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The Leader.

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

Contents:

NEWS OF THE WEEK—

	PAGE
The Parliament of the Week.....	2
The Aberdeen Ministry	3
The Coming Elections	3
Archdeacon Denison and Mr. Gladstone.....	4
Foreign Opinions of the English Ministry	5
Letters from Paris	5
Continental Notes.....	6
Society of the Friends of Italy	6
Death of Kossuth's Mother	7
Extract from a Private Letter from the West Coast of Mexico	7
The Kirwan Case	7
Fires in California.....	8

The Great Gale	8
Trade, Gold, and Corn	8
Taxes on Knowledge	9
Opening the Crystal Palace on Sunday	9
Barth and Overweg's African Expedition	9
Miscellaneous	9
Health of London during the Week.....	10
Births, Marriages, and Deaths.....	10

POSTSCRIPT

PUBLIC AFFAIRS—

The New Ministry, its Programme, and its Men	11
--	----

Sir William Molesworth for South-wark	11
Archdeacon Denison's Political Churchmanship	12
Struggles of Protestantism in Piedmont.....	12
Mr. Kirwan's Reprieve	13
"Brother" No. "III."	13
The "Leader" in the Dublin Mechanics' Institute	14
Art thou an Ambassador or but a Wandering Voice?	14

OPEN COUNCIL—

The "Melbourne".....	15
The True Test of a Man's Belief	15
Slavery.....	15

LITERATURE—

Life of Thomas Moore.....	17
Keppel's Visit to the Indian Archipelago	18
Children's Books	20
Books on our Table.....	20

THE ARTS—

Fairyland at the Lyceum	21
Leo the Terrible	21
The Marionnettes	21
Mr. Woodin's Soirées	21
A Week of Boxing Nights	21

COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS—

Markets, Advertisements, &c.....	22-24
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SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1853.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

AFTER Lord Derby had rendered Government ridiculous, and the severance of the Liberal majority into many minorities seemed to have rendered a respectable Government impossible, Lord Aberdeen has succeeded in forming the most respectable Administration which has been seen in our day. The several members of the Administration have co-operated with a general sacrifice of self or individual peculiarities of view; and the very allocation of offices shows the extent to which this honourable feeling has gone. Lord John Russell in a Secretaryship, Lord Palmerston in the Home Office, Mr. Gladstone in the Exchequer, do but exemplify a good feeling, which has been imitated in the subordinate ranks; and thus we have in one Cabinet the strength of the Peel and Russell Administrations, reinforced by independent men such as Molesworth, Argyll, Monsell, and Charles Villiers. If Mr. Disraeli had a hard struggle to contend almost single-handed with a host in Opposition, now that he is in Opposition and the adversary is concentrated in office, he will find it a still harder contest, unless he should receive help from some unlucky Liberals of the disappointed sect.

The time, however, is by no means propitious for party fighting. A contemporary, who seems well inclined to war upon the Ministry, is rash enough to assert that the present juncture resembles that of 1830; but assuredly the two periods can only be brought together for contrast, not resemblance, both at home and abroad. In 1830, Catholic emancipation was recent; Reform was pursued with the spirit of the chase gaining upon its quarry; the Tories, smarting from recent defeat on the ground of religious liberty, still held out stubbornly on that of political liberty; "the Duke" was proposing to defend London by arms; the Liberal aristocrats were not disclaiming offers of a populace marching from Birmingham; and the populace was ready. Abroad, constitutional Government had succeeded to arbitrary Government in France and Belgium, and Europe was at peace.

Now all is reversed. Political action, as we understood it in 1830-32, is dead. Chartism succeeded to Reform, mustered its millions, made the fatal mistake of April 10, 1848, and is now slumbering—its members all dissolved. Reform is an

old tale, and excites no passions—the next instalment expected from the quondam "Tory," Aberdeen. Religious liberty has advanced to an approximation to religious equality; and the chief embarrassment has arisen from an excess of licence in the Roman Catholic staff. The Whig party, dominant under Earl Grey, has succumbed to Peel, and has expired of old age and inanition; merging itself, under Aberdeen, in a national party. Free-trade has commenced, pursued, and consummated its own agitation; and Protection, dominant in '28, protected by Melbourne, is ranked with the fallacies of the past. France has displaced constitutional government, and, with the usual Republican preface, has returned to the Empire and absolute power, half-dragging Belgium after her. The treaties of 1815, torn to tatters, are awaiting a revision at the hands either of Revolution or consolidated Absolutism; and everything European is in question. The Duke is dead, and England is strengthening her defences—making all tight and snug in preparation for a squall.

Socially the condition of the country has undergone the most sweeping changes since 1830-32. Freedom has become a habit, though enervated by the habits also of long peace. The great manufacturing interest, at its zenith during the ten years ending 1839, has undergone the desperate depression of 1842; and commerce recovers to the wide and immense prosperity of 1852-53. Ireland has undergone an O'Connell, a famine, an Encumbered Estates Act, a depopulating emigration, and a Tory Government promoting free education; and is recovering to a dawn of real happiness, after her seven centuries of wrong and her twenty years of retaliation. Steam navigation has spanned the ocean; vessels of size and power undreamed are on the stocks; California and Australia are yielding gold for a commerce unwitnessed in history. How much of all this has happened in the past year, we need not say. But in this year of political tranquillity, of commercial prosperity, of social hopefulness, of action suspended after and before the struggles of a continent—of interregnum between opinion obsolete and opinions unformed—of immense influences and powers collecting their strength for purposes not yet defined, what resemblance is there to 1830? Then it was the party of people triumphant over a decaying though still dominant faction: now, the popular convictions have reached even the heirs of that faction—save an uncon-

verted remnant just sent to the limbo of Opposition; and there is a prospect that the nation may be summoned to unite against common dangers.

The addresses which the Ministers in the House of Commons have severally put forth to their constituents show the general accord prevailing amongst them; and it does not appear that any opposition is prepared to obstruct their return. Often as Lord John Russell's seat has been threatened in London, all is now approval. Even in Oxford, where a stronger agitation than ever had been got up against Mr. Gladstone, Conservative councils have prevailed against the rash proposal to re-open a question so recently settled—and against the bringing clergymen up to vote from the Christmas duties.

Save the elections, political affairs are dead. The Friends of Italy have held their second soirée, and are pushing a knowledge of Italian questions among the people; while Italy herself is suffering the continued progress of the reaction. The Sardinian Government has given way before the priest party, and has withdrawn the Civil Marriage Bill; the conduct of the Pope and his adherents being marked by the obstinate refusal to make the smallest concession.

The Emperor of Austria is back to his capital, and Russia has transmitted to Berlin the form in which she will recognise Louis Napoleon as Emperor of the French. He meanwhile has obtained the most urgent recognition—that of his Senate, which has passed the *Senatus-Consultum*, sanctioning all the absolute powers which he asks. And he is trying those newly invented cannon with which, possibly, he may vindicate the legitimacy of his descent, and extort a tardy recognition from disdainful "right divine."

But the New Year dawns stormy and foreboding on that fatal palace of the Tuileries. Conspiracy is in the air, in the street, in the saloon: friends are few, foes many, fears incessant: and in the heart of that city of enthusiasm, the Emperor "by the will of the Nation," finds no safety but in serried bayonets, bristling barracks, and death-concentrating forts: no safety but in arms at home, and no escape (it may be) but in war abroad. Eighteen hundred and fifty-two was to have been the general overthrow, had not the Saviour of Society bound France hand and foot. What shall '53 be, with that Saviour of Society growing restless in his purple, as the star of his unfulfilled destiny wanes?

The French really have made that move in the Mexican province of Sonora which was asserted some time back, and half contradicted. A General Raousset Boulbon, at the head of eight hundred Frenchmen, has taken the province of Sonora, and "annexed it to France." As Sonora lies contiguous to the southern boundary of Anglo-American California, the men of the United States are likely to claim a voice on any question of annexation; and we do not know how the Jeffersonian doctrine of non-intervention is likely to stand this trying provocation. Indeed, Jefferson himself would have resisted the aggression; but how?

And another advance has been made by the French, who have taken possession of Samana, in Dominica, a post commanding the passage of Mola, one of the keys of the West Indies. Truly the doctrine of non-intervention is tested rather severely just now!

California has been visited by three assaults of her worst enemy—fire; Maryville has been ravaged; San Francisco has suffered severely, though saved by its fire-proof buildings; but Sacramento has been destroyed—again to rise in a few days, and recommence business.

The chapter of calamities at home is gloomier than usual. A tempest of wind swept over the whole of the British Isles on Saturday and Sunday. Every inland town has its story of uprooted trees and scattered roofs and chimneys to mark the force of the gale. Every seaport has been the scene of wrecks, in some cases with the loss of life. On the North-Western Railway last week, there were four accidents in forty-eight hours; two happening to one train between Derby and London!

Mr. Bower, who stabbed Mr. Saville Morton, in September, has been acquitted by the Paris Court of Assize; bearing out the anticipation that a French jury would not convict a husband for the impulsive homicide of his wife's seducer, though himself confessedly taking licence in his own conduct!

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

THE MINISTERIAL PROGRAMME.

Fairly installed in office, in one week, the House of Lords met on Monday to hear from the new Premier a statement of his intentions. There was rather a scanty attendance of peers; but large numbers of Commonsers occupied all the places available; and many ladies were in the side galleries.

The Earl of Aberdeen, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of Newcastle, Earl Granville, the Earl of St. Germans, and Lord Cranworth, occupied the front Ministerial bench. The Earl of Derby, the Earl of Lonsdale, the Earl of Malmesbury, Lord Colchester, and other members of the late Government, sat on the lower Opposition bench.

Lord Aberdeen spoke shortly after 5 o'clock as follows:

"My lords, before moving the adjournment of the House, it is my duty, as it is my desire, to give to your lordships the requisite information respecting the recent construction of her Majesty's Ministry, and to indicate, although very briefly, the principles which will occupy our attention, and the general policy which we propose to pursue. My lords, I believe it has been usual for many who have been placed in the situation in which I now have the honour to stand, to profess the diffidence and reluctance with which they have undertaken the task imposed upon them. I doubt not they have done so in perfect truth and sincerity; but, if this has been the case with others, your lordships may easily imagine how much more largely I must share in those feelings. Your lordships must be aware that I have taken but little part in the proceedings of this House, except on such occasions as when they have been necessarily connected with the department in which I have had the honour to hold office; and your lordships may readily believe that my tastes, habits, and pursuits have laid in another way. Arrived at the very verge of that period which has been assigned to human life, it might seem that other duties, other tasks, and other occupations might, more naturally, have been my choice. Nevertheless, I have felt it to be my duty to obey the commands of her Majesty. My lords, before I describe proceedings which have recently taken place, I wish to advert to a circumstance which I understood occurred a few days ago in this House, when the noble earl opposite, at a time not altogether usual, accused me and those who acted with me of having entered into a species of combination or conspiracy to overthrow his Government. My lords, I believe that accusation was answered at the time by my noble friend, the noble duke near me; nevertheless, I wish to add that my share in such a conspiracy was not for the purpose of ejecting the noble earl from office, but for the purpose of

keeping him in office. When it appeared from the equivocal and ambiguous paragraph in her Majesty's speech that it was indispensably necessary that some resolution should be moved—some declaration should be made of the advantages of Free-trade—my only anxiety was that the terms of that resolution should be such as that noble lord and their colleagues might accept it without doing violence to their own feelings, and that it might be consistent with the policy they meant to pursue. Those terms were framed and adopted, and singularly enough they had the effect intended by those who prepared them, namely, that of enabling noble lords to retain the offices they held, and, in fact, enabling them to do so by the assistance and votes of the very conspirators themselves. My lords, if any further evidence were required of the nature of this conspiracy, I have to state that, precisely at that time, I had myself taken measures to engage a residence at Nice, with a firm determination of passing the few winter months on the shores of the Mediterranean. So much for the conspiracy. My lords, on Saturday week I received—after the vote of the previous Thursday night in the House of Commons, and the resignation of the noble lord and his colleagues—I received on Saturday week a message from the Queen desiring my attendance at the Isle of Wight, and informing me, at the same time, that her Majesty had been pleased to summon my noble friend the noble marquis near me (the Marquis of Lansdowne), to attend at the same time. On communicating with my noble friend, I found that, from indisposition, he was unable at that time to leave his house. I therefore thought it incumbent on me to wait her Majesty's further direction. I received this on the following day; and, my lords, I confess it appeared to me that the time had arrived when it was possible for men whose political differences the course of events, and recent legislation, had almost, if not altogether effaced, and whose personal respect and friendship had never been interrupted—(hear, hear)—I say I thought the time had come when it was possible for such persons to act together in the public service. (Hear, hear.) I thought that the public—that the country—was tired of distinctions without meaning, and which had no real effect on the conduct and principles of public men. (Hear, hear.) My lords, it appeared to me that if my noble friend the member for the City of London should entertain the same views and feelings, I might attempt to undertake the task which I now have undertaken, but without his aid I should in vain have attempted it. I had neither the youth, the strength, nor the ability sufficient for the task, without his assistance; but having had an interview with my noble friend the day before I went to the Isle of Wight, I ascertained that his sentiments were entirely in accordance with my own; and I therefore had no difficulty in assuring her Majesty that I would endeavour to fulfil the task which she had been pleased to impose upon me. My lords, on my return from the Isle of Wight, I lost no time in endeavouring to fulfil the injunctions of her Majesty; and I do not say that this task was attended with no difficulty, but this I will say, that I found in every quarter the greatest desire to lay aside all personal views and objects, and cordially to unite, as far as possible, in the promotion of that anxious desire which we believed to be shared in by the country. (Hear, hear.) My lords, in the course of the week I succeeded in preparing a list for her Majesty's approval—a list which was fortunate enough to receive the approbation of her Majesty, and which now stands for the judgment of the country. (Hear.) The noble lord opposite stated that he thought I might have done this in twenty-four hours, but I can assure him that I found it could not be so quickly and easily accomplished. (Hear, hear.) Proceeding, very briefly, to touch on the different political points connected with the object and policy of her Majesty's Ministers, I need not detain your lordships at any length upon the nature of our relations with foreign powers. The truth is, that for the last thirty years the principles of the foreign policy of this country have never varied. There may have been differences in its execution, according to the different hands entrusted with the direction of that policy; but the foundation of the foreign policy of this country for the last thirty years has been the same—it has been the respect due to all independent states—a desire to abstain as much as possible from the internal affairs of other countries—an assertion of our own honour and interests—and, above all, an earnest desire to secure the general peace of Europe by all such means as we have in our power. (Hear.) I do not say that differences may not have existed, or that sympathy may not have been excited on behalf of certain states in their endeavour to promote constitutional reforms, and constitutional government; but the principle of our policy has always been to respect the entire independence of other states, great or small, and not to interfere with their internal affairs. This I trust will be still the case, and that we shall retain the friendship and deserve the good will of all countries of every description, whatever may be the nature of their government or constitution. (Hear.) And if ever it should be the fate of this country to be called upon to interfere in any matters of foreign states, my earnest desire and great hope is that we shall never be called upon to act except to exercise the blessed office of peace makers. (Hear.) But, my lords, earnestly as I desire to see a continuance of peace, and anxious as I am to promote peace, at the same time, I am by no means disposed to relax in those defensive preparations which have been recently undertaken, and which perhaps, had been too long delayed—not that these preparations indicate any expectation of the necessity of arming in hostile array; on the contrary, they are conducted in the interest of peace itself; and as these preparations are essentially defensive, they ought not and cannot give umbrage to any foreign power whatever. My lords, the great object of her Majesty's present Government, the great characteristic of this Government in the mission with which they are peculiarly entrusted, is the maintenance and the prudent extension of Free-trade, and the commercial and financial system established by the late Sir Robert Peel. I do not enter into any discussion of the respective merits of direct or indirect taxation. The union of both I believe to be

indispensable, however they may be varied in their application, for the prosperity of the country. With a revenue such as ours both modes of taxation are indispensable, and it is to the just distribution and application of these principles that we are to look for the prosperity of the country. A financial crisis will probably—I may almost say, necessarily—arise by the early cessation of a large branch of our revenue. It is the first object for which we should provide. It must be met, and doubtless it will tax the ingenuity and ability of all those concerned in this undertaking to accomplish that great work according to the principles of justice and equity. My lords, there is another matter to which I may refer, in which the country is deeply interested, and on which a general expectation exists—the extension of national education. This has become a want—a want which the country strongly desires to see supplied, and which has engrossed the attention of all who have undertaken the direction of public affairs. I am old enough to remember the introduction into this country of the Bell and Lancaster system of education, and I well remember the apprehensions it excited, the opposition it met with; but, by degrees, the only difference now amongst us is, not whether or no education should be general and universal, but the mode in which it can best be carried into effect. I admit that the subject is full of difficulties, and attended with many great obstacles. It is undoubtedly my great desire, recognising, as I do, the vital importance of the religious element in all education, to see the due influence of the church exercised in a manner consistently with that perfect right of freedom of opinion which all men are entitled to expect in such matters in this country, and which it has long been our pride to acknowledge. My lords, another want which I may say the people have now been demanding for some time, has been the progress of those law reforms which, introduced by Her Majesty's late government, have been taken up by the noble and learned lord upon the woolsack, and prosecuted with so much vigour and ability and judgment in his hands. These reforms must still be continued, and no doubt they will meet with the concurrence of your lordships, and will finally tend to the satisfaction of the public. My lords, by the extension of education, and by the progress of law reform, I trust that the social condition of the country will be materially improved; and that, by the progress which it will be our endeavour to make in all matters for the welfare and happiness of the country—by cautious and steady progress in this direction—that both intellectually and materially the condition of the people may be advanced. My lords, these reforms will not exclude an amendment of our representative system—an amendment not rashly, nor hastily taken; but safe, well considered, and efficient. My lords, it can scarcely be denied that some amendment of this system is required, and unquestionably the events of the last election have not been such as to render any one more enamoured of the system which actually exists. (Hear, hear.) My lords, the noble earl on the occasion to which I have alluded referred to the existence of a Conservative government, and expressed some surprise and curiosity as to how I should be enabled to carry on the service of her Majesty, surrounded by those persons with whom I was likely to be associated. Now, my lords, I readily declare to the noble earl that in my opinion no government in this country is now possible except a Conservative government; and I add another declaration, which I take as indubitably true, that no government is possible in this country except a Liberal government. The truth is these terms have no definite meaning. (Hear, hear.) I never should have thought of approaching my noble friend the member for the City of London (Lord John Russell) unless I had felt he was a Conservative, and I am sure he would never have associated himself with me unless he thought I had been a Liberal. My lords, these terms it may be convenient to keep up for the purposes of party faction—(Hear, hear)—but the country is sick of these distinctions which have no real meaning, and which prevent men from acting together who are able to perform good service to the crown and the people. Therefore, my lords, I trust that in every just sense and in the reputation of the world, whatever the measures proposed by her Majesty's present government may be, they will be Conservative measures as well as Liberal measures, for, my lords, I consider both to be indispensably necessary to the country. The noble lord (the Earl of Derby) also referred to the dangers and the necessity of resisting the encroachments of democracy. Now, my lords, I am quite ready to unite in resisting the encroachments of democracy or any other encroachments, but I am at a loss to see where these encroachments exist, and I look in vain for any such indication at the present moment. I should say, on the contrary, that I never recollect this country more tranquil, more contented, less abounding in subjects of danger and alarm, than at the present time; and this prosperity, this contentment, and this happiness I believe to be mainly owing to the system of Sir Robert Peel, which it is our business to uphold. No doubt speculative men, and thoughtful men, have at all times in this country, in their closets, come to the conclusion that the democratic form of government may be preferable to the monarchical; but these are not the men to overthrow states, and are therefore not to be feared in a state of society like ours. There must also always be men reckless and violent, unprincipled and ready for any excess and outrage, it is true; but, at the same time, I repeat that there is less reason to entertain such apprehensions at the present moment than I ever recollect in the course of my life. (Hear, hear.) I have great confidence in the people of this country—(hear, hear)—and I do believe that the imputation, and even the existence of alarm, at this moment is almost a libel on the people of England. (Hear, hear.) My lords, I regret to have been informed that the noble earl (the Earl of Derby) expressed himself in tones which indicated hostility to her Majesty's present government. I regret it deeply, because I well know the vast powers of the noble earl. I am well aware of all that he is able to do; but I believe and trust that, if it can only be made truly manifest that we are sincerely animated by a real desire to promote the welfare of the great body

of the people, that we shall have the support of the country, so I am sure we shall have the approbation of our own consciences. My lords, I now beg to move that this House at its rising do adjourn until Thursday, the 10th February next.

Lord DERBY said there was so little to complain of, and so much with which he concurred in the programme of the Government, that he should not have spoken had he not been specially referred to. Lord DERBY then stated over again the whole history of the framing of the Free-trade resolutions as detailed in the famous speech delivered by Sir James Graham a month ago; in order to show that the Opposition had concerted the fall of Lord Derby's Government. He denied that he had accused his opponents of conspiracy; all he had said was that they had combined to oppose the Government from the beginning of the session. The most important part of Lord Derby's speech had reference to the future: we give it in his own words:

"The noble earl has intimated to us that he intends and he desires to promote and to develop the national education; giving due weight to the authority and influence of the religious views of the country, but at the same time basing the system of national education upon equality and toleration. The idea is most praiseworthy; it is one in which I entirely concur. The difficulties in the way of carrying out the wish are great, as the noble earl is evidently well aware; and I only hope and trust that the noble earl may be enabled to surmount those difficulties, and to place before the country a plan of national education in which all parties may concur; and I express this hope because I agree with the noble earl, that in the extension of education—by which I mean education governed by religion, as I am sure the noble earl means too—lies the best security for the social and political safety and prosperity of the empire. (Hear, hear.) The noble earl also announces his desire to proceed on a system of administrative reform; and upon that again there can be no difference of opinion, and the noble earl will not anticipate in that respect any opposition from me or from my friends—at all events, with regard to the principles—the details, of course, depending on the skill with which the measures may be constructed. The noble earl also tells us that he intends to deal with the laws affecting the representation of the people. On that subject the noble earl spoke in a tone somewhat oracular, for he said the noble lord, the member for the City of London, must be a Conservative, or he would not have joined that noble lord in a government, and that, on the other hand, he must be a Liberal, or the noble lord would not have joined him. Perhaps he might have mentioned other members of the government on whom he might have depended for even a larger degree of liberality than characterised the noble lord; but the antithesis was, perhaps, complete: and the noble earl has contented himself with stating that his measure of parliamentary reform will be conservatively liberal, and liberally conservative, which is all the intimation we are to have with regard to the future policy of the government. I confess that that does not convey to my mind any very distinct idea, and I hardly think that it can be satisfactory to the country. The advantages to the noble earl are obvious from this vagueness, for whatever his measure, he can say that he had described it. If it is extreme, and people complain that it goes too far, the noble earl will say, 'Well, did not I tell you I meant to be liberal?' and if other parties say, 'Oh, this is nothing at all—it is a distinction without a difference,' the noble earl can turn round on them and say, 'Gentlemen, I told you at the outset I would be extremely conservative.' (Laughter.) The noble earl and his colleagues, in fact, so far as they are pledged by his description as given this evening, can do what they like. They may go the length of the right honourable bart. in the Cabinet, who is favourable to the consideration of the ballot, or they may make some paltry alteration in the constituencies, for which they would receive no thanks, and because it would be a useless, would be a mischievous change. My lords, I say the existing system is not perfect: it is capable of amendment and improvement. But everything depends upon whether the improvement be one in principle, on the *animus* with which the measure is introduced, and on the skill with which the plan is adapted to its object. Unless there be a clear benefit, without corresponding danger, then I say the noble earl and his colleagues do not act wisely in entering on a field calculated to raise so much difficulty and apprehension, unless they clearly see a palpable and manifest advantage. The noble earl has alluded to language of mine at various times, and which I repeat now, conveying my apprehension of the extension of the democratic principle in our constitution. The noble earl says that he never knew the country more contented, or less disposed to listen to agitation; and he says that he sees nothing like the prevalence of 'democracy;' and that although there are some individuals who entertain visionary political schemes, he does not believe that the great body of the people sympathize in those schemes. I entirely concur with the noble earl; I think the great body of the people do not concur in those schemes; and I believe that if they foresaw the possible consequences of such schemes on the Government they would shrink from them and from their authors with horror. But when he asks me if the great mass of the people—those, I mean, who, in point of position and station, are very far below the classes now entitled to the franchise—are, from their intelligence and far-seeing, capable of well-judging the effects of alterations in our constitutional system, or of extensive and complicated political measures, then, I say, confiding as I do fully in the good faith, and in the loyalty of my countrymen, there is danger in entrusting with political power those who have too little—mark, not of intelligence, but of acquired information, and too small a stake in the country, for them fairly and impartially to consider questions of political change. When I speak, therefore, of the spread of the democratic element

in our constitution—and that is the phrase I have always used—I do not say impeach the loyalty of my countrymen, but I contend, great as the influence of the House of Commons is at present, and great as it must be in the constitution of the country, generally, that there is a serious danger of altering the character of the House of Commons by throwing too large a proportion of the representation of that body into the hands of the lower and less informed classes of society. I cannot, however, anticipate opposition to the measure the noble earl may bring forward; from his language it is at present impossible to surmise what the character of that measure may be. The noble earl says that the proceedings of the recent general election convinced him that the present system is unsatisfactory. If he can find a remedy for the correction of those evils to which he refers—and let him observe that the remedy is not to be found in the mere extension of the franchise, for it is in the large constituencies chiefly that these evils have been perceived—then I say there is no one from whom he shall receive a more cordial support, in strengthening that remedy, however stringent it may be, than from the man whom the noble earl very erroneously supposes to be hostile to his administration. I can only say, in conclusion, that I have no feeling, personal or public, hostile to the noble earl. I cannot say when I look at the composition of his Government, that I entertain any confidence in it, for I have no conception of the principle upon which the combination has been brought about. But if the noble earl is prepared, and has power in his own cabinet, to act on those which I have hitherto believed to be his own principles, he may rely on it, not only that he will receive no evidence of hostility from me, but that it will be satisfactory to me to find that—under whatever persons—the Government of this country can be safely, steadily, and constitutionally carried on, in the true conservative sense of the word, not avoiding or shrinking from useful and necessary amendments, but strongly and determinedly resisting organic changes, and firmly opposing any interference with the just balance which at present exists in the constitution."

The House then adjourned until the 10th of February 1853.

NEW WRITS.

The House of Commons met on Monday, when Mr. HAYTER moved that the Clerk of the Crown do issue new writs for the election of members to serve in Parliament for the following places,—viz., For the city of London, in the room of the Right Hon. Lord J. RUSSELL; for the borough of Tiverton (*cheers*), the Right Hon. Viscount PALMERSTON; for the University of Oxford, the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE; for the southern division of the county of Wilts, the Right Hon. SIDNEY HERBERT; for the city of Carlisle, the Right Hon. Sir JAMES GRAHAM; for the borough of Halifax, the Right Hon. Sir C. WOOD; for the borough of Southwark, Sir W. MOLESWORTH, Baronet; for the borough of Leeds, the Right Hon. M. T. BAINES; for the borough of Nottingham, the Right Hon. E. STRUTT; for the county of Cavan, Sir J. YOUNG, Baronet; for the borough of Marlborough, Lord E. BRUCE; for the borough of Scarborough, Earl MULGRAVE; for the borough of Hertford, the Hon. W. F. COWPER; and, for the borough of Morpeth, the Hon. EDWARD HOWARD.

A short sitting of the House was held on Tuesday; and again on Wednesday, when new writs were moved for the following places, on the motion of Mr. HAYTER:—For the borough of Wolverhampton, in the room of the Hon. C. P. VILLIERS; for the borough of Aylesbury, Mr. R. BETHELL; for the city of Oxford, Sir W. P. WOOD; for the Leith district of burghs, Mr. J. MONCRIEFF; for the county of Dumfries, Viscount DRUMLANRIG; for the city of Gloucester, Rear-Admiral BERKELEY; for the county of Limerick, Mr. MONSELL; for the borough of Brighton, Lord A. HERVEY.

On the motion that a new writ be issued for the borough of Southampton, in the room of Sir A. COCKBURN, Mr. FORRESTER asked the Speaker whether a new writ could be issued pending the petition against the former return of Sir A. Cockburn, on the ground of bribery.

The SPEAKER replied, that in the case of an election petition complaining of an undue return, or of the return of a member in consequence of bribery, but not claiming the seat for another person, it was competent for the House to issue a new writ; but in the case of a petition complaining of the undue return of a member, and claiming the seat for another person, it was not competent for the House to issue a new writ pending the petition, inasmuch as the House in that case could not know which of the two had been duly elected.

After some observations to the same effect from Mr. F. FRENCH, Mr. HAYTER intimated that Sir Alexander Cockburn would not have vacated his seat had he not felt certain that the charge could be renewed. The motion was then agreed to.

A new writ, to which a similar objection was taken, was also ordered for the borough of Carlisle, in the room of Mr. Sadleir.

The House adjourned until Friday.

THE ABERDEEN MINISTRY.

The Administration of Lord Aberdeen, so far as it is complete, is composed of the following gentlemen. There are twelve Cabinet Ministers, as follows:—

The Earl of Aberdeen	First Lord of the Treasury.
Lord Cranworth	Lord Chancellor.
Mr. Gladstone	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Palmerston	Home Secretary.
Lord John Russell	Foreign Secretary.
The Duke of Newcastle	Colonial Secretary.
Sir James Graham	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl Granville	President of the Council.
The Duke of Argyll	Lord Privy Seal.
Mr. Sidney Herbert	Secretary at War.
Sir C. Wood	President of the Board of Control.
Sir W. Molesworth	First Commissioner of Public Works.

The remaining members of the Ministry are—

Mr. Cardwell	President of the Board of Trade.
Mr. M. T. Baines	President of the Poor-Law Board.
Mr. E. Strutt	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord St. Germans	Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.
Sir J. Young	Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.
The Right Hon. M. Brady	Lord Chancellor of Ireland.
Mr. Brewster	Attorney-General for Ireland.
Mr. W. Keogh	Solicitor-General for Ireland.
Sir A. Cockburn	Attorney-General.
Mr. Bethell	Solicitor-General.
Mr. C. P. Villiers	Judge Advocate General.
Mr. J. Moncrieff	Lord Advocate of Scotland.
Mr. Sadleir	Lords of the Treasury.
Lord A. Hervey	Lords of the Treasury.
Mr. G. Hayter	Secretary of the Treasury.
Hon. W. F. Cowper	Lords of the Admiralty.
Admiral Berkeley	Lords of the Admiralty.
Admiral Parker	Lords of the Admiralty.
Captain Milne	Lords of the Admiralty.
Mr. Osborne	Secretary of the Admiralty.
Mr. F. Peel	Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.
Lord Wodehouse	Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Mr. Monsell	Clerk of the Ordnance.
Mr. R. Lowe, and	Joint-Secretaries to the Board
Mr. A. H. Layard	of Control
Lord E. Bruce	Vice-Chamberlain of the Household.
The Earl of Mulgrave	Treasurer of the Household.
Viscount Drumlanrig	Controller of the Household.

