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The Leader.

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

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SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1853.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

THE Ministerial plan for re-constructing the Government of India is before Parliament and the public, in an enormous speech by Sir Charles Wood, more than half of which consisted of laudatory apology and of what may be called official self-praise. The plan is neither an abandonment of the present system, nor a retention of it, but a compromise between continuation and reform. The Directors, with their present election by a small but miscellaneous body of stockholders, are retained, but reduced to twelve, and recruited with six Government nominees. Their appointments to the Army are retained, but scholarships in the civil and military colleges with the scientific military appointments, are open to public competition. Macaulay's code of law is to be brought into practice, some improvements are to be made in the chief offices civil and judicial of India, and instead of fixing the present arrangement for a given period, it is open to amendment from time to time. This last is its great recommendation; how it will work,—whether the Government nominees will prove to be dummies, or will eat up the power of the Directorate, remains to be seen. The end of the Macaulay's code is nothing but the payment of the old debt. The other improvements are as they are insufficient; but the opening of the path of reform is in itself a considerable gain. The subject is too large to be dismissed with an opinion off-hand, and we at least may be permitted to sleep upon its consideration.

Next to the Indian Government, the most startling event has been the enhancement of discount in the Bank of England from three to three-and-a-half per cent. This was agreed to at the meeting on Thursday. As usual, although it had been expected, the public suffered itself to feel surprised. The obvious reason for the step is, that the commercial public, although it took no marked exception to Mr. Gladstone's scheme of conversion, has not shown any general willingness to accept his alternatives, and therefore there will be a little more than 3,000,000*l.* to be paid on account of Exchequer-bills held by dissentients. It is possible, also, that there is some demand for money, not because it is really scarce, but because trade is at present so very extensive, and moving at so great a pace; and possibly there may be some commercial grandees in difficulties, who hope to avoid the overt disaster of the great iron speculator, Mr. Attwood, and to obtain that timely mark of confidence which was accorded to

a very great capitalist some years ago, whose half-hour of mortal anxiety in the Bank-parlour is a matter of familiar history. That this pressure can be very general does not seem to be probable, since the rate of discount has not obviously advanced outside the Bank. It is possible that the managers may have their eye upon contingencies in the East; but the one manifest reason of providing for the Exchequer-bills is sufficient.

As to the East, the sensitive beings on the Stock Exchange and in the clubs permit themselves to have a different calculation every six or eight hours. Russia has broken off diplomatic relations with the Porte, and Turkey refuses the conditions, without which Russia will not be friends. In that statement we express the whole of what is really known; beyond it, all is surmise and inference, obscured, not cleared, by the one-sided, manœuvring statements which are industriously spread in Paris and London. Russia professes to be excessively moderate, and, according to her own account, she has managed to preserve considerable moderation on the face of the record of the diplomatic correspondence; but it is well known that Prince Menzschikoff's bearing and verbal demands were the reverse of moderate; and in refusing compliance, the Sultan Abd-ul-Medjid is supported by the unanimous voice of all his statesmen, and by the ambassadors of France and England, with the concurrence of the other European representatives. The reports indicate warlike activity on all sides; Russia is said to be preparing for an advance, the Porte is putting its troops and militia in readiness, the French fleet is near at hand, and it is expected that the English flag will appear in the Dardanelles. Yesterday, the account gave a slightly more pacific turn to the reports; but really the indications of a more conciliatory spirit in Russia are too trifling for notice; and to-day the report is of an army on the march against Turkey. If there is any calculating the probable movements of his Imperial Majesty, it must rest on the belief that, to use a vulgarism, he would "hardly be such a fool" as to provoke a war with all Europe; yet there is no saying to what lengths pride may not betray a man surrounded by the manifestations of his power.

The minor dispute between Switzerland and Austria seems likely to be suspended by the renewal of diplomatic relations; but Austria has not yet removed the species of industrial blockade with which she harasses the frugal Swiss.

The latest portents of political combinations of the Continent only serve to increase the confusion which courtly equivocation, diplomatic reserves,

and political intrigues, render so complicated. Austria, who is harassing Switzerland and worrying Sardinia, is giving a Princess to the Duke of Brabant, heir to King Leopold of Belgium, and cousin to Queen Victoria; our Queen is giving her hospitality to the Duke of Genoa, brother to the King of Sardinia, and himself Lord Palmerston's quondam nominee for the throne of Sicily; and the Minister of Austria who recovered Hungary by the help of Russia, appears to be siding in Constantinople with the Ministers of England and France. How much of these apparent co-operations is real, how much false, it would be idle to guess. One thing alone is rendered tolerably certain—in all these combinations the people seldom go for much. Their rights are seldom remembered, save as those of somebody's "subjects."

In England we shall scarcely forget how little the people are regarded; or if we were so oblivious, Lord Carlisle's speech on Cuba would supply us with a double memorandum. Some time since, the West Indians possessed slaves, and the British Parliament—which possessed no slaves, but is to this day reluctant to repeal, or even render certain, the laws that unjustly forbid the working man to combine in the face of his combined employers—resolved to emancipate the Blacks. Having deprived the West Indian planters suddenly of their labour, Parliament forbade those West Indians for some time to get labour elsewhere, under whatever guarantees of freedom. Then, in the height of the Free-trade mania, Parliament violated the precept of the most distinguished Free-traders, by exposing the West Indies to competition with slave-grown sugar. And now, years after the event, Lord Carlisle candidly confesses that he may have been wrong! But the tale of absurdities is not ended yet. England has persevered in defending Cuba against the United States, Cuba being a rival of Jamaica in the sugar trade, and encouraging that slave trade which she is bound to aid us in suppressing. Lord Carlisle has discovered that that alliance also may be a mistake. But where, while British statesmen and Parliament were thus acting, was the deference for the people of Jamaica? Where the deference for the voice of Cuba?

Where is the deference for the voice of Ireland, in that English statesman who persists in maintaining for Catholic Ireland an expensive Protestant establishment? We know too well that Lord John Russell is right when he says, in reply to Mr. G. H. Moore's motion for enquiry, that it would not be practicable to attempt the abolition of that establishment; but why? Because the representatives of the enfranchised classes in

England, as well as in Ireland, habitually disregard the wishes of the people; and because the unfranchised classes in "free" England, as well as in unhappy Ireland, habitually put up with being disposed of by their "betters." But what can we think of the Irish capacity for co-operation when we see an O'Connell seconding a motion which, at the same time, he stigmatizes as "rash"? No wonder that, with such backing, Mr. Moore's motion was lost.

The occasion has offered an opportunity for the members of the Brigade who had joined the Ministry, to recover their position in that body. Messrs. Sadleir and Keogh have resigned their posts; Mr. Monsell and Sir Thomas Redington are said to have followed their example, on general grounds of dissent from the Irish ecclesiastical policy of the Government.

Lord Lyndhurst has afforded the Peers a *locus penitentie*; but the Lords persevered in impenitence. He proposed to revise the whole subject of the oaths taken by Peers and Members on entering Parliament, which are in form obsolete and absurd. For instance, Jews are called upon to swear "upon the true faith of a Christian;" Protestants are compelled to abjure the Pope, which Catholics are not obliged to do; and all are obliged to abjure the Pretender and all his line—who are all "dust to dust." Lord Lyndhurst, however, purposely withheld his hand from removing one absurdity, because the House of Lords had so recently resolved that it should not be removed—that phrase in the oath abjuring the Pope which indirectly excludes Jews. Lord Derby feared that the Commons would perfect the bill by removing that absurdity with the rest; and Lord Ellenborough feared that if they did, the two Houses would fall to squabbling in the dog-days; and in dread of that contingency, the bold Barons rejected the bill by 84 to 69.

Mr. Macaulay has restored the freshness of his old reputation by a speech in his best manner against an invidious Tory bill, to exclude the Master of the Rolls from the House of Commons. The Income-tax Bill has made good way through Committee; and amongst the amended Customs' Duties actually passed is the diminished tea-duty, by favour of which an immense supply, 7,000,000 pounds, is brought into trade; and, in Dublin, we notice, no doubt also in London, the consumer is already profiting by the reduction. It will be as well, however, to examine the leaves after they have been unfolded by the hot water; lest, in the excitement of buying "cheap tea," the good public should be inveigled into buying that which would be dear at the cost of boiling the water.

THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT.

PARLIAMENT has been unusually interesting this week. We have had three striking speeches—two in the House of Lords; and everybody will eagerly welcome Mr. Macaulay back to his old arena. Besides which we have, at last, the statement of the Ministerial measure on

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

The Ministerial plan for the Government of India was stated last evening by Sir CHARLES WOOD. There were not many members present, but there was perfect silence and evident attention as the Minister rose to speak.

He first pronounced against the delay of legislation. Mr. Disraeli had truly said that the present charter of the East India Company was passed almost amid the excitement of the Reform agitation; let them then remember that next session another reform bill would have to be discussed. No one could foretell what might alter our foreign relations. These were arguments for immediate legislation; but a stronger argument arose from the injurious agitation that would arise in India did the people know that Parliament had doubts as to how they should be governed, and by whom. Such an impression would certainly weaken the influence of the Indian authorities; as the rumour of his recall had hindered Lord Ellenborough in his negotiations. Information on the subject of the Indian Government we had already; the evidence given before the committees was before the House. But if we waited until all the eight "heads" of the subject were investigated the delay would be so protracted that a postponement of legislation, until then was out of the question. From India itself, and from persons at home connected with India, he had collected opinions preferring even imperfect legislation at once to any postponement. The Government had, therefore, resolved on immediate legislation, and they asked

the House—amend or alter the bill as they liked—not to obstruct it for the sake merely of delay. He then characterized the Government bill as "small in compass," for it referred only to the Government of India—as managed at home and in India itself. It left the social and local questions to be dealt with rather by Indian administration than by English legislation.

The social and local matters which gave rise to complaints were not to be dealt with by the bill; but the Government had no objection to express its views upon them. With reference to Legislation, the Law Commission appointed in 1833 had unfortunately not ended in any practical result, but it was "not altogether useless;" the spirit, if not the letter, of its reports and suggestions had been embodied in subsequent local legislation. The administration of the Indian courts had been condemned; but they should recollect that, until very lately, English law itself was a tissue of absurdities. Instances had been quoted of innocent persons in India who had been harassed by procedures, and sometimes sentenced to severe punishment; but he would venture to say, that equal injustice was committed in England, if we counted all the cases where the Home Secretary had pardoned persons that should have been acquitted. We should remember, also, that while true evidence is the rule in England, it is the exception in India—perjury and subornation of perjury being all but universal; and we should bear in mind that in India different customs of law had to be administered to different races. The Company's Judges had been attacked: yet, of the appeals made to England from their decisions, two-thirds had been affirmed. The cultivation of cotton in India, though surrounded with peculiar difficulties, had progressed during the last fifteen years; the amount cultivated during the last five years was nearly double that grown during the first five years of that period. The roads in India were not, it is true, sufficient to serve for the general conveyance of produce from the interior; but there were many excellent roads—for instance, the great trunk road from Bengal to Lahore, 900 miles of which have been completed, and along which the traveller can pass speedily and safely. Railways had been but lately introduced; but he promised that the Government would lose no time in affording them every encouragement. Touching irrigation, there had been much misrepresentation; the Government had made five canals, and other most extensive works. The tenure of land in India was another "grievance." In the Madras Presidency, the system used was called the ryotwar system: it made the Government the great landlord, in direct relation with the cultivator. The assessment of rent under it was perhaps too high; but it was subjected to annual revision. Some persons wished to change this to the Zemindar system, by which landholders, somewhat like Irish middlemen, stepped in between the Government and the cultivator, and answerable to the Government for the rent only, oppressed the ryot to obtain it. But the ryotwar system is not universally applied: the village system is recognised in some provinces, and other systems in other provinces; in all cases regard being paid to the customs and wishes of the people. The revenue of India (about 27,000,000*l.*) is raised on an accepted principle of political economy, which advises the levying of taxes chiefly from a few articles; the only article of popular consumption taxed in India is salt. In the abolition of Slavery, Suttee, Infanticide, and Thuggism, English rule had been beneficial; it had instituted the sway of Justice and Order, and had given to India more "serious, earnest, and enlightened legislation," during the last twenty years than it had experienced during the preceding two centuries.

