much of the old fabulous lore, the remains of earlier times, could only have existed simultaneously with it, because no one ventured to open the eyes of the multitude."

MELIORA.

Meliora, or Better Times to Come. Being the Contributions of many Men touching the Present State and Prospects of Society. Edited by Viscount Ingestre. J. W. Parker and Son.

ONE of the hopeful indications of this age in England is the heartiness with which the upper classes examine the condition of the lower classes, with a view to amelioration. Half the injustice and evil in the world is caused by thoughtlessness; and if the real grounds of complaint which the people have, were once forcibly yet calmly stated to the governing classes so as to win their thoughtful consideration, without rousing their fears or their insulted self-love, an active endeavour to alleviate the causes of complaint would assuredly be seen. Here, before us, is a strange volume, written by noblemen, clergymen, authors, and working men, in earnest confraternity, setting forth their views on the prospects and conditions of society: and the volume is edited by a young guardsman! Such a volume was never seen before, and if, only as a "sign of the times" it deserves respectful attention.

The opening paper is by the Rev. Sidney Godolphin Osborne, a name endeared to the public by many a service, who, after depicting the *Beer-shop Evil*, proposes a new kind of Social Club-room for the artisans and villagers. The Rev. C. Girdlestone writes about *Rich and Poor*; the Rev. Dr. Hook, of Leeds, about *Institutions for Adult Education*, a subject also collaterally treated by the Rev. T. Beames, in his *Plea for the Education of the Million*. Dr. Nicolay speaks, from personal observation, of the *Dwellings of the Working Classes in North America*; Montague Gore has a capital paper on *Sailors' Homes*; and Lord Goderich takes advantage of the *Adulterations of Food* to suggest the only true remedy—association—as seen in the working of the Coöperative Stores. Passing over the *Policy of Prevention*, by Dr. Guy; *Words for the Working Classes*, by Robert Baker; *Popular Investments*, by Rev. J. B. Owen; and *Prison Discipline*, by Captain Fulford; we come to the, to us, most interesting section of this work, viz., Lord Ingestre's *Letters to a Friend*. Learn from this how a young guardsman may earn his right to speak of the lower classes:—

I was induced, not long ago, to commence my inquiries into the state of the world around me. I had often heard, as well as read, of the miseries which existed in London, and other large towns; but, not troubling myself much about the matter, was content to believe that many of the evils that were said to exist were fabulous, and that real distress was mitigated by the numerous societies instituted for the purposes of relief. I also comforted myself generally with the maxim, that rich and poor must exist in this world, and that it would be useless to attempt to alter what was ordained. With such opinions as these, I lived. But now and then there came across me a suspicion, that, whilst I was enjoying the goods of this world, others might suffer, and that I never made an effort on my part to remedy it; occasionally soothing my conscience by a small donation to a charity sermon, or giving a beggar a mite. Providentially for me, my attention was called to the condition of the poor by the potato famine—thus: I was living in a small village, where I saw the poor losing their little all, whilst I was not only comfortable, but supplied with all the necessaries, and many of the luxuries, of life. I need not say that I was moved to pity, but, am thankful to add, to exertion in their behalf. In the district that I then resided in, there was not a gentleman's seat for many miles, and the parish was, like others in the neighbourhood, divided amongst several small proprietors, who lived in London, or other counties, and all absentees. I state this to show that almost all the responsibility fell on my own shoulders, and that I had nobody to assist me but the clergyman, who most kindly approved and aided me in my scheme, though anxious that I should carry out the working of my plan alone. It was thus:—First, I called on the farmers and land occupiers of the parish, and asked them to assist me with subscriptions to provide food for the poor; they complied with my request. They contributed according to the quantity of land they occupied. Letters were written to the owners of the property, mentioning what their tenants had given, and they responded well and handsomely to the call by proportionate donations. A soup-kitchen was then erected, and a coal and pea-store obtained; and on certain days in the week (three), these necessaries were sold at a reduced price. The charity lasted from November till March, and, in spite of the prevailing distress, the farmers had the satisfaction of feeling that their rates were less, and that the money spent had been willingly given, and not forced from their pockets by a rate. The poor also did not feel themselves lowered by accepting charity (a great object), but that they had been assisted in their distress, and were thankful. Am I egotistical? Perhaps so; but I leave what I have written for your perusal, and trust it will prove where there is a will (so long as the motive is right) there is a way. In evidence of this fact, I will mention, I was eighteen years old, and my allowance at my private tutor's £100. per annum. But, you will ask, what set me at work? First, an idea constantly running in my mind, how does steam power, applied to manufactures, or even locomotion, affect the demand for labour? Another—Is emigration beneficial? Why are our goals so comfortable—workhouses disagreeable? What result arises from committees and commissions on education, sanitary reform, &c.? How does the poor-law work? Do existing societies eradicate much evil? The effect of the Exhibition, &c. &c. This is a bit of political economy, is it not? Yes. Is that theoretical or practical? Again, half my acquaintances who read this may say, "Poor fellow! he intends to reform the world—wants to be an orator, a politician. Why not shoot, hunt, as we do, and enjoy himself? He thinks he is going to set

the world to rights.' Questions arising from ideas of what acquaintances say:—First: Why are questions of interest pooh-poohed! by young men? Why is it weakness to have an interest in anything? What are the duties of property?—do we perform them? Do young men of family exert themselves in any way? These sort of ideas, my dear A., come into my head when reading newspapers, or a book, or occur in conversation. Do they never occur to you? I think we owe a great deal to Messrs. Thackeray, Dickens, Douglas Jerrold, Mayhew, and others, who, in their works, have taught us to call things by their right names—who are not ashamed of showing us our inconsistencies, and in their pleasant style inducing us to laugh at them and be ashamed of them."

If such an occupation be thought romantically absurd by his companions in straw-coloured moustaches, let this emphatic avowal be sufficient answer:—

"For my part, I am much happier since I have attempted to do a little in this line; and I doubt whether (but of that you must judge) I am much contaminated by my visiting what our class used to call the lower orders."

Model Lodging Houses are treated in five different papers from different points of view by Messrs. Denison, Horace Mayhew, Nutt, Byng, and Tupper. It is, as we said, a curious volume, and we heartily commend it to your notice.

Portfolio.

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

COMTE'S POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY.*

By G. H. LEWES.