Many posts yet remain vacant.

THE COMING ELECTIONS.

CONSEQUENT upon the Ministerial appointments, there will be elections for various boroughs, as will be seen from our report of Parliament. Of the addresses issued by the candidates coming forward for re-election, the following are the most important, as indicating the complete harmony at present existing in this composite Cabinet:—

"TO THE ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

"Gentlemen,—Having contributed by my vote to the overthrow of the administration of Lord Derby, I have considered it my duty to assist, when called upon by my Sovereign, in the formation of a new Ministry. I have felt it incumbent upon me, in order to give to the country the full advantages of a liberal policy, to sink those personal pretensions which my position might have entitled me to form. I have consequently accepted office under the Earl of Aberdeen, upon whose upright character and enlightened views I place the greatest reliance. My seat is therefore vacant.

"I have little of novelty to add to the declarations I addressed to you on the 22nd of May, previously to the late general election. I then said that I could have no hesitation in accepting the challenge to decide finally, completely, and conclusively the contest between Protection and Free-trade. That contest has been decided, finally and conclusively, in favour of Free-trade. I then said, and I now repeat, that the commercial policy of the last ten years was not an evil to be mitigated, but a good to be extended—not an unwise and disastrous policy, which ought to be reversed, altered, or modified, but a just and beneficial system, which should be supported, strengthened, and upheld. I adverted at the same time to the legal difficulties and expenses which clogged the transfer of land, the complicated machinery of the Customs' department, and the remaining burdens and restrictions on the shipping interest.

"Now, as then, I am prepared to attempt the removal of these impediments to the increase of our prosperity.

"Now, as then, I am prepared to attempt the relief of that portion of our fellow-subjects who are still excluded by their religious belief from political privileges. I entertain a sanguine hope of success in that endeavour.

"I then stated that the progress of the working-classes in knowledge and in intelligence ought to be accompanied by an increased share of political power, while I was aware how difficult a task it is to adjust, in any plan of representation, the respect due to ancient prescription with the claims of advancing trade, increased population, and growing intelligence.

"To this task the Ministry of the Earl of Aberdeen will anxiously apply themselves. A matter of so much importance requires from the Government the most deliberate consideration before any measures are submitted to Parliament.

"By joining the Administration of Lord Aberdeen I

believe that I shall best promote the cause to which my political life has been devoted—that of rational and enlightened progress. It is to progress that all our efforts will be directed.

"I look to the extension of education, of civil and religious liberty, of commercial freedom, and of political rights, as the true means of preserving those institutions under which we have enjoyed so much happiness.

"I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your grateful and obedient servant,
"J. RUSSELL.
"Chesham-place, Dec. 27, 1852."

TO THE ELECTORS OF TIVERTON.

"GENTLEMEN,—Her Majesty having been graciously pleased to signify her intention of entrusting me with the seals of the Home Department, my seat in the House of Commons has become vacant, and I beg again to present myself as a candidate for a renewal of that confidence with which you have so long honoured me. In the present posture of affairs, it is manifestly desirable that an administration should be formed, combining within itself as many elements as possible of strength, and I trust that the new Government will answer the just expectations of the country. My political principles are so well known to you, that it cannot be necessary for me on the present occasion to make any declaration on that subject, but such as you have found me in the past, such also you will find me in the future.—I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most obedient and devoted servant,

"PALMERSTON."

"TO THE ELECTORS OF SOUTH WILTS.

"Gentlemen,—The few weeks which have elapsed since the last general election have been marked by important political events.

"Soon after the meeting of Parliament the complete abandonment of Protection and the intention to act upon Free-trade principles were announced by Lord Derby's Government, and I rejoiced at the prospect of the termination of this great controversy by the solemn adoption of a resolution pledging the House of Commons to the maintenance of our recent legislation.

"Of three different forms of resolution proposed for this object one appeared to me, though otherwise unexceptionable, to contain words unnecessary for their purpose, and which might be considered humiliating to many whose acquiescence it was most desirable to obtain, and for whose character I felt the highest respect. I, therefore, supported another resolution, which, though framed with studious moderation, contained the fullest assertion of principle, and which was ultimately accepted by her Majesty's Government.

"At a subsequent period the late Chancellor of the Exchequer announced the financial measures of the Government.

"By those measures it was proposed to surrender an amount of taxation far larger than the surplus of our revenue above expenditure, to compensate which a sudden increase both of the area and the amount of direct taxation was to be enforced, falling for the first time, and with a double severity, upon the farmer, the tradesman, and other persons of small means engaged in industrious pursuits.

"Nor were the advantages to be gained by the reductions at all equal to the sacrifices which it was necessary to make for their attainment.

"The proposed changes were therefore in themselves undesirable. There was, moreover, grave reason for doubting whether the revenue would recover from these changes to the extent reckoned upon by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and unless his calculations were realized the country would have been left without a surplus revenue to meet any sudden and unexpected expenditure.

"To meet this difficulty it was proposed to treat as income money due to the extinction of debt—a proceeding which appeared, in time of peace, to be most objectionable.

"The existence of an assured surplus drawn from legitimate sources is never unimportant for the public service, nor is this moment an exception to that rule. The maintenance of a full exchequer, and a strict adherence to the principles by which public credit is secured, give the best hope of ultimately effecting such reductions of the capital and interest of the debt as would greatly lighten the public burdens.

"With these views I felt it my duty, at all hazards, to oppose a budget, important parts of which were subversive of those principles on which all prudent financiers have hitherto acted, and an adherence to which I believe to be necessary to the stability of the State.

"The result of the rejection of those measures has been the abandonment of office by the late Government. Upon the propriety of the course which they have so adopted I offer no opinion, but I protest against the assertion that the Government were displaced by a combination of parties effected for that purpose.

"In the present emergency, however, it is necessary that every effort should be made to re-establish our financial system, which cannot but have been shaken by the announcement of the intentions of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer. At such a moment I have felt that it is not my duty to stand aloof from the Queen's service, and I have therefore joined the Administration of the Earl of Aberdeen, a nobleman whose wisdom and rectitude I have learnt to honour during the many years I have acted with him, and with whom are associated some of the most eminent of living statesmen, with whom I can cordially co-operate in furtherance of the public good.

"In the month of February, 1851, Her Majesty was pleased to recommend to her Parliament to take into its consideration the state of the laws concerning the representation of the people, and it will be the duty of the present Government carefully and deliberately to consider what improvements it may be practicable to introduce into our representative system, with a view to the increased stability of our institutions and a continued har-

mony between them and the advancing morality and intelligence of the people.

"I still believe, as I always have done, that in the maintenance of public credit, in the promotion of the comfort of all classes of the community, in the dissemination of sound education, and in the advancement of well-considered reforms in all departments of the State, lies the best security for the permanent conservation of our institutions.

"In the conviction that the new Administration will honestly and deliberately direct its efforts in furtherance of these great objects, I have accepted office under the Crown.

"By the rule of the Constitution this acceptance vacates the seat which I had the honour, as your representative, to hold in Parliament, and I offer myself again for your suffrages, trusting that by your verdict I shall be enabled at a moment of public difficulty to render my humble but faithful service to the Crown.

"I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your obedient and faithful servant,
"SIDNEY HERBERT.
"Belgrave-square, Dec. 27."

TO THE ELECTORS OF CARLISLE.

"Gentlemen,—At the late election, when you did me the honour of returning me to Parliament, I stated that the promises which were made by Lord Derby's Government, with respect to taxation, appeared to me illusory. I could not believe that any scheme on a new principle could be devised which would give relief to a particular class, and at the same time deserve the approbation and support of the community.

"An attempt has been made to fulfil these promises. The budget has been produced. Protection has been abandoned; and the claim of land to compensation for local burdens has been repudiated; but the repeal of half the malt-tax in favour of land was considered a poor equivalent for a double house-tax, and for an extension of the income-tax; and the entire scheme of new taxation has been rejected by a decisive majority of the House of Commons.

"In consequence of this defeat, Lord Derby and his colleagues have resigned their offices, and the Queen has commanded Lord Aberdeen to form a new administration.

"Lord Aberdeen was the trusty friend and faithful colleague of Sir Robert Peel. Whether in or out of office, he uniformly acted in strict concert with that great Minister. He stood by him in all his difficulties; and Lord Aberdeen has constantly supported the principles of Free-trade.

"If the formation of the new Administration had failed, power must have returned to the hands of Lord Derby; although, in a Parliament recently elected under his own influence, the House of Commons has refused its sanction to a plan of finance, which was brought forward, after much deliberation, with the whole weight and authority of the Government.

"In these circumstances, when Lord Aberdeen informed me that he desired my assistance in the service of the Crown, I could not withhold an endeavour to give all the support in my power. Not only my former colleagues in Sir Robert Peel's last Cabinet are associated with me, but Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston are reunited in the Administration; and I am about to act with those who repealed the Test and Corporation Acts, who emancipated the Catholics, who abolished slavery throughout the British dominions, who passed the Reform Act, who repealed the Corn-laws, and who at length have finally succeeded in establishing Free-trade as the rule of our future commercial policy.

"In a Cabinet, so led and so constructed, the past is the surest earnest of the future. What has been done we shall steadily maintain. What remains to be done we shall endeavour to accomplish by cautious but progressive reforms, based on a desire to improve the condition, to extend the education, and to enlarge the liberty, both civil and religious, of the great body of the people.

"For myself, I have spoken to you so fully and so lately, that you know well my wishes and opinions. I see no reason to modify or to change them. The time and the manner of carrying them into effect must be left to my discretion, in concert with my colleagues, if I still enjoy your confidence.

"I appeal to you without apprehension: and I entertain the hope that I shall receive the stamp of your approval, and the renewal of a trust which I highly value.

"I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your faithful and obliged servant,
"J. R. G. GRAHAM."

"TO THE ELECTORS OF SOUTHWARK.

"Gentlemen,—Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint me to the office of First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings; therefore, according to the laws and constitution of our country, my seat in Parliament has become vacant, and you will have again to exercise your right of choosing a representative. I ask you to exercise that right in my favour, and to express your approbation of my appointment by re-electing me.

"I have accepted office with pleasure, because I think that to an Englishman who has made politics the chief study of his life, it is a worthy and becoming object of ambition to obtain, by honourable means, the power of serving his sovereign and his country. My object in taking office is to aid in giving practical effect to those principles of political science which I believe to be wise, just, and beneficent, to which I have adhered during a Parliamentary career of nearly twenty years, and which have thrice already gained for me the distinguished honour of being one of the members of the Borough. I mean the principles of Free-trade, religious liberty and equality, rational progress and reform, and colonial self-government.

"In accepting office I have become the colleague of men of enlightened understandings, liberal opinions, acknowledged ability, great Parliamentary experience, and distinguished administrative talent. Between my colleagues and myself there exists a general agreement of opinion as

to the manner in which the affairs of this country ought to be conducted in these critical times. That general agreement of opinion will, I believe, enable us to act cordially in honest practical concert for the benefit of our country.

"I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your obedient servant,
"WILLIAM MOLESWORTH.
"87, Eaton-place, Dec. 27."

Mr. Cardwell stands for Oxford in the room of Sir W. Page Wood. He met the electors on Wednesday, and was very well received. But as he declined to pledge himself to vote for the Ballot, a resolution was adopted to the effect that no candidate should be supported who would not vote for the Ballot.

Nothing important has occurred at present at any other constituency except Leeds, where Mr. Baines is again accepted as the candidate of the Liberals, and where the Tories have decided to offer him no opposition.

Our readers will have remarked the retirement of Captain Howard from the representation of Morpeth. Almost simultaneously, Sir George Grey has issued an address to the electors, so that the transfer is as obvious as that of Oxford.

It is believed that Admiral Berkeley will be opposed at Gloucester, and that an attempt will be made to eject Mr. Gladstone from his seat. The former is far more probable than the latter.

Some opposition is threatened in other boroughs. Mr. A. B. Cochrane has issued an address to the electors of Southampton, and Mr. Henry Edwards to the electors of Halifax. There is also some talk of bringing Mr. Trelawny out again for Brighton. A meeting of extreme Liberals was held in the City on Thursday, when it was intimated that Lord John Russell had promised "a large measure of Reform," thorough revision of the Customs, and further, that the Government would push a resolution to admit the Jews through the House of Commons, with the concurrence of the Lords.

Most of the elections will take place next week, except Southwark, Hertford, and Scarborough, which comes off on Saturday.

ARCHDEACON DENISON AND MR. GLADSTONE.

The following letter was published in the morning journals of Wednesday:—

"East Brent, Weston S. Mare, Christmas Day, 1852.
"MY DEAR GLADSTONE,—The day on which I make this communication to you adds more than I can express in words to my deep pain, and to my sense of responsibility in making it. After a week of anxious suspense, the fact of the existence of a coalition government, i. e., of a government in which you are joined with Lord John Russell—with Lord Lansdowne in the cabinet—may be said to be ascertained. I wish to use few words where every one I write is so bitterly distressing to me, and must, I cannot doubt, be little less so to yourself, and to many others whom I respect and love. I have, then, to state to you, as one of your constituents, that from this time I can place no confidence in you as a representative of the University of Oxford, or as a public man. I have read and re-read your published letter to R. Phillimore. I am obliged to say that it appears to me to be a matter of no importance at all, and quite beside the question, whether the 'concert,' or 'combination,' or coalition was effected previous to, or at the time of, or subsequent to the late division. I reserve to myself the right of forwarding this letter for publication by Tuesday's post, and also any reply which you may make to it. I will only say, by way of anticipation, that any amount of guarantee which may have been taken by you, in accepting office in the new government, for non-aggression upon the church of England, or for the concession of her just claims, is, in my judgment, absolutely valueless when weighed against the fact of the coalition.

"Faithfully and affectionately yours,
"GEORGE A. DENISON, Archdeacon of Taunton.
"Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P."

Probably Mr. Denison's position may be made more distinct by the following letter to the *Morning Herald*:—

"SIR,—Under the extraordinary circumstances in which we are all placed by the coalition of Peites, Whigs, and Radicals—and, I conclude, Irish Roman Catholics—for the purpose of forming a Government of 'moderate progress,' I allow myself to hope that you will kindly publish what I now write, with the enclosed copy of a letter in answer to the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*, 'D. C. L.'

"Your obedient servant,
"GEORGE A. DENISON, Archdeacon of Taunton.
"East Brent, Innocents'-day, 1852."

"To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

"SIR,—I hope I am not one of those who are content to sever upon light grounds the public ties which have bound men together in a great cause.

"I do not dissent from your correspondent, 'D. C. L.,' when he says, 'Churchmen should have no politics,' in the sense in which I suppose him to use the words.

"He will not dissent from me when I say that Churchmen should have morality.

"Churchmen who support the 'coalition' Government will be hard put to it to defend their support upon any recognised moral principle.

"* Sir William Molesworth's acceptance of office with a seat in the cabinet presents the 'coalition' under one more aspect."

"If they are content to look to the possible action of such a Government, putting aside all considerations of how it came to be a government at all, this may be expediency of a low kind, but it is not morality."

"Your obedient servant,

"GEORGE A. DENISON, Archdeacon of Taunton.
"East Brent, Innocents'-day, 1852."

FOREIGN OPINIONS OF THE ENGLISH MINISTRY.

The character of this ministry is perfectly tranquillising for France and for the world in general. The good relations which existed between our government and that of Great Britain during the administration of Lord Derby cannot fail to consolidate itself under that of men like Lord Aberdeen, Lord John Russell, and their colleagues. If talent and experience in the direction of public business be guarantees of moderation and conciliation in the times in which we live, no foreign ministry can give more guarantees for peace than the new English cabinet.—*Constitutionnel*.

In a country where parties are so vigorously constituted as in England, these two statesmen (Russell and Palmerston) have sacrificed to the public weal the susceptibilities of their *amour propre*, and they have accepted, Lord John Russell the department of Foreign Affairs, with the leadership in the House of Commons, and Lord Palmerston the Home department. They will neither one nor the other suffer any humiliation by so doing, and public consideration in England will repay them with usury what they may appear to have lost in official importance.—*Journal des Débats*.

The name of Aberdeen is a guarantee for that conservative, peaceful, honest foreign policy of which the noble earl has been the representative during the last generation. Lord Aberdeen undertakes the guidance of foreign affairs just at the moment that Louis Napoleon has conceived the idea of altering the customs' tariff, and thus opening the French market to the produce of foreign industry. There is a British statesman who was induced by such an alluring prospect to forget the most sacred duties to old friends and allies (alluding to Lord Malmesbury's hasty recognition of Louis Napoleon). Let us rejoice that the new English Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs is not that man.—*The Vienna Presse*.

Never has there been in England a government composed of so many brilliant parliamentary and administrative reputations; but some persons are not without apprehensions that this fact itself will prove a source of weakness to the cabinet. All these eminent men have performed a momentary act of abnegation of their personal importance in accepting posts lower than they might reasonably claim, but will this self-abnegation be maintained? Will not the sentiment of importance resume its sway? Will not each minister want to exercise a preponderating influence on the affairs of the government, and so give rise to dissensions which will hasten a dissolution of the cabinet? These are reflections which occurred to some minds, but perhaps they are premature.—*Indépendance Belge*.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER LIII.

Paris, December 28, 1852.

BONAPARTE remained at Compiègne, instead of returning to Paris as he had purposed. The secret of this change of resolution is, that he was anxious to go to La Fère to try at the polygone of artillery in that garrison the new system of gunnery of which he is the inventor. He pursues, you see, his plans with all the tenacity and obstinacy of a Dutchman.

So the Senate was obliged to send a deputation to present to His Majesty the Emperor the *Senatus-Consulte* of December 23, which makes Bonaparte the autocrat of France. The principal provisions of this new Imperial Constitution are as follow:—All the articles of the Constitution of January 14, which supposed Bonaparte to be *responsible*, are suppressed. He has the absolute right, without consulting a single soul, to sign all treaties of commerce. He has equally the right of commanding and authorizing, by decree, all works of public utility, all enterprises of general interest. He has the absolute right of applying to these said works such credits as may be necessary for their completion, without having consulted the Legislative Chambers. In one exceptional case only, these credits are to be submitted to the legislative corps. The budget of expenditure will no longer be voted by chapters: we fall back thirty-seven years in this respect: they are to be voted simply by ministries. The sole concession Bonaparte has graciously consented to make is, that the budget will be decreed in the *Moniteur* by chapters: and even on this point Bonaparte has reserved to himself the right of applying to any service, other than the one designed, the credits of each "chapter," at his own good pleasure. All this is incredible, but it is the strictest truth. The corps législatif are to receive henceforth 2500 francs salary a-piece monthly. So the people who once christened the representatives of the Republic by the name of the "Twenty-five francs," already dub the deputies of Bonaparte the "Twenty-five hundred francs."

The discussion of the *Senatus-Consulte* was very stormy in the sittings of the Commission, and gave rise to a strong opposition in the midst of the Senate itself. It is important to give you some details thereupon. It

had been attempted, as I have before told you, to obtain some relaxations from Bonaparte on the various points in litigation. To every solicitation he replied by a formal refusal, in menacing terms. Thus, for the budget which the Senate desired to vote by chapters, one senator having had the audacity to say to Bonaparte, "that even under the old monarchy, the right of the nation to control its expenditure was exercised by the States-General, and that, besides, his Majesty, who was in the habit of professing so high a respect for the principles of '89, could not destroy the existing state of things," received this answer,—"Eh bien! let the Senate raise a conflict, and they will find out what it will cost them." This menace, as you may imagine, had its due effect. The untoward senator held his tongue, and all remonstrance was stifled. On the question of commercial treaties and tariffs, Bonaparte told the Commissioners who went to urge their suit even in the forest of Compiègne, that he could not yield a jot on that clause,—

1. Because on the promulgation of the Constitution he had never dreamt of abdicating a right which he regarded as exclusively belonging to him.

2. Because for some months past he had been conducting an important negotiation with the Zollverein, which was only delayed by the unwillingness of foreign powers to treat with him if such treaties as they were disposed to sign had to encounter all the tedious oscillations of the parliamentary regime. To the force of these reasons the Commission of the Senate could not choose but yield. They returned to Paris without having obtained a single concession. It was then that M. Troplong made his report to the Senate. The English journals have probably given you some fragments of that document. I need only say that it is drawn up with considerable skill. Omnipotence of the executive in matters of financial and commercial policy is there represented as a consequence of the Constitution of January 14, of which (says the report) the fourteenth article implicitly guaranteed this right to the President. Now, to refuse to the Emperor what was accorded to the President would be a flagrant violation of the Constitution. So susceptible, indeed, so touchy are these rulers of ours on the violation of constitutional guarantees! However, it must be added, that the Report leaves to Bonaparte the responsibility of all changes of tariffs which may be effected, and this, too, in terms so solemn, that it seems to take in his name the most explicit engagements of discretion. The day following the Report came the discussion. A most lively contest ensued on the subject of tariffs. The Senate comprises a few of the large manufacturers—M. Mimerel, cotton-spinner of Lille, who, by grace of our protectionist system, is allowed to levy a tax of about five millions of francs on the consumer; M. Leboeuf, manufacturer of pottery, to whom France owes the exclusion, ever since 1834, of English pottery, at once so beautiful and so moderate in price: and many other manufacturers of the same stamp. These two gentlemen, who had been so uproarious in the Commission, suddenly lost their voices when it was their turn to speak in full Senate. MM. Baroche, Ferdinand Barrot, and Beaumont de la Somme demanded the creation of a Council of Commerce. M. Charles Dupin spoke in favour of the proposition, and reminded his colleagues of the fact alluded to in the Commission, that even in the time of Louis XIV., Colbert was in the habit of consulting the great manufacturers and the notables of the commercial world. MM. Baroche and Turgot pleaded on the other side the prerogatives of the executive. A senator, M. Goulot de St. Germain, had the audacity to challenge the official representatives of the Government as to "whether these concessions would be likely to put an end to the encroachments of the executive, and serve as a guarantee against further modifications of the Constitution." M. Baroche replied rather drily that "the Emperor was resolved to modify the Constitution just whenever and however he might deem convenient." The Ministers in general, MM. Baroche, Fould, and Bineau appeared to approach the discussion with very cavalier pretensions. In fact, the Senate was treated by them *par dessous la jambe*. An amendment, demanding the establishment of a "Conseil de Commerce" was put to the vote. The first division was declared doubtful. It was only rejected at the second. This germ of opposition is very significant. The *ensemble*, however, of the *Senatus-Consulte* was adopted by a large majority. There were seven dissentients—MM. Boulay de la Meurthe; ex-Vice-President of the Republic, Beaumont; the Comte de Ségur; General Baraguay d'Hilliers, who is furious at not having been made Marshal; the Marquis d'Audiffret; General Husson; and the Marquis de Croix. Baron Charles Dupin, the Comte Lemercier, M. Viollard, and several others abstained from voting. After the vote, a decree was read on the hereditary succession. This decree had been sent down sealed some time since to the

Senate, and had been deposited in the archives. It constitutes, as I informed you in a former letter, old Jérôme and his son, Napoleon, heirs of the Emperor. Its promulgation created in the political world and at the Bourse a varied and profound sensation. Some went so far as to say that the next heir but one would scarcely hesitate to mistake his cousin for a stag, and in the course of some imperial hunt to bring the crown down with a flying ball. And as imaginations travel fast in France, there were already floating rumours of an unlucky bullet that had hit Edgar Ney as he rode on the right of Bonaparte. All these reports were, it must be added, absolutely baseless.

These hunts, by the bye, have been so many magnificent *fêtes*. The day begins with the "throw off," and closes with the curée by torchlight. The ladies received from Bonaparte a costume *galant* of his own colours, green and gold. Every day, new presents and new gallantries. Yesterday there was a magnificent raffle (tombola), in which every lady won some precious prize, gold bracelets from Froment-Meurice's, with diamond necklaces or *aigrettes*. Bonaparte does things as grandly as a Louis XIV. It amuses us not a little in France to see this heavy, lumpish Dutchman (*ce gros lourdaud de Hollandais*) playing the part of a gallant. Everybody compares him to the ass in the fable, who wishing to caress his mistress, raises his dirty hoof, and chucks her under the chin quite amorously, (*"lève sa patte sale, et la lui porte au menton fort amoureusement."*) Another gallantry is also talked about, of which the Princess Mathilde was the heroine. This lady had forgotten to bring away from Paris a particular dress which became her exceedingly. Bonaparte despatched a special-train express at high speed. In one hour and a half, the train was at Paris, and back again with the dress. We must not despair of seeing, one of these days, the railways employed in "expressing" the slippers of the ladies-in-waiting, or the nightcap of some porter of the château. Nevertheless, his new Majesty feels the void of isolation spread around him daily more and more. Not a soul of the old *noblesse* consents to enter his Court or accept the high offices in the household (*de haute domesticité*) with which Bonaparte condescended to honour them. The Duc de Mortemart, to whom he proposed to be Grand Marshal of the Palace, laughed in his face; the Duc de Mouchy, who was to be High Chamberlain, flatly refused; and the Duc de Guiche, whom he had sent for from Germany, to offer him the dignity of Master of the Hounds (*Grand Veneur*), has returned to his post without accepting anything. Bonaparte is reduced, in very spite, to fly at lesser game; he must needs pick his grand dignitaries among his personal *entourage*. General Reynault de St. Angely is, or is about to be, appointed Grand Marshal of the Palace; Berthier, the *soi-disant* Prince de Wagram, is to be Master of the Hounds, as his father was; Maret, *soi-disant* Duc de Bassano, is to be Grand Chamberlain; M. Menjaud, Bishop of Nancy, is to be nominated First Almoner of the Emperor, with 25,000 francs salary, &c. &c.

The negotiations with certain chiefs of the Moderate-Republican party were, it turns out, perfectly true. This is the pith of the matter:—Bonaparte really sent for Carnot, as I told you, but after the latter's instant refusal, he sent for M. Bethmont, some time Minister of Justice in 1848, and to him proposed to take M. Rouher's post of President de Section in the Council of State. He also offered to him and his political friends an accession to office as complete as possible—in short, a veritable *carte blanche*. M. Bethmont replied that he could give no answer before he had consulted the chiefs of the Moderate-Republican party. Accordingly, he proceeded to summon them at the house of M. Marie, and there communicated to them the offers of the Emperor. The statesmen in question—among whom were MM. Carnot, Cavaignac, Goudchaux, Desgoutte, formerly questor of the National Assembly, Havin, some time secretary of the Assembly—replied, with extreme vivacity, "that they could not so far forget their principles as to consent to serve a Government sprung from the *coup d'état* of the second of December." "This *carte blanche* he gives us," exclaimed M. Goudchaux, "is nothing but a mockery. What should we do with this *carte blanche*? Could we restore to the people a single one of their confiscated rights? Could we restore the liberty of the press abolished, the right of meeting suppressed, the liberty of speech annihilated? It is after having voted himself twenty-five millions of civil list it is after having reduced all the public liberties to a Senate without the right of control, to a mute Legislative Corps, to a Council of State that simply registers its master's will; it is after having absorbed all the rights of the nation, and assumed the most absolute omnipotence, that he proposes to give us *carte blanche*. I say again, it is a mockery. We have a *carte blanche* which is worth

more than such as that—it is that which the second of December has given to every man of heart." M. Bethmont had to bear back this refusal to Bonaparte, who has since been trying another tack. He now pretends to turn to the Orleanists. He is desirous to try his seductions on the influential members of that party. It is asserted that the most tempting offers are now being made them. Unfortunately for Bonaparte, the Orleanists will never do more than make a show of rallying to him, and it will be the better to betray him. Their plan is ready marked out. Steamboats are already purchased to transport the Princes of the house of Orleans to France. All the officers of the army, too, are being plied with rare adroitness and persevering activity. An Orleanist movement is continually expected in Paris itself. You will understand what a mistake it is of Bonaparte to seek to lean on the Orleanists. Now there is precisely the serious peril of his position—that he has not even the possibility of choice. He can no longer remain where he is without some support; and if he looks to any party for support, it can only be to the Orleanists, and that is ruin. I see no other means by which he can escape falling, than—being hung! (*Je ne lui vois plus d'autre moyen de ne pas tomber que d'être pendu!*) Hence he is doubling his precautions. He has just decreed the conversion of the Ecole Militaire into a vast entrenched camp, capable of containing 10,000 men—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—and an immense quantity of munitions of war. This is a measure of great importance in the event of an insurrection in Paris. Speaking in a military sense, in the previous state of things, the troops were scattered in all quarters; and thus, in case of a sudden insurrection, all the various barracks were easily invested by the insurgents: every battalion or regiment so isolated, and so surprised, was forced to surrender. Bonaparte is going to change this altogether. The troops within Paris are to be concentrated in three grand masses: the first, at the east end, in the entrenched camp of the Ile Louviers, parallel with the Bastille; the second, in the centre, at the Hotel de Ville, where an immense barrack is now in course of building, capable of holding regularly 3600 men, and extraordinarily, 8000; the third, at the west end, at the Ecole Militaire, which, as the *Moniteur* announces, is about to be converted into a vast entrenched camp, with barracks for 10,000 men. The present barracks will only be occupied henceforth by detachments. The rest of the army, moreover, will be quartered in the forts. So sustained and obstinate a determination to fortify himself in the midst of a population *à l'Anglaise*,—that is to say, unarmed, proves only too plainly to what a degree Bonaparte feels conscious of his isolation and of his weakness: how little he counts on the popularity which you in England are beginning to suppose he enjoys.

Bonaparte, it seems, is not more easy about his foreign than his home affairs. The Northern Courts have taken a malicious pleasure in retarding as long as possible the letters of credentials to their ambassadors at Paris. Bonaparte, up to this moment, is still without any other news from Russia, Austria, and Prussia, than the assurance of their most insolent disdain. In consequence of this delay and of this intelligence, he has just given orders to repair all the fortifications on our northern and eastern frontiers. Moreover, he has recently decreed the creation of a grand naval port at Dunkirk for the steam navy. Orders are given to construct, without delay, enormous basins, surrounded with docks to receive, on emergency, 200 steam frigates. If you do not understand *this* move, you must be obstinately determined to close your eyes and ears.