Having pronounced this unqualified panegyric on the effects of the present Government of India, Sir Charles Wood considered the machinery of the system. It certainly was anomalous that 150,000,000 of people should be governed by one Englishman at Calcutta, having more absolute and extended power than many monarchs in Europe; that he should be directed by twenty-four gentlemen, elected by a body of persons not qualified for the duty by any knowledge of India, and that they should be controlled by a Minister who, in the changes of parties, may have known nothing of Indian affairs until he was placed in office. But our Indian Empire itself is an anomaly as great; and, with all its imperfections the system could not have been badly administered when it had brought a great empire to prosperity and an improving condition. In the Board of Control was vested power in all things excepting commerce and patronage; but in exercising its power it had the advice of the Directors. This plan had worked well. If the whole power were vested in the Board of Control, that Board being directly responsible to Parliament, Indian affairs would be made questions of party politics, and perverted as have been some colonial questions of the day. One complaint against the present Indian Government had been its tardiness of action; but, in truth, despatch was not of great importance in Indian administration. For in governing such a country our practice should be to appoint local officers in whom we could have confidence, and who would be responsible for action. The witnesses before the Committees had been almost unanimous in recommending the continuance of the double Government, by which the Minister was guided by the advice of persons experienced in India. It should be remembered also, that should the Ministry take all the Indian authority to itself, it should first give back to the Company its capital and its commercial charter; and, secondly, undertake the Indian finances—a change Mr. Gladstone would not like.

The plan of the future Government was then stated. The Board of Control is to be retained—the only alteration being, that the President is to make an annual statement of Indian affairs to the House of Commons. The Court of Directors is to be altered. Instead of the present thirty Directors, there are to be eighteen; twelve elected by the proprietors of East India Stock, and six nominated by the Crown, from among officers who have served in India for ten years. (The change is to be made gradually.)

The present thirty Directors are to select from among themselves fifteen to retain power. The Crown will add three Directors with the above-stated qualifications; and the vacancies occurring through the retirement of elected Directors will be filled in by the appointment of Crown nominees, until the direction attains its regulated proportion of twelve directors elected by the proprietors, and six nominated by the Crown. Six directors will retire every two years, and can be immediately re-elected to serve again. By this means each director will serve six years. The directors will receive 500*l.* a year, instead of 300*l.* a year as at present, and the chairman and deputy-chairman will get 1000*l.* a year each. This increase is given in lieu of some patronage withdrawn from the directors. The "nomination" of young men to Haileybury are taken out of their hands; entrance to the college will in future be accorded after public competition—merit, and merit alone, obtaining the prize. And with a view to the improved administration of justice in India the education at the college will have more of training in legal knowledge, and less acquirement of Oriental languages than at present. The same rule will govern appointments to assistant surgeoncies, and to the scientific departments of the army. The higher appointments now absolutely made by the directors will be subjected to the supervision of the Board of Control. This system of Government, to commence on the second Wednesday of April, 1854, is not fixed for any particular time; it is to last until Parliament shall otherwise provide.

The changes in the Government in India were then detailed. Reform is expected chiefly through local legislation; but to assist such reform a commission of English lawyers is to frame a code founded on the reports and suggestions of the commission of 1833. The appointments of the Executive Council is to rest as now with the directors, but subject to the revisal of the Board of Control. The Legislative Council will be nominated by the Governor-General and by the Lieutenant-Governors of the Presidencies, from persons who have been in the civil service a certain number of years. The Governor-General will have a veto on all legislation. To relieve him in part from his present burthen of administration a Lieutenant-Governor will be appointed in Bengal. The Queen's Courts and the Company's Courts will be abolished, and a minor Court of Appeal will be established in each Presidency, superseding the Supreme Court in Calcutta. The salaries of the inferior native judges will be increased.

The negative portion of the scheme was hurried over. The secret committee of the Directors is not abolished. No provision is made for the education of the natives; and no regulation for their more extended employment. Referring with great satisfaction to some few cases of conversion to Christianity, and praising the law which allowed converts to retain their Hindoo rights of property, Sir Charles concluded with a general phrase in praise of "civilization and Christianity."

When he sat down there was general but faint applause. His speech lasted five hours. The House was thin throughout. Some members were asleep on the side benches, but the majority of those in the House were attentive. The statement was in some parts necessarily dry—in others prolix without necessity; while the occasional dropping of the speaker's voice added to the dulness of portions of the speech.

Mr. BRIGHT (who took notes all through the long speech, and once requested Sir Charles to speak up) rose to criticise the measure.

There were some "good things" in the bill: it would be strange indeed if a person making such a long speech did not state something good. The alteration, as to the patronage, was good; but, in the covenanted service, the present promotion by seniority should be replaced by promotion for merit. As to "delay" of legislation, no injury could arise from showing the Indian people that we considered this a grave and solemn question; and now was a favourable time for its deliberate consideration. Mr. Bright then condemned the present system. Its secrecy and irresponsibility were unsuited to our Parliamentary Government. The system which "obscured responsibility, and deluded public opinion." Under this system the revenue was squandered, no one knew to what extent, in unnecessary wars. Then look at the condition of the peasantry of India: in Bengal "wretched and degraded," as Mr. Marshman, a friend of the Company, had said. The ryotwar revenue collectors came down "like locusts," testified Mr. Tucker; and the consumption of salt, in Bengal, had diminished by 60,000 tons in three years. Throughout India, the Company's courts were objects of absolute terror to all persons forced to appear in them. Sir Charles Wood had talked of our exports to India, but India, with its population of 100,000,000, took but 8,000,000*l.* of our goods, while Brazil, with its population of 7,500,000, (half slaves,) took exports worth 2,500,000*l.* Thus, India consumed at the rate of 1*s.* 1*d.* per head, while, in South America, including the whole of the slave population, the consumption was 8*s.* 8*d.* a head. In 1833 natives were declared eligible for superior offices, but, since then, not one has obtained any appointment, not obtained by a native before that vaunted declaration. We had overthrown the native schools; and, out of 100,000,000 of people, we were educating 25,000, expending but 66,000*l.* in education, out of a revenue, arising from the people, of 20,000,000*l.* From 1835 to 1851, the Government had received 340,752,000*l.*; during those sixteen years they had expended, on public works, 5,000,000*l.*, and, in paying their proprietors' dividends, 10,000,000*l.*; and had borrowed, during that time, 16,000,000*l.* Thus their payments for improvements, and their payments to their constituents, were borrowed money. These financial difficulties were of moment to us: Sir Robert Peel had justified his Income-tax, by anticipating the probability of our having to pay Indian debt; and now we find that the debt, in India, is 51,000,000*l.*, double what it was in 1825. The military expenditure, alone, had increased from 8,000,000*l.*, per an-

num, in 1833, to 12,000,000*l.* per annum in 1851. The future looked even more gloomy. The war in China, threatened a loss to the revenue; the annexation of Pegue an increased expenditure.

Mr. Bright then characterised Sir Charles Wood's plan as a mixture of two ingredients: one wholesome, the other poisonous; but there were two drops of the poisonous to one of the wholesome. He happily satirised the proposed "self-immolation" of the Directors, and spoke with earnest eloquence to the close.

"This was not a question for one man more than another. It was a great question in which they all had an equal and permanent interest—(Cheers)—and it was a question in which their children had, it might be, a very much deeper interest than they. If anything went wrong in India, if their treatment of the people should find them some morning in insurrection, let them consider what it would be to reconquer that country, or to be driven out of it. He did not wish to be a party to bringing about such a state of things as that, a state of things which should write such a narrative in the history of our relations with that empire. His object was not to break down the covenanted service; his objection was to the double government, which was a mockery and a delusion practised on the people. He thought it a mockery and a most unstatesmanlike course that the right honourable gentleman had pursued; and in it, he presumed, he had been backed by the noble lord the member for the city of London. He only wished some of the younger blood of the Cabinet might have had their way—(Cheers)—for nothing should ever induce him to believe, after the evidence that had been before the public, that this was a measure which had the united approbation of the Cabinet. It was impossible that thirteen sensible gentlemen who sat in the Cabinet should approve a measure of this nature. He was very anxious, if they were to legislate on this matter, that they should legislate aright. He was anxious there should come a time when it might be said that, whatever our crime in conquering that country, we governed it as wisely as possible, and left no record and no name upon it that did not do us honour. He recollected the noble lord the member for Tiverton, in one of the best speeches ever heard in that house, telling of the security that Englishmen enjoyed all over the world, finishing his peroration with the words '*Civis Romanus sum*.' Let them, then, be Romans, but not merely in personal liberties and securities. Rome was a great conqueror, but when she conquered she governed. (Cheers.) She left on those she subjugated not merely the marks of her power, but also the traces of her civilization. Why was it not so in India? There never was a more docile people, and we never had a better opportunity in our power. If we could but abandon the policy of aggression and annexation, and confine ourselves to the territories we now possessed, we should be better off, and might be well contented. We had now ten times the territories of France, five times the population of the United Kingdom; surely that was enough for the most gluttonous lover of glory and supremacy. Treat the people kindly, educate them gradually, and we should find that the distinctions of caste would break down, that they would look upon us as friends rather than as conquerors. Moreover, if we wished, as we all did, that Christianity should pervade that country, we might be assured that it would come infinitely sooner for our setting a high and a generous and a Christian example to them, than it would come from any course of policy we could pursue.

Loud cheering burst forth as Mr. Bright resumed his seat. It was continued for some time. The debate was then adjourned.

SLAVERY IN CUBA.

The House of Lords have had another instructive conversation on the slave trade in Cuba. The Earl of CARLISLE introduced the subject, giving the details of the case with clearness. He first referred to his being a follower of Lord Brougham, on this question; not for the first time, having also "shared in his triumph for the county of York" (a triumph connected with the British Abolition of Slavery), and then presented a petition from the ladies of Kingston (Jamaica), deploring the slave trade in Cuba, hoping that England will enforce the treaties for its suppression made with Spain, and, additionally, lamenting the general distress of Jamaica, and attributing it in part to our recent commercial policy, which had encouraged slave-grown productions. Lord Carlisle admitted his own complicity in that policy, and to the present day he felt "great doubt whether, in so doing, he acted right or wrong." But there was now no possibility of that policy being reversed. The petition then stated the late transactions in Cuba, in violation of the treaties between Spain and England. These statements were well founded. So far back as 1817, Spain solemnly stipulated with England to suppress the slave-trade on the part of Spanish subjects; and in consideration of that treaty Spain received from this country the sum of 400,000*l.* But its provisions have been "systematically, wilfully, and all but continuously violated."

"He feared that in the long series of captains-general and governors of Cuba, very few indeed could be named who had not received a bribe, or hush-money, to use the plainest terms, for every single slave landed upon the island of Cuba. General Concha, and another governor-general, might be quoted as honourable exceptions. Their lordships might judge of the real state of things when honour attached to persons merely because they had refused to enter into partnership with those whom he must look upon

as the worst malefactors of our species, and because they had not derived unlawful gains for fostering a habit which, in his conscience, he believed had been the cause of more wrong and suffering than any other curse that ever afflicted the globe, and which, even in itself, was sufficient to prove the necessity of a future state of retribution to redress the wrongs perpetrated with so much impunity in this world. When he mentioned the long series of captains-general, who had so grossly violated the engagements of Spain with this country, it was still more painful to him to state that he feared the suspicion did not stop with them, but ascended still higher. True it was, that no sooner did one captain-general of Cuba seem to show a disposition to respect the faith of the treaty, and to manifest some degree of humanity and honour, than very shortly, for some reason or other, he was sure to be removed in order to give place to a less scrupulous and more accommodating functionary in his stead. Under the present captain-general (General Canedo) the slave-trade was being carried on with unexampled vigour and audacity upon the coast of the unhappy island of Cuba, which he could state from his own experience God had fitted to be a paradise, but which ever since the first white man put his foot upon it had been turned into a hell."