PART IV.—The Fundamental Law of Evolution.

IN the attempts made by man to explain the varied phenomena of the universe, history reveals to us three distinct and characteristic stages, by Comte named the Theological (Supernatural), the Metaphysical, and the Positive. In the first man explains phenomena by some fanciful conception suggested in the analogies of his own consciousness; in the second, he explains phenomena by some *à priori* conception of inherent or superadded entities, suggested in the constancy observable in phenomena, which constancy leads him to suspect that they are not produced by any intervention on the part of an external being, but are owing to the nature of the things themselves; in the third, he explains phenomena by adhering solely to these constancies of succession and co-existence ascertained inductively, and recognised as the laws of nature. It will be seen that the theological stage is the primitive spontaneous exercise of the speculative faculty, proceeding from the known (i.e. consciousness) to the unknown. The metaphysical stage is the more matured effort of reason to explain things, and is an important modification of the former stage; but its defect is, that it reasons without proofs, and reasons upon subjects which transcend our capacity. The positive stage explains phenomena by ascertained laws, laws based on distinct and indisputable certitude gathered in the long and toilsome investigations of centuries; and these laws are not only shown to be demonstrable to reason, but accordant with fact, for the distinguishing characteristic of science is that it sees and foresees. Science is *prevision*. Certainty is its basis and its glory.

In the theological stage, Nature is regarded as the theatre whereon the arbitrary wills and momentary caprices of Superior Powers play their varying and variable parts. Men are startled at unusual occurrences, and explain them by fanciful conceptions. A solar eclipse is understood, and unerringly predicted to a moment, by Positive Science; but in the theological epoch it appeared that some dragon had swallowed the sun! In the metaphysical stage the notion of capricious divinities is replaced by that of abstract entities, whose modes of action are, however, *invariable*; and in this recognition of *invariableness* lies the germ of science. In this epoch, Nature has a "horror of a vacuum," organized beings have a "vital principle," and matter has a *vis inertiae*.

In the positive stage, the invariableness of phenomena under similar conditions is recognised as the sum total of human investigation, and beyond the laws which regulate phenomena, it is considered idle to penetrate.

* Some of my correspondents wish me to state what are the best editions of Comte's works. There is but one of each. I will, however, subjoin a list of all the works:—

Cours de Philosophie Positive, in six volumes, price 50 francs. (In every respect his most important work.) Paris, 1830-42.

Traité Élémentaire de Géométrie Analytique, in one volume, price 7 francs. Paris, 1843.

Traité Philosophique d'Astronomie Populaire, in one volume, price 6 francs. (A popular treatise; requiring, however, some preliminary knowledge of mathematics.) Paris, 1845.

Discours sur l'Ensemble du Positivisme, in one volume, price 6 francs (which is reprinted in the volume following). Paris, 1848.

Système de Politique Positive. The first of four volumes, price 8 francs. Paris, 1851.

To these I must add the admirable volume of Comte's truest and most efficient disciple, Littré, who, under the title of *Conservation, Revolution, et Positivisme*, has united his three expositions of the positive philosophy, which the student is advised to read before commencing the works of Comte.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of 10*l.* from R. P. as his contribution to the Comte subscription; 1*l.* from Joseph Liversey, of Preston; 10*s.* from Dr. F. R. Lees, of Leeds; 2*s.* 6*d.* from Ordis (a young working man, whose letter made my face flush with admiration); and 1*s.* from C. F. N. W. H. will see that his proffered "post-office order" will not be unacceptable.

Let me once for all announce that I cannot undertake any controversy on points in these articles; necessities of space forbid it; and many differences will, I hope, disappear as the system unfolds itself. I shall be flattered at receiving the expression of antagonistic or even merely critical opinions; and may eventually answer them in some summary shape; but correspondents must not attribute it to want of courtesy if I pre-serve silence during the exposition of Comte's system.

When men put up prayers for rain or fine weather, they are acting upon the theological conception that these phenomena are not resultants of invariable laws, but of some variable *will*. The clergyman refusing to pray for rain "while the wind is in this quarter," naively rebukes the impropriety of the request. When men believe that if you wish for something on seeing a piebald horse, the wish will be realized—when they believe that if thirteen sit down to dinner, one will die before the year is out—when they believe that if any one be bitten by a dog, and that dog should afterwards be attacked by hydrophobia, the person bitten will also be attacked by that disease—when they believe that a peculiar conjunction of the stars will rule their destinies—they are in the theological stage, and conceive Nature as indefinitely variable. History is crowded with examples of this conception. In poetry, in literature, in daily life, we constantly find traces of this primitive spontaneous mode of conceiving things. To take an illustration I have used before:—In the camp of Agamemnon an epidemic breaks out. The men die by scores; but as the dreadful arrows of death are invisible, the terrified army attributes the pestilence to the anger of offended Apollo, who avenges an insult to his priest by this "clanging of the silver bow." This *explanation*, so absurd in our eyes, was acceptable to the facile acquiescence of that epoch; and expiatory peace-offerings were made to the irritated deity, in a case where modern science, with its sanitary commission, would have seen bad drainage or imperfect ventilation! But to prove that the theological stage is not thoroughly and universally passed, I need only refer to the monstrous illustration of our own days, when learned men, the Teachers of our people, gravely attributed the Cholera to God's anger at England's endowment of the Maynooth Colleges!

There was a church in Sienna which had often been injured by lightning. A conductor was set up, in defiance of the "religious world," wherein it was regarded as "the heretical stake." A storm arose, the lightning struck the tower; crowds flocked to see if the church was spared, and lo! the very spiders webs upon it were unbroken! Here we see science correcting the mischievous prejudices of theology.

Mythology is poetry to us; to the ancients, it was religion and science. The *explanations* given in those days were all drawn from the fundamental conception of nature as subject to no other laws than those of supernatural agencies. The lowest of the theological periods is that of Fetichism; from that there is a transition to Polytheism; and the highest is Monotheism, wherein the providential agency of One being is substituted for that of many independent divinities.