You have no idea of the aspect of Paris at this moment—not a single ball, not a single fête, not a single soirée. The gloom that prevails is frightful. Excepting the official folk, every house is closed to gaiety. Now the last month ought to have been one round of fêtes and pleasure. It has been quite the reverse. Having been unable to persuade the *noblesse* and the *bourgeoisie* to dance, Bonaparte has found out an ingenious manner of making the people dance, *bon gré mal gré*. Some fervent Imperialists of the Vaugirard quartier had commenced the project of a ball by subscription, in honour of the proclamation of the Empire. Subscribers were waited for during three or four days; but as none appeared, the Commissaire de Police, accompanied by two of his agents, presented himself at the houses of the inhabitants, and without asking whether they would subscribe, demanded for what sum they desired to be "put down." Ever since that day the inhabitants of the Vaugirard are called in Paris prisoners condemned *au bal forcé*, in allusion to *travail forcé* (hard labour).

The Democracy has lately sustained a melancholy loss in the person of Madame Pauline Roland, who was condemned to transportation to Cayenne, com-

muted to Algeria. The unanimous reclamations of the press extorted a pardon from Bonaparte; but Pauline Roland failed in strength to resist the dreadful shocks and all the horrible tortures she had endured. She was unable to reach Paris. She died at Lyons on her way to the capital, a martyr to the holiest of causes, a martyr to the sacred cause of human liberty.

M. Geniller, the republican, was expelled from Paris last Saturday. He was guilty of receiving at his house a few of his friends who happened to belong to the Democratic party.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

THE Berlin Chambers have met. The First Chamber, convoked by the King in violation of the constitution, the old Chamber having expired last year without having provided a successor, declared itself regularly constituted; and after virtually indemnifying the Government for their breach of the constitution, proceeded to business. The Bill for summoning the Chambers in future only biennially instead of annually has been accepted by the First Chamber. In connexion with this measure the Budget will of necessity be always framed for two years in advance, and the estimates be divided into ordinary and extraordinary. This diminution of the activity, efficiency, and dignity of the Chambers—on the other hand, the real existence of the Provincial Estates, which had been abolished in 1848—the revival of the State Council, which though never abolished, had remained for many years in abeyance, and was virtually obsolete—all these measures together constitute a rapid "progress backwards" from that point of Parliamentary government which the Constitutionalists of Prussia, a few years back, fondly imagined they had attained.

The Emperor of Austria returned from Berlin to Vienna on the 24th, by way of Dresden. Since the departure of the Emperor, the King of Prussia has given a grand banquet to the members of both Chambers, at which the Queen and all the available members of the Royal Family were present. The Court was to go to Potsdam on New Year's-day, for one week.

The Vienna correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* has communicated to that journal the correspondence which has taken place between himself and the English embassy in that city relating to his late imprisonment by the Austrian authorities. After communications had taken place on his behalf to the Government, his papers, &c., which had been previously seized, were minutely searched before they were returned to him. He then had an interview with Lord Westmoreland, which he thus describes:—Having got my papers, I at once went straight to the embassy to seek an interview with the ambassador himself, to ascertain if possible what new insult I might expect, and what protection would be given me. After waiting upwards of three-quarters of an hour, I was introduced to his lordship, who, in common with the rest of them, was profuse in expressions of astonishment at the treatment I had received; but I could elicit nothing of a decided or satisfactory nature from this easy diplomatist. He begged me to have patience; "he could do nothing yet; everything was going on well; and Count Buol promised, now the Emperor had arrived, to push matters. My outrage was unknown to the civil government till the note of the embassy reached Count Buol, the whole onus of the thing falling upon the military power." His lordship, like his son, asked me whether I was anxious to remain here; to which I, of course, gave a strong affirmative answer. My "protector" would fain have read me a lecture on the propriety of writing with moderation, &c., living as I do under Austrian laws. This I cut short, and should have said much more, but was interrupted by the entrance of a stranger. His lordship conged me with the warm assurance of his best exertions on my behalf. *Nous verrons*; but I confess the impression left upon my mind is anything but encouraging. He evidently dislikes meddling in the matter. What I want is a guarantee for the future, and security for my person, for I verily believe the embassy would not interpose the shield of Great Britain between me and my persecutors, if they decreed my banishment. I need hardly add that the offensive passages extracted from my letters, to which I owe my imprisonment, have not yet been shown to me or to anybody. The Government, I fancy, is ashamed of its conduct.

Here is an interesting and significant episode in the prison to which the correspondent was taken:—

"My berth for the night was a slight improvement both as to appointments and company. The room was tenanted by an Hungarian, in whom I became much interested. He took me by the hand as if instinctively aware that we were both victims of an unjust Government. Though not above two or three and twenty, he seemed to have outlived anguish, but not hope. He had been arrested in his native village beyond the Theiss—for what offence he knew not—and carried off to prison, where he had languished for ten months, without ever having been brought to trial—a boon he had frequently demanded. He was much emaciated by want of air and exercise, and by the prison diet, and he told me he believed he would be left to perish as he was. His only amusement consisted in sweeping his cell every morning, and he stoutly refused my proffered assistance. Notwithstanding his youth, there was an air of marked indifference about him truly painful to behold. I forgot to ask his name, which I have regretted ever since. Our number was 23. He said he had been drafted into the Austrian corps of occupation at Homburg.

Lord Mahnesbury's reign in the Foreign Office began with an outrage by an Austrian officer upon an English traveller at Florence, and ends with an outrage upon an English gentleman at Vienna. It is to be hoped Lord John Russell will seize the opportunity of restoring the prestige of England abroad, or at least of insisting on the safety of English subjects in foreign cities. His first duty will be to restore the Earl of Westmoreland to his operative duties in England.

The *Times* correspondent at Vienna has the following sensible remarks on the condition of our diplomatic service, by which, while ambassadors are absent from their posts for months together, and hisping attachés left to protect British subjects and interests, continual outrages are endured by those who have a right to look to the representatives of their country for protection and redress:—

"It has long been my purpose to call public attention to one of the great faults of the British diplomatic system, and this appears to be a favourable opportunity. In Russia, as in Austria, persons to whom some of the most important interests of their native country are at a future time to be entrusted are regularly educated as diplomatists. They are obliged to acquire a profound knowledge of the languages, statistics, resources, and political relations of the principal States, and when an appointment is made, not birth and connexions, but the fitness of the individual for the post is the great consideration. How is it with us? Do more than two British diplomatic agents out of every ten perfectly understand the language, statistics, &c., of the country in which they are employed? They possess a sufficient knowledge of French to carry on their diplomatic relations, but seldom much more. Let us suppose that one or two of the great clans have been in office so long that their protégés have had an opportunity of acquiring some little experience in any particular country! What almost invariably occurs when there is a change of Ministry? The man who by dint of long service has become a useful public servant at Paris is sent to Constantinople or St. Petersburg, of which cities he knows about as much as he does of the languages there spoken; and the First Attaché at the last mentioned city is removed to Vienna, because some clansmen particularly wish to see Paris and St. Petersburg. The natural consequence of this job system is, that no country on the face of the earth is, on the whole, so ill represented as our own, which fact would become more painfully apparent if England were a second instead of a first-rate Power. Common decency of course forbids my citing particular cases in support of the preceding assertions, but you may believe that they are plentiful as blackberries."

The Austrians in the Italian Legations are about to take a most singular step to ensure themselves from the event of any unexpectedly successful rising of the people they are called upon to protect, by destroying all the fowling-pieces and muskets deposited, to the number of 80,000, in the Citadel of Ancona, according to the requisitions of the *legge stataria*. This wholesale destruction of private property, the confiscation of which is usually considered to be only temporary, whilst the state of the country is unsettled, is committed on the plea that they are valueless and dangerous weapons, being a tacit confession that, whilst foreign garrisons occupy the country, the guns can never be safely returned to their owners, nor even be preserved in the fortress of a citadel.

The new Spanish Ministry show some signs of a more conciliatory policy than the last. The press is discussing the proposed modifications of the constitution. General Narvaez is at Bayonne. M. Bravo Murillo has started for Bordeaux.

The Government of Portugal has reduced all its foreign debt to 3 per cents.

SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF ITALY.

THE Second Conversazione of the season was held on Wednesday at the Music Hall in Store Street. Mr. Douglas Jerrold, who was expected to preside, failed from unavoidable causes to be at his post; and Mr. P. A. Taylor took his place. The speakers were Mr. Taylor, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. David Masson, and Mr. James Stansfield.

Referring to the new chances of a liberal foreign policy, Mr. Lawrence said he could only feel alarm at the return to official power of Lord Aberdeen, who was "implicated" in the martyrdom of the brothers Bandiera, and of Sir James Graham, who was chiefly known to the Liberals of Continental Europe as the man who had lent himself to despotism, in opening the letters of M. Mazzini. What, he asked, did such persons as Molesworth, Cockburn, Robert Lowe, or Bernal Osborne in company with Lord Aberdeen or Sir James Graham?

Mr. David Masson said there were two reasons why he felt and asked for sympathy with the Italian struggle. In the first place, horrors, shootings, hangings, and garrottings were being perpetrated in Italy by despotism upon the people, against which Christian humanity ought to rise in arms; and in the next place, it was his firm conviction that the Rome, which had successively led and governed the world in arms and in arts, would be the centre, for the third time, of a new civilisation, the civilisation of European liberty. (Cheers.) He believed in Italy—he believed that Italy, united, would be one of the greatest of modern peoples; and those who supposed that their Italian unity and independence was a chimera, he referred to the opinion expressed at St. Helena by the Emperor Napoleon—specifying that he meant the great and not the little one. He saw no obstacle that should forbid them to be sanguine; he considered that the day was not distant when they would see Mazzini, now sitting so quietly on that platform, trampling upon the temporality of the papacy. (Loud cheers.) And when that day came, he trusted that official England would not be permitted by Englishmen to back a French army in backing the Pope against Mazzini. He believed a great change of opinion on this subject had taken place

in England within the last year. England had recovered from its shock and surprise, and was thinking accurately, at last; and he rested his hopes of what was to be done upon the influences now arising and tending to bring England and the United States together in an assault upon Europe and despotism. (Cheers.)

Mr. Stansfield made a point at the close of an eloquent speech, in reference to the new Ministry. He suggested, as a reason for the extraordinary "combination" of the new Ministry, that our prominent public men were aware of the approach of events which would need the cessation of party warfare and the union of all sides to save the nation; and if that were so, he thought they ought to anticipate the danger, and commence by a bold foreign policy, which should be consistent with the principle on which the Government was based, and which would gather to our aid the struggling nationalities of the Continent. (Cheers.)

Resolutions were agreed to, declaring that the Italians deserved the sympathy of free nations, and thanking Mr. Thomas Duncombe for the notice he had placed on the paper of the House of Commons of his intention to ask the House to address her Majesty, praying her Majesty's good offices in putting an end to the occupation of the Roman States by the troops of France and Austria.

Mr. Mazzini, contrary to expectation, did not address the meeting, having, in fact, expressed an indisposition to speak in public at this period, when deeds were being done in Italy which were breaking his heart. The following letter to Mr. Taylor from M. Mazzini may explain his sentiments:—

"Wednesday Evening.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I come on duty; not a single meeting of your society must take place without my signifying by my presence how grateful we Italians are to you all for your noble efforts. But I know that I shall not be able to speak a single word; I feel unwell,—absolutely unequal to the task, and most likely doomed to leave before the meeting is over. Our friends will speak for me better than I could do. They will, I trust, remind the meeting that the last time I stood on your platform, I had to speak of the men who had been shot by dozens a short time before in Sinigaglia and Ancona. One month has elapsed; and five noble heads have fallen on an Austrian scaffold at Mantua; five of our best men, after having endured for months and months indescribable moral and physical torture, have been dragged, pale, emaciated, yet bold and defying, to the place of execution, and killed. They were from Mantua and Venice; a jurist, an artist, a civil officer, a landed proprietor, and a working man; all shades of the Italian Society represented in the awful scene; a solemn symbol of the compact of struggle and martyrdom binding in a single thought all the Italian party. And two hundred of their companions are in the prisons of Mantua threatened by a similar fate. A rumour is current that twelve are already condemned. Fifteen patriots have been sentenced to death by the military committees of the Roman States; and in Tuscany, Guarducci and others have been imprisoned on account of an Italian Bible found in their houses. Such a state of things cannot last—must not last. Let those who believe in the justice of our cause be more active than ever; urge upon them the necessity of carrying out in an energetic way England's peaceful agitation for Italian freedom. You will succeed if you persist. I trust for this to the undeniable justice of the cause—to that practical logical sense of your countrymen, and to the noble instincts, unchecked by peace crotchets or others, of your working classes.—Ever yours faithfully,

"JOSEPH MAZZINI."

This closed the proceedings.

DEATH OF KOSSUTH'S MOTHER.

MADAME KOSSUTH died on Tuesday at her temporary residence at Brussels. She had been seriously ill for some weeks, but on Monday strong hopes of her recovery were entertained by her medical attendants, one of whom was Dr. Perkins, a long-established English resident, and who is distinguished by his kind attentions to the various political exiles in that city. Some unpleasant rumours are afloat respecting the refusal of the Belgian Government to allow of her son's coming over to that country, unless he consented to be constantly accompanied during his stay in Belgium by a police officer. It is understood that the venerable lady herself urged her illustrious son not to submit to so degrading a condition. It is hoped, for the sake of the Belgian Government, and for the honour of Belgium itself, that those rumours are exaggerated; but it is feared they are only too true.

EXTRACT FROM A PRIVATE LETTER FROM THE WEST COAST OF MEXICO.

WE were lucky in escaping, on our way from Guaymas to Hermosillo, the casualties which occur not unfrequently to travellers from the attacks of a tribe of Indians called Seres, who concoct a most deadly poison from rattlesnakes, scorpions, and sundry other lovely animals of that class, into which they dip the points of their arrows, and then "woo be to those at whom they let fly;" the wound they inflict is fatal, for the poison spreads rapidly through the frame, and no remedy has ever been discovered to counteract its effect. It appears their sole object is to kill, and not plunder, as there have been occurrences where they

have attacked "arrieros" (muleteers) conveying gold and silver bars down to Guaymas, shot as many as they could of poor muleteers, eaten their mules, and left the treasure behind for the owners to come and redeem. They played off this prank upon some servants of Mr. —, a few years ago; two of them died in consequence of the wounds received, but the silver was recovered after a few months, having been found within a short distance from the spot where the robbery was committed. Such is the state of affairs in this republic, that in this frontier part of it, the inhabitants are kept in continual excitement by this tribe on one side, not numbering more than a hundred, and the "Apaches" from another quarter, committing their depredations upon the unfortunate "rancheros," carrying off their horses, mules, &c., whilst no efficient force is sent for their protection.

Some few months back, a General Blanco arrived in this state with a troop of some three hundred men, extracted from the gaoles of Mexico, for the purpose of exterminating the Indians, and protecting the people in the mining districts; but it appears from report, that he values his own interest more highly than that of his country, and is going to employ his troop of raggamuffins in exploring for treasure.

All those holding any post under the Government of this country take care to help themselves as largely as possible during their stay in office, and are not very scrupulous about the means to which they resort for effecting their object, and that is to get hold of the "pesos" (dollars). The governor of the adjoining state, in which Mazatlan is situated, attempted a short time ago to levy a contribution upon the merchants of that town for his own private purposes; and finding they would not submit to such an exaction, took several of them prisoners, entered their warehouses, and carried away goods to the amount of some 25,000 dollars; but I believe that this atrocious affair has been properly represented to the Government by parties of influence in Mexico, and master governor has had to restore the property and liberate his prisoners, among whom was the Spanish consul of that port.

There is very little enjoyment here, even for people of ample fortunes; the climate, in the first place, being a great drawback upon one's comforts; it is so infernally hot during the half of the year (thermometer often at 120 to 130 in the sun), that one is undergoing a continual distillation, pouring water down one's throat by gallons per diem. . . . No fertility of any extent to gladden the eye, nor "bastimento" to make merry the heart of man, like what other countries afford; communication with the rest of the world very tedious and difficult, and all things at a stand-still, for they never think of introducing any improvements. . . . They are tolerably liberal in this part of the republic as regards religious matters, offering no persecution to those of other views on such subjects; but many of their ceremonies are truly ludicrous on the different saint's-days, of which they have no small number. A few weeks ago, the devout of this town were doomed to a great disappointment. I think Mr. — may have had some hand in the matter by altering the number of a certain case in one of the invoices. It appears that this certain case was supposed to contain a marble representation of one of their saints, and was accordingly sent from Guaymas to be introduced to his devoted worshippers here; but on arrival, when they wished to liberate him from his confinement, behold, the said case was found filled with old gauze dresses, or similar trash, and the multitude who had assembled to prostrate themselves before him on the occasion, had to depart in sorrow, and full of indignation against those who had been so careless in labelling his saintship incorrectly.

THE KIRWAN CASE.

A COMMITTEE has been appointed in Dublin to organize the efforts now being made to obtain justice for Mr. Kirwan, and procure as soon as possible his absolute pardon, at the same time that they expose and refute the imputations under which he at present lies. From the documents which they have collected we quote the following extracts:—

"Maria Crowe, relict of Lieutenant James Crowe, the mother of Sarah Maria Kirwan, late the wife of William B. Kirwan, Esq., says that she 'had constant and most affectionate intercourse with her said daughter, with the full knowledge, approbation, and consent of her said daughter's said husband, the said William Burke Kirwan. And deponent saith, that during such intercourse and conversation, the circumstances, and health, and treatment of her said daughter and of her said husband towards her, occasionally formed the subject of their discourse; and deponent positively saith, that on all occasions save one, said deponent's said daughter invariably stated to deponent, and which she, deponent, believed and still believes to be true, that there could not be a more industrious, sober, or quiet husband than said William B. Kirwan was towards her said daughter. And this deponent saith, that having ample opportunities of judging from this deponent's usual habit of visiting and being visited by her, deponent's said daughter at least once in each week, and frequently oftener; that she, deponent's said daughter, had the full, comfortable, and respectable supply of her every want and desire, and was never without money in her purse, supplied to her by said husband for the purchase of dress, and of every article of comfort and respectability suited to her rank and station in society. This deponent further saith, that her said daughter had from her childhood been used to sea-bathing, which she was fond of, and which she was recommended to take as necessary for the preservation of her good health. This deponent further saith, that from her said daughter's habit of bathing she became very venturesome in the water, going into the deep parts of the sea, and sometimes continuing therein for a much longer period than other ladies there bathing; and deponent often reproved her said daughter for such habits, and frequently expressed to her

said daughter her fears lest her continuing to observe such practice might prove injurious to her health or other bad results; but which advice her said daughter heedlessly attended to. This deponent saith, that she knows that her said daughter continued up to the time of her melancholy decease by accidental drowning to bathe in the sea at or near to Howth, where she unfortunately met her death."

Mr. Robert Jackson says "he was present at the inquest (near its termination) at the time when Mr. Brew was examined; perfectly recollects the Coroner having asked all present if they were satisfied as to the verdict, which was unanimous, and can recollect 'both the Nangles giving their marked assent,' also that several questions were asked by the foreman and jurors prior to that verdict. I proposed that he should remove Mrs. Kirwan at once to his house in Dublin, and that I would write to town, and order the undertaker to have all in readiness when he would call that night. After some hesitation he assented. I likewise proposed, in order to alleviate his difficulty and suffering, that he should leave the house, and accompany me to a friend's until he left for town. I then left him, say at 6 p.m., and returned at 8, when he accompanied me, and took a cup of tea. I parted with him at the train, 10 p.m.; he returned with the hearse, but I did not see him or it, but was shocked to hear that the Nangles offered obstruction, and demanded payment before the corpse would be permitted to pass. This ended my personal interviews with Mr. Kirwan. When Mr. Kirwan had left Howth for Dublin, I returned to the house in company with a friend, for the purpose of having the deceased lady paid proper attention. I again took particular notice of her, and am ready to depose on oath that there was no external mark of violence, save a slight scratch under the eye (or something resembling a pinch), which I was told was caused by 'crabs.' The wound on the breast was the mere bursting of the skin, which happening on the fleshy and most tender part, would be easily caused: further, the body (back and loins) was shown me by a woman who was present, and although tinged with discoloration, was evidently produced by lying on the rock and in water; the mouth presented the appearance of a person having had a 'fit,' being frothy and having the teeth clenched; I particularly noticed the feet and hands, which were without the slightest injury. I submit here, that at this time I had a more favourable opportunity for observation and examination than any previous (non-medical) party, the excitement having subsided, and only three persons, including myself, being present. Now for a material fact; Mrs. Campbell, the owner of the cottage where the Kirwans lodged, being present same evening, I entered into an earnest conversation with her as to the past mode of their social habits. She stated, without hesitation, that they lived happily, with one exception, when she heard noise as if from chairs being disturbed, but could not say more than infer that there was a quarrel. Most certainly the words stated by Mrs. Campbell on the trial, 'I'll end you,' were never mentioned by her to me, and the tenor of her conversation was natural and satisfied me. On the other hand, another woman who was present complained bitterly of Mr. Kirwan having acted so *shabbily* as locking his boxes, and leaving no money for refreshments. Indeed, I may safely say that this party exhibited strong prejudice, which I am sure a little golden ointment would have easily cured. Was on the island called Ireland's Eye with the Nangles some short time after the occurrence, and previous to the Crown prosecution; the spot where the body was found was most minutely pointed out, but not a word of the 'sheet' or any other imputation. On the contrary, they stated that Mr. Kirwan threw himself on the body, when found, in 'great distress.' I was summoned as a witness by the Crown, and waited upon by the policeman, Sherwood, stationed at Howth, to request that I would call on the Crown Solicitor. The latter I declined. Sherwood said I could be fined [a lie] for not doing so. I could not help being struck with the revolution in this man's mind. Having had several previous conversations with him at Howth, he always spoke in favour of the accused, and said that nothing was bad enough for the Howth people, &c. &c. My attendance as a witness for the Crown being dispensed with, after I stated the nature of my evidence, and expressed a wish to that effect. My previous views as to the trial were now fully confirmed—namely, that it was an indispensable act as regards public duty; but that after the prisoner had gone through the ordeal, 'however painful,' he would be fully exonerated. I was truly shocked at the unlooked-for result, and at once resolved on making this statement (which nothing but the most solemn conviction that it was due to myself and the unfortunate object of it would induce me to do; especially as I had not appeared on the trial, where I feel my evidence must have been favourable to the accused), at the request of his friends, who are about to memorial the Government in the case."

Marianne Tate, says, "I had several conversations with Patrick Nangle relative to the finding of Mrs. Kirwan's body and clothes. My first conversation with him took place on the morning of the 7th September, about ten o'clock. He did not enter into any particulars respecting the boat or hour, but merely stated, on arriving at the island Mr. Kirwan called him (Patrick Nangle), and gave him a bag and basket, with which he was returning to the boat, when he heard Mick Nangle ask where the mistress was. Mr. Kirwan replied, 'She left me after the shower to go bathe, and I have not seen her since, but I have been looking for her for some time.' Mick Nangle and Mr. Kirwan then went in search of Mrs. Kirwan, calling her loudly by name as they proceeded; after some time they were joined by Pat Nangle. The three then continued the search, and on arriving at the Long Hole, Pat Nangle stated he stood upon a rock or bank and looked down; on doing so, he said he perceived something white; he then called to his companions, 'Here she is.' On putting down his hand to feel the supposed white object, he stated he placed his hand on Mrs. Kirwan's person, her bathing dress being up round her shoulders. He then stated, Mr. Kirwan threw himself on

the body, exclaiming, 'Oh, Maria, Maria.' Saith, I then remarked, 'But, Paddy, what about the sheet? people say it was under her.' 'God bless you, No, ma'am [I think it best to give his own words] it was the poor gentleman got the sheet to cover his poor wife, and no wonder, as she was quite stripped.' Saith, Mr. Kirwan then told them to look for her clothes, not being able to find them; Saith Mr. Kirwan assisted them; after looking for some time, returned with something white in his hand, and, pointing to a rock, said 'There they are.' Pat Nangle then stated he went up and brought down the clothes; he described the rock as being about six feet above high water, and also the natural position of the clothes, her dress and petticoats just as she had stepped out of them, her boots as she had taken them off, one partly under her clothes, the other at a little distance. He then stated he returned for the boat, leaving Mr. Kirwan with the body; on their return with the boat, Mr. Kirwan was still stretched on the body. Pat Nangle then tied the sheet across the chest and knees. There was a shawl upon the head, which he said he supposed her poor husband had put on; they then placed the body in a sail, previous to conveying it to Howth in the boat. Saith on several occasions he repeated the same fact, though his feelings towards Mr. Kirwan seemed considerably changed, but saith I attributed this to his not having received what he considered a liberal remuneration for his trouble. Saith I only spoke to him once after his examination at the Crown Office, when his whole manner was changed; appeared most vindictive in his feelings towards Mr. Kirwan. Saith I then particularly remarked his saying Mrs. Kirwan was so near the sheet, that he was able to draw it under her, also then stated that at the inquest he was not allowed to give his evidence, but was put back; that he had not told this at the Crown Office, but would do so the next time he went there. Saith, I never spoke to Nangle after."

Doctor Taylor, the highest authority in England on all questions relating to legal medicine, who is invariably referred to and employed by the Crown on such; for example, in the celebrated case of Tawell, and in the more recent one of Jael Denny; says, "Mr. Rodwell, the barrister, considers there was not sufficient evidence to convict. On Saturday, my friend B. Cooper, the surgeon of Guy's, came to me and most strongly stated his opinion from the medical evidence, that the prisoner has been wrongly convicted. My present conviction is, that all the medical circumstances are explicable without reference to any act of violence on the part of the prisoner, and that therefore to execute him for the alleged offence would be a most dangerous proceeding on the part of our law authorities."

John Leeson, Architect, of Dublin, says that, "William Burke Kirwan, applied to me the evening previous to Mrs. Kirwan's interment, in the month of September last, to go to the burying-ground or cemetery at Glasnevin, and choose for him a burying-place for Mrs. Kirwan his wife, who had been drowned at Ireland's Eye. I declare that I accordingly immediately thereafter went to Glasnevin Cemetery, and without the said William Burke Kirwan's knowledge, or without any preconcert with the said William Burke Kirwan, chose and selected the burying-place where the said Mrs. Kirwan is now interred; and I declare that the said William Burke Kirwan had no knowledge of the burying-place so chosen by me, as I believe and am persuaded, until the day of the funeral and interment of Mrs. Kirwan, when he, Mr. Kirwan, was present and saw the place."

It is now known that Mr. Kirwan took no "sword-cane" with him to Ireland's Eye; that Mrs. Kirwan could not swim; and that Mrs. Crowe (the deceased's mother) derives her pension at the present moment on the medical certificate that her husband, the late Lieut. Crowe (Mrs. Kirwan's father), died of a fit eight years ago!

FIRES IN CALIFORNIA.

EVERYTHING in America is on a gigantic scale—lakes, mountains, rivers, trade, enterprise, and growth: even in fires they surpass all European nations—the Turks, possibly, not excepted, who regularly burn down blocks of Constantinople every season. The mails of the *Europa*, which arrived on Monday, bring news of three great conflagrations in California—one in Sacramento, a second at Maryville, and a third at San Francisco. Sacramento has been totally destroyed. The fire broke out on the 2nd of November, in the heart of one of the most combustible blocks in the city; fed by the wooden dwellings, and fanned by the north wind, which was blowing a perfect gale, 1600 houses vanished in three hours; even brick houses, and all the public buildings, except the court house, went down before the fiery storm. The flames swept across the streets, and seemed to lick up the slighter tenements. Efforts were made to stay its progress by placing carts laden with kegs of powder at different points, but in vain. The city is a heap of ashes. The damage is estimated at 10,000,000 dollars. But in forty-eight hours after the occurrence, building was going on with great rapidity; and probably by this time Sacramento is again rebuilt.

THE GREAT GALE.

AMONG the phenomena of this first half of the winter, are storms of thunder and lightning, accompanied by the most terrific gales. Not only London, but the whole of the island south of the Humber, was visited

by such a storm on Saturday and Sunday. The wind roared like artillery, and was very destructive. Chimneys were hurled down, in one case killing a woman, in Bishopsgate and Aldgate. A house fell in Long-lane, another at Kennington-common. Trees were torn up: one before Gwydir House, carrying with it some iron railing; others in front of Bethlehem Hospital, at Dulwich, and Forest-hill, and a large elm in the garden of Lady Pirie, at Denmark-hill, falling across the road, caused great obstruction. It is remarked that eight of the old lamps on Westminster-bridge were destroyed. Great damage has been done to the shipping in the docks.

In the provinces, property has been much injured. At Windsor, trees were torn up in the Long-walk, and other places. A large gasometer, at the Great Western Railway Station was blown out of the tank. At Oxford, an old woman was killed in the workhouse, by the falling of chimneys. The drawing-room of Dr. Routh, President of Magdalen College, was beaten in, also, by chimneys, and destroyed. A large elm, close to the gate of the college, was thrown down, fortunately missing the new gate. The noble old Broadwalk, in Christ Church-meadow, has lost five of its beautiful elms; two have also been torn up in Magdalen Grove, and two in the walk called the Parks. A tall chimney was thrown down at Nottingham, crashing into the factory, and destroying machinery. The Arboretum was also injured. Damage of various kinds was done at Manchester and its neighbourhood: tall chimneys were dashed down; also two pinnacles of a new church, at Kersall Moor; and lead-roofing was thrown about.

At Preston, Liverpool, Carlisle, Nottingham, Reading, Bristol, and other places, similar disasters have happened. At Preston, a mill was blown down, early on Saturday morning; and a shed at the Lancashire Railway-station much injured. At Bristol, trees have been torn up, chimneys blown down, the windows of Clifton Church dashed in, and a part of the roof of the Roman-catholic Chapel torn off. These are only a few specimens of like calamities. From the seaports, we have stories of wrecks in considerable numbers, accompanied by loss of life; and, on the whole, no hurricane of the like force has swept over England since 1839.

Devon has severely felt the gale. At Teignmouth the sea was terrific. A most extraordinary occurrence took place on the South Devon line, on Wednesday morning. Between Dawlish and Teignmouth there are some rocks, of a grotesque formation, known as the "Parson and Clerk." These rocks have been tunneled through; and in doing so, it was necessary to cut away a portion of the Dawlish cliffs—the base of which has been so undermined that they have for a long time overhung; and an accident, at some time or other, was predicted. The continual wet weather has loosened these cliffs, and on Wednesday one of them fell with a tremendous crash upon the line of the South Devon Railway. The immense quantity of earth and stones which are now lying there had completely blocked the way, and the mail train which was due on Wednesday morning at Newton by five o'clock, did not reach until ten. The mail bags were obliged to be taken out and sent on by omnibus to Dawlish. By this obstruction, which will take some time to remove, the passengers by railway are obliged to go from Dawlish and Teignmouth, and *vice versa*, by omnibus, which of course causes much delay.