There had been lately a promise that the "emancipados" entitled to freedom in 1828 and 1835, would be released when their term of service expired; but considering that in Cuba the field labouring population died off every ten years, it was not likely that many of those included in the promised release would be able to claim it. But there was a continuous importation of fresh negroes. In the months of November and February last five thousand slaves were known to have been landed; and, without doubt, many more were landed in unsuspected parts of the island. In the late case of 1100 slaves landed, 300 had been released, but were they effectually rescued? Those who knew well doubted it, for neither the captain nor crew had been arrested, and the negotiation was a secret compromise between the slave dealers and the government. By the law of Cuba no slave could be followed into the interior, when once in the possession of the proprietor, against whom no proceedings could be instituted. One remedy for this would be the remission of slaves, not to slave ports, nor for trial before commissions at Havana, but to a free port, where a trial before a mixed commission should take place. Having additionally instanced the 600 slaves who had been landed in the open day at Matanzas, Lord Carlisle said that, amid all those disgraceful and revolting proceedings, it was refreshing and satisfactory to find how efficiently our gallant naval service was discharging its duty in those seas; and in proof, told a good story of a slave chase. The *Vestal*, an English cruiser, was refitting in the harbour of the Havana; and the *Venus*, a finely-built slaver, took advantage of this, and slipped out to sea.

"At daybreak she was missed, but in less than three minutes after Captain Hamilton heard of the circumstance, the *Vestal* was on her way out of the harbour under a crowd of canvass. There were eleven foreign ships of war at that time in the Havana, and the Americans, like good kinsmen, gave the *Vestal* a loud cheer as she departed. When the *Vestal* got out to sea there were several distant specks to be seen, but which of them was the *Venus*? She was detected by the superior whiteness of her new sail. She was pursued, and gained upon. In the course of the night another tornado came on, during which the *Venus* was altogether lost sight of. That was the crisis. Which way would she go? Upon consultation it was conjectured that she would make for the Bahama shoals, that being a dangerous navigation for larger vessels. At sunrise it turned out that the conjecture was correct, and the *Venus* again appeared. But it was an extremely dangerous passage, and the *Vestal* had brought no pilot. The breakers were rolling, and it was found impossible to pursue the *Venus* further. Captain Hamilton then determined he would try the effect of a long gun with an enormous charge of powder. It pitched into the *Venus*, down went her colours, and she gave in. There were two other slave schooners amongst the breakers, but the *Vestal* was unable to follow them for want of water. Captain Hamilton instantly took his measures. He went on board the *Venus*, held his revolver within three inches of the captain's head, made him steer after the other schooners, and successively captured them both. On board each vessel was found a large store of swords, muskets, the usual provision of slave-decks and slave-irons, together with several letters implicating many persons, and other vessels as well as their own, and, amongst others, a large black brig, which was captured a few days afterwards. When the *Vestal* returned into the harbour at Havana with her three prizes, an American said, 'It made my heart run over to see the old country come out so proud.' Now, he wished their lordships to consider this, if these things were done in the very harbour of the Havana, in the heart of the capital, before the windows of the captain-general, what might not be taking place along the wild and unfrequented coast of an island nearly as large as England?"

Lord Carlisle then came to the question—What was to be done?

"As for causes of war, the Spanish Government had given them twenty times over, and many of the causes which had led this country into long and ruinous contests were, in comparison, absolutely paltry and insignificant. But he did not wish to convey an opinion that this country was bound to go to war with Spain, even for the suppression of the slave trade. He knew the apathy which prevailed among a large portion of the inhabitants of this

country on all such external topics, and many of those who felt most zealously and ardently on the subject would not be foremost to our having recourse to such a violent mode of proceeding. But if Spain did not amend her ways,—if she alone, of almost all the nations of the earth, persisted in this nefarious traffic, she ought to be taught that, if her possessions in Cuba should ever be endangered, she must at least be prepared to find this country neutral in the conflict. He did not wish to blame the Spaniards more than any other nation. On the contrary, he was not sure whether the citizens of the United States, considering the lights which they possessed, and their own birthright of freedom, had not, in their abominable fugitive slave law, committed a greater trespass against the human conscience. The difference between the two cases, however, so far as we were concerned, was this—that with Spain we had treaties, the enforcement of which we had a right to demand, whilst with the United States we had no such treaties."

Urging the continued exertions of our navy in repressing the traffic, Lord Carlisle concluded his speech, amid loud cheers, by presenting the Jamaica petition.

Lord CLARENDON admitted the perfect accuracy of the melancholy and appalling facts related: the treaties alluded to had been constantly and feloniously violated. As to the practice of taking captured slavers into Havana, the cruisers were obliged to take them either to Havana or Sierra Leone. It was but fair to the present Captain-General, to state that not alone had he promised activity, but, lately, he had acted with energy, having gone upon certain estates,—a most unusual proceeding,—and released 100 slaves. The Spanish Government, also, had lately given additional powers to the Captain-General, and had promised a settlement of the affair of the emancipados. But we must look mainly to our own exertions, for the effectual check to this abominable traffic.

The Bishop of OXFORD, referring to the introduction of slave-grown sugar, said the question of Free-trade should have been kept out of the question of the slave trade, as much as out of an inquiry into the right of sharing in the result of robbery.

After some remarks from Lord BROUGHAM and Lord WHARNCLIFFE, the conversation dropped.

ALTERATION OF OATHS.

Lord LYNTHURST explained the motives and object of his new bill on this subject. The object is simply to strike out of the oaths required as qualifications for a seat in Parliament, or for holding certain offices, such parts of the oaths as are idle, inoperative, or absurd. There are three oaths. The oath of allegiance, simple, clear, and comprehensive, he would not alter that oath. The oath of supremacy originated in the reign of Elizabeth, and was altered to its present shape in the reign of William III. It was directed solely against Roman Catholics, for it protested against the doctrine that the Pope could release subjects from allegiance—a doctrine never held by any Protestant; and its second clause, stating that the Pope had now power in the realm, was likewise directed exclusively against Roman Catholics. But we had taken the extraordinary course of abrogating this oath as regards Roman Catholics, for whom alone it was intended, and retaining it for Protestants, to whom it was never intended to be applied. It should therefore be abolished entirely; and for another reason. When the oath was first framed, the Roman Catholic religion was not tolerated; masses, other services, and all communication with the Pope, were rigidly forbidden; then it might be said that the Pope had no authority in this country; but now, when the Roman Catholic religion was tolerated, when we knew that the Pope's authority was blended with that religion, when we knew that the Pope—through the disposal or deprivation of religious rites—enforced a spiritual authority of the most stringent kind, the declaration in the oath was untrue, and could only be used with a mental reservation that such authority could not be enforced in a court of justice. The oath was therefore inapplicable, idle, inoperative. If he might make such an allusion, he would say—

"Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindici nodus Inciderit."

The third oath—the oath of abjuration—was solely applied to the claims of the Pretender. It abjured all allegiance or obedience to him. It had been frequently altered,—on the accession of Queen Anne, on the union with Scotland, on the accession of George I., and on the death of the old Pretender. It was reasonable, then, that when the descendants of the Pretender ceased to exist, the oath should again be varied to adapt itself to the state of the facts. At present it was an idle mockery, an obvious absurdity.

"If any person were to go into a grave assembly and say, 'I do sincerely, and in my conscience before God and the world, declare that none of the descendants of the late Pretender (there being no such persons in existence, and there being no probability of such persons ever coming into existence) has any right or title to the Crown of Great Britain, and that I abjure all allegiance to them,—and I state this in the true and ordinary sense of the word, with-

out equivocation, without mental evasion or secret reservation—and I do this upon the true faith of a Christian!—if any person were voluntarily to go into a grave society, and make such a statement, he would be considered as fit only to be put under some restraint. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Only let their lordships imagine a noble lord coming into that house, standing at the table, all business suspended, and the noble and learned lord on the woolsack assuming additional gravity to hear that statement made, not voluntarily, but by compulsion—not only read, but sworn to—the Almighty called to witness the oath—and then the person subscribing his name as a testimony that he had been engaged in an absurdity, so that it might be handed down to posterity—on hearing all this, surely their lordships, after the matter had been brought under their notice, would not any longer sanction such an absurdity. Therefore he proposed to strike out every part of the oath to which he had referred, except that which related to the succession of the Crown, as fixed by the act of settlement, and the character of the Sovereign upon the throne as far as regarded his religion—for he conceived that no greater calamity could befall this country than that the Crown should be placed upon the head of a Roman Catholic. (Cheers.) In altering this oath, he had been pressed to strike out the words ‘on the true faith of a Christian.’ His answer to that request was, that he felt bound to respect the decision of their lordships’ house, and he could not strike out those words, because, if he were to do so, there would be no chance of passing the bill. He yielded, therefore, to necessity on this occasion. But at the same time he must be allowed to say that, although he yielded to necessity, he did so against his own inclination. The history of the introduction of those words was curious. In the time of King James I., a manuscript, partly in the handwriting of Garnett, Superior of the Jesuits, was discovered: it was called a ‘Treatise on Equivocation,’ and showed how the obligation of an oath might be evaded. For instance, if you are asked by a person whom you think in your conscience you are not bound to answer, ‘Were you in London to day?’ you may say ‘I was not,’ mentally saying, ‘for an improper purpose.’ (Loud laughter.) Now, it was remarkable that the very year this was discovered, and immediately after the conviction of the conspirators, the oath of allegiance was introduced, and then, for the first time, were added these words, ‘without equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation,’ and ‘upon the true faith of a Christian.’ (Hear, hear.) There could be no doubt that these words were not introduced as a test of Christianity, but solely to render the oath more binding. Surely they were never intended to apply to persons of the Jewish persuasion, for they were then in a state of banishment, and had been absent from the country for 400 years. But it had been said that if this oath had not been in existence some direct act of legislation would have been passed relating to the Jews. Now during great part of the reign of William III. no attempt was made to introduce any such bill, and yet there was nothing at that time to prevent persons professing the Jewish religion from taking their seats in Parliament.”

Lord Lyndhurst concluded by an emphatic opinion on this point:

“It would be more consistent with the dignity of the country to exclude the Jews, if they are to be excluded at all, by an act of the Legislature. No British-born subject—no natural-born subject of this country, ought to be deprived of sharing in the rights of his fellow-citizens unless he had been convicted of some great crime, or was excluded by some direct act of legislation, directed either against himself or his class. That was a principle of the constitution, and if so, a person could only be excluded by the concurrent voice of both Houses of Parliament and the consent of the Crown. If a person was excluded by the casual operation of a clause never directed against him or his class, he was deprived of his birthright. Although he retained the words ‘on the true faith of a Christian,’ he retained them from necessity, and contrary to his own views and wishes. (Loud cheers.)”

Lord DERBY, without opposing the second reading of the Bill, expressed some objection to it. Looking at the encroaching spirit of the see of Rome, he thought it important that every Protestant member should protest against the assumptions of that see. When Lord John Russell introduced his Jew Bill last session, “perhaps having a stronger opinion then than now of the danger of Papal legislation,” he introduced words renouncing the jurisdiction of the Pope—words Lord Lyndhurst now proposed to reject. But Lord Lyndhurst had, he said, retained the words excluding the Jews—not approving of them, but in order “to facilitate the passing of the Bill.” But in the other House these significant words must be omitted. Then, considering the extent of financial business before the Commons, the bill thus amended could not be remitted to the Lords till July or August, and then the Government would have entire control over the Bill. He, therefore, would wish that the Government should pledge themselves that the late decision by the Lords on the Jew Bill should not at that time be reversed by a side wind, and in a thin house. Lord John Russell, in his answer to a deputation, seemed to consider that the Bill might be used for such a purpose.

Lord ABERDEEN, first characterising Lord Lyndhurst’s speech as “full of eloquence, and a triumph of good sense,” objected to this unusual suggestion. Why should not Lord Derby oppose this Bill by proxies as he had opposed, and successfully, the measure for the relief of the Jews? “As it stands I cordially support the Bill, and I have no doubt the ministers in this House will cordially support it.”

Some conversation followed, in which several peers expressed their fears that the Government would take advantage of the amendment anticipated by Lord Derby to legalize the admission of the Jews. But Lord ABERDEEN declined to give any pledge upon the subject, and Lord Lyndhurst’s Bill was read a second time.