The same tendency to look *beyond* the fact for an explanation of the fact—to imagine an agency superadded to the phenomena—is visible in the metaphysical period. The notion of invariableness is admitted, and to explain it some "entity" or "principle" is imagined. Thus Kepler imagined that the regularity of planetary movements was owing to the planets being endowed with *minds* capable of making observations on the sun's apparent diameter, in order to regulate their motions so as to describe areas proportioned to the times. Thus natural philosophers even now continue to repeat the old notions of a *vis inertiae*, which they talk of "overcoming;" and in chemistry they imagine "affinities," while they laugh at the old notion of a "phlogistic principle." In biology we see the Metaphysical Method still running riot. Aristotle may, historically, be admired for his conception of "animating principles" (*ψυχαι*), which caused the vital actions of animals and plants—principles which had a sort of hierarchy among themselves, under a supreme controlling agent (*φύσις*); but while the historian of science will award the praise due to such a conception in the series of progressive conceptions, he must with wonder, not unmingled with contempt, record that a philosopher of considerable repute (Dr. Prout) has in this nineteenth century revived that conception in all the plenitude of its absurdity. Dr. Prout assumes the existence of *organic agents*, whose office it is to produce and regulate vital phenomena, "distinct intelligent agents," all under one hierarchy, "each possessing more or less control over all the agents below itself, and having the power of appropriating their services, till at length, in the combined operation of the whole series of agents at the top of the scale, we reach the perfection of organic existence." That such a notion has not been met by shouts of laughter, shows how dimly the Positive Method is conceived even by men of positive science!

As a striking and useful example of this metaphysical method, let us consider the widely spread belief in a *vis medicatrix naturæ*, or, as the vulgar express it, "Nature the best physician." Not only the vulgar, but renowned men of science, believe that the process of reparation which is observed in the organism—the power which ejects noxious ingredients from the system—the "conservative powers," in short—are owing to some "tendency," or "principle," which they set to the credit of "Nature;" forgetting, as I have said on a former occasion, that if the torn tissue or broken limb be repaired by a *vis medicatrix*, or "curative principle," we must ask whether poisoning is owing to a "poisoning principle." An exhalation from an uncovered drain or stagnant pool enters the blood through the active agency of the lungs. What does Nature? Does she resist this disturbing influence—eject this noxious ingredient? Not she; but pumps away as if the poison were the most beneficent of visitors, and distributes it throughout the organism with the same impartiality as she distributes the health-giving oxygen. On the metaphysical method, we must suppose some "principle" at work here. What shall

we call it? The *vis deletrix*—the "destructive principle?" Physiologists—especially those who indulge in natural theology—explain to you the "beneficent intention" of the digestive apparatus; but they omit to add that if, instead of mutton, you introduce arsenic, watchful Nature does not commence an antiperistaltic action, and eject the poison, but absorbs it as actively as if it were pregnant with nutriment. The *vis deletrix* is at work! An insect settles in some part of your body; takes up its abode there, and begins to make itself comfortable by feeding on the body. Does Nature, by her *vis medicatrix*, expel the intruder? Yes, as a cheese expels the maggot. Nature cherishes the parasitic fungus, feeds and fosters it with tender care; makes much of it, nourishes its vitality with the vitality of your body; and so tendered, the fungus grows and grows till you are destroyed; and you—who perhaps may be a Shakspeare, a Goëthe, a Bacon, a man of quite infinite value to humanity—are sacrificed to a fungus!

In truth, Nature is neither Physician nor Assassin; and it is only our vain efforts to discover her "intentions" that make her appear such. Our province is to study her laws, to trace her processes, and, thankful if we can so far penetrate the divine significance of the universe, be content—as Locke wisely and modestly says—to sit down in quiet ignorance of all *transcendent* subjects.

In the final and Positive stage, men accept Nature as she presents herself, without seeking beyond the facts for fantastic entities. "It was formerly believed," says Oersted, "that basilisks existed in cellars which had been long closed; they were invisible, but their look killed whoever it fell upon. Since it is become more generally known that fermentation is produced by a noxious air, whose weight causes it to accumulate in low places, we recognise the destructive agent, and drive it away by means of fresh air." There you have an example of the two conceptions, metaphysical and positive: the one seeking its explanation in an unknown entity (basilisk), the other in known laws of Nature's processes. History shows us the gradual dispersion of superstitions and fantastic creeds before the light of *certainty* which Science carries everywhere.

Having, by various examples, endeavoured to popularize the conception of the fundamental law of the three phases through which humanity passes, I will conclude with some passages of my former exposition of Comte's system, and risk the tediousness of repetition, for the sake of the effect of iteration:—

"All are agreed, in these days, that real knowledge must be founded on the observation of *facts*. Hence contempt of mere theories. But no science could have its origin in simple observation; for if, on the one hand, all positive theories must be founded on observation, so, on the other, it is equally necessary to have some sort of theory before we address ourselves to the task of steady observation. If, in contemplating phenomena, we do not connect them with some principle, it would not only be impossible for us to combine our isolated observations, and consequently to draw any benefit from them; but we should also be unable even to retain them, and most frequently the important facts would remain unperceived. We are consequently forced to theorize. A theory is necessary to observation, and a correct theory to correct observation.

"This double necessity imposed upon the mind—of observation for the formation of a theory, and of a theory for the practice of observation—would have caused it to move in a circle, if nature had not fortunately provided an outlet in the spontaneous activity of the mind. This activity causes it to begin by assuming a cause, which it seeks out of nature, *i.e.*, supernatural. As man is conscious that he acts according as he wills, so he naturally concludes that everything acts in accordance with some superior will. Hence Fetichism, which is nothing but the endowment of inanimate things with life and volition. This is the logical necessity for the supernatural stage: the mind commences with the unknowable; it has first to learn its impotence, to learn the limits of its range, before it can content itself with the knowable.

"The metaphysical stage is equally important as the transitive stage. The supernatural and positive stages are so widely opposed that they require intermediate notions to bridge over the chasm. In substituting an *entity inseparable from phenomena* for a *supernatural agent*, through whose will these phenomena were produced, the mind became habituated to consider only the phenomena themselves. This was a most important condition. The result was, that the ideas of these metaphysical entities gradually faded, and were lost in the mere abstract names of the phenomena.

"The positive stage was now possible. The mind having ceased to interpose either supernatural agents or metaphysical entities between the phenomena and their production, attended solely to the phenomena themselves. These it reduced to *laws*; in other words, it arranged them according to their invariable relations of similitude and succession. The search after essences and causes was renounced. The pretension to absolute knowledge was set aside. The discovery of laws became the great object of mankind.