In Ireland, the blast was not less severe. Forty trees were torn up in the Phoenix-park. A stack of chimneys fell into Lord Eglinton's dressing-room. Glass-windows have been broken by hundreds; and some houses razed to the ground. The mail ship, *Windsor*, encountered a tremendous sea, but arrived in time at Kingston. Captain Williams, her Commander, was struck by a sea that actually lifted him up a considerable height, and pitched him to another part of the vessel, from the effects of which he lay a considerable time unconscious, and was carried below; but the gale increasing, and though suffering great pain, he gave directions that he should be carried on deck and lashed fast. When secured there, he issued his orders to his brave and gallant crew, who, though in the midst of the danger, remained cool and determined—a characteristic of the sailor. Captain Williams has been since removed to his residence at Glasnevin, seriously injured.

Other towns in Ireland have also been the scene of great calamities and losses. Scotland has also had her full share of this memorable tempest.

TRADE, GOLD, AND CORN.

So great has been the trading prosperity of 1852, that even Christmas has not checked the activity of business. At Manchester there has been a good demand for India and China, and a consequent improvement in the prices of articles suitable for those markets. At Birmingham

the state of the iron trade continues to absorb attention. The difficulty in getting orders executed increases daily, but it is now asserted in some quarters that much of this is caused by mere speculation, and that the present production of pig iron is in reality beyond the consumption. A further rise of 2s. per ton in coals has added, however, to the firmness of general quotations. As regards the other branches of Birmingham manufacture, especially glass, the reports continue equally favourable.

A new style of ornament for metallic surfaces by the transfer of patterns from pressure, to supersede engraving, is said to have been adopted with great success:—

"It has hitherto been customary to adorn plain surfaces by means of engraving, which method, as will be readily understood, is an expensive one, owing to the time consumed and wages paid to the workmen employed thereon. The new method devised and patented by Mr. Sturges consists in laying between two or more plates of metal pieces of wire web, thread, or other lace, or paper perforated or cut into various forms or devices; the two sheets of metal with the pattern between, being passed through a pair of metal rolls, will be found after the operation to leave the impression of the wire, lace, or paper marked on their surface in depth corresponding to the softness of the metal upon which the impression is desired. Thus on nickel, silver, and brass, as will be readily understood, the depth of the impression is somewhat less than upon Britannia metal. Already several articles formed of this material, and thus ornamented, have been produced, and with complete success. The metal in the sheet may be manipulated by the ordinary process employed in the electro and Britannia metal trades. Delicacy and correctness of outline, in connexion with the most exquisite surface ornament, demonstrate the value of the invention as applied to articles of every day use and sale. The proprietor of the patent, Mr. Winfield, of Cambridge-street Rolling Mills and Works, manufactures the metal for consumers, and is also about to apply it to the various branches of the brass foundry trade, tubes, pillars, metallic bedsteads, &c. No doubt exists in the minds of those who have witnessed the operation and effects of the invention, that it will be productive of much benefit, principally in reference to the economic production of articles for domestic purposes of better-class style than has hitherto been produced at the same cost."

The Nottingham advices state that the transactions in hosiery have been large at an advance in prices of from 5 to 10 per cent., while with respect to lace the prospects are satisfactory. A scarcity of hands is complained of, stocks are low, and the nature of the business transacted is thoroughly sound. In the woollen districts, notwithstanding the season, there has been a continuance of steady purchases, and the reports from the Irish linen markets are of a similar character.

So much for trade. From the gold regions, the clipper *Marco Polo*, which has made the passage from Melbourne to Liverpool in the amazingly short period of seventy-five days, brings splendid intelligence. Along with her own letters she has brought the duplicates of those sent from Melbourne, fourteen days earlier, by the mail steamer *Australian*, which sailed on the 28th of September for London, via Adelaide, but has not yet arrived. It appears that the latter vessel has on board gold to the extent of 9170 ounces shipped at Sydney, 145,774 shipped at Melbourne and Geelong, and 65,000 shipped at Adelaide, making a total of about 220,000 ounces, valued at 880,000*l.* Although she received so small an amount at Sydney, the *Phœnician*, which sailed the day after, took 48,959 ounces. All the accounts on the present occasion are exceedingly favourable, although they are deprived of much of their interest from not being in a consecutive shape. As regards the Mount Alexander deposits, it appears that they were fully maintaining their character, the totals brought down by escort during the week preceding the departure of the *Marco Polo* having been 99,000 ounces (400,000*l.*), while it was at the same time reported that the quantity still to be forwarded was rapidly accumulating. It is estimated, on the basis of the quantity already received at Melbourne, that the annual yield of the Victoria diggings is 14,560,000*l.* The commencement of spring having produced a great improvement in the roads, the crowds at the mines were likely to be much larger than at any former period, and a corresponding augmentation of the supplies of gold was immediately looked for. Every day's experience was such as to lead even the most cautious persons to the conviction that the deposits are, on the average, richer and more extensively distributed than had previously been believed. New fields had been found between Ballarat and Mount Alexander, which had attracted much attention; and another locality, subsequently opened up, near the Ovens River, on the Sydney road, about 180 miles from Melbourne, is alleged to have eclipsed all former discoveries. The operations are described as simply like turning up a garden, where about four feet below the surface "pockets" of immense value are brought forth. The immigration was now continuous, and 5000 persons had arrived in one week. The multitude were consequently without shelter, or were living in tents. The chief point of anxiety, however, was in relation to the future

supplies of grain and flour, and the most serious fears were entertained that unless large cargoes should constantly arrive great suffering would be experienced. The farm lands in the colony were only half-sown, and the crops, therefore, even under ordinary circumstances, would be insufficient, but with the anticipation of the landing in the months of November and December of the extraordinary number of persons that were expected to leave the United Kingdom in June and July last, it was difficult to foresee how the wants of the colony were to be met. Flour had already reached 40l. per ton, a higher price than had been known for ten years, and a further advance was expected. Hopes were entertained that considerable quantities might be sent from America. House rent was as dear in proportion as bread, and the terms for three and four-roomed cottages were from 250l. to 400l. a-year. The banks had ceased to make advances, and were buying gold on their own account.

The emigrants taken out by the *Marco Polo* were immediately engaged at very high wages. Highland shepherds, with their wives and children, were readily engaged at 250l. a-year and upwards; and single men at 60l. to 70l. a-year. The young women were mostly *fixed for life* on landing, and the diggers charmed with spinsters, even on the shady side of forty. On her arrival at Melbourne she was surrounded by boats, the occupants of which threw small nuggets of gold among the passengers. The crew of the vessel having disobeyed orders, the captain had them imprisoned until his departure, when they were again shipped, and navigated the vessel home.

But while trade is eminently prosperous, and the yield of gold apparently exhaustless, home agriculture has been not so fortunate. From June to October a great deal of rain fell in these islands, but from October up to this day the "fall" has been a deluge.

"The observations made in the vicinity of Dublin correspond very nearly with those made near London," says the *Liverpool Albion*. "At Dublin, during 26 days in November last, there fell 6½ inches of rain, which was one-fourth of the annual average depth that falls in the district. On the 11th of the month there fell 1½ inch, on the 12th a quarter of an inch, on the 13th half an inch, and on the 14th three quarters of an inch, making a depth of three inches in four days. From the observations made near London it appears there fell in the same four days upwards of 2½ inches. The total amount which fell at London in November last was 6.20 inches, or six inches and one-fifth, which, deducting seven days on which no rain fell, gives nearly 6½ inches in 23 days. The average amount of rain in the vicinity of London in the November months for the last 26 years is 2.16 inches, the greatest November fall having been in 1842, when it was 4.47 inches, and the least in 1851, when it was little more than half an inch. We learn from the *Gardener's Chronicle* that 'so much rain has not fallen near London in November, nor in any one month, with the exception of July, 1834, for at least 55 years.' The amount which fell in July, 1834, was 6.34 inches. * * * The copious rain has not, however, been confined this year to one month, as was the case in the year 1834, when there was so great a fall in July. Great quantities fell in the months preceding November, the amounts of which we shall hereafter show, and the superabundant supplies of moisture have continued far into December. No doubt, from the 1st of November last till the present time, fully eight inches of rain have fallen, which is nearly half the quantity which descended during the whole of 1847, when the total amount for the year was only 16.65. In 1850, the amount for the year was 18.28, and, last year, 20.79, the annual average fall being about 24 inches, so that the depth during the last seven weeks has been equal to one-third the average of ordinary years. The total fall of rain this year at London, up to the end of November, was, notwithstanding the dryness of the early months, 30.67 inches. The following is the record, extracted from the source before acknowledged:—January, 2.72; February, 1.06; March, 0.25; April, 0.52; May, 1.74; June, 4.69; July, 2.27; August, 3.71; September, 3.64; October, 3.87; November, 6.20 inches—total, 30.67. The greatest fall in the course of the 26 years preceding was in 1841, when the depth was 30.97 inches; the smallest in 1847, when the depth was 16.65 inches; the average being, as we have stated, 24 inches. Adding to the ascertained fall for the present year 2½ inches, which is not excessive considering the almost incessant rain we have already had this month, we have as the total fall in 1852 33.17 inches. Of this there fell in the six months from the beginning of June to the end of November 24.38 inches. If we add 2½ inches for December we have nearly 27 inches, or an excess in seven months of three inches over the mean annual average."

This has accordingly been an evil autumn for the farmer. The ground has been, in the main, rendered unfit for seed, and the hopes of an average harvest next year rest on the seed sown in spring.

TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

LAST Friday week, a meeting was held at the Guildhall Coffee-house, over which Mr. F. Bonnock presided, of certain electors of the City of London, favourable to the repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge. The following address to Lord John Russell was unanimously agreed to:—

"MY LORD,—We, the undersigned, electors of the City of London, respectfully claim your lordship's good offices

upon a subject which appears to us to be of vital importance, and on which we have reason to believe that your lordship's views as an earnest friend to popular education are in harmony with our own. We allude to those taxes which are justly stigmatised as the Taxes on Knowledge—viz., the duty on paper, the advertisement duty, and the stamp duty on newspapers.

"In connexion with this subject, we refer with much pleasure to some expressions to which your lordship has lately given utterance at Perth—viz., 'The way in which the power of democracy ought to be dealt with is, by listening to every complaint, by considering every grievance, and by giving a legitimate and legal organ to that power and influence which otherwise may be mischievous, irregular, and injurious.'

"To direct and enlighten the path of that progress which is inevitable, is a duty worthy of a modern statesman.

"We appeal to your lordship in accordance with these sound and statesmanlike views, to remove obstructions which prevent legislators from 'listening to every complaint' and 'considering every grievance,' by stifling their expression, and which, by this repression, tend to make the progress of democracy 'mischievous, irregular, and injurious.'

"To vote money for the purposes of public education while these justly-termed Taxes on Knowledge are still levied, is surely very inconsistent.

"In regard to the paper duty, the amount of the revenue derived from it being nearly a million, we can only venture to commend its removal to the earnest attention of the government when the Budget shall be under consideration; but, as we need not remind your lordship, the other obnoxious taxes to which we have referred—namely, the advertisement and stamp duties, are obviously not maintained for the purposes of revenue, and therefore imperatively demand immediate abrogation.

"The advertisement duty has been repeatedly shown to be destructive of more revenue than it produces, and the inconsiderable sum of 250,000l., the whole amount involved by the repeal of the compulsory stamp, is clearly not the object for which it was imposed, or is maintained.

"We desire on this point to call your lordship's attention to the extreme uncertainty and vagueness in the administration of the law which necessitates the stamping of certain classes of periodical publications, and to the extreme unfairness to which this uncertainty continually gives rise.

"In conclusion, therefore, we earnestly request that your lordship will take measures for the immediate repeal of the stamp and advertisement duties, for the abolition of the system of demanding security for offences neither committed nor contemplated, and for making such financial arrangements as will enable Parliament to repeal the duty on paper at no distant period."

OPENING THE CRYSTAL PALACE ON SUNDAY.

WE have received a copy of the following petition, now being numerously signed in all parts of the metropolis, addressed to the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled:—

*The humble Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of the City of London,**

SHEWETH,—That your Petitioners have heard with strong disapproval, of the attempts to prevent the intended new Crystal Palace at Sydenham being open to Sunday visitors.

That your Petitioners believe the opening on Sunday, not only of the said intended Crystal Palace at Sydenham, but also of the British Museum and National Gallery, would be highly conducive to the moral and intellectual improvement of the people, more especially of the working classes, whose necessary avocations render it impossible that they should, generally, visit such institutions on any of the work days of the week.

Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly pray, that your Honourable House will take steps for opening to Sunday visitors the said intended Crystal Palace at Sydenham, and also the British Museum and National Gallery.

And your Petitioners will ever pray.

BARTH AND OVERWEG'S AFRICAN EXPEDITION.

MR. PETERMANN has forwarded another letter to the *Times*, of great interest, containing further information of the progress of the African travellers. He says:—

"On the date of the previous letters Dr. Overweg was at Kuka, expecting the return of Dr. Barth from his journey to Baghirmi, a powerful kingdom situated between Lake Tsad and the Nile, and never before visited by any European. On the 20th of August last, Dr. Barth, having successfully explored that country as far as Masena, its capital, returned to Kuka, and rejoined his companion in the best health and spirits. The meeting was a very joyful one, as the liberal supplies of Lord Palmerston, and various subsidies from their own country—despatched in the beginning of the year—had at length arrived. Before that time their communication with Europe had been greatly interrupted on account of the wars raging over an extensive portion of the Southern Sahara. Indeed, one of the caravans venturing to proceed from Murzeek to Kuka was plundered, and a parcel addressed to the expedition was stolen by the Tuareks, and consequently never reached its destination. Between July, 1851, and June last, no supplies had reached the travellers, who were thereby reduced to great straits. All they could possibly spare of what they possessed, necessary to their personal comfort, had been parted with to defray the expenses of their continued excursions, and at last no means were left them to pay a courier for the conveyance of their letters to the north. The great kindness and generosity of the Viceror

* Or City of Westminster, or Borough of Southwark, &c.

of Bornu alone had enabled them to persevere in their undertaking. This enlightened man, by the advice of Dr. Overweg, is making collections of the natural products and manufactures of Bornu, which will be sent to England.

"The suggestion I threw out in my previous communication, respecting the Kawara and Tchadda as the two great highways to the interior of Africa from the west coast, seem to receive a stronger bearing by the present communications of Dr. Barth, who recommends to the special attention of this country that part of the coast which extends from the Kawara to the equator. I may be excused in again mentioning that this is just the region the importance of which has long been recognised by our transatlantic brethren: it is there that the American missionaries have secured a footing; it is that region which no doubt is within the limits of operation of the projected expedition under Captain Lynch, who is already on his way to Western Africa on a preliminary tour of reconnaissance. The object of that expedition, according to President Fillmore's Message to the American Congress on the 6th December, as reported in the *Times*, is the 'reconnaissance of the continent of Africa eastward of Liberia.'

"The two travellers, meanwhile, are determined to cross the whole of the African continent, and to reach, if possible, the Indian Ocean. 'The powerful assistance of England and Prussia,' writes Dr. Overweg, 'inspires us with redoubled courage, and strengthens our determination to push on to the south, and to persevere in the attempt to accomplish our great object.' Should monetary difficulties arise to prevent this, they will previously make another voyage in a westerly direction and attempt to penetrate as far as Timbuktú.

"For my part I am determined to devote other three years in exploring it," so writes Dr. Barth to the Chevalier Bunsen; 'but what can two persons do in this vast unknown world?' And he suggests that other travellers should push into the heart of Africa from the west coast, either up the Tchadda or from Pablo de Loanda, situated to the south of the equator. He recommends in particular that, as arrangements have already been made at Zanzibar, on the east coast of Africa, to assist them from that direction, one or two travellers should start from Mozambique or Kilwa in the direction of Lake Nyassi."

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen held a Court and Privy Council on Tuesday, at Windsor Castle, when the old Cabinet Ministers resigned their seals of office, and the new Ministers kissed hands on their appointments. Lord Granville was sworn in Lord President of the Privy Council, and took his seat at the board. Lord Cranworth took the oath as Lord Chancellor of Great Britain. Sir William Molesworth, Sir John Young, and Mr. Cardwell were sworn in Privy Councillors; and the three Secretaries of State took their oaths of office.

The Queen visited town on Wednesday, and returned to Windsor the same day.

We have reason to believe that an event may be expected in the early part of April next which will add a new member to the Royal family.—*Times*.

The Earl of Aberdeen gave his first Cabinet dinner to his colleagues on Tuesday evening, at his residence in Argyll-street.

Lord John Russell, the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Frederick Peel, Earl Granville, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, Sir William Molesworth, and the Hon. Henry Fitzroy transacted business at their various offices for the first time on Tuesday.

Sir George Turner, late Vice Chancellor, succeeds Lord Cranworth as one of the Lords Justices in Appeals; and Sir William Page Wood takes the post of Vice Chancellor.

The Earl and Countess of Derby left town on Tuesday for Knowsley, Lancashire.

Count Walewski, after having had an interview with Lord John Russell, on Monday, left London for Paris. Countess Walewski accompanied him.

The marriage of Lady Octavia Grosvenor with Sir Michael Shaw Stewart was celebrated on Tuesday morning, at St. George's Church, Hanover-square.

Baron Brunnow, the Russian Minister, gave a dinner to about two hundred of Mr. Cubitt's workmen, who have lately been repairing his residence in Chesham Place, on Monday.

Dr. Max Muller is appointed Lecturer of Modern Literature at Oxford.

Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson has been delivering a course of six lectures in Cincinnati.

The Rev. Francis Hodgson, the Provost of Eton College, died on Wednesday, in the 72nd year of his age. He was an old Etonian, and a friend of Lord Byron, whom he first knew at Cambridge.

Mr. Seguin, the singer, died in New York on the 13th of December. He went to America in 1838, where he has since resided. The *New York Tribune* states that he has left his wife and children a handsome competence.

We learn from the American papers that a new expedition will set out shortly from New York, under the command of Lieutenant Kane, in search of Sir John Franklin.

M. Louis Blanc, on Sunday evening last, delivered a brilliant lecture in vindication of Socialism, in the Literary and Scientific Institution, John-street, Fitzroy-square. We hope next week to be able to present some abstract of the discourse.

A nugget of 340 ounces, purchased by the government of the colony of Victoria as a present for the Queen, is stated to have been brought by the *Marco Polo*, which has just arrived from Melbourne.

The *Illinois* steamer entered New York Harbour on the 14th of December, bringing 2,500,000 dollars of gold dust from California.

During Mr. Wiblin's visit alongside the *Orinoco* on Thursday week, a gentleman came in a sailing boat and requested to see his sister. She came down the gangway, and they, without thinking of the consequences, embraced each other. The gentleman was immediately ordered into quarantine.

We have received a report of the tenth annual meeting of the Coventry Labourer's and Artizan's Friend Society, held at the Mechanic's Institution, Coventry, on the 26th of October. Mr. Charles Bray, president, in the chair. The subscribers to this society number 703. Their subscriptions are invested in land, let out in small loans, and employed in furnishing a working co-operative store. They have a mill of their own, and occupy twenty-nine acres of land, subdivided and let in 285 allotments. Their operations have been successful, and furnish an example to other towns of the profitable employment of small savings, when accumulated and carefully invested.

Mr. Kirwan has been reprieved, and the sentence of death will not, it is understood, be executed.

Joseph Rann, a labourer, has been murdered in the New Forest. His skull was smashed in, and the brains strewn about. Dumper, a poacher, is in custody, but others are supposed to be implicated.

The police arrested last week a family of coiners, consisting of a father, mother, daughter, and son, in Clerkenwell. All the usual material and apparatus were captured after some resistance.

Last week we mentioned the case of Mrs. Holly, who supposed that she had been poisoned by arrowroot given to her by a Mr. Messer, in 1850. A mass of medical evidence was taken on Monday, from which it appeared that the woman's story is incorrect; that there is not a shadow of evidence for the charge against Mr. Messer; and that the proper place for Mrs. Holly is Hanwell Asylum.

The trial of Mr. Bower, for the tragical affair that took place last October in the Rue de Seze, opened on Tuesday, at 9 o'clock, in the Assize Court of Paris. In consequence of all the parties concerned being English, the case excited considerable interest: numbers were waiting to obtain admission, and by half-past 10 o'clock the court was full. About a dozen ladies were accommodated with seats, and the benches where strangers are admitted, as well as the standing-place behind, were crowded with spectators. Comparatively speaking, there were not many English—at least, not so many as might have been expected owing to the peculiarity of the case. The examination of Mr. Bower who was seated to the left of the Court between gendarmes, commenced at about 10 o'clock, and lasted full two hours. His demeanour was generally firm and collected, but when the *interrogatoire* reached that part where the terrible scene of the declaration of Mrs. Bower during her delirium, and the fatal blow which deprived Mr. Morton of life, had to be alluded to, Mr. Bower manifested considerable emotion, and the feeling was shared by the auditory. Several witnesses were examined at length. Amongst these was the present correspondent of the *Daily News*, who formerly assisted Mr. Morton in that capacity. The medical gentlemen all gave their evidence in the most complete manner. The porters of the houses in the Rue de Seze and the Boulevard des Capucins (the residence of Mr. Morton) were also examined. The President occasionally asked Mr. Bower if he had any observation to make as the witnesses concluded their evidence. At half-past 3 the medical and other evidence for the prosecution was brought to a close. The Court was suspended for five minutes; and at a quarter to 4 the counsel for the prosecution, M. Meynard de Franc, began to address the Court, and had not concluded at half-past 5. The witnesses for the defence were afterwards called, and then the celebrated advocate, M. Chaix d'Est-Ange addressed the jury on behalf of the prisoner. The result was a verdict of *Acquittal*.

The following is an extract of a letter dated "Lisbon, Dec. 20," received *via* France:—"Mr. Heald (Lola Montes' husband) went out in one of the vessels of the Royal Yacht Club, having in his company a beautiful young lady. The yacht foundered in sight of Her Majesty's steamer *Inferrible*, which instantly manned a boat with 14 hands to rescue them; not only were they unsuccessful, but the 14 hands were also drowned."

Starvation in this time of prosperity is, we trust, not common; yet a case has incidentally made its way into the *Times*, of a poor man who was travelling from London to Birmingham. He was at Stony Stratford on the 2nd, and having applied for relief, he was sent to the Yardley Gobion workhouse. There he remained until the 4th. His next shelter was an outhouse, where he lay two days without food. Sent away from this place, he crept into a lone barn, and lay there *seven days* without food. When he was found, discovered by his grooms, he was sent back to the Yardley Gobion workhouse again, where he died! [The authorities deny that he died of starvation; and the coroner's jury returned a verdict of natural death.]

An "accident"—these occurrences are called accidents by courtesy, we suppose—happened at the Penkridge-station on Christmas-eve. As a Birmingham train was leaving, a Shropshire Union ran into it, "regardless of signals." Several passengers were so seriously injured that they had to remain at Stafford all night. One lady had her leg broken.

Two accidents happened on the North Western Railway on Friday to one train. The mail of that night ran into some empty coal-waggons at Derby; and afterwards into a goods train at the Broughton-station. The passengers, fortunately, not killed but bruised, arrived in London at 7 a.m., instead of 4 a.m. on Saturday morning!

An inquest has been held on the body of the guard of the express, who was killed at Harrow last week. It appears that the tire of the wheel had been badly welded. The jury returned a verdict of accidental death arising from that cause.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

In the week that ended last Saturday the number of deaths registered in the metropolis was only 871. In the previous week it was 1041; the present Return therefore shows a decrease of 170. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1842-51 the average number of deaths was 1138, which, if a correction is made for increase of population, gives a mortality of 1252 for the present time. The mortality was lower last week than in any of the corresponding weeks; and so far as a conclusion can be drawn from former experience, the present state of the public health must be considered satisfactory.

Fatal cases arising from epidemic diseases declined from 211 in the preceding week to 162 in the last; those from diseases of the respiratory organs fell in the same time from 161 to 130. The corrected average for the former class is 255, that for the latter 254; hence it appears that a great diminution has recently occurred in the mortality of both. Last week small-pox was fatal in only three cases, measles in 11, hooping-cough in 23, croup in 5; scarlatina declined to 50, typhus to 39, diarrhoea to 12. Influenza carried off 3 children, 3 persons between 15 and 60 years, and one person 80 years old.

Last week the births of 708 boys and 643 girls, in all 1351 children, were registered in London. In the seven corresponding weeks of 1845-51 the average number was 1255.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.746 in. The mean temperature of the week was 46.8 degs., which is 7.8 degs. above the average of the same week in ten years. The mean daily temperature was above the average on every day of the week. It was highest on Monday, when it rose to 51.4 degs., which is 11.8 degs. above the average, and lowest on Thursday, when it fell to 39.8 degs., which is 1.1 deg. above the average. It rose on Friday and Saturday to about 49 degs., or 11 degs. above the average. On Thursday the wind was E.S.E.; in the rest of the week generally in the south-west. The mean difference between the dew point temperature and air temperature was 6.1 degs.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 21st of December, the Lady Huntingtower: of a daughter.

On the 26th, at Waterford-barracks, the wife of Major White, Forty-ninth Regiment: a daughter.

On the 26th, at Syston-park, Lady Thorold: a son.

On the 27th, at Peterley-house, Bucks, the wife of Wildman Y. Peel, Esq.: a son.

On the 27th, at 115, Eaton-square, the wife of Major Ormsby Gore: a son.

On the 27th, at the Blind School, St. George's-fields, the wife of the Rev. B. G. Johns, chaplain: a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 21st of December, at the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brompton, the Rev. Henry Smith Mackarness, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, B.A., to Matilda Anne, youngest daughter of James Robinson Planché, Esq., F.S.A., of Michael's-grove-lodge, Brompton.

On the 23rd, at the parish church of Clapham, the Rev. Edward John Selwyn, M.A., head master of the Blackheath Proprietary School, to Maria Sophia Hughes, eldest surviving daughter of W. Hughes Hughes, Esq., late M.P. for Oxford.

On the 23rd, at St. James's Church, Bristol, the Rev. Brooke F. Westcott, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Assistant-Master of Harrow, to Sarah Louisa Mary, eldest daughter of Thomas Whittard, Esq., Kingsdown.

On the 23th, at St. Mary's, Lambeth, Cornthwaite Hector, Esq., second son of the late C. J. Hector, Esq., M.P. for Petersfield, to Ann, second daughter of the late William Hayward, Esq., of the Temple, London.

On the 28th, at St. Marylebone Church, by the Rev. Dr. Wesley, Sub-dean of her Majesty's Chapels Royal, Frederick Bowen Jewson, Esq., to Jane Anderson Kirkham, niece of Mrs. Anderson, Pianist to her Majesty.

On the 29th, at St. John's Church, Paddington, by the Rev. Herbert Kynaston, D.D., High Master of St. Paul's School, Henry Wakeford, Esq., to Rose Emily, second daughter of Sir Henry Rowley Bishop.

DEATHS.

On the 15th of November, at Nelson, near Hamilton, Canada West, aged thirty-five, Eardley Norton, formerly of H.M.'s Fifteenth Hussars, second surviving son of the late Sir John David Norton.

On the 15th, of yellow fever, on board the Royal West India Mail Company's ship, *Great Western*, Mr. Robert Dudman, second officer of that ship, and eldest son of Captain Robert Dudman, H.E.I.C.'s Service, deeply lamented.

On the 19th of December, at his residence, Goff's Oak, Chess-hunt, Major Samuel Thorp, K.H., late of the Twenty-seventh Regiment. He was present when Sir John Moore was killed at the battle of Corunna, participated in the active scenes in the Peninsular war under the late Duke of Wellington and Lord Beresford, was thrice wounded in action with the enemy—severely at the battles of Albuera and Toulouse; also served in France, Belgium, and North America.

On the 21st, at the residence of his grandson, William C. F. Sparrow, Esq., No. 2, Ranelagh-terrace, Ebury-square, Pimlico, the Rev. Thomas Pennington, A.M., of Deal, Kent, and of Bledlow, Bucks, late scholar of Trinity College, and late fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, fifty-four years rector of Thorley, Herts, and sixty-six years rector of Kingsdown, Kent, in the ninety-second year of his age.

On the 22nd, at Bath, Edward Rogers, Esq., of Stanage-park, near Ludlow, formerly M.P. for Bishop's Castle.

On the 23rd, G. Frost, Esq., F.R.S.A., of Paradise-place, Hackney, in his fifty-fifth year.

On the 23rd, at Hill-street, Knightsbridge, in his forty-third year, Henry Musgrove Crispin, Esq., of her Majesty's Treasury.

On the 24th, Thomas Hall Plumer, Esq., of Canons, Edgeware, Middlesex, aged fifty-seven.

On Christmas-day, at Harrow-on-the-Hill, aged seven years and five months, John William, third son of J. W. Cunningham, Esq., Secretary of King's College, London, and grandson of the Rev. J. W. Cunningham, vicar of Harrow.

On Christmas-day, at 36, Upper Harley-street, Anna Maria, second daughter of the late Admiral Sir Charles Morice Pole, G.C.B., in her fifty-third year.

On the 28th, at his sister's, College-street, Northampton, in the forty-seventh year of his age, Captain John Lumley, late of her Majesty's Sixth Royal Regiment of Foot, and son of the late General Sir J. R. Lumley, K.C.B., Adjt.-General of the Bengal Army.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, January 1.

WE have not much more news of the re-elections. Those of Scarborough, Morpeth, and Hertford take place to-day. Most, like Lord Mulgrave, Sir George Grey, and Mr. William Cowper, will meet with no opposition. It is now understood that Mr. Corbet, a barrister, and Lord Duncan have successively declined to oppose Mr. Cardwell, who will no doubt be re-elected by Oxford. Sir James Graham is opposed by the Mr. Sturgeon who stood for Nottingham in July. Mr. Sturgeon is a Chartist, and a Tory was expected, so that Sir James might be defeated and a Tory let in. There is some talk of an opposition to Lord Palmerston, but it is held unlikely. Mr. Bethell, too, will have Aylesbury again unopposed. At Brighton the Radicals have resolved that Lord Alfred Harvey's address is "unsatisfactory;" and that Mr. J. S. Trelawny should be called on to stand. But as Mr. Trelawny lives afar off in Cornwall; and the electric telegraph does not reach him, it was doubtful whether he would be able to come in time.

Sir Charles Wood, who is opposed by Mr. Edwards, addressed his constituents on Wednesday. He made a long and capital speech. Referring to the process of the formation of the Ministry, he bore this testimony to his colleagues.