On the committal of the bill, Lord ELLENBOROUGH revived the objection that the Jews might obtain admission to Parliament, by means of it, and to their admission he was conscientiously opposed. They had knocked often enough at the door of the House; “if their lordships had owed them money they could not have knocked more frequently.” Some alteration in the present oaths—mere “mumbling mummery”—might be usefully made. The abjuration might be made simple and intelligible, in itself, by stating that the succession to the Crown was in the heirs of the Princess Sophia, being Protestants, and many unnecessary words might be omitted. Had Lord Lyndhurst’s bill come from the House of Commons, he would look on it with favour, but as at present it was likely, on its being sent to the Lower House to be altered so as to admit the Jews. Were the admission of the Jews a political question, he would not wish the House to persist in opposing the Commons; but it was not a political measure, it was a measure to disparage Christianity. Lord DERBY repeated his fears that the Jews, by a Commons amendment of this Bill, would be admitted by a side-wind, and also apprehended that (in accordance with what Lord John Russell had lately said) the clause of the oath which binds Roman Catholics not to seek injury to the Protestant Church, would be altered so as to remove any such restriction. Lord ABERDEEN declared himself ignorant of Lord John Russell’s intention regarding the Bill, but would not give any pledge upon the subject. He would promise that the Government would not delay the Bill; and as far as he knew, the friends of the Jews did not intend to introduce the amendment anticipated by Lord Derby. The motion for going into Committee was rejected by 84 to 69.

JUDGES EXCLUSION BILL.

The consideration of this bill on Wednesday provoked a debate of unexpected interest. The bill proposes to exclude all judges from the House of Commons.

On the motion for the third reading, Mr. HENRY DRUMMOND moved, that the bill be read a third time this day six months. Judicial authorities were of proved utility in the House; many questions had arisen in which their opinions had been of great importance, and such occasions would arise again; for the next war was likely to involve delicate and complicated questions. The canvass of the candidate was objected to as unseemly; but “no gentleman was degraded in the eyes of any man by the act of canvassing.” Approving of representatives of the Universities, the Inns of Courts, and other learned bodies, Mr. Drummond said:—

“At present those on the Ministerial side of the House seem only disposed to bring in reform bills which will exclude all property, and those on the other side bills which will exclude all brains; and thus the House will be made a mass of pauperism and ignorance. (Laughter.) That was Socialism; and when they had made the House a body of persons without property or intelligence, the sooner they fell under a military despot the better.”—(Laughter.)

Immediately as Mr. Drummond sat down Mr. MACAULAY rose, and delivered one of his happiest speeches, the first he has spoken since his return to the Legislature. He started with, “I shall vote with all my heart and soul for the amendment.” In passing, he expressed surprise at this bill having advanced so far, “it was hardly creditable to the House.” On what grounds was this bill brought in? No practical evil or inconvenience had resulted from the presence for the last six hundred years of the Master of the Rolls in the House? None of the eminent judges who had held that office and seats in the House had been less efficient on the bench because he held a seat in the House. The union of political and judicial functions is condemned by this bill; but the noble lord’s was the most wretched and pitiable reform that was ever produced—the most homoeopathic dose that ever quack proposed for the widest spread malady. Political and judicial functions are combined and interwoven in all our political and judicial institutions; this reform is comparatively but an infinitesimal change. If you exclude the Master of the Rolls why not exclude the Chairman of Quarter Sessions, many of whom have been decided party men, and yet may have to try for an election riot political partisans?

“Well, but even if I were to admit there is something in the functions of the Master of the Rolls which makes it peculiarly important that he should take no part in politics, I should still vote against the bill before the House as being utterly inconsistent and inefficient. If it be unfit that the Master of the Rolls should be a member of poli-

tical assemblies, why not exclude him from all political assemblies? But you do no such thing. You shut him out of this House, but leave the House of Lords still open to him. Is that not a political assembly? And is it not notoriously the fact that for several centuries judges have always had considerable sway in that House, nay, that they have very often had a decided ascendancy in that House? Is it not perfectly notorious that Lord Hardwicke—a great judge—long ruled that House? that he bequeathed that power to another judge, Lord Mansfield; and that when his energy decayed the power passed to a third judge—Lord Thurlow? We many of us can remember how powerful a political influence Lord Eldon exercised in that House—how he made and unmade Ministers—with what veneration, approaching to idolatry, he was regarded by one great party in this country—with what peculiar aversion by the other. When Lord Eldon’s long domination ceased, other great judges, both Whig and Tory, were contending there.”

Mr. Macaulay here strikingly recalled one of the great scenes in modern Parliamentary History:—

“Some who are here can remember, and no one who had then a seat in this House can have forgotten—those first ten days of October, 1831. It was the most alarming and exciting crisis during my life. It was the time at which that great debate of many nights took place in the House of Lords, which ended in the rejection of the Reform Bill on the second reading. God forbid we should ever see such another crisis! I certainly can never hope to hear such a debate. It was, indeed, a great and most splendid display of every kind and variety of ability. I dare say some of those are here who, like myself, waited all that last night—waited until the late daybreak of an autumn morning for the result of the division—walking up and down the Court of Requests, crowding and squeezing to reach the doors of the House of Lords—pleased if we could catch a word of that wonderful conflict of oratory. And there, in the front of either side, appeared two judges leading the opposite parties—Lord Brougham, the Lord Chancellor of England, on the one side—and Lord Lyndhurst, the Chief Baron, on the other. (Cheers.) How we hung on their words! How eagerly they were read before noon that day by hundreds of thousands through the country! What fearful excitement these proceedings caused was proved a few hours later by the disasters of Nottingham and the sack of Bristol. (Cheers.) And yet this so exciting and important arena the noble lord, who hates political judges, is perfectly willing to leave open to the Master of the Rolls. His objection is not to the union of the political and judicial functions, but simply to the union of the judicial character with that of a member of the House of Commons. The Master of the Rolls may be—the noble lord has not the least objection to it—the soul of a great party—the head of a great party—the leader of a democracy, the leader of an aristocracy—he may use all his powers of rhetoric and sophistry to influence the passions and mislead the understandings of the senate; but it must not be in this room; he must go a few hundred feet from where we are assembled; he must sit on a red bench and not on a green one; he must say “my lords” and not “Mr. Speaker,” and then the noble lord is perfectly willing to allow him to form part of a political assembly.” (Cheers.)

But this was even understating the case; for already the peers, as peers, were necessarily judges. In the morning they sit as judges, and give decisions binding on “the very Master of the Rolls himself.”

Then in the afternoon the same lords shall meet as politicians, shall attack each other sometimes pretty sharply, sometimes in a way for which if you, sir, were amongst them, you would be inclined to call them to order (laughter), and shall debate the question of the Canadian clergy reserves, of Irish education, of the Government of India—and to all this the noble lord says he has no objection whatever. Here, then, you have a judicial system in which the exercise of political functions is combined with the judicature both above and below. If we pass this bill it will probably be taken to the House of Lords by men who have judicial functions, and will there be taken out of their hands by the Lord Chancellor, who is a Cabinet Minister, and at the same time the highest judge in the realm—and this mummery we call “purifying the administration of justice.” (Cheers.) Oh no, it is nothing of the kind. This a bill for the purpose of purifying the administration of justice! If justice does need such purification, it is utterly ineffectual; it is effectual only for one purpose—the purpose which has been so ably noticed by my hon. friend—it is effectual only for the purpose of weakening and degrading the House of Commons.

This game had been played before. More than 150 years ago, rash and short-sighted men procured an enactment that no servant of the Crown should sit in Parliament. That enactment was speedily repealed.

If it had not been repealed, its effect would have been to degrade that branch of the Legislature that springs from the people, and to elevate the hereditary aristocracy. All the Ministers of the Crown would be necessarily members of the other House of Parliament. As soon as any man, by his eloquence, or by his knowledge of business, had raised himself to such distinction that he was selected to be Chancellor of the Exchequer—First Lord of the Admiralty—Secretary of State—First Lord of the Treasury—Secretary at War, or no matter what, he should instantly turn his back on what would have been then emphatically called the Lower House, and go to that House in which it would be alone possible for him to display his great ability for the administration of public affairs. Sir Robert Walpole, the first Pitt, the second Pitt, Fox, Canning, Peel—all the men whose fame was inseparably associated with the Lower House of Parliament—whose names were mentioned with pride—whose memories must be in the recollection of every one who passes through St. Stephen’s Chapel, the old scene of their conflicts and of their triumphs—(cheers)—all these men, in the prime and vigour of

life, would have become peers; while the conflict of opinions having been transferred from the House of Commons to the House of Lords, it would be utterly impossible for the House of Commons, left without a single statesman conversant with high and grave questions, of alliances, of peace, of war, to give as this House has given, and as I hope it always will give, a general direction to the whole external and internal polity of the realm. (Cheers.) Then all Europe would be looking to the great conflicts of Pitt and Fox in the House of Lords, and the House of Commons would be left to look after turnpike roads and canals.

Party wrangling, no doubt, always would be; but there was an abundant and extensive province of parliamentary business that lay quite remote from the contentions of parties, and in which a great jurist would render immeasurable and inestimable service, and obtain for himself an imperishable name. (Cheers.) "And if ever there was a time when such a jurist was needed here, and was likely to be justly appreciated, it is the present time; for no observant man can fail to perceive that there is in the public mind a generally growing and earnest, and at the same time, I must say, reasonable and sober desire for extensive law reform." Mr. Macaulay then argued against the tendency of this bill, and of former bills like it, to make the House of Commons less efficient; and then replied to the argument for the bill, derived from the "division of labour"—

"The principle of the division of labour is one of great value and importance, but one that may be most easily abused. You can carry it out in matters that are purely mechanical, but you may easily carry it too far when you come to higher operations. I will refer to a high authority on the question—that of Adam Smith; and though I may admit that one man is to do nothing but throw up the hay while another man is to sharpen the point of the stack, I do not believe that Michael Angelo would have been a greater painter if he had not been a sculptor; or that Sir Isaac Newton would have been a greater philosopher if he had not been a mathematician. (Cheers.) I do not believe that a man would be a greater law-giver because he was not a great judge; on the contrary, I think that between the duties of a legislator and those of a judge there is as close a connexion as between anatomy and surgery. (Cheers.) It is as absurd to exclude a judge from acting as a legislator as to say that the person who applies himself to the practice of surgery is not to be deemed competent to direct the study of anatomy. (Hear, hear.) I will refer to an authority that the honourable member for Montrose probably rates more highly than I do—Mr. Bentham. Of Mr. Bentham as a moralist or a metaphysician alone I have no very high opinion; but I look upon him as one of the greatest writers on the judicial organization that ever lived. (Cheers.) I find in his celebrated work on judicial organization an article in which he dwells on the exceeding evil of plurality in office; he strongly objects to suffering a judge to be anything but a judge, with one single exception: 'a judge,' he says, 'ought to be permitted to sit in the representative assembly that legislates for the commonwealth; for,' says he, 'the very best school for a great legislator is the judicial bench; and when legislative abilities are so difficult to be found it would be madness to throw them out when they are in.'"

Referring to the objection, that there was "something coarse," in the way of getting into the House, Mr. Macaulay went to the root of the matter:—

"Are we prepared to say, that no person can come into the House of Commons except by means that are inconsistent with the gravity and dignity of the judicial bench? If so, it will become us to set our House in order. How can any country long prosper, if that assembly on which all its dearest interests depend—which by a single vote can change its Government, and give a new direction to its whole policy, domestic, commercial, colonial, financial—can only be entered by means which must lower its character? But it is not so. In what measure did Sir William Scott lower his character by coming into this House? In what way did Sir John Copley lower his character by coming into this House as member for the University of Cambridge? But it is not necessary to speak of universities; it would be most unjust and unfair not to say that delicacy and liberality of sentiment that would do honour to any university may be found amongst the 10^l. householders of a great city. (Cheers.) But need we go further than to look at your chair? (Cheers.) It was, sir, of as much importance that you, at the last general election, should maintain the dignity, gravity, and impartiality of your exalted character as that the Master of the Rolls should do so. It would be impossible for you, sir, to commit the smallest indecorum without grievous injury to your public utility. Did the great county which has done itself the honour to return you require any conduct on your part upon which the Speaker of this House must look back with shame; and what reason have we to doubt that a constituent body would not be as just to a judge as to you? There is no reason, I think, to doubt but that a judge might take his seat in this House without being required to do anything inconsistent with the strict punctilio belonging to his station. It may be said the law is inconsistent, and I admit it is—but my advice is, we are now entering upon a bad path, and let us stop in it. The time is not far distant when we must come to reconsider the constitution of this House; on that occasion it will be the duty of the Government most carefully to recommend the rules according to which it shall be determined who shall be excluded."