"Remember that although every branch of knowledge must pass through these three stages, in obedience to the law of evolution, nevertheless the progress is not strictly chronological. Some sciences are more rapid in their evolution than others; some individuals pass through these evolutions more quickly than others; so also of nations. The present intellectual anarchy results from that difference; some sciences being in the positive, some in the supernatural, and some in the metaphysical stage: and this is further to be subdivided into individual differences; for in a science which, on the whole, may fairly be admitted, as being positive, there will be found some cultivators still in the metaphysical stage. Astronomy is now in so positive a condition, that we need nothing but the laws of dynamics and gravitation to explain all celestial phenomena; and this explanation we know to be correct, as far as anything can be known, because we can predict the return of a comet with the nicest accuracy, or can enable the mariner to discover his latitude and find his way amidst the 'waste of waters.' This is a positive science. But so far is meteorology from such a condition, that prayers for dry or rainy weather are still offered up in churches; whereas if once the *laws* of these phenomena were traced, there would no more be prayers for rain than for the sun to

rise at midnight. Remark also that while in the present day no natural philosopher is insane enough to busy himself with the attempt to discover the *cause* of attraction, thousands are busy in the attempt to discover the *cause* of life and the *essence* of mind! This difference characterizes positive and metaphysical sciences. The one is content with a general *fact*, that 'attraction is directly as the mass and inversely as the square of the distance,' this being sufficient for all scientific purposes, because enabling us to predict with unerring certainty the results of that operation. The metaphysician or metaphysical physiologist, on the contrary, is more occupied with *guessing* at the causes of life than in observing and classifying vital phenomena with a view to detect their laws of operation. First he guesses it to be what he calls a 'vital principle'—a mysterious entity residing in the frame, and capable of engendering phenomena. He then proceeds to guess at the nature or essence of this principle, and pronounces it 'electricity,' or 'nervous fluid,' or 'chemical affinity.' Thus he heaps hypothesis upon hypothesis, and closes the subject from his view.

"The closer we examine the present condition of the sciences, the more we shall be struck with the anarchy above indicated. We shall find one science in a perfectly positive stage (Physics); another in the metaphysical stage (Biology), a third in the supernatural stage (Sociology). Nor is this all. The same varieties will be found to co-exist in the same individual mind. The same man who in physics may be said to have arrived at the positive stage, and recognises no other object of inquiry than the *laws* of phenomena, will be found still a slave to the metaphysical stage in Biology, and endeavouring to detect the *cause* of life; and so little emancipated from the supernatural stage in Sociology, that if you talk to him of the *possibility* of a science of history, or a social science, he will laugh at you as a 'theorizer.' So vicious is our philosophical education! So imperfect the conception of a scientific Method! Well might Shelley exclaim—

'How green is this grey world!'

The present condition of science, therefore, exhibits three Methods instead of one: hence the anarchy. To remedy the evil all differences must cease: one Method must preside. Auguste Comte was the first to point out the fact, and to suggest the cure; and it will render his name immortal. So long as the supernatural explanation of phenomena was universally accepted, so long was there unity of thought, because one general principle was applied to *all* facts. The same may be said of the metaphysical stage, though in a less degree, because it was never universally accepted; it was in advance of the supernatural, but before it could attain universal recognition, the positive stage had already begun. When the positive Method is universally accepted—and the day we hope is not far distant, at least among the élite of humanity—then shall we again have unity of thought, then shall we again have one general doctrine, powerful because general. That the positive Method is the only Method adapted to human capacity, the only one on which truth can be found, is easily proved: on it alone can *prevision* of phenomena depend. Prevision is the characteristic and the test of knowledge. If you can predict certain results, and they occur as you predicted, then are you assured that your knowledge is correct. If the wind blows according to the will of Boreas, we may, indeed, *propitiate* his favour, but we cannot *calculate* upon it. We can have no certain knowledge whether the wind will blow or not. If, on the other hand, it is subject to laws, like everything else, once discover these laws, and men will predict concerning it as they predict concerning other matters. 'Even the wind and rain,' to use the language of one of our most authoritative writers, 'which in common speech are the types of uncertainty and change, obey laws as fixed as those of the sun and moon; and already, as regards many parts of the earth, man can foretell them without fear of being deceived. He plans his voyages to suit the coming monsoons, and prepares against the floods of the rainy seasons.*' If one other argument be needed, we would simply refer to the gradual and progressive improvement which has always taken place in every department of inquiry conducted upon the positive Method—and with a success in exact proportion to its rigorous employment of that Method—contrasted with the *circular* movement of Philosophy, which is just as far from a solution of any one of its problems as it was five thousand years ago; the only truths that it can be said to have acquired are a few psychological truths, and these it owes to the positive Method!"

The Arts.

ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA.

Of the Signor Galvani, whose appearance as *Elvino* we announced last week, we have only to say that he did *not* produce that degree of sensation which his name maliciously indicated—that he may becomingly fill a secondary position, without being in the remotest sense capable of the first—at the Royal Italian Opera, we mean: that he sang *like* a robust tenor, with by no means a robust voice, from his head and throat, rather than from his chest; that his acting was cold, ungainly, and inexpressive; that his method of pumping the voice was not pleasant to witness; that his falsetto set one's teeth on edge; but that with all these drawbacks, Signor Galvani was not unacceptable nor wholly displeasing, and in more than one phrase, he surprised the most indulgent audience in the world into warm applause, and was even recalled at the conclusion of the opera, with Castellan; who never looked more pretty, and never was in finer voice. Her *Amina* was faultlessly sung, and unaffectedly acted. We are not yet tired of the *Sonnambula*.

Tuesday, however, may be called the first "solemnity," as the French say, of a season that, even in the annals of the Royal Italian Opera, promises to be unparalleled. The public should be grateful for the production of *I Martiri*: it is a "grand opera" by a master, of whose works the public desires to know all; it is a good opportunity for displaying Tamberlik and Ronconi in parts not familiar to a London audience; and it is magnificently mounted. It is not, however, a work to exalt Donizetti's fame. The grand opera on the Paris pattern is not the highest kind of art. An opera is a piece of music, *illustrated* by the action and scenery; the grand opera is a spectacle adorned with music; which becomes less the medium of the work of art, than one of its many adjuncts. Independently of taking that wrong ground, Donizetti has worked it feebly. The vast spread of music attains a certain individuality, chiefly

by *avoiding* repetition of the author or imitation of others. By the help of some of those combinations, which Donizetti knows so well how to dress up, of concerted piece, solo, and ensemble, the two last acts, for which Scribe's libretto has done so much, go with far more animation; and good scope is offered for the voices.