"We have comprehended within the present Cabinet men of various shades of opinion. If it were not so, it would have been impossible to have formed any Government. There may be many persons in this room who may think that in a Government comprehending those included in the present Cabinet, there are some who are likely to go too far, while others may consider it comprehends those who will not go fast and far enough; but unless the present Ministry had been united by mutual forbearance, and the sacrifice of all personal objections and individual views to a degree which I must confess I little expected, and never saw exceeded, no Liberal Government could have been formed. (Cheers.) Whatever may be the points of difference among parties at home, yet the state of the world abroad is not such as to allow this country to be without a strong Government. (Loud cheering.) I never was an alarmist, and I hope I am not now. No man can look beyond the four seas of this kingdom without seeing that there may be danger from those who dwell on the Continent of Europe. While every power there rules by military force alone, no man can assert that affairs are in so satisfactory a state as to admit of the Government of this country being in weak hands." (Cheers.)

The Liberals have a good majority on the register. Mr. Henry Edwards, doubtless on advice from head quarters, states that "the defence of the Protestant institutions of the country is the pivot upon which the election will turn." This shows that, as anticipated, the cry of the Derbyites will be "No Popery."

The House of Commons sat for a short time, yesterday. Two new writs were ordered.

For the county of Haddington, in the room of the Hon. Francis Charteris, who since his election had accepted the office of one of the Lords of the Treasury; and for the borough of Lichfield, in the room of Lord A. H. Paget, who since his election had accepted the office of Chief Equerry and Clerk Marshal to her Majesty.

The House adjourned until the 10th of February.

Beside the addition to the Ministry, mentioned in Parliament, we understand that Lord Stanley of Alderley has been appointed Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Paymaster-General of the Forces; and Viscount Canning, Postmaster-General. The Treasury and Admiralty Boards are now complete. Mr. Lowe has been appointed to one of the joint Secretaryships of the Board of Control. The other Secretaryship has not been yet filled up; nor has any appointment been made to the offices of Surveyor-General to the Ordnance, Solicitor-General for Scotland, or under-Secretary for Ireland.

At a meeting of ironmasters, it has been agreed to raise the price of iron 20s. a ton, and to raise the wages of the workmen in proportion.

A gentleman who arrived from Russia on Thursday, informs us that the atmospheric revolution, affecting the weather and the temperature, from which we have been suffering here in the shape of floods, thunderstorms, and warm weather, at this season of the year, has affected Russia in a most extraordinary manner. He says that a universal *thaw* prevails throughout Russia—all the ice broken up—the weather mild and close—and a deluge of rain falling. In consequence, the sledges in common use at this season are abandoned for carriages, where *boats* are not required.

The bark *Lily*, laden with fifty tons of gunpowder, set out from Liverpool for the coast of Africa last week; but owing to the weather she could not get out of the Channel, and on Monday she was stranded on Kitterland island, between the Gull of Man and the Isle. Here the crew left her, but in getting away five were drowned. Subsequently Lloyd's agent went on board with thirty men; when the gunpowder exploded, and the whole party were blown to pieces.

The Leader

SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1853.

Public Affairs.

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

THE NEW MINISTRY, ITS PROGRAMME AND ITS MEN.

THE formation of the present Ministry appears to us to constitute the greatest gain to the popular cause that it has ever yet achieved. The present Ministry is drawn from all the parties represented in the House of Commons except one, the party of the Tory Protectionists. But the very principle upon which the Government is formed, that of deferring to the Liberal claims of the great body of the people, while endeavouring to conserve our institutions, precludes the idea that, when once formed, the Ministry can be taken to represent any of the several parties. It is a Government formed for a special purpose, and not for the purposes of those several parties.

In that sense it appears to us to be the only Government possible. There is no party in the House of Commons which possesses the confidence of the majority, the technical qualification for office. No party, therefore, can appoint a Ministry. On the other hand, all Liberal parties have agreed that it is necessary to form a Ministry of some kind. All parties have agreed on the main principles that should guide such a Ministry—namely, the principle that the Government of the country must be carried on; and the principle that it can only be carried on in a Liberal sense. Those two necessities, and the concurrence of all the Liberal parties of the House upon those necessities, form three great public facts; and by the force of those three great public facts the present Ministry has been brought into being.

By these means the very best administrators of previous cabinets, the very best speakers of the Commons, the very best statesmen to collect public opinion, are brought together in the formation of a Cabinet made out of the strength of many Cabinets. Resting, therefore, upon the solid rock of fact, possessing an unprecedented amount of strength, the Ministry enters upon office at the close of an eventful year, and at the commencement of a year not less so.

The programme which this Ministry has laid before it is necessarily simple. In Foreign affairs, non-interference in the internal concerns of other States. In Finance, continuance of the Income-tax according to the principles of justice and equity. At Home, extension of national education, law reform, and amendment of our representative system by safe and well-considered measures. But the character of the administration may depend less upon the names of the measures than the spirit and mode in which they are carried out.

Its utility may be increased or diminished by the amount of confidence which it may command in the public, or the amount of obstruction which it may encounter. The obstruction is likely to arise from a misconception as to its real duty. Advanced Liberals will mistrust it, because the composition in great part forbids it from adopting measures such as advanced Liberals themselves would put forward; and we already see writers calling upon it to hasten, as other Ministers have done, with a shoal of promises never, perhaps, to be completed. It is to sign the thirty-nine articles of Liberalism before it can be certificated as a national Ministry; as if any such subscription ever bound man or Ministry. Even Whigs express doubts; and the purest organ of that party, regarding the Ministry as too strong in its several parts, desires to busy it with many things, in order that its conflicting powers may not become mischievous. All these ideas are based on the old party methods of working, with which we have at present nothing to do. The old parties have been cut off from the future, and the existing Ministry must work according to methods proper to itself and for the actual occasion.

What, then, has it to do? Its course appears to us to be strictly defined by its origin. It has to collect the actual suffrages of the great body of the people on all the prominent subjects of public action. It has, for example, to ascertain and to embody the opinion of the people in regard to the principles which shall regulate our commercial affairs; to establish Free-trade, and to finish the application of that doctrine in the revision of our tariff and in the framing of those taxes which will have to be added for the purposes of increased expenditure. Again, in the approaching conflict which is likely to disturb the relations of foreign countries with each other and with our own, it is necessary that the Government of the day should invite, collect, and put into force the actual opinion of the country at that juncture. In our foreign affairs now all is confusion. We are without principles. Sympathizing with constitutional government, we have suffered it to fall to pieces. We have stimulated extreme movements on the Continent unduly, because we were not prepared to support them; and we have actually played into the hands of despotical and tyrannical Governments, whose proceedings provoke our antipathy and alarm. When the movements that are now proceeding abroad, consequent upon the gathering of great forces, shall call upon this country to take its decided course, it will be necessary for the Government of the day—and it will be no distant day—to take counsel with the country as to the position which shall be assumed, and *bonâ fide* to support that position in its conduct. In regard to our own constitution, there is much uncertain opinion as to the degree and the manner the classes now unenfranchised should be admitted to a share of political power. Many measures are proposed, and no one is carried out, because there is no agreement. It is not the want of conviction that hinders, but the want of concurrence; and if we could get a sufficient number of practical Liberals to agree upon a measure, that measure, whatever it might be, would be best of all; for it would be the measure to be realized. The framing of that measure is especially the business of our present Government. To set our national defences in order; to provide means with the least inconvenience to the paying classes; to render all our public departments efficient in their duties, by improvements in their personal composition, their plans of working, and the honesty of their direction; to fulfil long recognised, but long postponed, duties to our colonial dependencies, and thus to extinguish one source of embarrassment for the Executive; in short, to place the general conduct of public affairs in a state of order, clearness, and honesty,—such are the duties of the Government for the time being; and such, we apprehend, the new Ministers understand their duties to be. The Government for the time being is to realize the sum of floating opinion and conviction of the country. Lord Derby made an idle reproach that there had been a concert to displace him from office; an accusation as easily refuted as it is transparent; but there is a concert—a concert to do the necessary work of the day.

We understand that Ministers are impelled to this duty by strong feeling. There were but two courses open to them—to surrender the Government to the largest of the minorities; or, breaking away from party altogether, to form an administration for the country as the country is now actually situated, with the materials that the whole country can provide. The first course would have been to let the Government and the institutions of the country fall into contempt, with consequences not difficult to foresee.

It does not at all follow that such a Ministry as the present, however, does nothing for “progress,” even in the ordinary sense of the word; quite the reverse. It will now realize and fix for ever in practical application the progressive principles which we have long maintained by continuous effort. It will mark the highest tide to which progress has yet risen; it will fix the past beyond retraction, and will furnish a new start for the pioneers not yet appointed in the further progress of political freedom.

SIR WILLIAM MOLESWORTH FOR SOUTHWARK.

Few appointments have promised to be more important in their effects, than that of Sir William Molesworth to be Chief Commissioner of Works. We have differed from Sir William on important

subjects, and are likely to differ again from a man whose view of politics appears to us to be taken too much from the side of science, and too little from the side of affection. But he is a man of a bold understanding; he has not only declared in favour of the most liberal policy for our own Commonwealth, but has for twenty years supported his convictions with great effect before the public, and before Parliament. Accomplished as a student of standard authors that have imparted a colour to the intellect of our own day; drawing ideas from their original sources, he has himself treated many subjects of public interest with masterly comprehension and much originality.

He has done more—he has done that which many men, proud of their own attainments and originality, flinch from doing: he has accepted the aid of others, his equals, if not his superiors, in his own most distinguished enterprises. He has, for example, been a disciple and coadjutor of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, in Colonial matters; always, indeed, with the independence which distinguishes him, but also with the frank avowal of the companionship which reflected the highest credit upon his understanding, no less than his moral feeling. In that he may be compared with Charles Buller, whose courageous disregard of petty innuendoes, whose frank avowal of a second, or even a third, place in the important Canada mission, marked out that young statesman as possessing an originality and generosity above all paltry competition for the “exclusive” possession of ideas—that bane of small and servile minds. There have been many reasons which might have made it comparatively easy to borrow the ideas of Mr. Wakefield, and to disavow the authorship; and a man conscious of deficient power of originality in his own mind, might have been tempted to do so. Buller and Molesworth are good samples of modern chivalry, and we might point them out as the best types of the gentleman in our day; both members, be it observed in passing, of old Cornish families. Both approached public affairs with a disregard of party, and with a desire to accomplish the *thing* upon which they set their hearts, when that was good, wise, and for the benefit of their country.

Sir William has been able to accomplish some of the most important enterprises that he has undertaken. It was he who, with Charles Buller, Francis Baring, brother of the present Lord Ashburton, and a comparatively small knot of active and independent intellects, enforced upon the Government a more systematic conduct of Colonial affairs. To Sir Henry George Ward may be given all credit for the committee of 1836, which put forth, in the form of a blue book, an intelligent manual of Colonial settlement; but Sir Henry was the instrument, and was moved by intellects more powerful than his own. How much his mind belonged to the adjective rather than the substantive class, is shown by the general tone of his administration in the Ionian Islands, where he had no such counsel to direct him. In the enforcement of “responsible government” for Canada—a principle subsequently acknowledged in other colonies, and largely influencing the concessions which have since been made—Lord Durham, guided by Mr. Wakefield, was faithfully supported by Sir William Molesworth.

Sir William was himself chairman and manager of that committee in 1837 which effectually demolished the practice of convict slavery in Australia. No man was more opposed by the colonists than he was; and he has lived to see the colonists who were deprived of convict labour through his means, accept his conclusion as one vital to the welfare of their own colony, and resent a proposal to re-establish convictism in Australia, even to the verge of rebellion. A more remarkable case of the successful exercise of moral and intellectual force upon the practical conduct of an important branch of public affairs cannot be adduced.

The accession of a man like Sir William Molesworth, marks the character of the new Ministry. When Lord Aberdeen throws overboard the old phrases “Conservative” and “Liberal” as party distinctions, though he retains them jointly, as designating very proper qualities in a public administrator, he expresses a truth which all feel, and which we all admit to be just enough in his mouth; but when he accompanies that declaration with the admission of a man like Sir William Molesworth,

worth to share in his councils, to aid in the work which he has undertaken, we then understand that the declaration of a political truth is to have a substantial result, and that Lord Aberdeen's Ministry must be large and true indeed in its purpose, when steadily maintained convictions like those of Sir William Molesworth, are included in the scope of its action.

Upon the constituents of Southwark is now thrown a duty superior even to that of electing a good representative. There have been little differences between them and their old Member, chiefly ascribable, perhaps, to the somewhat overstrained independence of his manner, when a little explanation would have made his constituents understand how thoroughly they were still of accord in all essentials. But they have not forfeited their right to return one of the most effective members of Parliament; and they have now the opportunity of appointing a Minister for a Radical constituency. They have the opportunity of decreeing that the direct representative of one of the most Radical constituencies of the kingdom shall be sitting in the Cabinet. We cannot but regard that as a great advance for Radical opinions. The constituents have the power of cementing the union between the most advanced shape of reform yet seen in Parliament, with executive power, by continuing to their representative the confidence of a Radical constituency after he has acquired the confidence of the Crown. That union we regard as most important for the progress of Liberal power in our institutions.

Sir William Molesworth's return by the constituency of Southwark is something much more than an ordinary election, and by their decision the electors of Southwark will have effected a much more than ordinary gain for the cause that they have at heart.

ARCHDEACON DENISON'S POLITICAL CHURCHMANSHIP.

LORD DERBY'S Ministry seems to have been fatal to nearly all the persons implicated in its origin, involved in its wonderful developments, or engaged in its support. And prominent among the fallen in the last category is one whom we had learned to respect and admire; whose conduct, previously to February, 1852, seemed a guarantee for future steadfastness in the path he had chosen. All our knowledge of him up to that period led us to expect a perseverance in the attainment of his unselfish objects; and an unfaltering adherence to the principles which made them legitimate. We looked upon him as impulsive, it is true, but brave, conscientious, and simple-minded. We never dreamed that anything approaching to Jesuitry could find a place in his mind. We deemed him a high, straightforward Churchman, not a crooked politician. Judging from his conduct, but without sympathising with his ultimate aims, and even prepared to oppose them, we believed and hoped that he was only one of a large party in the Church of England prepared manfully to carry out her principles, make the best of them, and accept the consequences, be they what they might. We have been deceived. The Archdeacon of Taunton is not a hero of a new party; Erastianism, the Dalilah always courting the professors of a State religion, has vanquished him. He is the Peter of Tractarianism. Ere the twelvemonth has gone round, he has thrice denied his principles.

When Lord Derby entered office, he proclaimed in the City that the Church of England was a compromise. Mr. Archdeacon Denison, whose whole teaching was adverse to the dictum of Lord Derby, accepted and supported the Ministry of the man who could find no better epithet than compromise to describe the religion of Mr. Denison. Was not this an admission of Erastianism in its boldest form? But then it had been bruited abroad that Lord Derby and Mr. Denison's old opponent, Sir John Pakington, would meddle with the management clauses; and not content with accepting the barren fruit of that act, Mr. Denison flung aside his avowed principle that a "churchman should have no politics," and enlisted in the Derbyite brigade. Once on the slippery path leading downwards, Mr. Denison could not stay his steps. At the Somersetshire election in July, he doffed his cassock, and donned the Tory cockade, openly supporting the Erastian politicians, Miles and Knatchbull, against a known friend of the

Church, but a probable opponent of Lord Derby and Protection.

The Duke of Wellington died in September, and foremost in the van of those who flung up their square caps for Lord Derby as Chancellor of Oxford, was George Anthony Denison. It must be admitted that this was a questionable mode of showing that a "churchman should have no politics." We impute no interested motives to Mr. Denison; we simply state the fact, and that is, that next to Dr. Simmons, of Wadham, probably the warmest supporter of the Minister, who declares that his Church is a compromise, was the Archdeacon of Taunton.

Lord Derby has not been a Chancellor three months before he falls from office. A new ministry is formed, of which Mr. Gladstone is a member. Mr. Gladstone is a gentleman, and he deliberately believes that he can act for the public benefit with Lord Lansdowne, Lord John Russell, and Sir William Molesworth. But Mr. Denison, who believes that a "churchman should have no politics"—who accepted Derby, and Disraeli, and Pakington—who approved of their "morality" at the last election, in appealing to the country with one loose set of principles for the towns, and another for the counties—who personally helped in July in the attempt to bring back a bread-tax, objects to the present "coalition" ministry. He, who trusted the Chancellorship of the University to Derby, can now "place no confidence" in Mr. Gladstone, either as a representative of Oxford, or a public man! Rash in his trust, he is now rash in his suspicions; and he thrusts aside the facts of Mr. Gladstone's whole life, and assumes that he has allowed himself to be willingly blinded by the foes of the Church, in order that he may join them in office. "Any amount of guarantee," he writes to Mr. Gladstone, "which may have been taken by you in accepting office in the new Government for non-aggression upon the Church of England, or for the concession of her just claims, is, in my judgment, absolutely valueless when weighed against the fact of the coalition." And the writing of this to his "loved and respected friend" formed Mr. Denison's occupation, before or after church service, at East Brent, on Christmas-day.

But this is not all. "D. C. L.," a well-known writer on Church matters in the *Morning Chronicle*, has approved of the Ministry; whereupon Mr. Denison writes a letter to the *Morning Chronicle*, which will be found elsewhere, and in case the editor should not publish it, he sent a copy to the *Morning Herald*—so anxious was he that it should be printed. In that letter he declares that "Churchmen who support the 'coalition' Government will be hard put to it to defend their support upon any recognised moral principle. If they are content to look to the possible action of such a Government, putting aside all considerations of how it came to be a Government at all, this may be expediency of a low kind, but it is not morality." Now we put it to the reader, whether a Churchman who has supported the Government of Lord Derby is in a position to accuse any one of immorality in joining or supporting any practicable British Government whatever.

As we have, under a different phase of his shifting character, admired and praised Archdeacon Denison, and led our readers to believe that he was a Churchman without politics—a new ecclesiastical character in England, at least among active men—so we have thought it right to show that we trusted too much in professions, and that the metal we thought true, at the first test, proves to be sadly alloyed.

STRUGGLES OF PROTESTANTISM IN PIEDMONT.

It did not need the argument which is said to have been used to frighten the Grand Duke Leopold into renewing punishment of death in Tuscany for proving the strong moral influence of England—"E poi Lord Minto è a Genova"—"And then Lord Minto is at Genoa." The story is evidently made up; but it shows that the very name of an English statesman has an effect in Italy, in spite of the past. And, indeed, that past has been terrible for the good fame or good influence of our country in the land where temporal and spiritual despotism is now doing its worst against civil and religious liberty. Before we consider those struggles, one word must be given to the past.

England has appeared in Italy only to betray

the hopes she raised. In Sicily, thrice has England helped to incite the people to take their own cause into their own hands, thrice to betray them—in 1812, 1821, and 1848. Twice under Lord Castlereagh did England support the Sicilians, until they relied upon her and her advice, and then she handed them over to the mercies of the King of Naples. We have already told that tale; and told how, in the first-named year, Sicily consented, on the advice of England, to give up her old Parliament for one which Ferdinand afterwards retracted without restoring the constitution of the Normans. In 1848, Lord Palmerston persuaded the Sicilians to give up their republic and their united action with Italy, in order to adopt a King and English principles; and then he left them to the mercies of Filangieri and Ferdinand. In Tuscany and Rome, Minto showed himself as an apparition of constitutional hope, shouting "L'indipendenza d'Italia;" and then, after a conversation in which Lord Minto thought the Pope meant all that England could desire, and the Pope thought England meant all that the triple tiara could desire, the father-in-law of Lord John Russell, now our new foreign secretary, then Premier, disappeared. Lord Palmerston protested on behalf of Sardinia, and then protested; and there it ended. English opinions have had great influence, especially in Tuscany, in developing free thought; English authors are read, English examples are emulated; but no advantage is taken of the English influence. On the contrary, our Government made a great fuss about that "aggression" which Lord Minto condemned by anticipation; our Government passed a Bill to coerce and offend Cardinal Wiseman—specially withholding coercion and offence from Archbishop M'Hale; and then, in conjunction with the French republic, England restored the Pope to his spiritual and temporal authority. But the last appearance of England in that duchy has been a deputation from Exeter Hall to intercede for a courier and his wife, who have turned evangelical—and to intercede in vain. Such is the manner in which England has wasted her Italian influence.

So much for the past—preface to a period when the influence of England might have been most valuable. In Piedmont is now proceeding a struggle that ought, above all others, to interest the people of the most Protestant country in the world. The Government of Piedmont, under d'Azeglio, introduced into the Parliament a Bill exactly, in its main purpose, like our own law, making marriage a civil contract, and leaving the religious ceremony to be performed at the dictate of conscience; the ministers well knowing that in almost all cases, as with us, the contracting parties spontaneously invoke a religious benediction. Of course the priesthood resented this abstraction of their right over the very initiation of the home and the family, and the Bill was made the subject of a contest between the Vatican and the Court at Turin. The Pope, whom we have replaced, under the viceroyalty of the reactionary cardinals, has adopted a course insolent towards King Victor Emanuel, oppressive towards Italian Protestants in Piedmont. He has made the Bill a case of war spiritual, he has formally refused the request of the King of Sardinia for a statement of the reasons on which his refusal is based, and he has upheld the exiled Archbishop Franzoni in resisting the authority of the Sardinian Government. Pius the Ninth has done more than what would have been equivalent to upholding a Wiseman against the Ministry and the Sovereign of England, for Franzoni is more like our à Becket. The Archbishop has shown in what contempt he holds the Government of Turin, by addressing to the clergy an insolent letter against the Act of Parliament, which declares that marriages contracted under that act are not valid.

And what, in their struggles to maintain civil and religious liberty against an alien church has been the condition of the Government of Piedmont? One of unaided endeavour. England has been as nothing to the Piedmontese Protestants, for such they are; and per force they begin to yield. The Senate—their "House of Incurables"—has destroyed the main principle of the Bill; the Government has for the time given way, by withdrawing the measure, although the Lower Chamber might have restored it; and Protestantism has received a severe check in Piedmont. Such is the way in which English

statesmen have interpreted the doctrine of non-intervention; interpreting it to mean that despots, temporal and spiritual, shall conspire to do all they like against body and soul, and that, all alliances and sympathies notwithstanding, free Protestant England will let them.

But Lord John Russell accedes to the Foreign Office, and people are watching for a better regime.

MR. KIRWAN'S REPRIEVE.

WE ventured a fortnight since—when it was rather a bold thing to do so—to consider the Kirwan case, though it apparently involved only the life of one rather dissolute member of society, as a public affair, and to protest against any Irish jury's introducing into our courts of justice the highly parliamentary, but very improper, practice of trying merely nominal issues, and, in fact, directing their attention to a review of the accused's whole life, while professedly addressing themselves entirely to a particular accusation. We suggested that it was decidedly a dangerous precedent to establish, this of catching up a man on the vaguest suspicion, and, after ticketing him as an immoral and dangerous character, requesting that he will provide counsel to show cause to a necessarily prejudiced jury why he should not be immediately hanged. We pointed to the fact that a jury had found a man guilty of murder when doctors even could not say that his alleged victim was murdered at all; and where, even supposing—which we have no right to suppose—that she had met a violent death, there was no proof, and no argument, save his presumed motive, that it was at his hands she died. With this part of the question we have done. The reprieve of the wrongly convicted man is an admission by the Crown lawyers that an act of injustice was about to have been committed; his "pardon," which must follow as soon as the new Ministry have fairly settled down to their duties, will, to the satisfaction of the public and the dismay of Mr. Justice Crampton, confirm and establish on a surer basis than ever, the doctrine for which we have contended.

But though, in the onset, we deemed it desirable to divest the case as far as possible of the "mantle of mystery," to use Judge Crampton's melodramatic expression, with which the particularities of the evidence had surrounded it, we cannot resist offering a word or two now by way of remark upon the character of the testimony which was so fully believed at this remarkable trial, and upon the quantity of vulgar malice and of Irish imagination which was infused into it. In the first place, it may be noticed, as illustrating the strong faith both of the bench and of the jury in every utterance of the prosecution, that two statements, calculated to prejudice the case of the prisoner, were made by Mr. Smyly as he commenced—were credited throughout, though never proved, and though no witness was ever called to prove them—and finally were admitted into the scale, which they then turned against Mr. Kirwan. These facts, taken on the word of Mr. Smyly, were, that Mr. Kirwan had lived twelve years with a mistress, which turns out to be true; and that Mrs. Kirwan had only recently penetrated this secret, which proves to be false. That such assertions, unsupported by any testimony, should have gone forth unchallenged by the bench, and been allowed to weigh with the jury, strikes us as remarkable; perhaps it is only Irish.

However, we will leave this question, and see what new light has been thrown upon the subject since last we addressed ourselves to its consideration.

We begin with a declaration, dated 22nd December, and made by Mrs. Robert Bentley, wife of a solicitor in Dublin, who was from her infancy on the most intimate terms with Mrs. Kirwan, and who affirms that that lady invariably stated to her that "a more quiet, gentle, good-natured, or generous-hearted man than her husband never lived." Mrs. Bentley says further, "solemnly and sincerely," that to her knowledge, as well as that of several members of her family, the late Mrs. Kirwan was fully acquainted before the expiration of one month after her marriage, with Mr. Kirwan's connexion with the woman Kenny: that she exhibited very little excitement or emotion on the subject, and not even any except when instigated by a busybody called Mrs. Byrne. What becomes, after this, of the theory that the discovery only took place six months

since, and that the murder was committed in consequence of the quarrels to which that recent discovery gave rise? Mrs. Bentley also tells us that the deceased lady was subject to fits. Mr. Arthur Kelly similarly declares that he, who was an assistant to Kirwan, and had therefore constant access to his house, remembered Mrs. Kirwan's having two fits, lasting each half an hour; and Anne Maher, a servant girl, remembers her having one. For the very best reason possible, these witnesses were not called at the trial. That part of the defence attributing the death to this cause was only decided on at the last moment. When the prosecution, with State funds at its command, has been three months preparing itself, while the poor accused is asked all in a hurry to collect his ideas and his money, post-haste, for the defence, it is scarcely to be wondered at if all that could be said in his favour is not ready by the day when it is required. Of the value of Mrs. Campbell's testimony we spoke very early. A lady who repudiates her own statement on the ground that it was not made in form, may save herself the legal consequences of perjury if she can establish her excuse; but to place reliance on her afterthoughts, even when she does "kiss the book," is to offer a premium to falsehood, and to make a farce of the administration of justice. We have read of an attorney, (Murphy, in Fielding's *Amelia*,) who argued with some plausibility that the man must be hard-hearted who would not put his lips to calfskin to save the life of a fellow-christian; but, we suspect, even that respectable practitioner would have been cast if he had endeavoured to show that the same operation might be virtuously gone through to take it away.

Pat Nangle is the next person of consequence, and he swore to a great many things, and adhered very doggedly to them all. But if Kirwan had his motives, Pat also had his. Pat, it will be remembered, was the man who first found the body, and then the clothes, and who had some statements, which he considered very damning, to make, as to both those discoveries.

It struck us, from the first, as a curious coincidence, to say the least of it, that this man's recollection of events should be so much better at the trial, three months after the occurrence to which it referred, than at the coroner's inquest, which took place at once; and we also observed, not without "taking a note" of it, that, according to the counsel for the prosecution, he had had the extreme delicacy to alter Mrs. Kirwan's position before his companion, Mick, or Mr. Kirwan came up; in other words, that he was, by his own act, the only person who saw her with the sheet, of which we have heard so much, underneath her, and in the attitude which he described. Here, again, the "mantle of mystery" is removed; for Mr. Jackson, in a declaration, made on the 22nd of December, says he had frequent conversations with the Nangles, who told him that Kirwan "appeared ashamed on seeing his wife so exposed, and ran for a sheet to cover her, and did cover her with it." They never altered this statement, though he often spoke to them, nor ever made mention of a sheet being found under Mrs. Kirwan. Another gentleman, Mr. Robert Jackson, lets us quite into the secret of Pat's opinions. He tells us that when the hearse came to the door, the Nangles offered obstruction, and demanded payment before the corpse could be permitted to pass. The payment in question was demanded after the inquest, but before the trial; meanwhile was taking place the change in Mr. Nangle's recollection of the facts—a coincidence, at any rate, and a notable one, when placed in conjunction with the statement of Catherine Brew, who declares that "the said Patrick Nangle expressed himself to her thus—'If I am called upon again, I will pinch him,'—meaning Kirwan."

Mr. Nangle's metaphor is not difficult of comprehension: he has pinched the man who did not pay him enough, rather forcibly; and he has used the moral, but mistaken, jury as his nippers.

But there is no use in going further into details. There has been a terrible miscarriage of justice, and it will, we doubt not, be remedied, so far as it can. The question is, how far can it? Of course, the reprieve is merely the hurried act of an outgoing Minister; the absolute pardon comes from the new Government. And this is one of the absurdities of our criminal law. If Kirwan had been concerned in a suit involving one-tenth part of what his defence has cost him, he might have had an appeal. If he could have

satisfied the court, in any civil case, that injustice had been done in the name of law, he would have been unhesitatingly granted a new trial; but, inasmuch as it is only a life at stake, all he can do is to pray for Royal mercy, and to ask functionaries in the hottest bustle of politics to give ear to his petitions, and rectify the error of which he has been the victim. Had his trial not been an extraordinary one, it never would have been read; the press would never have interposed: the Crown would have referred to the judges who tried him; they would have expressed themselves satisfied that he deserved hanging—no matter, apparently, by the Irish code, for what,—and he would have been ignominiously executed, ostensibly for a crime he never committed. As it is, he will be spared—ruined, no doubt, but graciously pardoned, notwithstanding; for in this instance a commutation of the sentence is a logical impossibility. Either he is guilty, or he is innocent; if not executed, he must, as far as may be, be reinstated in his former position. But are we to congratulate ourselves upon this?

When the Royal prerogative has extended to Mr. Kirwan the boon of liberty, will the judge apologize for taunting him with his "present degraded and disgraceful situation;" and admitting once more that those words of insult were not "mere words of course," explain why he went beyond his "official duty" to hurt the feelings and arouse the passions of the helpless wretch before him? Of course he will not; and of course he is very much affronted that the timely interposition of the press has postponed for Kirwan that eleventh hour at which, with (for so pious a man) a curious forgetfulness of his precedent, Mr. Justice Crampton informs us in his sentence, *some* have repented and believed. It is exacting more than is in human nature, to require any recantation from a gentleman who perfectly sympathised with, if he did not help to obtain, the verdict; who, improving the occasion, delivered a sermon on the temporal and eternal consequences of adultery, of which the moral was, that nobody who kept a mistress ever escaped hanging, and who—there being no gaol chaplain at Dublin, we imagine—wound up by explaining in open court, for the general edification of the young, how "in the short period left to him in this world," this reprobate and murderer was to obtain "everlasting happiness" and "a crown of eternal glory." To ask a judge who has said such fine things as these to consider whether they would not be as well unsaid, is to ask what we are perfectly certain not to obtain. Is it not equally ridiculous to let the question of pardon lie with him? Is not an appeal *ab eodem ad eundem* an absurdity? Would not Kirwan have been hanged, but that the newspapers spoke out for the people, and that the people's demand for justice was stronger than the Dublin jury's appetite for refreshments and horror of adultery?