He would have in the House several public functionaries now excluded—the third Secretary of State, the Under-Secretary of State, the Master of the Rolls, the Judge of the Admiralty, the Lords Justices, and the Vice-Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Chancellors—leaving out the fifteen judges, as they have seats in the House of Lords:

"I am perfectly certain, that in that way we should add to the credit of this great representative assembly—with the credit of which the credit of representative Governments all over the world is intimately bound up—and render our own body far more efficient for the discharge of our duties. (Cheers.) But whether those more extensive changes which I recommend shall or shall not be adopted, I see no reason for entertaining the bill of the noble lord. I will ask the Conservatives of this House, will they agree to make changes in the state of a law which has lasted for twenty generations, and from which they do not themselves pretend that the smallest inconvenience has flowed? (Cheers.) I address myself to the Liberal members of this House, and I ask them whether it appears to them to be right to lower the character and diminish the efficiency of that branch of the Legislature which has sprung from the people. (Cheers.) As one uniting in myself the character of Liberal and Conservative, I shall divide most cordially for my hon. friend's amendment." (Cheers.)

Lord HOTHAM replied, and the House divided.

For the third reading, 123; Against it, 224;
Majority, 101.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH IN IRELAND.

A long debate on this old subject occupied the Commons on Tuesday. The formal matter before the House was a motion by Mr. G. H. MOORE (the member for Mayo), for a select committee to inquire into the ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland, and how far they are made applicable to the benefit of the Irish people. Mr. Moore stated a variety of arguments against the Establishment. It made the Irish people disloyal: "If an English ship and an American ship were fighting off any part of the coast of Ireland, the people would unquestionably wish the American to win." For the religious opinions, feelings, and sympathies of the Irish people were studiously disregarded. This was not the error of the heated brain of Irishmen. Lord John Russell had called the Church Establishment "a great wrong;" Mr. Disraeli had insisted on "ecclesiastical equality;" Lord Campbell had called it "a mischievous institution;" Lord Brougham had denounced it as "the greatest of abuses;" and Mr. Macaulay considered it "absurd and indefensible." What were the circumstances of the case? The Irish church revenue was a fund set apart for the religious instruction of all the people, but it is no longer applied to that purpose. It had been said that the Irish Protestants had increased, but he believed the Roman Catholics were still as five to one in Ireland. The funds of the Irish Church now amounted to 800,000^l. a-year; and that revenue was retained for purposes of sloth and idleness to a small corporation of younger brothers. To prove this Mr. Moore stated that in eight parishes, for which he paid tithes, there was never performed a single Protestant service. Mr. Gladstone had said that the State was bound to support the church of the majority, and the majority of the United Kingdom being Protestant, the Protestant church ought to be supported in Ireland which was part of the United Kingdom. But then it should be supported out of the Imperial treasury. In Scotland the church agreeable to the majority of the people was established; and in Belgium a Catholic Church lived on fair terms under a Protestant king.

"Mr. Newdegate said the Irish people become Protestants as soon as they go to America. That is to say, they become Protestants as soon as they get out of sight of the established church. I will not now discuss whether that statement is correct, but I would give Protestantism fair play. Give it a fair field, let it breathe a pure air, remove the golden collar from its neck, the spoliation from Irish plunder, and let it stand forward in its true proportions to meet its great adversary, and may God defend the right." (Cheers.)

The ensuing debate has little novelty. The first Government speaker was Sir JOHN YOUNG, who warned the committee that Mr. Moore's motion was one to abolish the Irish Church. That church was but a small portion of the evils of Ireland; the income of the rectors averaged but 210^l. a year; and, at the present moment, when there was no agitation, there was no call for such a change. The Irish Church, besides, was guaranteed by the Union, and against attack by the pledges of Roman Catholics, at the time of emancipation. It had also been greatly reformed, and of its revenues, of 900,000^l., 700,000^l. came from Protestant sources. Mr. MURDOUGH and Mr. POLLARD URQUHART, (Irish members,) and Mr. R. GARDNER condemned the Irish Church, as an "injustice," using the accustomed arguments. Sir R. INGLIS warmly defended it, as guaranteed by the Union, as "the last hope of Ireland," and pointed to the social benefits its ministers had conferred, at the time of the famine. Mr. NEWDEGATE made a noisy attack on Romanism, in all countries, and imputed to Mr. Moore an obedience to Legate Cullen: which Mr. MOORE emphatically denied. Mr. MAGUIRE was statistical in showing that the Roman Catholics were the majority in Ireland. Mr. J. G. PHILLIMORE replied to Mr. Newdegate with some

effect. He regretted that history was ransacked to furnish envenomed weapons of party warfare. He could refer to as great instances of persecution by Protestants as by Catholics. Within the last eight years they had seen thousands of Roman Catholics flying before the dogmatic decrees of the King of Prussia. Arguments of this kind were worse than useless; they excited feelings of hostility. The question for them was, did the Irish Church fulfil its high and honourable purpose, and was it a benefit and blessing to the community? No doubt it had produced many able and pious men; but was there any church which had pursued a career marked with more disgusting indifference to the object it was designed to gain?

Mr. H. DRUMMOND also condemned the Irish Church for its disgusting instances of nepotism, and its unpopularity with the majority of the people. We should not practice one thing, with regard to Scotland, and another with regard to Ireland. Mr. WHITESIDE made a general defence of the establishment, as well managed, and useful in ameliorating the condition of the people. Mr. LUCAS impatiently met the question in a direct way. The Roman Catholics were treated with injustice, and looked upon as inferiors: this was the sole cause of their present action. They talked about a constitution. His notion of the constitution of England was, that by means of representation the deep-rooted convictions of the people eventually were triumphant through public discussion, despite some anomalies that existed in England, but it did not exist in Ireland.

Sir John Young had given them "a lesson in agitation," by practically saying that crime, outrage, and agitation would induce a redress of this grievance. On the present occasion, the opponents of the motion might have a majority: but the debate was only the commencement of a long, arduous, and, he was sure, successful campaign against the Irish Protestant Church.

If there was one thing which sweetened in his mind the fiscal injustice which was about to be perpetrated in Ireland, it was that by making it clear to the eyes of all men that Ireland was taxed as England was taxed, by not leaving even an apparent difference between the two countries, Parliament put it in their power to come with a loftier determination to that House, and say that if it made the taxes equal, it should make the institutions equal. The Income-tax had been described by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as a colossal engine of finance. It was something more. It was an engine which would not only strike the pockets of the people of Ireland, but would strike down, by repeated blows, if necessary, every social and political injustice by which that country was injured and oppressed. (Cheers.)

This last speech called up Lord JOHN RUSSELL, who confessedly combated the frank opinions of Mr. Lucas, rather than the terms of Mr. Moore's motion. Lord John's statement touched on several points of the debate. With few exceptions, every political honour is open to the Roman Catholic as to the Protestant. Formerly, Roman Catholics showed their attachment to this country, by grateful words and gallant deeds: now the concessions made to them have been met by revilings. Neither the oath taken by Roman Catholic members, nor any consideration of the Act of Union, should prevent a free discussion of this question, nor is any previous inquiry into the relations of Roman-Catholic prelates with the Pope, necessary; but, the difficulty is that, while there is an unquestionable ecclesiastical inequality, in making the majority support the church of the minority, there can be no compromise; for one party resist all alteration, and the other party seek abolition. "The latter course I am not prepared to take. It would strike at the root of all ecclesiastical endowments, and violate the great principle on which all these endowments are founded. ('Hear, hear,' from Mr. Bright.) The principle of ecclesiastical endowments may be wrong, but it is one which I am in favour of."

"Well then, sir, let us consider whether we can make a new distribution of the revenues at present given to the Established Church, and whether, dividing solely according to numbers, we can give by far the greater part of those revenues to the Roman Catholic Church. Now, sir, if the Roman Catholic Church resembled the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, although it might not be just that the Roman Catholics should have, what the Presbyterians have in Scotland, a national church entirely devoted to them, yet I can well imagine that a large endowment should be given to the Roman Catholic Church. But, unfortunately, ecclesiastical equality would not be thereby secured. It has been too evident of late years that the Roman Catholic Church—looking at its proceedings in foreign countries—looking at its proceedings in this country, looking at that church, acting under the direction of its head, himself a foreign sovereign—it has been too evident, I say, that it has aimed at political power—(Opposition cheers)—political power which appears to me to be at variance with a due attachment to the crown of this country—(cheers)—with a due attachment to the general cause of liberty, and with a due attachment to the duties that a subject of the state should perform towards it. (Cheers.) Now let me not be misunderstood as saying that this character belongs generally to the lay members of the Roman Catholic Church. (Cries of 'Oh!') I am far from so saying. I am far from denying that the members of this House generally, and that the members of the Roman Catholic

persuasion in this country and in Ireland, are attached to the throne and liberties of this country; but what we may think, and that of which I am convinced, is that if the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland had increased power given to them, and that if they, as ecclesiastics, could exercise greater control over political opinions than they now exercise, that power would not be exercised in accordance with the general freedom which prevails in this country—(loud cheers)—and that neither in respect to religion nor in politics would they favour that general freedom of discussion—that energy and activity of the human mind, which belong to the spirit of the constitution. (Renewed cheers.) I do not think that in that respect they are on a par with Presbyterians of Scotland—(cheers)—the Presbyterians of Scotland, the Wesleyans, and the established churches of this country and of Scotland, all no doubt exercising a certain influence over their congregations, but that influence must be compatible with a certain freedom of the mind, and a certain spirit of inquiry which the ministers of those churches would not dare to overstep, for if they did that influence would be destroyed. (Loud cheers.) I am obliged to conclude, therefore—to conclude unwillingly, but to conclude most decidedly—that the endowment of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland in the place of the established Protestant Church in that country in connexion with the state is not an object which the Parliament of this country ought to advocate or sanction. (Cheers.)

Mr. BRIGHT immediately rose to express his sorrow at such a speech from a Liberal minister.

"He had warned the House, that if they allowed this proposition to be made, still more to be adopted and established on the other side of the channel, it would be very difficult to maintain the principle of the established church in England. (Cheers.) Well, they all knew that. (Cheers and counter-cheers.) They knew, of course, that that was one great reason why many persons in that House and out of it refused to do justice to the Irish people on this question, but what a miserable picture they drew of their established church in England, and upon what a rotten and decayed foundation it must be based, if they were afraid that if a measure of justice were conceded in Ireland, it would involve before long a similar measure with regard to England." (Loud cheers.)

The Canada Clergy Reserves had been conceded to the opinion of the people of Canada, expressed through their representatives; but if there was a parliament in College-green, two-thirds of the Irish members would vote in favour of Mr. Moore's motion.

"Talking of catholic loyalty, Mr. Bright could point out a country where the catholics were as loyal to its institutions as the protestants of England were to their own. He would refer the noble lord, not to Belgium, Sardinia, or Austria, but to the United States of America. (Cheers.) Let the noble lord point out any single fact, or any single opinion, of an American writer which went to show that the catholics in the United States were not as attached to the republican institutions of that country as any protestants of this country were to our institutions. (Cheers.) And all this arose from one simple reason—namely, because catholics and protestants were not known to the State as such; but all were treated alike—citizens of the same country, equal before the same laws, and treated with the same measure of justice." (Cheers.)

Mr. J. D. FITZGERALD asserted that the Irish catholic members had always supported Liberal measures; and Mr. MOORE made a general reply. On a division the motion was rejected by 260 to 98.

TURKEY.

Attempts to elicit information from Ministers as to the course resolved on by the Cabinet respecting Turkey, were made, both in the Lords and in the Commons, on Monday, Lord HARDWICKE being the questioner in one, Mr. DISRAELI in the other. The matter of their respective questions was almost identical. They pointed out that the Czar, hearing on the 29th of the Sultan's rejection of the ultimatum, could cause his fleet and army at Sebastopol to reach the Bosphorus, and master the Dardanelles on or about the 12th of June; but the British fleet, now at Malta, could, if immediately ordered, be in the Dardanelles on the 9th, two days before the Russians. Have they been so ordered? Lord CLARENDON, in the Lords, and Lord JOHN RUSSELL in the Commons, declined to reply to the questions. Lord John Russell added, "If the right honourable gentleman will make a motion on the subject, I will be quite ready to defend the course I have now taken." (Loud cheers.)