The story needs not be told: it is the same with Corneille's *Polyeucte*. The hero, an Armenian subject of Rome, who turns Christian, is followed into his creed, through affection, by his wife; and he suffers martyrdom with her. Tamberlik was *Poliuto*; Madame Julienne, the wife *Paulina*; Marini, her father, and Governor of Armenia; Ronconi, the *Proconsul*, a lover whom *Paulina* has forsaken, supposing him to be dead, and who remains kind, considerate, and clement. The reader, who has not been to the Royal Italian, sees how these voices groupe in the lyric tragedy. Some of the vocal situations are striking—such as a duet between *Paulina* and her husband; *Paulina's* song of uncontrollable joy at hearing of *Severus's* arrival, "Perchè di stolto giubilo;" the duet between the two in the third act—highly critical to *Paulina's* conjugal fidelity; *Poliuto's* song of defiance, and then the sequel generally.

But it is as an opportunity for the voices that even the best of the music is best. Madame Julienne is an accomplished, dashing, and genial singer. Time has somewhat impaired the tissue of her voice; but for special passages she has acquired force, and at the top of her register her voice comes out, bold, piercing, and energetic. Ronconi makes his part, dramatically the best in the Opera, a finished character—manly, powerful, tender, varied with the most delicate shades, but rising to the terrible in its disappointment and its rage. Dramatically, controversial martyrdom is not a favourable subject—Vivian would not often recommend an impresario to borrow his libretti from the Christian fathers; still less is the husband of a wife whose virtue and goodnature make her faithful in spite of her inclinations, a commanding subject for a hero; and accordingly Tamberlik walks through his part in the earlier scenes with a sort of conscientious uphill dignity admirable to witness. But he is rewarded: as the plot thickens, as the tumult rises, as Governor, Proconsul, mob, and lions, roar for their prey, the voice comes forth in all the raging potency of tenor defiance: the voice lords it over the scene like the wind above the billows. As the piece advances, these striking effects tell, and the curtain falls, as it has done to the climax of the third act, to tumults of enthusiastic applause.

If you had left the house at the end of the second act, you would probably have gone away yawning and discontented, with the belief that it was no doubt very grand, and uncommonly heavy. But from the beginning of the third act to the final scene of the opera, it was one sustained triumph for the artists, and an ever increasing excitement for the audience. We never remember, even in the reign of Jenny Lind, to have seen an audience more thoroughly "carried away" than by Tamberlik's masterly performance in the *Martiri*. Never had this great singer, often as he had charmed, thrilled, electrified his admirers—never had he before revealed the full glory of that voice, ranging in its power and skill from the wayward pathos of a lute, to the clear vibration of a silver trumpet, *sustained* far out of the reach of ordinary voices, above that gigantic orchestra, above that mighty chorus; *sustained*; not simply bursting for a moment of heroic effort. And the fire, and rapture, and reckless prodigality of strength in that last great duet, when *Poliuto* has blest *Paulina*, and their emotion swells into the martyr's anthem of praise and thanksgiving! The most worn out *habitués* were fairly taken by storm, and confessed to a "sensation;" and as to the public, who came to hear, it was silence with held breath, and then a whirlwind of acclamations. What higher praise can we give to Madame Julienne than to say that she sang up to Tamberlik?

Had the audience not been deeply moved, they could not have calmly sat out the lion and the tiger in the last scene, who, unmistakeably human (perhaps even Christian) themselves, were waiting to make a meal off their brethren: there was such a double action in the walk, and the tails were so helpless! On the second representation, the Pagan beasts were more sparingly suffered to peep out, and the reserve enhanced the final effect judiciously. If they were to appear only by attorney it would be best of all. Z.

CRUVELLI AS AN ACTRESS.

QUOTATION is one of my incurable habits: a charming habit or an odious habit, as you will; I do not defend,—I confess it. That the quotations are often in other languages than English, is a vice or virtue incident to my education; but that they should lack an English interpretation is a fault for which there is no excuse; and (as I beg to assure my correspondents who on several occasions have mentioned it) is a fault I *very* rarely commit. Let me, once for all, say that when there is no unmistakeable translation affixed, the *sense* is given either in the sentence which precedes, or in that which succeeds the quotation.

Having eased my conscience, let me now ask you whether you were at HER MAJESTY'S on Saturday last to welcome Cruvelli, Lablache, and Gardoni on their reappearance; and if so, whether you were not delighted at the noble trumpet voice of the great Lablache—who, as the musical critics say, "interpreted" the part of *Oroveso* "with his usual ability"—and with Gardoni's manifest improvement in voice and manner? Having settled these questions, and congratulated the management on the crowded and enthusiastic state of the house, let us leave these matters, and endeavour to come to some understanding about Cruvelli. I shall assume that you agree with the brilliant critic of the *Times* in estimating Cruvelli as another Malibran—an actress and singer of the highest genius.

Cruvelli has a voice of undeniable beauty, and immense compass; but the production of it is seriously affected by two faults—a tendency towards the nasal, and a tendency to scream. So that on the whole, while I cannot but admire the *brío*, the dash, the power, and the impetuosity of her singing, it never wholly gratifies me, and I detect in it the same want of harmonious unity which makes me deny her claim to be considered as a great actress; and as acting is more within my critical

province, and can be more easily rendered intelligible in criticism, I will jot down my impressions of her representation of *Norma*.