"BROTHER" NO. "III."

GREAT has been the desire to adopt Louis Napoleon as Superintendent of Police for the party of Order in the disturbed district of France; but a serious practical difficulty has been encountered by his friends and patrons the Powers of the North; and the conduct of England has complicated their difficulty very considerably. The potentates of the North, champions of order, find no difficulty in recognising the conqueror of France, who surprised the capital of his native country at midnight; obtained it by a great expense of bloodshed; violated more than one constitution; and now sits in defiance of legitimate inheritance.

It might have been expected that the fact of his claim to sit for 8,000,000 of the people would also constitute a difficulty; and so it does. Not, indeed, that the fact of universal suffrage is an insuperable objection even to the despots of the North. They do not object to the 6, 7, or 8,000,000, or any number of millions which he may choose to reckon as his specific supporters; but they object to his *saying* so. It would, no doubt, be an awkward precedent, if it were recorded solemnly, that a throne can derive its right from "the million." For to recognise the will of the Million as a right, is to recognise the want of that will as the want of that right; and then, Where would the potentates be? As the coachman of the old ways said, after the modern railway crash, they would be "Nowhere."

There has been a difficulty in recognising

Louis Napoleon, "by the grace of God, and the will of the Nation." One might have expected some objection now-a-days even to the grace of God, inasmuch as the autocrat ought to be all-sufficient. He ought to be, for example, Emperor of Austria by the grace of Francis Joseph! It would be quite sufficient; but, luckily for potentates, the grace of God can always be assumed by the aid of the church established according to law. There is no difficulty on that score: Francis Joseph is Emperor "by the grace of God," witness his clergy. Louis Napoleon is Emperor "by the grace of God," all the clergy of France attesting; and so on all round. But it is not always so easy to prove that you are Emperor by the will of the nation. Our Sovereign may adduce the fact historically; Louis Napoleon has vamped up a kind of accommodation bill, which may serve as his guarantee; but where can the Emperor of Austria find the equivalent, or Russia? They must address their people rather in such terms as these—"Francis Joseph, Emperor, &c., by the grace of God, and in spite of your teeth." There is therefore a serious practical inconvenience in recognising an Emperor who professes to sit by the will of the nation. Louis Napoleon might have pleaded that the will of the nation had little to do with the matter; but then he has been indiscreet enough to talk about it. There are many things that we may do, but must not talk about, and amongst those ineffable things we may seduce a nation, if we can; but in royal circles it is not decent to talk about those "bonnes fortunes."

Still, that might have been got over, although the will of the nation is an awkward thing to swallow for an autocrat; but there were more serious things behind. If the potentates were fully to recognise this new Emperor, each must call him "Brother," and at that they scruple. They can give him power over the French people; they can support him against any number of millions; they can use him as an instrument in suppressing the thought and will of mankind; but inasmuch as he has not been engaged in these tasks for some generations, if not centuries, they scruple to call him "my Brother." If he asks, in the language of the negro, "Am I not a man and a brother?" they will answer, "No! You are a man, and an Emperor; but you must continue at the work of grand gaoler for some centuries before we can recognise you as a brother. We must be 'both in the wrong,' from father to son, for generations to come, before the fraternity can be cemented."

There was, indeed, a more serious difficulty yet. Louis Napoleon professes to be of that name number "III.," and to this the Emperors cannot consent. He has conquered France; he is an Emperor *de facto*, and he can command an army of 400,000, perhaps extended to three or four millions. He is Napoleon, Emperor of the French, but not number "III." That becomes serious. The difficulty is not lessened by the fact that England has recognised him, both as "my Brother" and as number "III." Lord Malmesbury, it seems from the German accounts, has advised Queen Victoria to call the usurper of December 2nd "my Brother;" and Lord Derby, Conservative Minister, has recognised him as "III." This last fact is taken as a serious pledge that England arrays herself on the side of France against the North. The North feels bound to make a stand. It is felt that by the recognition of the third cardinal number the very constitution of society is at stake; and curiously enough, as Louis Napoleon saved society by deluging Paris with blood at midnight, so the Northern potentates save society by refusing to recognise him as number III. To society itself, indeed, both these processes are equally mystical; and such is the vulgar idea, that while we suppose there may be some virtue in a midnight ablution in blood, we have much difficulty in understanding the saving clause, in the refusal of number "III." The rulers of the world, however, lay great stress upon the fact; and as they do rule the world, as they determine what is wise and what is not wise, as they arrange for the largest portion of Europe what Europe shall think, as they are *cum privilegio et auctoritate* the judges of truth and falsehood, we must presume that society, although it does not know it, has really been saved by that solemn and mighty denial of number III. Our new Government, it is said, more constitutionally disposed than Lord Derby, will not adopt the "III." Though war

should succeed, Napoleon is Emperor of the French only; no longer "brother," and by no means number "III." Society is saved.

THE "LEADER" IN THE DUBLIN MECHANICS' INSTITUTE.*

A FEW days since, the *Dublin Mechanics' Institute* was the scene of a disgraceful but most characteristic outburst of bigotry; disgraceful, let us hasten to add, not in the act itself, but in the shameless want of truthfulness which accompanied it. It appears that the library of this flourishing Institute contains, amid 7000 volumes of reputed safety, an exceedingly minute proportion of "dangerous" literature: among its scientific works there stands *The Vestiges* (which, by the way, is on the same shelf with Miller's *Footprints of the Creator*, and his *Old Red Sandstone*, not to mention that every Magazine and Review in the Library contains hostile criticisms of that "dangerous" work); among its theological works, all orthodox, there is one black sheep, Francis Newman's *History of the Hebrew Monarchy*; among its poets there are the odious names of Shelley and Byron; among its Reviews and Newspapers of the "highest respectability," there are the *Westminster*, the *Weekly Dispatch*, and the *Leader*. When we add the names of Voltaire, Dumas, Sue, &c., it will be seen at once that for short-sighted bigotry there was ample ground upon which to raise a protest. We have nothing to say to that. The intolerance which will not permit the expression of contrary opinions may be lamented, but it may also be respected as at least a sincere error. The *Leader* has shown, frequently enough, that it can be tolerant even of intolerance. In fact, we have more than once defended the Catholics on this point, and shown how their intolerance was justifiable. But there is one thing which we never will tolerate—there is one base, cowardly vice that has the privilege of disturbing our calmness, and the vice is one, we regret to say, displayed more shamelessly in theological polemics than in any other arena—the vice of deliberate and calumnious lying. Mr. Hennessy, the orator on this occasion, might have gratified his active malignity and desire for notoriety (a desire, if he could but know it, the fruition of which is the becoming a definite object of contempt, instead of the indefinite one he was before), by taking his stand upon the broad principles of Catholicism, not to "hear the other side," but as he thought fit to make up for his want of talent and sincerity by a cheap and artful stratagem, calling to aid the easy talent of lying, we will indulge his desire, and fix him in the pillory. We confine ourselves to our own case. Shelley, Byron, Voltaire, Dumas, the author of the *Vestiges*, Francis Newman, Henry Mayhew, and Mr. Reynolds, we leave untouched.

Let us be distinctly understood. We are not arguing the question whether the *Leader*, or any other publication, has a right to a place in the *Dublin Mechanics' Institute*. It is for the Institute to settle its own affairs; what we have here to expose is, the miserable mendacity of the spokesman of the opposing faction, as regards ourselves.

"The *Leader*," according to Mr. Hennessy, "says the Holy Bible is a book filled with errors, and tells the mechanic that he must choose between it and science, as both are incompatible." True, the *Leader* does say so much; and surely a sincere Catholic might have found therein sufficient ground of opposition, without following it up with misrepresentation and lying? He says we advocate "the worst species of Communism;" and that "between the sexes promiscuous intercourse is openly proclaimed." Now of two things one: either Mr. Hennessy knows little of the *Leader*, and in that case we would ask him (did we believe in his integrity at all) how he reconciles it to his conscience to attack a journal which he does not know? or secondly, he does know the *Leader*, and in that case he must know that the *Leader* never did at any period advocate any species of Communism (consequently not the "worst

* On reading, in the *Nation*, the report of the proceedings in the *Dublin Mechanics' Institute*, we immediately addressed a note to the Earl of Carlisle, requesting to be informed whether his lordship meant to include the *Leader* in the category of works that incited his censure. We have received from Lord Carlisle a reply in the negative, with the explanation that his observations were founded on the general purport of the statement respecting "books and engravings," as he had received it from Mr. Hennessy.—ED. *Leader*.

species"); it advocated the general principles of Association and Co-operation, declaring the time not ripe for special realization; declaring every "species of Communism" hitherto elaborated to be both premature and imperfect. Moreover, respecting "promiscuous intercourse of the sexes," that is a form of social degradation which the *Leader* has energetically and incessantly protested against; so far as we have touched that delicate point, it has been to lament the indifference of public opinion on so serious and vital a matter, and to call attention to the desecration of our finest impulses, which the prevalent laxity causes. Every one who knows us will answer for us on this head.

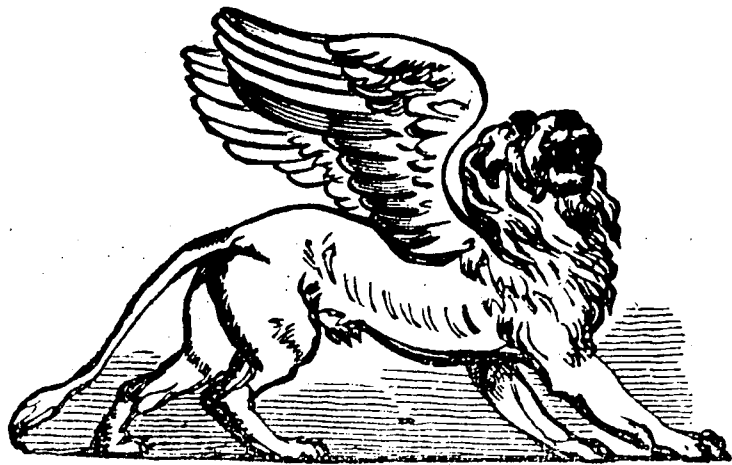
In the foregoing passages we have dealt only with misrepresentation, and knowing how frequent misrepresentation is, oftentimes quite unconscious, we should scarcely have noticed it, had not the deliberate falsehood which follows proved the misrepresentation to be systematic. Mr. Hennessy has the audacity to assert before the whole Institute—"In the number laid on your table, last week, you will find one of the writers openly asserting that man is as the beasts that perish; that there is no God to stay the storm, or hereafter to receive us when once this life is passed." All our readers will share the astonishment with which we read this. It was not Mr. Hennessy's construction of a passage; it was not what he might think our assertions "led to;" it was the "open assertion" of one of our writers! What will the reader say when we inform him that this "open assertion," so far from being ours, is derived from a passage in the letter of a correspondent, calling our views of immortality in question: a letter, be it observed, which was inserted with three others, attacking us on the orthodox side (in the *Butler* controversy), and to which we appended a reply, as emphatic as we could make it, explaining our belief in immortality, and adducing one novel argument! Thus, from the very letter we combat, an assertion is selected to pass for our opinion! In the same square inch of paper where this "assertion" appears, (in the shape of a query, by the way,) there appears our emphatic protest, and "honest, honest Iago" selects the opinion we protest against, and tells the world it is our own. It is a re-enacting of the old farce, of saying the Bible proclaims "There is no God" (omitting the context of "The fool hath said in his heart.") No excuse is possible; the lie is deliberate! Mr. Hennessy could not have seen the assertion, without seeing also the reply; but to damage an antagonist at the expense of a little easy lying, was more than this honest creature could forego. To those who know us, the lie, of course, was harmless; but to those who know us not, the effect may be imagined.

How is it that those who hold in their hands the Book of Truth, should so constantly deem it unnecessary to be truthful in its defence? That is the "moral" of this scene in the *Dublin Mechanics' Institute*.

ART THOU AN AMBASSADOR, OR BUT A WANDERING VOICE?

"THE excitement" at the imprisonment of the *Morning Chronicle* correspondent in Vienna, says the writer himself, "has been increased by the circumstances of the outrage having been committed in the capital where a British ambassador resides." The description is technically correct, although, to the uneducated eye, it appears inconsistent with the fact. It may be said that the British ambassador resides in Vienna, in spite of his constant absence: over the rest of Europe he travels.

LOVE AND AMBITION.—Ah, how different was the writing of that letter, to the writing of those once-treasured pages of my romance, which I had now abandoned, as it seemed, for ever! How slowly I worked; how cautiously and diffidently I built up sentence after sentence, and doubtfully set a stop here, and laboriously rounded off a paragraph there, when I toiled in the service of ambition! Now, when I had given myself up to the service of love, how rapidly the pen ran over the paper; how much more freely and smoothly the desires of the heart flowed into words, than the thoughts of the mind! Composition was an instinct now, an art no longer. I could write eloquently, and yet write without pausing for an expression or blotting a word. It was the slow progress up the hill, in the service of ambition; it was the swift (too swift) career down it, in the service of love!—COLLINS'S *Basil*



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.

THE "MELBOURNE."

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—In a recent number, you recounted the misfortunes of the ill-fated *Melbourne*, and denounced the government who sold, and the company who bought, the ship. You will have seen, by the papers obtained by Mr. Divett, that the government did not sell the *Melbourne* to the company, but to a Mr. Scott Russell, who agreed in exchange for her to build a serviceable vessel. As trustees for the nation, I cannot think but that the government acted properly in exchanging an old tub for a good vessel, although the value of the former probably exceeded that of the latter by 6000*l.* or 7000*l.* No one can object to Mr. Scott Russell's bargain, who, as a private individual, of course is the best judge of his own affairs, and a disinterested person will congratulate him on getting rid of her for 36,000*l.* to the R. A. M. S. S. Company. As a shareholder in the company, I must, however, protest against the directors having purchased such a vessel, more especially when I understand that it was the individual act of the chairman, "who was authorized by the board, to buy a screw-steamer, equal to the *Queen of the South*, and fit for the company's service." Instead of this, he purchased the *Melbourne*—a steamer of one-half the tonnage; and the passengers who came from Lisbon can say whether she is fit for the company's service. I am the more indignant, when I understand (by Mr. Divett's papers) that she was bought from Mr. Scott Russell; for I am given to understand that it was entirely through his breaking his former contract that the *Melbourne* was wanted to proceed with the mails. At the general meeting it was announced that the company had contracted with that gentleman for two boats, the *Adelaide* and *Victoria*, to take out the October and December mails. I believe that the contract was for the *Adelaide* to be delivered up to the company, ready for sea, on the 13th of September, and the *Victoria* on the 13th of November. This contract, I believe, was signed in May or April, and in default of the vessels being delivered, a penalty of 150*l.* a-day was to be imposed on the contractor. The *Adelaide* was not launched till the 16th of November, nor delivered to the company till the 26th, or thereabouts. Heaven knows when the *Victoria* will be launched—in about ten weeks, I believe, if they keep on working at her. Two excuses, of which I will presently dispose, are made for Mr. Scott Russell's non-performance of his contract—"the high price of iron," and the "strike of the amalgamated engineers," by which Mr. Scott Russell lost several of his best hands. It is rumoured that the company do not intend to enforce the penalties which would, in the case of the *Adelaide*, reduce her price one-half, and still more cheapen the *Victoria*, though indeed they will go but a short way to indemnify the company for the money thrown away on the *Melbourne*, to say nothing of the bad name the company have thereby acquired. The chairman, at the meeting in November, used the ominous phrase, "that as for exacting damages, we must talk to the lawyers about that."

Now, sir, if we can obtain damages from Mr. Scott Russell, I maintain that neither of the two pleas I have mentioned ought to shield him. As for the high price of iron, Mr. Scott Russell should have thought of that, and of the probable further increase in the price of that metal, before he entered into the contract. Many highly respectable firms sent in tenders—(Were they opened by the directors, or by the consulting engineer in their presence?)—Mr. Mare, Messrs. Parkinson and Coutts, &c., &c.—and they were rejected as being higher in price than Mr. Scott Russell's. It is not fair to these respectable ship-builders that one

farthing of damages should be remitted. Now for the "amalgamated engineers' strike." This, I believe, is a quarrel between two parties—the master on one side, his workmen on the other. If we are called on to be merciful to the master, because our directors sympathise with him, we may also be called on to protect the workman (with whom, doubtless, many of the shareholders agree) from the effects of the strike. Many very deserving men, I have no doubt, run up long scores with their bakers and butchers from the effects of that strike. Are the company prepared to remunerate them?—for if they are not, a great act of injustice will be done if the extreme penalty is not exacted from Mr. Scott Russell.

Perhaps it may turn out, however, that we cannot recover damages, as the contract may have been vitiated by some small alterations. If so, let it be proclaimed, and let the blame rest where it should—either with the consulting engineer (a brother-in-law of the chairman's), who advised such costly alterations, or with the solicitor who drew out the contract so clumsily. I have been told that a contract can never be enforced, and I have so little experience of these matters, that I do not know if this be correct or not; but if it is correct, a question must present itself to everybody—"What was the advantage in procuring any contract at all (which cost the company, I believe, from 40*l.* to 50*l.*), if it was impossible to carry it into effect? Hoping you will rouse the shareholders from the lethargy into which they have fallen,

I am, Sir, yours, &c., A SHAREHOLDER.

December 15th.

THE TRUE TEST OF A MAN'S BELIEF.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—The *Leader* is worthy of its name. Your remarks on the recent treatment of Mr. Holyoake, as usual, go for absolute justice—neither more nor less. The principle which you lay down—that a man's speculative opinions, whatever they may be, shall be no bar to his possessing the full rights of citizenship—is one that presses for a settlement. There is nothing to be added to your clear and distinct assertion of it.

It is a cheering sign that you are not alone in your advocacy of this great principle; that one or two, at least, of your contemporaries have manfully recorded their protest in its favour. But I observe that they express a sort of anxiety to disclaim any participation in the position of the "unbeliever." Now, I do not for a moment complain of this expression of feeling, or doubt its sincerity. I only wish to state, as briefly as possible, why it seems to me to be uncalled for, and to proceed from a superficial view of the case.

Whether or not I shared Mr. Holyoake's opinions, I should regard his position in this affair as proof of a moral circumspection above the average, and, therefore, calling for congratulation rather than the opposite sentiments. What, at the present day, is implied by a man accepting the position of a "believer," and being ready to answer the question of the court? Is it that his belief is the result of evidence, study, conviction, and issues in a pure and devout life? Let the public answer according to its experience. The fact is, we are all such "believers" as pass muster in a court of law. Mr. Holyoake is a rare exception. My own experience leads me to suppose that religious profession, to the law court requirement, means only unthinking or interested habitual conformity in ten cases, for one in which it means *personal conviction*; that, for one in which it implies a devout and beneficent life, it implies the mere level, worldly character in a hundred.

Now, what does the public avowal of "unbelief" imply? Independent thought, a preference of truth to self-interest, and some courage. If you tell me that a man is a "believer," you tell me nothing. I would not trust him with half-a-crown without further knowledge of him. If you tell me that a man has publicly and persistently avowed his disbelief in almost universally received opinions, thereby encountering serious misrepresentation, I suspect him to be an honest, courageous man. And, paradoxical as it may sound, I should call the state of mind of that man, Atheist though he were, more *religious* than that of most ordinary "believers." He is bound, and shows the strongest attachment, to something higher than mere selfish and prudential considerations; which is more than can be said for the common believer. How much longer shall men be bamboozled by names? What are we to look at in rating men according to their religious opinions? The net result, which may be stated in a formula, communicated to the ear, and mumbled, parrot-like, by the mouth; or the qualities of mind and heart involved in their formation and maintenance.

In the little village in which I live, we are all "believers." We eat, and drink, and sleep a good deal, are more or less clad, and protected from the weather by houses, varying in their architecture from the substantial to the pigsty order. Those of us who can

spare the time, and have acquired the art, draw landscapes, read the papers, and play at sixpenny whist in the evening. The rest stare at the fire, if they have one, lounge against the wall, or get fuddled at the beer-shop. There is a good deal of ignorance and drunkenness, and some poaching; but we don't interfere with each other. Every man for himself, and the parson for us all,—for we have a parson, of course. He is a good-looking, burly, apoplectic man, who drives in here once every Sunday, puts on the surplice, reads the service, and goes home again. That's all we see of him. But it proves that we are all "believers;" else you really might not have supposed it. We don't do, or say, or think, as far as I can see, anything, in consequence of our belief; but I can warrant us all to answer questions of faith in any court, as shortly and satisfactorily as may be required. But we are rather alarmed, just now, because an "unbeliever" has come to live in a neighbouring village. It must be admitted that the new-comer is a lady of the highest character. Her life is one of the most untiring and devoted activity. When she is not employed with her books or her pen, she is visiting the cottages, suggesting and carrying out plans of improved building and ventilation, or kindling the minds and brightening the faces of her poorer neighbours by simple lectures on temperance, science, or history. But we object to her. We are positive that she would not answer Mr. Commissioner Phillips's questions—as required. My letter has rather changed its tone, but in thinking on this subject, one's mind vibrates between indignation and amusement.

I hope you will continue your attacks, as long as an honest and conscientious man is liable to be scolded from the bench by a judge, who may have climbed there by a strict attention to the maxim—

"Ply every art of legal thieving,
No matter—stick to sound believing!"

I am, Sir, yours truly, GLOUCESTRENSIS.

SLAVERY.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—Concurring in your view of the Ladies-of-England Manifesto to America, one remark in connexion occurs to me, which perhaps may be worth making whilst the Ladies and Women of England are talking about it, for they will talk about it certainly.

The class-feeling manifested here towards African blood (not in romantic circumstances) has been alluded to in a general way, and that towards white governesses in particular, and the remarks made seem to me to apply with still greater force and wider scope to the spirit frequently displayed towards our domestic servants—in the middle classes, at least.

I have known ladies (ardent admirers of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*) who will do and say things regarding this class of women which seem to me to have in them the essential *spirit* of Slavery—and if I imagine how they would act if these "helps" were of another colour, and could not give "warning," and might be whipped—I am obliged to close my eyes to the picture. I really dare not be too sure in some cases if "sacred marriage" would be a permit for a good servant to live with her husband on another estate, when I remember the tone of remark heard sometimes on marriages of servants; to say nothing of the "no followers allowed" system.

Far be it from me to assert that the feeling I speak of has not legions of exceptions, who think with Leigh Hunt of "homes" inhabiting strangers," but that there is much of it I am sure; and I think it may be good for us all to try to remember in connexion with Slavery, that its spirit essentially is the tyranny of power, the selfish exaction from any of more than is due, the infringement on the part of any of the sacred individual circle of free life demanded for the health of every human being, deprived of which, that being is *certainly* degraded either into hypocrisy or worse meanness.

These remarks will not be misconstrued, I hope, into any other feeling than your own, as to the generous feeling no doubt uppermost in the Ladies' Meeting at Stafford House, or as any echoing of that ridicule of philanthropy which says, in effect, "always look to your own home—and nothing else."

I am, Sir, respectfully yours,

C. E. L.

December 5, 1852.

"MARGARET'S EDUCATION."—"A school, sir, where it was a rule to take in nothing lower than the daughter of a professional man—they only waived the rule in my case—the most genteel school perhaps in all London! A drawing-room-department day once every week—the girls taught how to enter a room and leave a room with dignity and ease—a model of a carriage-door and steps, in the back drawing-room, to practise the girls (with the footman of the establishment in attendance) in getting into a carriage and getting out again, in a ladylike, graceful manner! No duchess has had a better education than my Margaret!"—COLLINS'S *Basil*.

Literature.

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

WE have learned to look forward to each number of the *Westminster Review* with expectations rising from a cause far superior to anything of personal sympathy. So much thought, learning, and eloquence we rarely meet elsewhere. In the number for January there is a want of those light agreeable papers which make the *Quarterly* so attractive; yet there is variety and brilliancy in the treatment of the subjects, redeeming the *Review* from all imputation of heaviness. *Mary Tudor*, the opening article, is a splendid historical study, a rare sagacity giving weight to a brilliant style. The crisis of the Reformation, as regards England, is admirably brought into view; and the reader learns to understand and pity "Bloody Mary," while rejoicing in the calamities of those times, from which sprang a nobler freedom and more energetic nationality. *Ireland*, the conditions and prospects of which have been so bewritten that the very name becomes a name of terror to readers and politicians, nevertheless forms the subject of a bright and striking article, which no one will leave unread who begins it. The mistaken philanthropy which all men note as so active in our times, is discussed in an elaborate paper on *Charities Noxious and Beneficent*, full of curious details and sensible remarks. *The English Stage and its Decline* is the light article of the number, and a very gay, pleasant, searching article it is, taking a rapid survey of the existing conditions, as respects authors, actors, managers, and public. One of its curious revelations we will quote:—

"The public are so little acquainted with the details of managerial speculation, and generally form so inadequate an estimate of the great cost (if they ever trouble themselves to think of the cost at all) of those entertainments which they sometimes condemn so summarily, that it may be worth while to collect the items of a single case (by no means an exceptional one) in illustration of the hazards and charges of theatrical enterprise. The conclusion to which it will conduct us, we venture to anticipate, will surprise most of our readers.

"We will take the instance of Sir Bulwer Lytton's comedy of *Money*, produced a few years ago at the Haymarket Theatre. In order to give full effect to the representation, it was considered necessary to retain the services of Mr. Macready, in addition to whom, special engagements, with reference to this play, were entered into with Miss Faucit, Mr. Wrench, and Mr. Vining. We believe we are correct in saying that these performers were expressly engaged to appear in *Money*, and that their salaries, therefore, formed, throughout the term of their engagement, an extra charge upon the resources of the theatre, in addition to the expenses of the regular company. We are the more particular upon these points, as they are material to the formation of a just view of the efforts that are made on such occasions. Let us now see what were the increased expenses incurred in the production of this comedy, after which we will sum up the total expenditure it entailed upon the management.

"In the first place, the author received a sum of 600*l.* for the London right of acting the play, extending, we presume, according to custom, over a period of three years; Mr. Macready received a weekly salary of 150*l.*, Miss Faucit, 30*l.*, Mr. Wrench, 18*l.*, and Mr. Vining, 8*l.* or 10*l.*, making altogether an increased weekly outlay of 176*l.* or 178*l.*, without taking into account any of the other costs of production, in the shape of costume, scenes, and decorations. The play ran for upwards of fifteen weeks. By the aid of the simple process of multiplication, we shall now arrive at some very curious and rather startling results. Multiplying Mr. Macready's salary by 15, we shall find that for playing in this comedy, for which the author received 600*l.*, that gentleman received no less a sum, from the Haymarket Theatre, than 2250*l.*; and if we could follow him into the provinces, and through his subsequent appearances in London in the same play, and add to this 2250*l.* the further receipts he netted from the same performance, the total would present an amount which, contrasted with the amount paid to the author (and that, too, a very large sum, as compared with the sums usually paid), might reasonably excite the astonishment of the play-goer, who is not in the habit of entering into calculations of this nature. We are far from desiring to draw any invidious inferences from this comparison between the actor and the author; we are merely jotting it down amongst the curiosities of stage statistics. Applying the same method of investigation to the other extra performers, we find that in the run of fifteen weeks, Miss Faucit received 450*l.*, Mr. Wrench, 270*l.*, and Mr. Vining, 120*l.* or 150*l.* Now, adding all these sums together, the total additional expenditure upon the single comedy of *Money* will stand as follows:—

"Author	£600
Mr. Macready	2250
Miss Faucit	450
Mr. Wrench	270
Mr. Vining, say	120
Total	£3690

irrespective of the other costs of production and the regular unabated nightly expenses of the theatre, which, added to this amount, would bring up the total expenditure, during the run of *Money*, to the prodigious amount of at least 13,000*l.* Whether the manager realized any profit from this costly venture we have no means of knowing; but we think it may be safely assumed, that if he did, it could not have been considerable enough to repay him for the risk."

Slavery and emancipation are treated in an article on *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, temperately and considerably; though the mass of readers will yawn at the very mention of such a subject. The writer's reference to ourselves is founded on a misconception. The *Leader* has frequently and energetically expressed itself against slavery, however eagerly it may desire the Anglo-American alliance.

The Atomic Theory Before Christ and Since, is one of those fascinating expositions of a great scientific conception, in its historical phases, which

Reviews, by the necessity of their miscellaneous audience, are forced to make popular. There is no need of popular science being shallow science. (quite the reverse,) but there is great need of the "long results of time" being expressed in such untechnical forms as will bring them within the comprehension of all thinking minds. What *MOLIERE* says of women, that they should possess *les clartés de tout*—the lights and generalities gathered from the laborious details of men, may fitly be applied to the public. Such articles as this are very efficient in that direction. How finely it is said that—

"It is assuredly a centred and standing law that the very opposition, which is always being offered to the advancement of truth, whether by uncongenial circumstance or inconsiderate man, is overruled by principles as fixed, if not yet so calculable, as those disturbing forces that systematically retard the flight of Encke's comet, or drag big Neptune from his solar orbit. Both the new investigator and his hinderers may rest assured, that they unconsciously conspire at once to hasten and to steady the career of science."

The writer properly objects to the current laudations of *NEWTON*'s guess that the diamond was combustible, because it was a strong refractor of light; not only was it a mere guess, which turned out, luckily, to be correct, but, as the writer reminds us, combustibility has really no connexion with refracting power, there being notoriously stronger refractors than crystalline carbon, which are not at all combustible. To one fundamental idea of this paper, however, we object. It is the one running through the following passage:—

"It is certainly the most provocative and wonderful thing in the history of positive knowledge, that many of the best results of modern science were anticipated, some four or five centuries before Christ, by the physiological and other schools of Greek or Egypto-Grecian philosophy. They did not, indeed, propose to draw forth some precious and unheard-of combustible airs from the olive-oils of their country-groves, and send them all through Athens in a system of arterial tubes, to illuminate the city of Minerva when Dian should be resting from the labours of the chase; nor to cross the Hellespont, or tempt the broad *Ægean* in fantastic barges rowed by fire and water; nor to whisper words of amity to their allies, defiance to their enemies, swifter far than the flight of a dove to her mate, through the invisible hollows of a copper wire; nor to dash strange metals out of marble and natrum by means of subterranean levin-brands, filched from the carriers of Vulcan on their way to the heaven of Jupiter Tonans; nor to make a hundred complex calculations of the disturbing forces exerted by one huge planet on another; nor to go and seek another hemisphere, or make experiments with electron at the North Pole; nor to dig extinguished worlds of animation from the laminated hide of the old Earth; nor yet to sprinkle the ground with urine and the far-fetched dung of monstrous birds. It was never in the divining, the excavation, and the intellectual manipulation of the concrete facts of nature that they came before, excelled, or even equalled the men of renovated Christendom. In the art of experiment, and in trying to find his way with untripped step among details, the Greek was as feeble as a child: whereas in the sphere of ideas and vast general conceptions, as well as in the fine art of embodying such universals and generalities in beautiful and appropriate symbols, it is not a paradox to say that he was sometimes stronger than a man."