INCOME-TAX "AMENDMENTS."

The usual skirmishing on the clauses of the Income-tax Bill was resumed on Monday. Mr. BARROW wished to give farmers an allowance for the interest paid for borrowed money; but Mr. GLADSTONE quieted him by an assurance that the act had already a general provision to enable persons assessed to deduct the interest of borrowed money; but he would introduce a clause placing the matter beyond all doubt.

Mr. LUCAS hoped that Roman Catholic clergymen would be placed, with respect to deductions, on the same footing as Protestant clergymen. Mr. GLADSTONE showed that they were.

Mr. SPOONER moved a clause exempting tenants from paying the arrears of Income-tax evaded by the previous tenant; the object of the clause being to save the landlord from the reduction that the tenant can claim

make from the rent. Mr. GLADSTONE opposed this allowance to the landlord, on the ground that he gets from the law peculiar powers for the recovery of his rent; and if he chooses to allow the tenant to escape the tax he must pay the arrears. But with respect to houses, an allowance is at present made when it is clearly proved that the landlord could not have recovered his rent. The amendment was rejected by 145 to 69.

Mr. LOCKHART moved an amendment authorizing an allowance to Scotch payers of the tax for parochial rates, taxes and assessments, as in England. Mr. GLADSTONE pointed out that in compensation for the want of such allowance, Scotch landlords had less deduction from their rents by charges for repairs—repairs in Scotland being generally executed by the tenants. The amendment was rejected by 101 to 42.

In lieu of clauses 13, 14, and 17, Mr. GLADSTONE then proposed clauses authorizing the application of the present poor-rate assessment to the levy of the tax in Ireland, and authorizing its collection from the landlord or immediate lessor. Some Irish members complained that these important alterations were unexpected; but after a feeble opposition the clauses were passed, with the understanding that their provisions could be discussed on the third reading.

Mr. BLACKETT moved an amendment authorizing an allowance to creditors on account of losses through the bankruptcy of their debtors—but providing that as the debt is paid by instalments of a composition, the Income-tax shall be levied on it. Mr. GLADSTONE opposed the amendment with reluctance, on account of the difficulty of the subject; but he considered it opposed to the principle of the present law, and also unnecessary, the present allowance for bad debts being sufficient.

Mr. BLACKETT withdrew his amendment; also one fixing the allowance for wear and tear of machinery at five per cent.

After a few more alterations had been suggested but not pressed, the committee concluded its consideration of all the clauses; and the chairman reported progress.

An amendment moved by Mr. BUTT, to do away with the discretionary power of the Commissioners respecting the taxation of the landlord or occupier in Ireland, and to fix that the landlord should pay when the rating was under 15*l.*, and the occupier in all other cases, was rejected by 170 to 61. A new clause enabling Irish landlords to deduct from after Income-tax sums they had paid on accounts of rents lost through the insolvency of tenants, was added by Mr. Gladstone. Mr. CAIRNS and other Irish members proposed that instead of the landlord paying according to his rental, and then receiving abatements, he should state his receipts for the past year; but Mr. Gladstone objecting to this as introductory of the principle of self-assessment, the clause was rejected by 94 to 66. Some new clauses were added by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The most important were one allowing a tenant to prove that his profits were less than half his rent, and so obtain a lower assessment; and another allowing professional expenses to clergymen.

CUSTOMS' DUTIES.

In committee on Customs' Duties, a discussion was raised apropos to the intended removal of eleven articles, producing 33,000*l.* to the revenue. As Lord JOHN MANNERS intimated opposition, Mr. GLADSTONE postponed the clauses; but Mr. T. BARING took the opportunity of protesting against this system of removing duties on a great variety of articles. If they could thereby reduce the expenses of collection, or enlarge the commerce of the country, he would not object; but he thought that when finally all the customs were placed on twelve or thirteen articles of consumption the people would rise and demand the repeal of duties on sugar, tea, and tobacco, as the duties upon anchovies and such "miserable" articles were repealed.

Mr. GLADSTONE said he would not call the proposed removal a great national benefit; but there was no national object involved in the levy of those "miserable" exactions. (Mr. Baring explained that they were "miserable" in point of relief; but their repeal was a sacrifice of thousands of pounds of revenue.)

Mr. DISRAELI here made some general remarks on the manner and policy of customs' duties. He agreed with Mr. Baring. "In putting an end to customs' duties on small articles, you do not reduce the cost of general collection. You may abolish almost every item of customs' duty, but if you raise your revenue from a dozen articles, the cost of collection will still remain about the same. You must examine the articles in order to charge them with duty, for if you do not, every article will come in free. Customs' duties did not interfere with any process of manufacture, and they were a healthy and profitable source of revenue. At this moment the very moderate Customs' duty proposed by Sir Robert Peel—the one shilling per quarter on grain—yielded a revenue of 500,000*l.* yearly. Lord JOHN MANNERS seconded the statement by showing

that the customs' duties of '51, though 1,450,000*l.* less than those of '42, cost 36,164*l.* more in collection. But Mr. CARDWELL pointed out that this was not surprising, for the commerce of the country had greatly increased; for instance, the exports 48,000,000*l.* in '42 were 73,000,000*l.* in '51.

Respecting raisins, Mr. Gladstone stated that as there seemed a likelihood of a plentiful supply of raisins, especially of the low qualities, which could only afford to pay a moderate duty, he would confirm the reduction to 10*s.* per cwt., as announced in the first statement of the tariff.

The reduction of the duty on cordage was opposed as injurious to the persons employed at home in making cordage by manual labour. Lord JOHN MANNERS opposed it on the same grounds, and also that the taking away of such duties did not diminish the cost of collecting the revenue. But the reduction was carried by 194 to 68.

The proposition to reduce the duty on pictures, maps, and gold leaf, was opposed by Lord JOHN MANNERS, who objected to throwing away 2000*l.* or 3000*l.* a year, and thought the people would prefer to have their beer untaxed. Mr. GLADSTONE was surprised at this opposition from Lord John, whom he always thought opposed to utilitarianism, and biassed in favour of what was ancient, venerable, and great. To make the people familiar with the works of great men was wise, for high culture was valuable in a nation. Lord JOHN MANNERS sneered at the idea of encouraging art by remitting an eighteen-penny duty on pictures. The repeal of the duty was carried by 186 to 46.

The reduction of the duty on foreign butter to 5*s.* per cwt. was opposed by several agricultural members, on the grounds that home farmers had of late largely entered into the manufacture of butter; but the reduction was carried by 141 to 49. The reduction on cheese from 5*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. was also passed by a majority of 135 to 40.

TEA.

Mr. DISRAELI invited Mr. Gladstone to make a speech on this subject, and (Mr. Gladstone having declined) complained that the House had not been informed of the probable result of the reduction on the revenue, and the effect of the Chinese rebellion on the amount imported.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the question was, Will you have the speech of the Minister, or have tea at a lower duty? Would the commercial world prefer a speech, and allow tea to be locked up for three or four days? Mr. MASTERMAN agreed with the Chancellor. Mr. DISRAELI said this course amounted to a principle, that on tariff questions there was to be no discussion whatever. Lord JOHN RUSSELL considered that conclusion "somewhat hasty." Debates and discussions might be good things, but the material interests involved in this case was of more importance. The question was, did Mr. Disraeli oppose this reduction, or did he not? Mr. DISRAELI again rose to say that this treatment of his remarks was "disingenuous." He would not, however, oppose the motion, but persisted in saying that the Government should have stated their views regarding the effect of the reductions, and touching the war in China. Here Lord ADOLPHUS VANE rushed in where "his right honourable friend" had "feared to tread." He moved that the chairman should report progress. But Mr. DISRAELI, thanking his friend for his "generous spirit," rejected his interference. He would not oppose the resolution, although he did consider that the Government had acted unfairly—not for the first time—in not making a statement, and then allowing him to vindicate the tea duties policy of the late Government. The resolutions were then agreed to, and the next day reported to the House.

A PERSONAL DISPUTE.

Lord ABERDEEN moved that the House should agree to an address for an inquiry into the alleged corrupt practices in Maldon. Lord St. LEONARDS objected that the evidence before the Commons' Committee did not justify such an inquiry. It was not enough for us that Maldon was "notorious" in corruption, or generally corrupt: the Commons' Committee, in asking for an inquiry, should have ascertained that there were corrupt practices at the particular election made the subject of inquiry. To prove this point, Lord St. Leonards referred to the act of Parliament.

Lord CAMPBELL: Read the words of the act of Parliament!

Lord St. LEONARDS was understood to retort: Did the noble and learned lord mean to say he could not state the effect of an act of Parliament without reading it? (laughter.) His lordship had taken the act in his hand, as though about to read from it, but immediately on hearing the laughter he desisted. After a few inaudible sentences, expressive of his opposition to the ad-

dress, he resumed his seat, and two or three minutes had only elapsed when he walked out of the House.]

The LORD CHANCELLOR dissented from Lord St. Leonards' views. Lord Derby supported them, and in conclusion said:

And now, having stated generally the argument as it occurs to me on this subject, I must deprecate the manner in which it has been brought to an untimely close, and caused my noble and learned friend to abandon the case, and leave the house; for, my lords, I do think that, whether you look to my noble and learned friend's great judicial abilities, his great skill, and the deference which ought to be paid to his high position and his age—(hear, hear)—or whether you look to the circumstances of the case and the interests involved, this is not an occasion for that levity and offensive and sneering laughter which I regretted to see the noble earl [the Earl of Aberdeen] permitted on the part of some of his subordinates. I think my noble and learned friend has acted in the manner due to his own character and position, in refusing to continue to discuss the question under circumstances such as those to which, for the first and I hope for the last time, he has found himself exposed; and I am sure your lordships cannot blame him for the course which he has chosen in declining to remain where he meets with so much disrespect."

The Earl of ABERDEEN rose hastily, and spoke with great animation:—

"I cannot conceive what the noble earl means. Vehement cheers.) The noble earl says that I permitted my subordinates—what does he mean by my subordinates? (Renewed cheers.) He says I permitted them to sneer. I can only say for myself, I entertain the most unfeigned respect for the noble and learned lord [Lord St. Leonards]. I neither sneered nor entertained the slightest feeling but that of the greatest respect for him, and I listened attentively to every word he uttered. The noble earl charges me with permitting some noble lords to sneer. I know none in this house but those who are perfectly free either to laugh or cry. (Laughter and cheers.)"

Lord CAMPBELL said:—"I myself take blame for having originated what has ended in a manner very much to be regretted. My noble and learned friend, for whose talents and whose character I must ever express my most unfeigned respect, in reasoning upon this address, said that the report did not comply with the terms of the act of Parliament, because it did not say that these practices had prevailed at the last election. I asked him to refer to the words of the act of Parliament, that it might be seen that it does not require any reference to the last election, without meaning the least disrespect, but just as it is done day by day, and every day, in the courts of law. What subsequently happened, I deeply regret, but I do not take blame to myself on that account, and I really believe that not the slightest disrespect was intended to the noble and learned lord. (Cheers.)"

The altercation having thus ended, the subject dropped, and the motion for an address was agreed to.

NEW TRIALS IN CRIMINAL CASES.

This question of jurisprudence was debated on Wednesday. Mr. ISAAC BUTT, Mr. PHINN, Mr. EWART, and Mr. McMAHON, advocated the granting of new trials. Lord PALMERSTON, Sir GEORGE GREY, Mr. NAPIER, and Mr. J. G. PHILLIMORE, opposed it.