With her impetuosity and energy, with her commanding figure and fine tragic eyes, aided by a perception of theatrical effect far surpassing that of ordinary singers, she cannot take up so grand a part as *Norma*, and fail in producing an effect; but her acting is characterized by the one abiding fault of displaying the strings which move the puppets, and making us painfully aware of her intentions rather than of the character to be represented. It is as if the actor in lieu of putting on the mask and speaking through it, were to hold up the mask with one hand, while with the other he pointed out to us the expression meant to be conveyed. With all her impetuosity she does not abandon herself to the feeling; she is vehement but not passionate—she is loud but not moved. Her admirers declare that she ruins the effect of the second motive in the trio when *Norma* discovers that her faithless lover is the lover of *Adalgisa*, though allowing herself to be “carried away” by the first. I distinctly say that vehement as she was in that scene she was perfectly unmoved—not a muscle of her face quivered—her hands trembled, but her body was calm: oh! how unlike the anguish and rage of Grisi in that scene! Very false, undramatic, and elaborately intentional was the sudden interruption of her torrent of imprecation against *Pollio*, by the whining and pathetic reference to his children. *Norma* bids him tremble for his own sake and for his children; the woman maddened by jealousy is only desirous of terrifying her lover, not of softening him; but Cruvelli seeing the words *trema per te, fellone, e pei figli tuoi*, and deeming it correct for a mother to be pathetic when speaking of her children, interrupts by this reflective and remote consideration the strong current of her wrath. At that moment, the mother thinks of her children only as another source of vengeance—another weapon with which to strike the faithless heart of *Pollio*; at that moment she is not a mother but an outraged wife; and like a panther ready for its spring she glares upon her wronger! I dwell on that example because it is a striking one; but the defect from which it springs is visible almost throughout—viz, that instead of being the character, she exhibits her intentions with regard to it: and those intentions are not always acceptable. Grisi is the character; Cruvelli stands beside it, and calls upon us to admire her conception of it—which I don't admire. The consequence is, that her performance is elaborate, artificial, untrue, and not up to the required standard.

If I seem hostile to a young and remarkable artiste in the severity of this criticism, it is because the standards set up by her admirers are too high. When those “sitting in authority” tell me she is a great artist, I feel bound to disclaim my allegiance to her royalty. But she has magnificent gifts, and may yet reach the crown she aspires to, and her friends try to place on her brows. On Thursday she played *Rosina* in the *Barber of Seville*, and played it charmingly; not perhaps with all the girlish freshness and archness of sweet, wicked eighteen, but with infinitely more life and charm than Sontag. In *Norma*, Cruvelli has to contend against the inextinguishable remembrance of Giulia Grisi; in *Rosina* she has “the Countess” to contend against: after that, you will not wonder at my feeling very dissatisfied with her Druid Priestess, and delighted with her Spanish coquette! Indeed, comparisons apart, it was a remarkable performance. I never heard her sing so effectively, so carefully, or with so little imperfection. Her execution was brilliant, novel, inventive, and startling; her voice always under control, and her *fioriture* prodigal and tasteful. *Una voce poco fa* roused a storm of enthusiastic approbation, and Rode's air with variations fairly took the house by surprise. But in the lovely duet with *Figaro* she fell short of her own standard.

Lablache was in high spirits and glorious voice. His *Barblio* became colossally grotesque, the fat humour running over into all kinds of extravagances. Belletti sang the music of *Figaro* with great spirit, but as an actor he wants the *entrain* and gaiety requisite for the part; his fun was conventional, and not funny. Ferlotti—the “great artist”—played *Basilio*; and, like other “artists,” sang badly and over-acted; “barring that,” as the Irish say, his performance was not without its fine points. Altogether it was a charming evening—the first thoroughly delightful evening we have had for the season. Rossini's gay and brilliant music, running over with life and grace, and gaiety and Southern passion, caresses the ear with such “a concord of sweet sounds,” that I can never tire of it; and, for once, the performers were equal to their parts.

FRENCH PLAYS.

AFTER all there is no such agreeable place as the little theatre in King Street, St. James's, with its varied attractions, its “stars,” and its quick succession of pieces. The petulant echoes of the voice of Fretillon-Déjazet are not yet completely silent—the grotesqueness, phantasy, tears, explosions, and manifold graces of Frédéric are still the subject of conversation in a society which so rapidly forgets everyone and everything; and now we have Regnier, the bright comedian, trenchant as steel, gay as exuberant youth, reflective as cautious age; Mdle. Denain the handsome, and Mdle. Marquet the young and candid: looking as fresh as innocent eighteen—being as quick and *rusée* as experienced eight and twenty. I share the universal admiration for Regnier; for Mdle. Denain I have a long standing account of agreeable reminiscences; and Mdle. Marquet has besides her youth, beauty, pleasant truthfulness, and archness—the peculiar interest of strongly reminding me of George Sand's daughter Solange. These three, with Lafont and Paul Laba, were more than enough to draw good audiences to *Mdle. de la Seiglière*, an agreeable comedy, the story of which has already been made familiar to the public in Webster's version, *The Man at Law*; but the finesse and elegance of the acting make the French comedy quite another thing; and what was dull at the Haymarket, sparkled at the St. James's. I will not put such an insult upon Regnier as to mention the acting of the English marquis, nor will I compare Lafont with Howe. If Webster's *Destournelles* was a much better performance than Roger's, it is the only superiority in the piece. The naïveté and charm of Mdle. Marquet, the quiet elegance and finesse of Mdle. Denain, especially in her bye play, were enough to render insignificant characters perfectly charming. Regnier did not play his original part of *Destour-*

nelles, but preferred that of the old Marquis. It was so truthfully amusing, that I am almost ashamed to say I wish he had kept to his original part. His performance of *Figaro* in *Le Barbier de Seville* was postponed till too late in this week for notice; next week I may have something to say of it.

ELLA'S MUSICAL UNION.

THE eighth season of these delightful concerts commenced on Tuesday, with Sivori, Moralt, Oury, Webb, and Piatti, for the quintet, and Mdle. Clauss, the Bohemian pianist, for the solos. *Place aux dames!* the fair deserve precedence, and I begin with Mdle. Clauss, who made her *début* in England on this occasion. Camilla Pleyel was announced to play; and I felt very disappointed on entering the room, and learning that “indisposition” robbed us of her. It was in vain that a gentle voice assured me Mdle. Clauss was a beautiful player. I am something of a spoiled child; and as I went to hear Camilla Pleyel, I was not to be pacified by any other player. But no sooner had Mdle. Clauss made her appearance, than those fine grey eyes, and the delicate sensitive face, soothed my impatience, and prepared my nerves for the trembling delight they were destined to receive. She played enchantingly! A movement from one of Beethoven's grand sonatas, a fugue of Bach's, and a movement from one of Mendelssohn's most charming sonatas, were the three pieces chosen to exhibit the resources of her style, and the last was sufficient to convince every one in the room that a genuine artist was before them—a player with feeling, power, brilliancy, and colour. I do not find it easy to describe musical effects, but if you will let me borrow an image from Science I think I shall succeed better. Do you happen to know what *fulguration* is? I mean that sudden brightening of the melted gold and silver when the last film of vitreous lead and copper leaves the surface of the metals in the assayer's cupel. Well, Mdle. Clauss plays with sudden and enchanting fulgurations. I will not presume to draw comparisons between her playing and that of other pianists, but the sum total of my impression is, that I long to hear her again!