The analogy, such as it was, which arrested the mind of *DEMOCRITUS*, and originated that vague adumbration of the atomic theory, we are now in possession of, is eloquently set forth in this passage:—

"It was the teeming head of Democritus that first conceived of the proposition, for instance, that a pebble from the brook is not a blank extended substance or dead stone (as it seems to the bodily eye, and as it always remains to the judgment of common sense, like the Yellow Primrose of Peter Bell) but a palpable thing resulting from the congregation of multitudes of atoms, or particles incapable of being broken to pieces, as the stone is broken, when dashed against a rock, or worn to powder by friction with its neighbours. It was the secondary, but co-essential half of this definition, that these co-aggregated and constituent atoms of the stone are not in contact with one another, albeit that human eyesight is not fine enough to see the spaces between them. This marvellous view (for marvellous it was and still is, although now as trite as the dust under foot) was probably the lineal offspring of his earlier thought, to wit, that the Milky Way (hitherto sacred to the white feet of down-coming gods and the heaven-scaling heroes) is no blank extensive show of far-spread light, but the unique resultant of multitudinous heaps of stars, so distant and so crowded in their single plane of vision (though as free of one another as things in reality) as to render the interspaces undistinguishable by the sight of man or lynx. The astronomical illustration of Professor Nichol applies to the crystal-stone as well as to the firmament:—Across some vast American lake, the forest farmer is accustomed to see the mass of forest over against his log-hut as if it were some vast and silent and solid shadow on the shore, 'some boundless contiguity of shade;' but he knows, with the same certainty as he knows his homestead, that it is in reality a vast, clamorous, and unresting assembly of trees, standing respectfully apart."

We content ourselves with a quiet protest against the identification of the two conceptions of atoms—the *DALTONIAN* and *DEMOCRITIAN*, having no space here to argue the question.

The article on *The Mormons* is almost purely historical; but the history is so clearly and circumstantially written, that it forces the reader to draw his own reflections. On the whole, this rise and progress of Mormonism is one of the most instructive chapters in the history of religion, for it enables us to understand all the others. What existing barbarous nations are to us, in furnishing the key to a correct understanding of the early history of Humanity, this Religion is, in furnishing a key to the early history of ancient Religions; the Mormon Prophet may have been a more ignoble creature than the founders of other religions, but, whatever he may have been, the means he employed were very similar to theirs. There is a sly sarcasm in the following which will not escape the reader; after detailing some examples of miserable grammar in the Mormon Bible, the writer adds: "The Mormons admit these errors, but add, that for the inscrutable

purposes of Providence, grammar was not needed." Let us call attention to the following:—

"The Christians claim a miraculous revelation," say the Mormons; "and so do we claim their Scriptures and our own new ones. The miracles of the Book of Mormon are quite as credible as the miracles of the Bible—the angels of one as much a fact as the angels of the other—the visions of Joseph Smith as authentic as the visions of Paul or Peter."

"Unbelievers say, 'Show us the gold plates, the original records of the Book of Mormon;' to which the Mormon replies, 'Show us the original MS. of any part of the Old Testament or New Testament!'"

"Jesus and the Apostles wrought miracles; so did the early church," say the Christians; and the Mormons claim to work miracles to-day, and have a 'church of witnesses' to corroborate the claim. Smith wrought miracles; the elders work miracles; the Book of Mormon itself is a stupendous miracle; and the rapid rise and steady progress of the new sect is the most astonishing miracle on record, say they.

"If ever Christians appeal to the evidences of the genuineness and authenticity of the Christian Scriptures—the Mormons have their evidences. Do the more romantic appeal to the 'testimony of the Spirit?'—the Mormons do the same, and claim the 'undying witness of the Holy Ghost' to the truth of their religion. Sometimes the other sects attack the Mormons, and say, 'Work us a miracle.' Say the Mormons, 'Do you appeal to miracles as proof of truth?—let us see the miracles of the Baptists or the Methodists, of the Calvinists or the Unitarians! We have miracles in abundance to show.' Orson Pratt relates sundry miracles in his book (p. 53 and 69, *et seq.*), 'the great miracle of Reuben Brinkworth;' cases of healing the blind, the leprosy; cures of the cholera, and other diseases; cures of 'bones set through faith.' There are written records stating the names and places of the persons, the time, and circumstance of the miracle, with a minute nicety to which the Christian Scriptures make no pretence."

In summing up, the writer says:

"The Mormons at present at Deseret live in an orderly and quiet manner—industrious, comfortable, and happy. The testimony of Colonel Kane, of Lieut. Grenison, of Captain Stansbury, proves this. There is abundant evidence that the Mormon emigrants are more orderly, temperate, clean, and decorous than any class of foreigners that arrive in America. We trust they may renounce the miserable absurdities of their theology, discard the doctrine of polygamy, respect woman as the equal of man, abandon their hierarchical form of government, and become a great sect that loves God and man. It is not just to despise their humble origin, nor the extravagance of the rude men who set the sect in motion. If in the second century a 'commission' had been appointed to investigate the origin of the Christian Church and the Christian Scriptures, it might perhaps have brought strange things to light. For our own part, we are glad to see any signs of a fresh religious life in America, or in Christendom, and welcome this sect to the company of the Methodists and Anabaptists, the Protestants, and the Catholics, and wish them all God speed. The freaks of religious childhood do not surprise us; and we expect a baby to cry before it talks, to creep before it runs."

The editorship of the *Edinburgh Review*, vacant by the death of Professor Empson, is a post so honourable and desirable, that there has been considerable gossip respecting the person who will be chosen to fill it. Among the persons named was Mr. JOHN FORSTER, the editor of the *Examiner*, and probably the very best person for the office; Mr. HENRY ROGERS was also named; but from the *Athenæum* we learn that Mr. GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS is the person chosen. He is a man of extensive erudition, and moderate views; whether he will rescue the *Edinburgh* from the timidity and heaviness into which it has lapsed remains to be seen.

It is not easy to estimate the value of what may be called the supplementary legislation of the Press. The Press is not only the exponent and the guide of public opinion; it is the great corrector of corporate abuses and imperfect institutions. If a railway company does wrong, a "letter to the *Times*" brings that wrong before a large tribunal. If an Irish jury send a man to the gallows upon evidence which would only convince an Irish jury, the Press steps in with indignant voice to arrest the hangman before the judicial murder be consummated. If a monopoly be found oppressive, or if a public body be wasteful in its expenditure, the Press is ready to expose the evil. Last week the *Athenæum* made a bold and timely assault upon the Auditors' Report of that much mismanaged institution, *The Literary Fund*. We transfer a portion of the *Athenæum* comments to our pages:—

"Two circumstances strike the eye on running down this page of numerals:—(1) the smallness of the amount of money collected as compared with the cost of its collection,—and (2) the want of reasonable proportion between the amount distributed and the expense of its distribution. The amount of money collected during the year—which is, of course, exclusive of the permanent income—is set down at 9987. 4s. The particulars of this sum are not stated; but as it is well known that the Queen's annual donation of 100 guineas, and the important subscriptions of the foreign ministers and of our own literary peers and eminent men of letters, are all collected at the expense of a penny letter, we may assume that at least half the money is, or might be, collected almost free of cost to the institution. If so, it appears that, as it is now managed, the getting together of a sum under 5000l. costs an expensive dinner, and a considerable amount besides. What the yearly dinner actually costs, is not here reported; but as there were 131 diners at the last at a guinea each—eighteen stewards present, paying two guineas each extra—twenty-two stewards absent, who paid three guineas each—making in all 211 guineas, or 2217. 11s.—and as there is a loss on the dinner charged against the fund of 207. 9s.—if our reckoning is right, the dinner must have cost upwards of 2407. Can any one assert that this expense is necessary? Are the managers sure that they get as much from the dinner as is spent on the dinner? Then, as to the disbursements of the year:—we find that 16357. has been given away, and that the charge for so giving it has been no less than 6017. 9s. The evil is less this year than it was last; but even with the improvement, what is the conclusion to which these facts and figures lead? All the great items of expenditure—the

dinner, rent of premises, salaries, stationery, and so forth—may be fairly set down as *expenses of collection*; the transmission by post of fifty cheques to distressed scholars is certainly not a very costly part of the business. Neither need it cost much to receive a dividend across the bank counter. When then? Why, this:—it appears, that to collect what we have assumed to be about 5000l., an expense is incurred of upwards of 6000l. for 'office expenses,' and upwards of 2400l. are laid out on 'a dinner'—in all more than 8400l. Absurd as this supposition may seem, we have no doubt that the *fact* is even more so. We have assumed, for the sake of argument, that without the 8400l. sunk, the 5000l. could not be obtained: but we are convinced that such is not the case. Every man who can read figures must see that when he sends money to the Literary Fund no fair proportion of it can ever reach the persons in whose favour it may be subscribed. Thus the springs of charity are dried up. Even the wealthiest may fairly object to support an institution which is not true to its mission; and as to literary men, it is unreasonable to expect them to sustain in any great degree a fund so largely drawn upon by 'office expenses' and by the losses of an annual dinner."

LIFE OF THOMAS MOORE.

Memoirs, Journals, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore. Edited by the Right Hon. Lord John Russell. 2 vols. Longman and Co.

A MEMBER of the House of Bedford—a statesman who has held the perilous eminence of the Premiership—undertaking the modest, troublesome, and affectionate task of editing the *Memoirs and Correspondence* of one who gained his position by a pen, is surely remarkable among the literary phenomena of these ages, and carries the mind back to those not very distant days when the chiefs and nobles had not even the modest literary acquirement of being able to write their own names: when hands familiar with the sword-hilt were never inked by "clerkly" occupations. The men who now represent those chiefs are as ambitious of literary distinction as the "poor devils" who have with a pen to combat Want. The House of Howard on the platform of the lecturer at Mechanics Institutes, and the House of Bedford on the title page as "editor" of a poet's *Correspondence*, will one day be noted as marking an era in historic development.

And, let us hasten to add, Lord John has performed his humble task with skill and simplicity, just as if editing had been his special business. It was not an easy thing to do; and on the whole he has done it far better than we usually find it done. The preface is written with unostentatious modesty, with nice feeling, and with an affectionateness honourable both to his friend and to himself. It is not because he is Lord John Russell, whom politically we have so frequently attacked, that we should hesitate to say emphatically of him what his performance claims from us; nor, on the other hand, that we should be led away into the *opposite* extreme, and be cheaply generous. What we have said, is said totally irrespective of his position, solely respective of the work in hand. Nor will we dismiss it without noticing two minor points which arrested our critical pencil. One is a touch of bathos which overpowered our gravity. "It is true," he says, "Mr. Moore had a small office at Bermuda, and that in his latter days he received a pension of 3000l. a-year from the Crown. But the office at Bermuda was of little avail to him, was the cause of the greatest embarrassment he ever suffered, and obliged him to pass in a foreign country more than a year of his life." What a calamity—a year of his life! The second point is in reference to Moore's tenderness towards his mother, the expressions of which, Lord John says, "flow from a heart uncorrupted by fame, unspoil by the world." We regret to see such currency given to so ancient and deplorable a commonplace, which, if it means anything, means nonsense; and if only a "rhetorical phrase," has assuredly not the merit of being novel. "Heart uncorrupted by fame!" Are hearts usually corrupted by it? The utmost one can say is, that fame stimulates the *vanity* by reiterated caresses; though he is a bold man, and a poor observer, who will assert that men are vainer under success than under failure. We will back the vanity of a "neglected genius" against that of a successful Goethe, an unread novelist against that of a Dickens, a hissed tenor against that of a Mario, for any amount you please! Waiving this point, we still say that if success increase the vanity, it does not corrupt the heart; and as to the heart being "unspoiled" by "the world," it would be to insult Lord John to ask him if he seriously believes the world (in any other than an exclusive sense) spoils a nature good in itself. In communion with our fellow men we are bettered, not spoiled; we learn there the great lesson of how "to live for others in others;" we learn there to subordinate the primary instincts of egotism to the higher social instinct; we learn there kindness, and charity, and tolerance, and sympathy; moving among the good and the bad, among those who are better than ourselves and those not so good, our moral education makes its slow and difficult progress. If "the world" spoiled us, how would man ever improve? how would social evolution be possible?

Lord John speaks with more wisdom and pertinence when he speaks of the independence and homely practical virtues requisite in literature, as elsewhere:—

"It may, however, with truth be averred, that while literary men of acknowledged talent have a claim on the government of their country, to save them from penury or urgent distress, it is better for literature that eminent authors should not look to political patronage for their maintenance. It is desirable that they who are the heirs of fame should preserve an independence of position, and that the rewards of the Crown should not bind men of letters in servile adherence. Rightly did Mr. Moore understand the dignity of the laurel. He never would barter his freedom away for any favour from any quarter. Although the wolf of poverty often prowled round his door, he never abandoned his humble dwelling for the safety of the City or the protection of the Palace. From the strokes of penury, indeed, more than once, neither his unceasing exertion,

—see Apollinis infula, textit."

But never did he make his wife and family a pretext for political shabbiness; never did he imagine that to leave a disgraced name as an inheritance to his children was his duty as a father. Neither did he, like many a richer man, with negligence amounting to crime, leave his tradesmen to suffer for his want of fortune. Mingling careful economy with an intense love of all the enjoyments of society, he managed,

with the assistance of his excellent wife, who carried on for him the detail of his household, to struggle through all the petty annoyances attendant on narrow means, to support his father, mother, and sister, besides his own family, and at his death he left no debt behind him."

Although Lord John has not attempted to draw a portrait of the man, nor to pass a final and exhaustive judgment on the poet, he has touched both points with a sympathetic pencil; and in the first he has indicated certain essential features which will materially alter the image of Tom Moore as it exists in the public mind. It will now be seen that Tom Moore, the writer of gay licentious poems, the ornament of the drawing-room, and constant attendant upon Lords, was really a man of strict moral conduct, of deep and lasting domestic affections, of simple tastes, and genuine feelings; fond of "society" where he was flattered and petted, but fonder of his own home where his heart had full satisfaction. That very temperament which made him charming in society, and society charming to him, was the source also of his domestic happiness. "His sensibility to happy and affecting emotions was exquisite," says Lord John. "A return to his wife and children after separation affected him deeply; music enchanted him; views of great scenes of nature made him weep." And thus the shallow pates who, noticing his tears amid enchanting scenes, might have called him "a sickly sentimentalist," or, seeing him in brilliant salons, might have called him a "tuffhunter," and "feared he was dissipated," may learn in these volumes how, in natures of any worth, sensibility is sensibility to *all* emotions, frivolous and profound.

Besides this, the reader will gain many other side lights from these agreeable volumes. Let us briefly state of what they consist—viz., a Preface by Lord John, already noticed; an autobiographical Memoir, in which Moore records his boyhood, and the leading events which varied the first nineteen years of his life; the next twenty years may be gathered from his letters here printed in due order; and the remainder will be told in his *Diary*, of which the latter half of the second volume contains the first instalment.

The volumes are crowded with sketches and anecdotes. Here is a bit of Thackeray:—"At a very early age I was sent to a school kept by a man of the name of Malone. This wild, odd fellow, of whose cocked hat I have still a very clear remembrance, used to pass the greater part of his nights in drinking at public-houses, and was hardly ever able to make his appearance in the school-room before noon. *He would then generally whip the boys all round for disturbing his slumbers.*" Here is a "lovely bit," illustrative of the French:—

"I mentioned Lord Holland's imitation of poor Murat, the King of Naples, talking of Virgil, 'Ah Virgile, qu'il est beau! C'est mon idole; que c'est sublime ça,—*Tityre tu patula recubans,*' &c. &c. Lord L. mentioned a translation of Goldsmith's 'Deserted Village' by a foreigner, whom I remember in London called the Commandeur de Tilly, and the line, 'As ocean sweeps the labour'd mole away,' was done, 'Comme la mer détruit les travaux de la taupe.' I told an anecdote mentioned to me by Lord Moira, of a foreign teacher of either music or drawing at Lady Perth's in Scotland. As he was walking round the terrace with Lord M., the latter said, 'Voilà le Château de Macbeth.' 'Maccabée, milor,' said the artist. 'Je crois que c'est Macbeth,' modestly answered Lord M. 'Pardon, milor, nous le prononçons Maccabée sur le Continent: Judas Maccabéus, Empereur Romain!' Talked of the egotism of foreign writers. The Abbé de Pradt begins one of his books, 'Un seul homme a sauvé l'Europe; c'est moi.' The best of it is, he read this in a company where the Duke of Wellington was; and, on the Abbé making a pause at the word 'l'Europe,' all eyes were turned to the Duke; but then came out, to their no small astonishment, 'C'est moi!'"

Here are two extracts for meditation:—

"DON JUAN."

"Went to breakfast with Rogers, who is in the very agonies of parturition: showed me the work ready printed and in boards, but he is still making alterations: told me that Lord Byron's *Don Juan* is pronounced by Hobhouse and others as unfit for publication. * * * Talked [with Murray] of *Don Juan*: but too true that it is not fit for publication: he seems, by living so long out of London, to have forgotten that standard of decorum in society to which every one must refer his words at least, who hopes to be either listened to or read by the world. It is all about himself and Lady B., and raking up the whole transaction in a way the world would never bear. * * * Asked him [Hobhouse], had I any chance of a glimpse at *Don Juan*? and then found that Byron had desired it might be referred to my decision, the three persons whom he had bid Hobhouse consult as to the propriety of publishing it being Hookham, Frere, Stewart Rose, and myself. Frere, as the only one of the three in town, had read it, and pronounced decidedly against the publication. * * * Frere came in while I was at Lady D.'s: was proceeding to talk to him about our joint umpireship on Byron's poem, when he stopped me by a look, and we retired into the next room to speak over the subject. He said he did not wish the opinion he had pronounced to be known to any one except B. himself, lest B. should suppose he was taking merit to himself among the *righteous* for having been the means of preventing the publication of the poem. Spoke of the disgust it would excite, if published; the attacks in it upon Lady B.; and said it is strange, too, he should think there was any connexion between patriotism and profligacy. If we had a very Puritan court indeed, one can understand then profligacy being adopted as a badge of opposition to it, but the reverse being the case, there is not even that excuse for connecting dissoluteness with patriotism, which, on the contrary, ought always to be attended by the sternest virtues. * * * Went to breakfast with Hobhouse, in order to read Lord Byron's poem: a strange production, full of talent and singularity, as everything he writes must be: some highly beautiful passages, and some highly humorous ones; but as a whole, not publishable. *Don Juan's* mother is Lady Byron, and not only her learning, but various other points about her, ridiculed. He talks of her favourite dress being dimity (which is the case), dimity rhyming very comically with sublimity; and the conclusion of one stanza is, 'I hate a dumpy woman,' meaning Lady B. again. This would disgust the public beyond endurance. There is also a systematised profligacy running through it, which would not be borne. Hobhouse has undertaken the delicate task of letting him know our joint opinions. The two following lines are well rhymed:—

"But, oh ye lords of ladies intellectual,
Come, tell us truly, have they not hen-peck'd you all?"

* * * Murray writes to me that Hobhouse has received another letter from Lord

Byron, peremptorily insisting on the publication of *Don Juan*. But they have again remonstrated."

SHERIDAN.

"Had a good deal of conversation with Lord Holland in the evening about Sheridan. Told me that one remarkable characteristic of S., and which accounted for many of his inconsistencies, was the high ideal system he had formed of a sort of impracticable perfection in honour, virtue, &c., anything short of which he seemed to think not worth aiming at; and thus consoled himself for the extreme laxity of his practice by the impossibility of satisfying or coming up to the sublime theory he had formed. Hence the most romantic professions of honour and independence were coupled with conduct of the meanest and most swindling kind; hence, too, prudery and morality were always on his lips, while his actions were one series of debauchery and libertinism. A proof of this mixture was, after the Prince became Regent, he offered to bring S. into parliament, and said, at the same time, that he by no means meant to fetter him in his political conduct by doing so; but S. refused, because, as he told Lord Holland, 'he had no idea of risking the high independence of character which he had always sustained, by putting it in the power of any man, by any possibility whatever, to dictate to him.' Yet, in the very same conversation in which he paraded all this fine flourish of high-mindedness, he told Lord H. of an intrigue he had set on foot for inducing the Prince to lend him 4000*l.* to purchase a borough. From his habit of considering money as nothing, he considered his owing the Prince 4000*l.* as no slavery whatever: 'I shall then (he said) only owe him 4000*l.* which will leave me as free as air.' * * * Sheridan was jealous of Mr. Fox, and showed it in ways that produced, at least, great coolness between them. He envied him particularly his being member for Westminster, and, in 1802, had nearly persuaded him to retire from parliament, in order that he might himself succeed to that honour. But it was Burke chiefly that S. hated and envied. Being both Irishmen, both adventurers, they had every possible incentive to envy. On Hastings' trial particularly it went to Sheridan's heart to see Burke in the place set apart for privy councillors, and himself excluded. * * * In speaking of Sheridan's eloquence, Lord H. said that the over-strained notions he had of perfection were very favourable to his style of oratory in giving it a certain elevation of tone and dignity of thought. Mr. Fox thought his Westminster Hall speech, trumpery, and used to say it spoiled the style of Burke, who was delighted with it. Certainly in the report I have read of it, it seems most trashy bombast. At Holland House, where he was often latterly, Lady H. told me he used to take a bottle of wine and a book up to bed with him always; the former alone intended for use. In the morning he breakfasted in bed, and had a little rum or brandy with his tea or coffee; made his appearance between one or two, and pretending important business, used to set out for town, but regularly stopped at the Adam and Eve public-house for a dram. There was indeed a long bill run up by him at the Adam and Eve, which Lord H. had to pay. I wonder are all these stories true; the last is certainly but too probable. * * * One day at Sheridan's house, before poor Tom went abroad, the servant in passing threw down the plate-warmer with a crash, which startled Tom's nerves a good deal. Sheridan, after scolding most furiously the servant, who stood pale and frightened, at last exclaimed, 'and how many plates have you broke?'—'Oh! not one, sir,' answered the fellow, delighted to vindicate himself; 'and you, damned fool (said S.), have you made all that noise for nothing?' * * * Sheridan, the first time he met Tom, after the marriage of the latter, seriously angry with him; told him he had made his will, and had cut him off with a shilling. Tom said he was, indeed, very sorry, and immediately added, 'You don't happen to have the shilling about you now, sir, do you?'"

We will pick out one more plum and then send the reader to the pudding itself for the rest:

"At dinner sat next to Lord Auckland. Talked of Bowles and extempore preachers: the broken metaphors to which they are subject. Mentioned that I remembered, when a boy, hearing Kirwan talk of the 'Glorious lamp of day on its march;' and Conolly, a great Roman Catholic preacher, say, 'On the wings of Charity the torch of Faith was borne, and the Gospel preached from pole to pole.' Lord A. mentioned a figure of speech of Sir R. Wilson, at Southwark, 'As well might you hurl back the thunderbolt to its electric cradle.' This led to —'s oratory: mentioned I had heard him on the trial of Guthrie, and the ludicrous effect which his mixture of flowers with the matter-of-fact statement produced; something this way: 'It was then, gentlemen of the Jury, when this serpent of seduction, stealing into the bowers of that earthly paradise, the lodgings of Mr. Guthrie, in Gloucester-street, when, embittering with his venom that heaven of happiness, where all above was sunshine, all below was flowers, he received a card to dine with the Connaught Bar at the Porto-Bello-Hotel,' &c. When I told Curran of the superabundant floridness of this speech, he said, 'My dear Tom, it will never do for a man to turn painter, merely upon the strength of having a pot of colours by him, unless he knows how to lay them on.' Lord L. told a good story of his French servant, when Mansell, the Master of Trinity, came to call upon him, announcing him as 'Maître des Cérémonies de la Trinité.'"

KEPPEL'S VISIT TO THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

A Visit to the Indian Archipelago in H. M. Ship Maander; with portions of the Private Journals of Sir James Brooke. By Captain the Hon. Henry Keppel, R.N. With Illustrations by Oswald W. Brierley. In 2 vols. Bentley.

CAPTAIN KEPPEL'S work consists of three elements—first, a plain, unvarnished tale of his visit to the Indian Archipelago; second, a warm and elaborate defence of Sir James Brooke from the accusations so pertinaciously brought forward by Mr. Hume; third, some very interesting extracts of the Rajah's own private diary, descriptive of his struggles to found civilized government among savages, and of his own personal feelings during the struggle.

It will be seen, therefore, that the work is one of political importance as well as of agreeable literature. In composition it is unaffected, and that is all. Captain Keppel writes plainly and sensibly when describing his own experiences; warmly, and like a partisan, when defending his friend. The volumes contain numerous passages of interest relating to the strange people, strange scenes, and strange customs, as well as the animals that came under his observation. From them our extracts shall be made.

THE TIGERS AT SINGAPORE.

"During our stay at Singapore, the body of a large tiger was brought in by some Malays (a not unusual occurrence), to enable them to receive the reward given by

Government. The Malays stated that, when they found this monster in a hole which had been dug to catch him, they threw quicklime into his eyes; and the unfortunate beast, while suffering intense agony from this cruel appliance, drowned himself in some water which was at the bottom of the pit, though not more than a foot deep.

"The annual loss of human life from tigers, chiefly among the Chinese settlers, is perfectly fearful, averaging no fewer than 360, or one per diem. Great exertions are still making for the destruction of these animals, which is effected by pitfalls, cages baited with a dog, goat, monkey, or other restless animal, and by sundry cunning contrivances. Not many years ago the existence of a tiger in the island was disbelieved; and they must have been very scarce indeed, for even the natives did not know of any. It is the opinion of Dr. Oxley (no mean authority at Singapore), that one may have been accidentally carried by the tide across the narrow straits which separate the island from the main land, and another may have instinctively followed: finding abundance of food they have multiplied. This is a more rational mode of accounting for their being here, than to suppose that they chased their prey over; as it is contrary to the nature of the beast to follow in pursuit, after the first attempt proves unsuccessful. Now, at Singapore, as in the days of Alfred with the wolves in England, it is necessary to offer a reward for their destruction."

THE WATER BUFFALO.

"The water-buffalo is an animal much in use at Singapore for purposes of draught. It is a dull, heavy-looking animal—slow at work, and I think disgusting in appearance; but remarkable for sagacity and attachment to its native keepers. It has, however, a particular antipathy to a European, and will immediately detect him in a crowd. Its dislike to, and its courage in attacking the tiger, is well known all over India.

"Not long ago, as a Malayan boy, who was employed by his parents in herding some water-buffaloes, was driving his charge home by the borders of the jungle, a tiger made a sudden spring, and seizing the lad by the thigh, was dragging him off, when two old bull buffaloes, hearing the shriek of distress from the well-known voice of their little attendant, turned round and charged with their usual rapidity. The tiger, thus closely pressed, was obliged to drop his prey to defend himself. While one buffalo fought and successfully drove the tiger away, the other kept guard over the wounded boy. Later in the evening, when the anxious father, alarmed, came out with attendants to seek his child, he found that the whole herd, with the exception of the two old buffaloes, had dispersed themselves to feed, but that they were still there—one standing over the bleeding body of their little friend, while the other kept watch on the edge of the jungle for the return of the tiger."

That "magnetism," which admits of transmission in the shape of blessing or of curse, which gives to "consecrated wafers" their virtue, and to "holy-water" its holiness, finds believers in the Dyaks, as we read here—

"On the Rajah's visiting some poor Dyaks in November, 1850, located on the Quop branch of the Sarawak river, so strongly impressed were they with the idea that sagacity and intelligence might be instilled into the human frame through the channel of the throat, that, at a feast given to celebrate his visit, the elders of both sexes, taking from a cauldron a handful of rice, which some of the party were cooking in the centre of the apartment, brought it to the 'Tuan Besar' (Great Sir), to spit on, and the mixture thus made they swallowed with peculiar gusto—the younger branches applying to the Rajah's European attendants for a similar relish to their meal."

Let us now take a peep into

THE COURT OF JUSTICE.

"Lounging into the court during the progress of an interesting trial, I was struck at the same time by the absence of ceremony, and the great interest exhibited by the spectators. Opposite to the entrance was placed a round table, at the further part of which were seated, first the Rajah, and on either side of him the individuals, native and European, six or eight in number, whom—for want of an exactly appropriate designation—I may call the judges; and they may be said to constitute the jury likewise. In front of this table, seated on a mat-covered floor, was the prisoner; and on one side was a witness giving his evidence. Around the whole court were benches on which Malays, Dyaks, Chinese, were seated indiscriminately; and those who could find no place on the raised seats were content to listen cross-legged on the floor, or to stand at the large open windows of the verandah surrounding the building. I was honoured with a seat amongst the judges, but understood little or nothing of the proceedings, which were conducted in the Malayan language.

"One judge or another examined witness after witness, each of whom was introduced by my old acquaintance Subu, who has been long a faithful follower of the Rajah, and now fills several places of minor importance about the court—among the rest that of public executioner, which, however is almost a sinecure.

"The case for the prosecution having closed, the prisoner, an interesting-looking young Malay, was called upon for his defence. He told his story in a quiet but not inaminate way; called his witnesses; and one or two of his friends in the court pleaded for him on particular points. When this had lasted nearly an hour, there was a consultation amongst the judges; and my old friend Patingue Gapour (one of the judges) read a long argument to the court. He was followed by the Bandar (another judge) who made a few remarks; then, after an observation or two from the other judges, the Rajah summed up, and pronounced the acquittal of the prisoner, whom I understood to have been tried for being found in another man's dwelling-house at night. The trial having been concluded, a general conversation ensued; and the court broke up with the same absence of ceremony as had marked its assembling.

"The proceedings exhibited a quiet decorum, and owed none of their dignity to outward ostentation, either in respect of dress or otherwise.

"It may not be uninteresting to my readers, if I introduce a few cases extracted from the Court Records kept on the spot.

"STEALING BEE-HIVES.

"Quop Dyaks v. Bombak Dyaks.

"The Orang Kaya of the Quop complains of the Bombak Dyaks for stealing his bee-hives from the Tappang trees.

"Judgment for the complainants.

"The Bombak Dyaks to pay thirty cutties of wax, or thirty passes of padi."

"N.B. When about to take the wax from the trees, the Dyak, before climbing

up, lights a fire, which attracts the bees. The Dyak says the bees mistake the fire for gold, and come down to possess themselves of the treasure.

"RIGHT TO TREES.

"Dispute between the people of Samarahan and the Dyaks of Sibuyow about the right to certain Tappang Trees in Samarahan.