Mr. Butt's Bill proposes to give a right of new trial to all persons convicted. In "capital" cases, the trial shall take place immediately before a special tribunal, but in other cases the appeal is not to delay the execution of the sentence. The appeal on points of law can be made with or without the consent of the judge; the appeal against the decision of the jury on matters of fact can be made with the consent of the judge, and affidavits will be admissible on the new trial. The arguments used in support of the Bill were various. The present law is defective; it gives the right of appeal in cases involving property, but not in cases involving life; and it allows new trials on trivial points of the record in criminal cases, and even then but at the discretion of the judge, while it allows no new trial of the decision of the jury. True, a person tried in the Queen's Bench can get a new trial, though tried before a learned judge and a superior jury, while a man tried before a borough recorder and an ordinary jury, generally unaccustomed to weigh evidence, has no right of appeal. There had been several cases where men who had been very nearly hanged were afterwards proved innocent: in one case, after-evidence established the innocence of a man who had been actually hanged; and in the case of Barber, an innocent man had been punished and irreparably degraded. The judges are opposed to the proposed alterations, but the most important reforms in our laws have been carried against the opinions of the judges. The principle of new trials has been sanctioned by the legislative approvals of Sir Samuel Romilly, Sir Fitzroy Kelly, and Lord Campbell, and every nation of Europe, together with the United States, have carried the principle into effect.

The arguments in reply were weighty. There are nice points in civil cases not generally involved in criminal trials, and such points require reconsideration; a slow procedure in civil cases is harmless, while in criminal cases it would be detrimental to society and cruel to the convict; and more caution is required in cases involving property for instance than in a criminal

case, the verdict of a jury being there irreversible, while the Home-office can set aside a verdict in a criminal trial. If you take from the decision of the judge and jury its present character of finality, you diminish their responsibility, relieve them of the anxious attention they now pay to the case; and induce them to regard their proceedings as a preliminary ceremony to be subsequently revised. The present state of the law was quite sufficient to secure a fair procedure. The grand jury made a preliminary inquiry, the judge explained to the jury any doubts that might arise, and the Home-office had the power of redressing injustice. If we allow new trials in cases of conviction, would it not be just to allow the prosecutor another prosecution in case of acquittal? and would not that lead to confusion and to endless delay. It would also (according to the present bill) encourage the judge to set himself in opposition to the verdicts of the jury, and thus introduce grave inconvenience. The proposed admission of written affidavits in after trials was injudicious; in cases respecting property men have scruples.

"But (said Lord PALMERSTON) in matters which concern life or liberty, I am sorry to say that benevolent persons have very little conscience indeed. I have received applications, signed by a great number of respectable individuals, in favour of criminals with regard to whose guilt there could be no possible doubt, and who had committed the most atrocious crimes. That is a matter of every day occurrence; and not long ago a member of a most respectable community—the Society of Friends—actually endeavoured to induce a witness to absent himself from a trial in order to screen a man who had committed a serious crime. And I say that if you were to allow these second trials, you would have these 'pious frauds' multiplied to an extent little contemplated by the advocates of this measure."

The only rejoinder to these arguments was that if punishment should be speedy and decisive, as had been said, we should revert to the old plan of hanging a man in forty-eight hours after his conviction. It was also urged against the Home-office jurisdiction, that it was exercised on one-sided affidavits made by the prisoner's friends unknown to the prosecutor. Mr. Butt, however, seeing the general opinion against him, withdrew his bill.

CAB REFORM.—Mr. FITZROY'S Bill has passed the House of Commons. The City authorities are entrusted with the carrying out of the Bill within their boundaries. This amendment was opposed, but carried at a late hour in a thin House.

ELECTION EXPOSURES.

THE scenes of the Liverpool election make a new drama, promising a "long run." Three hundred witnesses have been summoned, and "the list of persons bribed" amounts to 113. Part of the evidence has already been given. Thomas Cannell got from a canvasser of the Tory party a half sovereign in consideration of his vote. But the general way of treating was the hiring *en masse* of the very corruptible freemen at 5s. per day, and plying them with meat and drink on going to the poll and on their return.

The Peterborough committee has only elicited the fact that Mr. Whalley, the radical opponent of Mr. Cornwall Lewis, extensively "treated" the electors. One of the witnesses deposed to a strange custom. Each "scot and lot" voter of the borough received yearly 10s. from the Milton family. This is an old custom, is called "the two crowns," and its origin is unknown.

Two Irish elections—those for Sligo borough and Clare County—have been investigated; and in both intimidation by Roman Catholic priests has been proved beyond dispute. In Sligo the express denunciations from the altar have been sworn to, Mr. Somers, the former member and rejected candidate, testifying, as an ear-witness, to the altar abuse poured upon him. Cases of mob violence have also been established. But the Clare facts are more startling, although they are familiar to us in connexion with the Six-Mile-Bridge affair. Electors who would have voted for Vandeleur were brutally beaten by mobs, openly incited by priests, and thus deterred, actually debarred, from polling; and the connexion between Mr. Macnamara (one of the sitting members) and some most inflammatory placards has been traced. The evidence regarding the frustrated electors may have especial weight in this case, as Colonel Vandeleur was defeated by a majority of two only. During the proceedings of the committee on Tuesday "Father O'Gara," a Clare priest, was detected in making threatening signals and gestures to the local witnesses, and was consequently ordered to leave the room.

On these grounds, and in proved cases of bribery, the election has been declared "void," Mr. Townley has been pronounced guilty of bribery "by his agents," and the Roman Catholic priests are censured for conduct "inconsistent with their duty as ministers of religion."

The Hull Bribery Commission proceeds; but the

facts elicited are not new. They exhibit throughout the matter-of-course manner in which bribery was practised and regarded in the borough. One witness, Thomas Wilde, seemed to think there are improvements of late. The voters used to sell their votes for thirty shillings.

"But there was a great deal of difference between this election and elections before. We must admit that although the burgesses are said to be corrupt, still the growing intelligence of the people must progress in a certain ratio—(laughter)—and they would become a better class of people than they used to be. And in my opinion, in consideration of that measure which the late Sir Robert Peel brought forward to cheapen the price of the provisions of the people, the burgesses would see the difference between the price of the dear loaf and the 30s. (Loud laughter.)"

This witness was an agent in the bribery practised by the Liberal party. He was very frank on the point:—

"Well, so far as I am concerned I wish to give you all the information I have, and make a clean breast of it. In that door there was a nick made, which may be seen to this day; and, if I am rightly informed, Mr. William Farthing and Mr. Richard Cuttley after the election, when the pay day came, sat in the room at the bottom of the passage with the nick in the door, and Mrs. Hopper sat in an adjoining room with a screen to shield her; and when the voters came up to be paid those who were to have 1l. or 2l. a-piece, rapped at the door thus (knocking on the table) one! two. (Loud laughter.)"

"The Commissioner: Then two raps meant 2l., and one rap 1l.?—Witness: Yes. (Laughter.)"

"The Commissioner: And three raps meant 3l.?—Witness: Yes."

"The Commissioner: What is the greatest number of raps you heard?—Witness—(laughing): Three. When they knocked Mrs. Hopper put the sovereigns through the nick in the door. The men went through the passage into a little back yard, got the money from Mrs. Hopper through the door, and then were let out another way."

A committee has been investigating the circumstances of the petition presented against the late members for Berwick-on-Tweed. Messrs. Stapleton and Forster won the election. Mr. Hodgson, the unsuccessful candidate, presented a petition against their return. He subsequently made an overture to Mr. Forster, to withdraw the petition. "The consideration he demanded," says Mr. Forster, "was 2000l. in money; and in a subsequent interview with my son, he asked to have 1000l. guaranteed, either by a bond or a bet." Mr. Hodgson states the matter with a slight variation. He had a good cause, but he did not like to press the petition, as it might cause the disfranchisement of the borough. He offered to withdraw the petition on payment of its expenses, and a guarantee (secured under penalty of 1000l.) that Mr. Forster should facilitate his return for the seat vacated by Mr. Stapleton, against whom the petition should be pressed. Mr. Forster listened to the proposition, but finally rejected it with indignation, and sent the particulars to the *Times*.

The celebrated Mr. Coppock was examined respecting the negotiations. It appears that, without authority from Mr. Forster, Mr. Taylor made himself very busy in the matter, and was useful as a "go-between." Mr. Coppock was Mr. Forster's agent, but managed things very much at his own discretion. He had "jocular" conversations in Parliament-street with the opposing agents, asking to have his client "let off," received anonymous notes, intelligible only to him, and in committee rooms and robing rooms met "honourable" agents, with whom he became "sufficiently intimate to shake hands." It was finally "understood" between Mr. Coppock and Mr. Taylor and Mr. Hodgson Hinde that there ought to be a compromise, but some "higgling" ensued as to the "costs." At this point, Mr. Stapleton, one of the members petitioned against, resigned, and Mr. Hodgson, "understanding" that a compromise had been concluded, by which the costs would be paid, and Mr. Hodgson secured in the vacant seat, withdrew the petition. All these negotiations were carried on without authority from Mr. Forster. So, when that gentleman found himself involved in the affair, and afterwards unseated by the committee, he was indignant at Mr. Coppock's unauthorized negotiations; and Mr. Coppock himself declined to consider that the costs should be paid to Mr. Hodgson, as Mr. Forster had been unseated. The former Berwick committee scented a compromise in the sudden withdrawal of the petition, and inquired into it. Mr. Coppock was examined before them, and on being asked, "Was he aware of any compromise?" answered, "I have not had the slightest communication with Messrs. Lyons, Baines, or Ellis, on the subject; the announcement of the withdrawal has taken me by surprise." This answer Mr. Coppock (on examination before the present committee on Thursday) pronounced "perfectly true." If the committee had asked him, had he compromised the petition, he would have told them he had; but his answer was not untrue. If the committee drew erroneous conclusions, that was their affair; he should do his duty to his client. "I did not say there was a compromise, although I knew there

was one." Sir Frederic Thesiger, one of the committee, took Mr. Coppock in hand:—

How could you have had a more distinct or direct question than this, "Have you been aware of any compromise?"—I dare say, if you had been examining me, Sir Frederic, as counsel, I should not have escaped from you as I did there. The committee were not quite so anxious to ascertain the truth, perhaps, as you may be now. Neither was there any party in the room desirous to do it. I am quite aware that many of these inquiries are merely made to satisfy public appearance, and I hold myself perfectly justified in answering as I did.

Do you mean to say you were not aware of any compromise?—I do not mean that I said anything of the sort.

You were perfectly aware that a compromise had taken place? I was. Will you point out one single particle of untruth in my answer?

Untruth! Is not concealment untruth?—My duty, as a professional man, to my client, is superior to everything else.

Sir Frederic: you must pardon me, Mr. Coppock. There is a higher duty than that to your client—there is a duty to truth.—Witness: Pardon me if I say that in election committees the feeling which actuated me is shared in by all, from the lowest to the highest. I was perfectly aware that there had been a compromise, so was everybody in the room, counsel, clients, and every one else. What is the whole practice of election committees but concealment on the one hand, and exposure on the other?

This examination proceeded for some time, until Sir Frederic got warm, while Mr. Coppock remained quite "cool." In again explaining the theory of compromises, Mr. Coppock added:—

"Sir Frederic Thesiger must know it well, having been concerned in many similar cases of compromise, when counsel before committees."

Sir F. Thesiger (with great warmth): What do you mean by that? It is now thirteen years since I have appeared before a committee. Will you mention any case in which I made a statement that there was no compromise when I knew that there was one?

Mr. Coppock: Are you cognizant of no compromises in election matters, Sir Frederic?

Sir F. Thesiger: I do not think I know of one. This is so serious an imputation upon me that I must call at once upon Mr. Coppock, as he seems to have something in his mind, to state it. I put myself in the place of a witness.

Mr. Coppock: I ask you, then, sir, if you are aware of any case in which you yourself entered into a compromise on condition that certain proceedings should not take place, and in which you, when written to on the subject, stated that the compromise which you had made related to yourself alone, and to no other person, with reference to the borough in question?

Sir F. Thesiger: I beg leave most distinctly to answer that question. I suppose Mr. Coppock alludes to the case of Abingdon. I beg leave to say that I went down to Abingdon, and that when I was there a gentleman who had opposed me on two former occasions was on the ground. My friends made some arrangements with him, by which he agreed to withdraw from contesting the seat upon that occasion, on the understanding that I was not to oppose him at a subsequent election. Afterwards, in July, Colonel Dixon wrote to me to ask whether the arrangement entered into was personal to myself, or extended to the party. My answer was that the arrangement had been entered into by other parties for me, but that I understood it was binding only on myself; and so entirely was I of that opinion, that I should not have been surprised if I had been opposed at that election at which General Caulfield withdrew.