The rest of the concert was devoted to Beethoven's quartet (*op. 18, No. 6, B flat*), Mozart's quintet in D, and Mendelssohn's trio in D minor. They were unequally played. I am not certain whether the fault lay with the second violin and the over modesty of the “modest viola,” or whether Sivori's sensuous and effeminate style affected the rest, but the result was that Beethoven was not played with the requisite vigour and relief. Nothing can be much more beautiful than the introduction to the *finale*—the melancholy wail of some anguished spirit—nor was there a fault to be found with its execution; but the peculiar rhythm of the *adagio* was less successfully given than I have heard it: and the whole of Mozart's quintet, except the *finale*, was hurt by the want of weight in the second violin and viola. I notice the defect: a column would be insufficient to record all the beauties—but they are notorious!

VIVIAN.

THE Joanna Wagner controversy, which has kept London in a fever of expectation for the last fortnight with a cross-fire of rival announcements and electric despatches, is finally solved by the appearance of the *prima donna* at Covent Garden. Her father has addressed a very satisfactory statement to the daily papers, of which the following analysis is from the *Times* :—

“Herr Wagner declares that the director of the Royal Italian Opera, as early as 1850, made several propositions to his daughter Mademoiselle Wagner, which her continental engagements prevented her from accepting, and that in the autumn of last year these propositions were renewed, but that owing to circumstances wholly uninteresting to the public, Mademoiselle Wagner was induced to give the preference to Her Majesty's Theatre, with the director of which establishment she signed a treaty for the present season. Herr Wagner further states, that in the course of last month, his daughter received several letters from the director of the Royal Italian Opera, to which, considering herself bound to the other theatre, she did not reply. An important stipulation, however, in the engagement with her Majesty's Theatre, which was to have been carried out on the 15th of March, not having been fulfilled, Mdle. Wagner, on the 5th of the present month, regarding the old contract as null and void, concluded a new one with the director of the Royal Italian Opera. The object of Herr Wagner's letter is to defend his daughter, who throughout acted under the advice of himself and her most intimate friends, from the charge of having acted inconsiderately towards the director of the theatre for which she signed her first treaty. Instead of one day between the date agreed upon for the fulfilment of the stipulation alluded to and its absolute tender by an authorized agent of Her Majesty's Theatre, Herr Wagner states that not less than four weeks had elapsed before Mademoiselle Wagner signed a contract with the rival establishment—although, on the 7th of April, a formal notice had been transmitted to the director of Her Majesty's Theatre, in which Mdle. Wagner declared that she considered herself no longer bound to that establishment.”

Mdle. Wagner was in a box at Covent Garden at the first performance of *I Martiri*, and every *lorgnette* was upon the heroine of the mystification. To-night, as *Fides* to Mario's *Prophète*, she encounters the ordeal of her own great fame, and we have no doubt she will achieve that success which has already been “thrust upon” her. Mario and Formes we shall be glad to welcome back again on so interesting an occasion.

LONDON WEDNESDAY CONCERTS.

THE Fourth Concert on Wednesday last restored to us once more Jetty Treffz, the true darling of the English public; we had sadly feared this charming singer had left us “for good and all;” and we could ill spare her. Well! here she is again, more gentle to look upon, more sweet to listen to, than ever. No one sings a tender or playful ballad like Jetty Treffz: her heart seems to be in her eyes and in her voice; and with that pure, bright look, and touching, artless simplicity of manner, she trills away the hearts of her audience; how cruelly and how deliciously! Need we recount how many encores she received on Wednesday evening?

Old Braham, who makes his last appearance at each of these concerts, was in great force; and Bottesini and Sivori were—themselves.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

SATURDAY, April 24.

CONSOLS opened on Monday, for both money and account, at 99½ to 100; on Thursday evening the closing prices were 99½, money; 99½ to 100 for account. Exchequer Bills (June), 64s. to 67s. on Monday; 65s. to 68s. on Thursday; March, 71s. to 74s.; both days, closing price, 72s. Bank Stock, on Monday, 218½ to 219½; closing price on Thursday, 220.

At the breaking up of the Bank Court on Thursday, it was announced that the rate of discount had been reduced to 2 per cent. A favourable reaction was immediately experienced in English Funds, as soon as it became known that the Bank had decided upon the reduction. Consols for Money, which had been quoted as low as 99½, rose to 99½, and closed at 99½ to 100. The last quotation for Account was 99½, after having touched 99½.

The Share Market has been generally firm. Gold shares have somewhat slackened; but a decided preference is shown for Australian gold speculations. The Railway Market has been unusually firm.

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

| | Satur. | Mond. | Tues. | Wedn. | Thurs. | Frid. |
|------------------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|
| Bank Stock | 219½ | 220 | 220 | 219½ | 220 | 219½ |
| 3 per Cent. Red. | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ |
| 3 per Cent. Con. Ans. | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ |
| 3 per Cent. An. 1751. | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ |
| 3 per Cent. Con. Ac. | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ |
| 3½ per Cent. An. | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ |
| New 5 per Cents. | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ |
| Long Ans. 1800 | 6 | 6½ | 6½ | 6½ | 6½ | 6½ |
| Ind. St. 10½ per Cent. | 83 | 86 | 86 | 86 | 86 | 86 |
| Ditto Bonds, £1000 | 74 p | 74 p | 71 p | 71 p | 71 p | 71 p |
| Ex. Bills, £1000 | 74 p | 74 p | 71 p | 71 p | 71 p | 71 p |
| Ditto, £500 | 67 p | 67 p | 67 p | 67 p | 67 p | 67 p |
| Ditto, Small | 67 p | 67 p | 67 p | 67 p | 67 p | 67 p |

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|---------------------------|------|
| Belgian 4½ per Cents. | 97½ | Peruvian 3 pr. Cents Def. | 64½ |
| Brazilian 5 per Cents. | 99½ | Portuguese 5 per Cents. | 99½ |
| Ditto Ayres | 73½ | Portuguese 4 per Cents. | 38½ |
| Chilian 6 per Cents. | 102 | Russian 4½ per Cents. | 104½ |
| Danish 3 per Cents. 1852 | 79 | Sardinian Bonds | 97½ |
| Dutch 2½ per Cents. | 61½ | Spanish Passives | 51 |
| Ecuador | 4½ | Spanish 3 per Cents | 47½ |
| Mexican 5 per Ct. Acc. | 35 | Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def. | 21½ |
| Mexican 3 per Cents. | 28½ | Venezuela | 48½ |

French Plays.