"It appears that the Dyaks of Sibuyow settled in the Samarahan River several generations ago; and both parties have since been in the habit of taking the comb from the trees. At first each party collected what they could, without jealousy or disputes; but at length arose a competition between them, and each endeavoured to get the lion's share either by stealth or force.

"During the prevalence of bad government, neither party cared much for the Tappangs, as the parties who got the wax were obliged to give the greater part of it to Seriff Sahibie, and incurred great risk of being fined by him on suspicion of concealment.

"The property having become valuable, the parties now appealed to the court for a settlement of the question.

"The people of Samarahan were doubtless originally proprietors of the trees; but their ancestors, of free-will, gave the Sibuyows a settlement and a right, which have existed for probably a hundred years. It is confessed by both parties that the Sibuyows paid something for the settlement, but what rights were to be included in consideration of the payment cannot now be shown.

"The decision was, that the Sibuyows shall be the possessors of the Tappang trees below the junction, thus giving the original inhabitants nearly two-thirds of the ground and of the trees."

"RUNAWAY SLAVES.

"Slaves belonging to the sérail of Millanao run away to Lundu. Feb. 25th, 1846.

"The slaves were sixteen in number.

"Si Bugin, wife Si Klangote, and two children.

"Sajar, wife Rubin, and two children.

"Marali, wife Sili.

"Si Gajit, wife Rubin, and three children.

"Si Rajah woman.

"These slaves were valued by the court at 397 reals—the value paid by the Rajah, and the slaves declared free."

"The court also gave notice, that in future all slaves running away from any other country to Sarawak should be declared free."

"ANOTHER SLAVE QUESTION.

"Si Bain, a Kanowit woman, claimed as a slave by Summut, a Serebas man.

"The court said it was proved in evidence that Si Bain was made captive by the Serebas Dyaks in her youth; that, after passing through several hands, some ten years ago she was sold to Summut, ran away from him, resided eight years as a free woman in Seriki, and thence of her own will removed to Sarawak with her husband.

"It would be easy to decide this case, had it not a reference to the institution of slavery, which holds in native states.

"The woman was a free woman by birth, captured by pirates, and wrongfully reduced to slavery, and as a slave sold and re-sold.

"It is clear that a person wrongfully reduced to the condition of a slave, can never be considered a slave, though by force detained in that state. What is originally wrong can never become right; and a free person seized and sold into captivity by pirates, can under no circumstances whatever be considered a slave. This woman is therefore free, and even under the worst institution of slavery could not be regarded as a slave; but in her case, her supposed owner or claimant and herself both seek refuge and safety in Sarawak; and such a claim cannot by any native law be raised by Summut, who at the time of the occurrence was a pirate himself, and living in a hostile community.

"The court therefore decided Si Bain to be a free woman in the fullest sense; and Summut must bear his loss; and consider himself a fortunate man in escaping the consequences of his former errors.

"The court considered all persons under its protection who sought refuge in Sarawak; but it made no distinction between the escaped slave and the fugitive pirate.

"Si Bain is now placed on the records as a free woman."

"ASSAULT.

"Si Lumma, a woman, v. the Wife of Usop, and other women, for an assault.

"The circumstances of this case of an assault of an aggravated nature are simple and clear, and allowed by Si Usop the husband of the defendant, in whose house it occurred.

"The court need not enter into the feelings of jealousy which gave rise to the assault. The assault itself is sufficient; as Si Summa was decoyed into Usop's house, and there set upon by Usop's wife, and beaten and abused. The offence is not only against Si Summa, but a breach of the peace, and calculated to promote a serious riot. Had men interfered, weapons in all probability would have been drawn, and blood shed.

"The court must repeat on every occasion—must impress it on the mind of every one—that no private individual can take the law into his or her hands. Justice is daily administered; and no angry passions find their way within these walls. The woman Si Summa has been misused, and the public peace broken; therefore the defendants are condemned to pay the usual fine of thirty reals and three sukus, or, in common parlance, thirty and three."

These decisions, and there are others given in this volume, are extremely interesting, as affording an accurate indication of the amount of civilization in actual force. Turning from Law to Love let us learn what we can of

A WEDDING AT SARAWAK.

"The bride was a niece of my old acquaintance Mima, the Datu Patingue's wife; the bridegroom was young Kassar, who was residing with the Datu Bandar. The event created, from the rank of the parties, a great sensation at Sarawak.

"For a whole month previous to the actual ceremony, firing of cannon and display of flags, feasting and merry-making, had been going on at the houses of the respective parents.

"The ceremony took place at Mima's new residence. A large square space was fitted up in one corner of the room, and handsomely decorated: here were placed the bridal couches, the two last covered with handsome mats; and at the head of each there was a pile of pillows which nearly reached to the ceiling. The couches were surrounded by one or two sets of curtains, ready to be let down at pleasure;

an the spaces between the latter and the couches were decorated in gorgeous style, with cloth of gold, artificial flowers, and numerous other ornaments.

"Chairs (an unsightly innovation) were placed in the centre of the room for the Europeans, on which we had to wait a considerable time. Gradually the room began to fill with the ladies of Sarawak and their children. They seated themselves in their more primitive posture, all squatting on the floor, while the men collected outside.

"In one corner we observed the bride seated on an ornamented mattress, and surrounded by a crowd of women, who were busy dressing and decorating the poor girl; she drooped her head and affected to be, or I dare say she was, very nervous, but did not say a word. However, the head-dress, covered all over with gold flowers and ornaments, having been completed to the satisfaction of the elderly ladies, she was led to the bridal couch, where she was seated. The men sit cross-legged; the posture of the women is more graceful, both feet being inclined on one side, and bent back. We noticed that each young lady closely scrutinised the bride, and pretended to detect something in the dress that required a finishing pinch: some fanned her, and all looked a little envious.

"Her dress was very handsome, and in good taste: the baju (jacket) was of shot silk, embroidered with gold, and was of native manufacture; the saluar (trousers) of rich silk; one sarong, likewise of silk, was fastened round the waist by a gold belt, and reached to the ankles; while a lighter one was worn over the right shoulder and across the breast; her arms were loaded with massive gold bracelets, and she wore on her left hand a profusion of rings; a handkerchief was held in her right hand, as is considered indispensable by Malays of rank.

"The young bride had a narrow escape of being very pretty; the upper part of her face really was so, but the lower jaw was a little too square and prominent.

"From the number in the room, we had an opportunity of forming an opinion as to the looks of Malay women, which were decidedly pleasing; a few of the damsels particularly so. Those of our party who had been living long enough to have got over their English prejudices, pointed out two or three whom they declared to be downright handsome. The women of the lower classes have, however, so much household drudgery to perform, that their good looks soon wear out. The men, although small, are strong-limbed and well-proportioned; but their features are hard and ugly.

"Our bride having been kept in proper suspense for some time, the approach of the bridegroom, who had been fitting out at his relation's (the Bandar's), was announced.

"Kassan, having landed from his barge (a new Siamese boat, lent for the occasion by the Rajah), was borne by four men on a kind of chair to the door of the room, preceded by men carrying ornaments of artificial flowers.

"On his alighting here, some Hadjis (men who have made a pilgrimage to Mecca) uttered a prayer, which was three times responded to by the whole assemblage. After this, Kassan struck the threshold of the room with his foot three times, and then walking up to the bridal couch between two men, he gently touched his future wife over the head with a wand, and placed his right foot in her lap, and then retreating a couple of paces, he sat down on the adjoining couch.

"Kassan was dressed, as well as his bride, in cloth of gold. He wore silk trousers, and over them a sarong, short, like a kilt: another sarong, crossing over his right shoulder and under the left arm, and a crown of gold flowers on his head, completed his costume.

"As this was all the ceremony we were allowed to see, we left the room, in which I understand the wedded pair have to remain shut up for seven days."

And now for graver matter, touching on one of the most complex questions of social science. From Sir James Brooke's diary we extract the following passage, bidding all theorists on society, and especially all colonizers, reflect on its meaning:—

THE GROWTH OF CIVILIZATION NOT TO BE FORCED.

"Sarawak seems to have taken the shoot upward which I had expected long ago: but confidence is of slower growth than I anticipated; and piracy has been a great drawback. I may mention, too, that the effect on the Dyaks of a freedom from oppression has been just the reverse of what I expected. The freedom from oppression, the reduction of taxation, the security for life and property, has made them lazy. I always thought that it would have made them industrious, and eager to improve their condition. This error is a common one; and probably most men in England would have fallen into it as well as myself. More of this another time; but, lazy or industrious, the right principle should (and shall) be persevered in; for the right principle is based on the solid rock. If the first step is laziness, the second will be improvement, the third industry.

"The lazy, comfortable, well-fed Dyaks, who have no occasion to work for others, and no wish to work for themselves, who have arrived at the summit of human felicity, as depicted in their imaginations, form no ungrateful picture for the mind to rest upon: and now, before they labour to satisfy their wants, they must be taught new wants, arising out of an improved social state. Would I labour in order to possess palaces paved with gold, and studded with precious stones? No, certainly not, for I should not value such a lodging. Why, then, should the Dyak work to obtain a silver spoon, or a silver platter, when a plantain leaf and five-pronged hand are sufficient for his wants? There is a point of social development which begets healthy wants and desires; and to this point the Dyak has not arrived.

"There is, besides this, a condition of sterner want, begotten by the very progress of social advancement, which we know in England and Ireland; and God forbid the Dyak should come to that state of penury which has ever been seen in contrast, and, perhaps, must ever contrast frightfully with a high degree of civilization. There are some philosophers who harp on the terms 'industry' and 'work,' as though these two words comprised the sum total of human happiness—work! work! work! and when the weary head reposes, what is gained? Why, food! Now, if food can be obtained without ceaseless labour, is it not better that the poor man should relax from toil? Is there not a greater hope of moral and intellectual fruit when want is not always pinching us, or staring us in the face?

"I believe that stern and ceaseless toil keeps man as nearly as possible to the level of the brute. I say, then, let the Dyak be happy—let him eat his fill of the rice he grows. He has pigs beneath his house—he feasts at stated periods—he is not driven to labour for others. The jungle is his own, he enjoys the chase, he is rich in his own estimation, and he is happy. Why should he toil when he does not want—when he has no desire to gratify—no hope to realize? He is content and well-fed. The time will come when events, chasing each other in the world, will advance his intellectual powers; the infant state of the race will progress to

manhood; the Dyaks will improve morally and socially, and be creatures capable of appreciating a higher order of enjoyment. But it is time, and time alone, can do this; the whole province of Government is to afford them protection, and to prevent them from injuring others; and taxation, that inevitable result of Government, must be apportioned to their laziness. They must not be forced to work: no! not even to pay the taxes that may not appear burdensome. They must not be forced to work—no! though civilized men and wise may think it for their good. In these principles I am firm and steadfast.

"Philanthropists would improve the Dyaks by teaching the women to sew, and the men to manufacture piece-goods. Experience will leave them to advance, content that they enjoy, and fearful of applying rules which may injure and not benefit them."

Our extracts have sufficiently indicated the variety of this work and the nature of its contents. Having done that we have done all our office demands. Upon the great question of the Rajah's exploits and policy this is not the time to speak, nor the place. Book-clubs and Libraries will know what they may expect in Captain Keppel's *Visit to the Indian Archipelago*.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS.

IN spite of the demands upon our space, we must squeeze in a few words about the Children's Books on our table: that being a branch of literature intrinsically more important than critics usually suspect. It is a branch that has been immensely improved of late, not only in respect of the artistic illustrations which replace the deformities and conventionalities once passed off as "pictures" upon the credulous child, but also in respect of greater truthfulness and superior morality.

Conspicuous in this last respect is Miss Jewsbury's book, *The History of an Adopted Child* (Grant and Griffith), which is in some sense our ideal of a book for youth, and cannot be read without admiration, interest, and moistened eyes, by grown men and women. That sharp sagacity and close observation which gave value to Miss Jewsbury's novels, are here brought to bear upon the vividness and reality of a story, which, as we can testify, children read with intense interest. The moral is apparent but unobtrusive; it shines with a quiet light through the incidents, and is not preached. The heroine is a true girl—not a pattern girl at all—and hence the sympathy she excites in children, who, not generally being of the pattern order, secretly despise the virtuous models set before them by indiscriminating teachers. We hope great good will come from efforts in this direction. Depend on it, with children, as with all Adam's sons, truth is the most certain and effectual tuition. *The History of an Adopted Child* we would very seriously commend to parents, teachers, and guardians—they will earn something from it; and the children will delight in it.

Mrs. Hooper's *Arbell* (Addey and Co.) is a tale for young people, also to be commended for its interest, its wise, healthy spirit, and its feminine observation; but we think it inferior, on the whole, to Mrs. Hooper's former work, *Mrs. Anderson's School*, as running more in the track of the novelist, and as sinning more in what is called "want of keeping"—viz., the children talk too much like grown people and think too much like grown people. Not that children notice this when they read; but we critics do, and are sure that it must have its effect. With all allowance made for its short-comings, *Arbell* is nevertheless an attractive and admirable little book.

A Day of Pleasure, by Mrs. Harriet Myrtle (Addey and Co.) is addressed to still younger readers, and abounds in those incidents of everyday life, and those natural objects which children are never tired of, because immediately appealing to their sympathies. The eight illustrations by Hablot K. Browne have his ordinary angularity, and a certain impishness of expression in the faces, which deduct from the merit of the drawings.

The Adventures of a Bear, and a Great Bear too, (Addey and Co.) is a very amusing story of the career poor Bruin passes through, from his noisy and quarrelsome boyhood to his final degradation as a blind old beggar, led about the streets by a dog. Harrison Weir's illustrations are admirable, in the Granville and Kaulbach style, representing beasts as semi-human; they are full of character and fun. Boys will delight in them.

The Little Drummer (Addey and Co.) is a story of the Russian campaign of Napoleon, very popular in Germany, as are most of the stories by Gustav Nieritz. It gives a lively picture of the horrors of war, and will impress upon the juvenile mind some of the leading incidents in this celebrated campaign.

To the above works we must add a couple of tiny volumes, one containing *Aladdin and Sinbad the Sailor*, the other containing five stories from the *Arabian Nights*—viz., The Fisherman and the Genie, the King and the Physician, the Punished Vizir, the King of the Black Isles, and the Sleeper Awakened. Two acceptable little reprints, which Messrs. Addey have published by way of introduction of the infant mind to the great world of wealth and wonder, named *The Thousand and One Nights' Entertainments*.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

Lincolnshire. A Pastoral. By January Searle.

Parry and Co.

ANOTHER little brochure from January Searle, like all his writings, full of buoyancy and life, and that wild "play-impulse," as Schiller names it, inherent in the poetic nature. Every page hearty, fresh, and genial. To read this pastoral is to spend an hour of "summer jollitie" amid November dullness, and to have your mind disabused of the belief that this said Lincolnshire is irreclaimably given up to and inhabited by, the dismal, dreary, drizzling featured genius of November throughout the whole round of the equinoxes. A brighter character, however, the poets give it; and science has striven arduously, and not vainly, to redeem its reputation. Dickens, for the purposes of art, pictures a Chesney Wold as the perpetual type of manorial dreariness, bleaker far than Bleak House itself; but, on the other hand, we have Miller's sweet "*Day in the Woods*;" and we are not forgetful of Tennyson's noble picture of Burleigh Hall, which may fairly vie with Chesney Wold as the county's representative.

January Searle's "*Pastoral*" preserves throughout the true characteristics of a

pastoral, and is no more than it pretends to be, "a running stream through a fine country, singing, as it goes, the praises of its scenery, and of the happy life which a happy natured man may lead and find there. To sympathizing readers, this will be something; to unsympathizing readers, nothing. As they please."

The Arts.

FAIRY-LAND AT THE LYCEUM.

LAST week you were informed, in brief and somewhat enigmatical manner, of my deep seclusion "in the still air of delightful studies;" I was alone with my folios—companioned by The Fathers! Those mysterious characters, of which Fanny complains, were meant to tell you that. Basil was speaking to me in somewhat inelegant Greek of the advantages to be derived from the study of Greek writers—if I have *not* gained all the wisdom there awaiting me, I am willing to suppose the fault was mine: perhaps I did not come "prepared with the due humility of spirit," and receptivity of intellect! Whatever the cause may be, certain it is that when Fanny, with the dovelike eyes, declared I must take her to the LYCEUM to see the Christmas piece, I quitted my folios with immense alacrity!

I must borrow hyperboles to express something of the admiring delight with which we witnessed the *Good Woman in the Wood*; ordinary epithets have so lost their value by the prodigal use made of them in criticism, that to speak within bounds would be speaking coldly and inaccurately; the Greeks would have boldly spoken of the *flabbergastuality* of this piece, but our poorer language is denied those reaches of genius! The LYCEUM itself affords no standard of comparison. Never on any stage was there a scene of such enchantment and artistic beauty as that which concludes the first act of this piece, the *Basaltic Terminus on the borders of Lake Lucid*. To say that in the long summer afternoons of reverie-peopled boyhood one had dreamed of fairy-land like this, would be to say that the wide-wandering fancy of a boy was equal to that of a Beverly; but Beverly is the fairy's own child; he *must* be a changeling; his childhood was spent among those regions, and now, in his serious and laborious manhood, the dim remembrances of that far-off splendour haunt his soul.

The pansy at his feet
Doth the same tale repeat:
Whither is fled the visionary gleam?
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?

Where is it? In his artist soul! and ever and ever does that soul strive to re-create it to the eye. There lies the mystery of that pale delicate face! "Trailing clouds of glory," he moves amongst us, environed by mystery, because he cannot

Forget the glories he hath known,
And that imperial palace whence he came!

He is sad, thoughtful, pale, delicate, because of
Those shadowy recollections
Which, be they what they may,
Are yet the fountain-light of all his day,
Are yet a master-light of all his seeing.

The fairies have had millions of worshippers, hundreds of poets, and one supreme artist, and that artist is William Beverly! In this *Good Woman in the Wood* there are several beautiful scenes, and the last scene—always a Lyceum marvel—is as marvellous as anything which former years have shown us; but, to my mind, the highest reach of scenic art is that closing scene of the first act.

The piece itself is better than usual, everywhere agreeable, often funny as well as fairy-like, with some capital writing—neat, easy, punning, and epigrammatic; several excellent songs and concerted pieces; an exquisitely grouped ballet, with Rosina Wright, the first of English dancers, moving amid the groups in her bright graceful witchery; costumes of perfect taste and varied splendour, and, as I hinted before, a general *flabbergastuality*, not expressible in moderate English. I laughed, I applauded, I shouted inordinate "Ohs!" of breath-suspending admiration; and demeaned myself, generally, like a boy at his first play, instead of the languid critic, "used up" by seeing so many pieces with "nothing in them."

Don't expect me to tell you anything of the piece. Enough if I say how charming it was and how excellently acted. Madame Vestris, to whose taste the public owes so much (and cheerfully acknowledges the debt!) had a capital part in *Dame Goldenheart*, and played it as if she liked it. She was in wonderful voice. Julia St. George improves with every new part, though I must whisper a word to her in confidence (like a stage aside), *not* to overload her head with such a profusion of curls; she has not height to carry such a mass. Miss Robertson made her first appearance, and a very pretty appearance she made, so as to justify Prince Almond's passion both by her sweet looks and her sweet voice. Miss Wyndham made a very pretty princess, and Miss Eglington a seductive prince. A word also for Miss Ellis, who looked queenly, and played a small part with the nicest possible discrimination. Frank Mathews as *King Bruin* was perfect: his savage tragedy, his dignity, and his terror, kept the house "roaring." The *tone* was consistent, and kept within the bounds of burlesque. Altogether I declare I have not seen such a fairy piece as this. The triumvirate—Vestris, Planché, Beverly (let no classical gentleman raise his eyebrows at the *vir*)—have opened Fairyland: who is there will not take a peep!

LEO THE TERRIBLE

attracted me on Tuesday. It was perhaps unfair to any piece to see it after the *Good Woman in the Wood*, but that I couldn't help. There is some side shaking fun in *Leo the Terrible*, and some puns so sublimely bad, that they extort shouts of amazed mirth; there are also some pointed lines; but the burlesque, as a whole, moves heavily; there is too much dough in this Christmas pudding, and the citron, spices, plums, and spirit, should have been more liberally bestowed to make that dough digestible.

The fable is set in an obscure and pointless framework, which has the further disadvantage of throwing a large proportion of the music upon the *shoulders* (mind, I use the word advisedly) of Mr. Caulfield, who is not my ideal of a captivating tenor!

On the other hand, only imagine Keeley as a Jolly Tar! Keeley shivering his timbers! Keeley dancing the hornpipe! Keeley as one of our wooden walls! It is worth going miles to see. There he is, in the approved T.P. Cooke costume, *aliquantum ventrosius*, to speak with Plautus, "greatly ventripotent," with a pigtail reaching nearly to the ground, looking like an animated bumboat rolling ashore; and Mrs. Buckingham too, she is a "rakish craft" (avast there, messmate!), quite an honour to the service! Bland as *King Leo*, the very mildest of Lions, (by the way what a happy phrase is that applied to him, "Time the resistless dentist") was what Bland always is—immense. Buckstone grotesque as usual in the small part of a brigand chief.

The idea of a Reinecke Fuchs burlesque, which is hinted in this *Leo the Terrible* (the *personæ* being animals), was a happy one, and gave variety to the costumes. I can say nothing however in praise of the scenery and getting up of the piece; except the final tableau, which was loudly applauded, the scenes were sadly inartistic.

THE MARIONETTES

have achieved "a blaze of triumph" with their Christmas spectacle, *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves*, which is mounted with great splendour and effect. The holidays ought to bring a new and joyous public to these *Marionettes*, which have now attained extraordinary dexterity in their "deportment."

MR. WOODIN'S SOIRÉES

no boy should allow to pass unseen. I advise every juvenile to pester and clamour around Pas, Mas, aunts, uncles, godpas, and big brothers, until he has extorted a promise to be shown the contents of *Woodin's Carpet Bag and Sketch Book*. Having done so, he can return into the bosom of his family, and get up a few private representations on his own account, imitating his schoolmaster (the old frump!), his usher (the prig!) his *caput puer* (the coxcomb!) together with sketches of the young gents who come courting his sister; which will make his sister so fond of him!

VIVIAN.

P.S. Instead of waiting till next week to give you a veridical account of all the pantomimes, I turned the generous enthusiasm of a young and ingenuous artist to account. He has just come up to London; to him I confide the Pantomimes!

A WEEK OF BOXING-NIGHTS.

As it was ten years since I had seen a London pantomime, I was easily persuaded by my cousins, at whose house I am spending Christmas, to promise a treat "somewhere" during the holidays; and on Monday, bearing this promise in mind, I walked up to Vivian's. "How d'ye do, old fellow?" he cried, in his loudest and gayest manner, as soon as he saw me. "Merry Christmas, &c. How have you left 'em all at home? What are the latest accounts from the flood districts? Sit down, sit down. You don't smoke, I think?" said he, slyly. He remembered *how* I didn't.

"I am staying with my aunt at Ball's Pond, Vivian," said I, when we had exchanged salutations. "The girls have been asking me—you know Miss Brown, I believe?—to take them to one of the pantomimes. Which house should you recommend?"

"You want *free admissions*, you sly dog," he answered, "and would prefer choosing for yourself. Come, now, what do you say to going officially to *all* the pantomimes? You write a little, you know. Those things you sent us up some weeks ago are still under consideration at the office. Fact, I assure you. Well, will you give one a lift with the theatres this week or not, eh?"

"Vivian," said I, "count on my friendship." The fact is, I was transported with the notion, and only afraid of his retracting his proposal. "Say no more, my dear fellow," I exclaimed, grasping his hand warmly. "It shall be done, depend on it. I'll go everywhere. Give me the tickets, and not a night will I miss till I've seen all. Adieu!" And sure enough I was off, with the whole pack of playhouse cards buttoned up snugly in the side pocket of my great-coat.

It did not strike me till I had got back to Ball's Pond, where I felt the necessity of composing my mind, that there were but four nights available for my purpose. On those four nights, therefore, it would be my duty to see the four best pantomimes, as far as I had any means of judging what were likely to be the best. Having stated the case to Miss Brown and her sisters, we consulted upon the choice of theatres. Drury Lane, Sadler's Wells, the Olympic, and the Adelphi, were decided on, each theatre by one of the four Miss Browns, who consented to go with me in turn. Thus it happens that I give an account, from personal observation, of four pantomimes, and confess myself indebted to the daily journals for all I have to tell about the rest.

I find a little difficulty in separating the four pantomimes which I have seen, and which are all so wonderfully alike in point of construction. I find, when I try to think of Whittington, or Charles the Second, or Hudibras and Old Dame Durden—the Olympic pantomime of *Romeo and Juliet* alone retaining its distinctiveness in my remembrance—that all the characters appear to be dancing a kind of country dance, in which "Old Rowley" and the fair Alice, Dick, and Nell Gwynne, Sir Hudibras and Mrs. Pepys, Hugh Fitzwarren and the wakeful lady of the old glee, persist in pairing off down an endless lane of masks, equally at cross-purposes. And even when I have succeeded in detaching the Drury-Lane pantomime, I find it impossible to describe how the author has mixed up Hudibras and Charles the Second and Dame Durden with two rival spirits—Antiquity and Improvement—who contend in one of those bewildering scenes which are always called "Abodes," though they are the very last places where anybody but a watchman would dream of passing a single night. But without attempting to unravel the story, let me say that the masks of this pantomime might have been designed by John Leech, that the opening scenes are full of unexpected point and fun, and that if the harlequinade, taken on its own merits, rather falls off in these

respects, the pantomimists labour heartily, and not in vain, to make up the deficiency. Tom Matthews, the darling of the gallery, is Clown; a "sprite" surpasses the most sprightly of his brethren, running round his head, as it lies motionless on the floor, and afterwards sitting on it; the Harlequin is nimble and not without grace; the Columbine, and an attendant, named Harlequina, not quite up to the mark, but passable; and an almost forgotten personage, the lover, revives in the slightly altered form of a prospective "gent." In the course of the evening the brothers Siegriest performed their astounding feat "La Perche."

At Sadler's Wells, *Dick Whittington* is the hero of the night, and capably is he acted by Mr. Fenton, the Harlequin. The story is properly followed out here, the fortunes of the cat in foreign parts making an excellent scene. A clever pantomimist, who calls himself "Herr Deani," plays the cat remarkably well. As at Drury-Lane, the tricks and changes are a falling off, relieved by wonderful displays of tumbling.

The Olympic pantomime is got up on a scale suitable to the dimensions of the theatre, and with much taste in some of the scenes. The story of *Romeo and Juliet* is turned into not very boisterous fun, and here the harlequinade has certainly the best of it, the allusions to political events, at home and abroad, being better contrived than at the other houses. Mr. Edwardes, the Clown, is indefatigable. He exhibits some trained dogs, of rare docility and intelligence. Here too is a "sprite," who possesses the average powers of dislocating his joints, and who accompanies the Clown in some displays of juggling. The Harlequin is one of the most agile fellows I ever saw, with round tapering limbs, scarcely set, but already showing immense strength. The spring upward from the knee, as he made his rapid *pirouette*, was something to remember with satisfaction.

At the Adelphi, Nell Gwynne's adventures with Charles and Rochester are turned to good account. With such pantomimists as Honey and James Rogers for the *King* and *Nell*, what but success could follow? There is some excellent scenery, such as the Gallery in Whitehall, old Covent-Garden, the interior of the Mitre Tavern, and the gardens of Whitehall Palace, opening on the Thames. The fun, after the transformation, is taken up by Mr. Bologna, as Harlequin; Mr. Le Barr, as "Sprite;" Mr. W. A. Barnes, as Pantaloon; and Mr. Flexmore as Clown. Columbine was played the first night, I believe, by Mdle. Auriol, who now confines

her exertions to the early ballet scenes, and Miss Mitchenson is the Columbine. Political allusions are sparingly ventured, and the changes depend for their success more on ingenious mechanism than on wit. One change from a betting-office to a view of the Australian diggings, was admirably contrived.

The Princess's pantomime, it seems, is to succeed on the strength of its beautiful scenery. *Cherry and Fair Star*, the most charming of all the tales in the collection of the Countess d'Anois, is the subject; but the liberties taken by the author are so great as almost to swamp the original story. A Mr. Huline is spoken of as being an exceedingly clever and original Clown; and Miss Carlotta Leclercq was Columbine. The *Times* considers the harlequinade to have absorbed the success of the pantomime.

Astley's has the story of *Fortunio*, with his (or her) seven gifted followers, and horse Comrade. Processions are talked of, enlisting the full strength of Mr. Batty's company of man and horse, and there seems to be every chance of the pantomime proving a hit.

The Surrey piece, like the Princess's, depends for success on its spectacle. It is called *Harlequin and the World of Flowers; or, the Fairy of the Rose and the Sprite of the Silver Star*. And certainly the title promises little pantomimic merit. But the magnificent scenery carries it off.

At the Strand, Miss Rebecca Isaacs has opened with the company of "Living Marionettes," who perform a pantomime called *Harlequin Gulliver; or, the Clown in Lilliput*. The great attraction here, however, will be the opera, which is well supported. The season is only to last a month.

Pantomime has kept alive the popular spirit of free and open criticism, but I fear to little or no good purpose. The cries, principally of dissatisfaction, which on four evenings this week I have heard from a gallery audience, never betokened judgment, or even instinctive appreciation of good effect. One of the most beautiful moonlight scenes I ever saw on the stage, though I regret not to remember at which house, was fiercely assailed with shouts of "Shame, shame! Why don't you 'fire the blue'?" So, positively the only chance of natural shadow which the vile system of stage-lighting allows us, was to be destroyed by a ghastly glare for the morbid delight of those lunatics!

NEXT SATURDAY, JANUARY 8th, 1853.

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12	0 0 8	0 0 11	0 1 3	0 1 7
15	0 0 8	0 1 0	0 1 4	0 1 8
18	0 0 9	0 1 1	0 1 5	0 1 9
20	0 0 9	0 1 1	0 1 6	0 1 10
22	0 0 10	0 1 2	0 1 7	0 1 11
25	0 0 10	0 1 3	0 1 8	0 2 1
28	0 0 10	0 1 4	0 1 9	0 2 2
30	0 0 11	0 1 4	0 1 10	0 2 3
32	0 1 0	0 1 5	0 1 11	0 2 5
35	0 1 1	0 1 6	0 2 0	0 2 6
37	0 1 1	0 1 8	0 2 2	0 2 9
40	0 1 2	0 1 9	0 2 4	0 2 11
43	0 1 3	0 1 11	0 2 6	0 3 2
45	0 1 4	0 2 0	0 2 8	0 3 4
48	0 1 6	0 2 3	0 3 11	0 3 8
50	0 1 8	0 2 6	0 3 3	0 4 1
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