Lessee, Mr. JOHN MITCHELL, 33, Old Bond-street.

On Monday Evening, April 26th, the Entertainments will commence with LE CACHEMIRE VERT. Comrad de Francville, M. St. Marie; Pacifique, M. Tourillon; Claire de Beaufort, M. Roger Solie. To be followed by the favourite Comedy of LE HOCHET D'UNE COQUETTE. Le Duc de Lancy, M. Lafont; Le Chevalier de Neuville, M. Paul Laba; La Marquise de Marceilly, M. Marquet. And conclude with BATAILLE DE DAMES; Ou, UN DUEL EN AMOUR. Henri de Flavigneul, M. Lafont; Gustave de Grignon, M. Regnier; Le Baron de Montrieux, M. Roger; Un Brigadier de Dragons, M. Tourillon; La Comtesse d'Autreval, M. Denain; Leonie de la Villegontier, M. Roger Solie.

Monsieur REGNIER has the honour to announce that his BENEFIT will take place on Wednesday evening, April 28th, on which occasion will be presented MADEMOISELLE DE LA SEIGLIERE, with other Entertainments.

And on Friday next, April 30th, an attractive entertainment, being positively the last appearance of Monsieur REGNIER, Mlle. DENAIN, Mlle. MARQUET, and M. ROGER SOLIE.

Mlle. ROSE OHERI and Monsieur NUMA will appear on Monday evening, May 3rd.

Private Boxes and Stalls may be obtained at the Royal Library, 33, Old Bond Street, and at the Box Office.

Royal Marionette Theatre,

ADELAIDE STREET, WEST STRAND.

GREAT SUCCESS OF "ALADDIN" AND OF "THE EBONY MARIONETTES."

On Monday, April 26th, and every evening during the week, at Eight o'clock, A New INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS by Mr. Albany Brown. After which, an Original *Pièce de Circonstance*, written by Mr. Hugo Vamp, called THE HAPPY MANAGER, a dramatic difficulty, in one act. To be followed by the astonishing performances of THE EBONY MARIONETTES, with new Overtures, Songs, and Duets. To conclude with the successful Extravaganza of ALADDIN AND THE WONDERFUL LAMP, newly trimmed and burnished for the Marionettes.

A Morning Performance on Wednesday, the 28th, and Saturday, May 1st, at Three o'clock.

Doors to open half an hour before each Performance.—Private Boxes and Stalls to be had at the Box-office of the Theatre, from 11 till 5 daily, and of all the principal Librarians.

The Zoological Gardens,

REGENT'S PARK,

Are Open to Visitors daily. The Collection now contains upwards of 1,500 Specimens: a Fine Series of Antelopes having been added to the Hippopotamus, Elephant Calf, and other rare animals, during the Winter.

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WILLIAM CAMPBELL,

18, Cornhill, April, 1852.

Secretary.

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TO the ELECTORS of the BOROUGH of GREENWICH.

GENTLEMEN.—The newspapers of this day will convey to you the decision of the Court of Exchequer on the action brought against me for having sat and voted as your representative in the House of Commons. I trust every elector, and indeed every Englishman, will carefully read this decision.

Four judges have given their opinions—one in my favour, three against me. One of the learned judges decides that I lawfully omitted the words, "upon the true faith of a Christian;" the three others, holding an opposite view, leave me liable to the most grievous penalties of the law for that omission. I therefore hardly know whether I am addressing you to-day as one enjoying the rights of an Englishman or as a popish outlaw, deprived of the ordinary protection afforded by the constitution.

Were we now living in the times when the law by which I am condemned was first passed, I should feel the sentence weighing very heavily on my mind; but relying, as I do, on the intelligence and high moral feeling of the country at large at the present day, I do not fear that a sentence so repugnant to equity, justice, and truth, can possibly be carried into effect. Can there be a greater misapplication of law and justice than that an act intended solely against Papists and Jacobites of bygone days, who either could or would not take the Oath of Abjuration, should be used against me, who have sworn to every part of the oath with the exception of the words "upon the true faith of a Christian?"

By the terms of the decision I have become a popish recusant convict. Will the people of England—will the constituencies of the empire permit such a perversion of justice as this very name implies? If the right of private judgment, and the free exercise of conscience are to be denied to any British subject, let this be plainly stated. Let England openly become like those despotic countries of Europe, in which it is a part of their written law that religious disabilities should prevail; but do not let us, by a stringent construction of statutes almost obsolete, virtually enact disqualifying laws, utterly and entirely opposed to the spirit of the age, and to the constitution under which we have the happiness to live—a constitution which is the pride and protection of every man born on British soil, and which never abridged the liberty of the subject, unless it were necessary for the safety of the state.

With regard to the further legal measures to be taken in consequence of this decision, I shall not as I may be advised. In reference to my position as your representative, I leave myself entirely in your hands, feeling assured that I have hitherto done nothing to forfeit that confidence with which you have honoured me, and which I trust you will see no reason whatever to withhold, when an opportunity shall again be afforded you for electing representatives of your important borough.

I shall take the earliest opportunity of placing myself in personal communication with you; and I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

DAVID SALOMONS.

3, Great Cumberland-place, Hyde-park, April 20, 1852.

LONDON: Printed by GEORGE HOOPER, (of No. 3, Portland Place Kensington, in the County of Middlesex,) at the Office of Messrs. SAVILL and EDWARDS, No. 4, Chandos Street, in the Parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, in the same County; and Published by THOMSON LEIGH HUNT, (of Broadway House, Hammermith,) at THE LEADER OFFICE, No. 19, WELLINGTON STREET, STRAND, in the Precinct of the Savoy, both in the same County.—SATURDAY, April 24, 1852.