In answer to another question from Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Coppock said: I think it must have been apparent to every one that there had been a compromise. The committee saw it. Counsel managed it rather awkwardly—not as Sir Frederic Thesiger would have done it—

Sir F. Thesiger: I must beg you, sir, not to allude to me again.

Mr. Coppock: You cannot suppose that I am ignorant that a strong attack has been made upon me personally; and as I heard before I came in that you intended to have "a field day" with me—

Sir F. Thesiger: I never said so.

Mr. Coppock: I was told so last night. Some one must have said so. I think you pressed me very unkindly.

Sir F. Thesiger: I never said so.

Mr. Coppock: I have concealed a great many facts here to-day. I have been considerate of other persons, and I think the same courtesy might have been shown to me."

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER LXXV.

Paris, Thursday, June 2, 1853.

ALL this week again the political world has been absorbed by the Eastern question. It appears that negotiations are finally broken off between Russia and the Porte. Prince Menschikoff has returned to Odessa to take the command, in his character of Admiral, of the fleet stationed there, and of the invading force of 30,000 men. We expect to hear every moment of the entry of the Russian troops into Moldavia, and of hostilities commenced. A panic has seized the Bourse of Paris, and has sent the funds down five francs. All affairs are in suspense; the Government functionaries and agents are in a state of nervous anxiety. As for De Morny he talks like a ruined man, sees civil war treading on the heels of European armaments, and the

scaffold in the background of the agitated picture. Bonaparte remains as ever—impassible and dumb; he lets every body say his say, and holds his own tongue. Lately he has been beset by his disquieted adherents, and by diplomatic detectives anxious to sound his thoughts. The Russian *Chargé d'affaires* himself, M. de Kisseleff, has been assuring him more warmly than ever of the good intentions of his master Nicholas. Russia, indeed, has played a singular part in Paris these last few days. I cannot but call your attention to these double-faced manœuvres.

The alarming rumours that have been abroad may be nearly all traced to the Russian embassy, where it has been openly asserted more than once that the Emperor Nicholas was quite determined not to yield. M. de Kisseleff has had a letter handed about the political salons, in which the Czar threatens to punish Turkey for her insolence. An order to all Russian officers in Paris, whether on mission or on leave, has also been in circulation, by which they are summoned to return to Russia without delay. General Jomini, aide-de-camp of the Czar, and several other officers, have in fact left France, without even waiting to assist at the grand military manœuvres of the Camp of Versailles. Certain brokers, too, have been selling stock to an enormous amount for the Emperor of Russia, at a loss, which looks as if the sudden and serious fall were in great part the result of Russian intrigues, as if it were intended to create a pressure upon the public mind, and to intimidate it by a threat of immediate war, and so to react on the Government, and to throw it into perplexity at the prospect of incalculable embarrassments. Now, all the time that Russia has been playing this game externally, the Russian embassy has been exerting itself to reassure Bonaparte personally, and studying to convince him of the good intentions of the Czar. For the public the face of Russia has been turned to war—for Bonaparte to peace.

It is not difficult to understand the object of this double-faced policy. France and England are acting in concert at present. As long as they remain united, Russia cannot stir without risking a general war; but if France could be separated from England, if by a pressure upon the middle and moneyed class interests, which are all powerful just now with the Government of Bonaparte, it were possible to detach him from the momentary alliance which this Turkish question has forced him to contract, Russia would then have a splendid game before her: England would find herself alone: abandoned to herself, she would be comparatively powerless, and all she could then seek to obtain would be a share of the spoils of Turkey, and no doubt Russia would not be loath to accommodate her in that sense. But Bonaparte has not yet allowed himself to be the dupe in this matter. Proud to hear the good understanding between the two Governments proclaimed from the official benches in the House of Commons, he has had the solemn declarations of the British Ministry echoed by all his trumpets of publicity. He has done more: not content with this real union of the two Powers, he has invented another alliance to exalt his own position: he has had the audacity to state in the *Moniteur*, that not only England, but also Austria and Prussia are united with his Government on this question against Russia. This may be a capital pleasantry, but it strikes many persons here as too gross a fiction to digest. It is strange if Russia has not got Austria and Prussia too firmly in her gripe to allow them liberty to pronounce against her acts: enough if she only concede to them neutrality. Bonaparte, however, may have only designed to give a fillip to the tottering Bourse.

Rumours and counter-rumours spring up, change, and perish daily and hourly. Some are contradicted almost as soon as born; others, in a modified form, are confirmed by semi-official paragraphs, and then explained away again.

For an instance of the current rumours: it was reported a week ago that the French fleet had been invited by a special firman to pass the Dardanelles. The rumour was contradicted at the time; but now it revives again in a confirmed shape. Only it is not a firman for the French fleet only, but for the English squadron, too. The Egyptian fleet of Abbas Pacha is also summoned to the Dardanelles with 15,000 men. Altogether four fleets against the Russian. But Turkey does not confine her warlike preparations to the sea: she has organized formidable land armaments. Omer Pacha (the renegade general who lately commanded in Montenegro) is now at the head of 80,000 troops at Schumla, at the mouth of the Danube. Orders have been sent him to form two camps of 100,000 men each, one near Constantinople, the other at Broussa, in Anatolia. As to the Russians, their preparations are not less formidable; the force of 70,000 men, which was quartered on the Pruth, has been reinforced by 90,000, making a total effective

force of 160,000 men, ready to enter into Turkey. Letters from Vienna of the 30th of May state that this enormous army actually passed the Pruth on the 24th ult. If this news, which came by Semlin, should be confirmed, all the uncertainties that exist about the maintenance of peace will instantly be solved. It is reported that the Emperor Nicholas was struck with astonishment when he learned the rejection of his ultimatum, and exclaimed, in the hearing of several persons, that he would make Turkey pay dear for the insult. On it being remarked to him that Turkey was not acting of herself, but on the formal assurance of support given to her by France and England, he is said to have replied, that in such a case the true policy was to separate France and England; that after all they were only formidable by sea; and that it would be easy for him to march by land to Constantinople to demand satisfaction of the Sultan for this insolence? These ominous inventions, let me tell you, are hatched in the Russian Embassy here; how far they are designed to operate on weak minds, I need not trouble you with conjectures.

In home affairs there is scarcely a breath stirring. The Corps Legislatif closed its session on the 28th ult. It voted the project of law for the re-establishment of the political guillotine; but with a modification of the second article of the Bill, which, instead of punishing with death any attempt to upset the Government, restricts the penalty to imprisonment in a state fortress. This modification of the Government measure is another victory of the Legislative over the Executive; it is about the eleventh or twelfth rap on the knuckles Bonaparte has got in one session only from his own legislative body, which he had taken so much trouble to pack with his most devoted partisans. Imagine, then, his displeasure, and that of the pure Bonapartists: in other words, of some twenty-five or thirty men, who are the architects of the edifice that towers above us, and who tremble every moment lest it crumble and crush them. Bonaparte has done all he could do to reduce to insignificance the influence of the legislative body, and to diminish the publicity of the debates. Secret orders have been given to prevent the printing of the speeches of the deputies. On the other hand, the deputies seem resolved to enter next year into the plenitude of their prerogatives. The first step they propose to take is to nominate for the Presidents of the Bureaux the members who have distinguished themselves by asserting the independence of the body. So that, if Bonaparte lasts till next year, he may possibly find himself, like Frankenstein, face to face with a monster, but one disposed to dispute the ground with him inch by inch. If so soon as next session this result should be obtained, there is little doubt that in the elections of 1855, the people will have resumed at least a portion of their sovereignty—enough, at least, to send an *Opposition* to the Chamber. But it may be that the *status quo* will not last long enough for so gradual a transformation. It can scarcely be by Parliaments of this fashion that France is to rise up once more in the fulness of her liberty and of her sovereignty.

For some time past a deep discontent has prevailed in the army. Daily new facts occur to betray the secret tendency of feeling and opinion in the troops. Not a week passes but some officers are packed off to Africa. Now two generals are dismissed the service; one a man of the Second of December—General Dulac; the other, General Watrin.

The Bonapartist party, nevertheless, dreams, in the intervals of suspicions and alarms, of power everlasting. Again is the fifteenth of August rumoured to be the day fixed for the coronation. The Empress is not going to the baths in the Pyrenees, it seems; but only to Fontainebleau—to Fontainebleau, the scene, whispers scandal, not malevolent, *de ses premières amours*!

The marriage of the Duc de Brabant with the Archduchess Marie Anne of Austria has been notified to Bonaparte by the King of Belgium himself. By way of a reply, Bonaparte has demanded of Belgium fifty millions of francs (2,000,000*l.*) as indemnity for the siege of Antwerp. These fifty millions of francs Belgium had acknowledged as a debt years ago, but after the marriage of Leopold with Louis Philippe's daughter the debt was hushed up. I am not quite prepared to say how far, according to the *convenances* of royalties, Bonaparte is justified in redemanding these fifty millions of francs. He has by a solemn act recognised the legitimacy of all the Governments which preceded him. Surely, then, he ought to have no objection to raise against the act by which Louis Philippe gave up this indemnity, a veritable dowry for his daughter. Meanwhile, the claim has been officially made, and it must be allowed, under existing circumstances, it is a marvellously ill-timed piece of *maladresse*. It leaves the spite that dictated it too transparent—it shows the cloven hoof.

The affair of the Correspondents has been decided. Contrary to general opinion the Imperial Court maintained the first condemnation. But the "Correspondents" have appealed to the Supreme Court of Cassation. MM. Dufaure and Odilon Barrot are engaged to plead the famous cause of the violation of the secrecy of letters.

The tribunal of Aix has recently delivered a decision in a contrary sense; it was on the famous infernal machine of Marseilles, found (or rather invented) the night before the arrival of Bonaparte in that city. The tribunal has decided that there is no case for prosecution, and has released the prisoners arrested on suspicion. *They were police agents!* S.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

THE interest of the news this week has turned on two points where the peace of Europe seemed menaced. The Austrian envoy, we learned early in the week, had left Berne for Vienna, and the military contingents had been called out. This, however, does not seem an accurate description of the actual relations between Austria and Switzerland; and it is now said that Count Buol, the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Vienna, has rather anxiously explained that the departure of Count Karnicki from Berne was only a departure on leave of absence, and not a rupture. Neither have the military been formally called out; but they have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness.

The interest of the week, however, turns on TURKEY. On Monday a telegraphic despatch was received from Constantinople to the effect that on the 22nd Prince Menschikoff left for Odessa, where he arrived the following day, and whence he set out for St. Petersburg. Here all authentic intelligence ends, and from that date we are absolutely without news.

But we have some intelligence of what immediately preceded his departure and produced it. Quoting from the *Journal des Débats*, Russian authority, we have the following account of the ultimatum:—

"The amended draft of convention was therefore annexed to the note of the 5th ult. It is composed of six, and not of seven articles, as we before erroneously mentioned. It is the first article which is the most important; it states 'that there shall not be made any change in the rights, privileges, and immunities which are now enjoyed, or have been possessed *ab antiquo* by the churches, the religious institutions, and the orthodox clergy throughout the extent of the possessions of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, which is pleased to secure the said rights to them on the basis of the *status quo* now existing.' The other articles regulate the following points:—If new privileges were accorded to another form of worship, the Greek worship is to profit by that act, as it is always to obtain the very best treatment. That clause has been borrowed from the protocol of the treaties of commerce and navigation which is at present in use all over the world. At Jerusalem the *status quo* is to be maintained for the Greeks as well as for the Latins. The last two firmans conceded to Russia on the Sanctuaries, are to be invested with the sovereign confirmation of the Sultan. A church and an hospice shall be established at Jerusalem for the special and exclusive use of the poor Russian priests and pilgrims, who in that respect are to have the same rights as the pilgrims of all the other Roman Catholic and Protestant creeds. The new convention does not derogate from the old treaties which exist between the two States; all these treaties are maintained in general such as they have been confirmed by the separate act of the treaty of Adrianople. This is the draft of the convention, which is called the Russian ultimatum, and which bears the date, not of May 5, but of March 22."

The reader will remember that in the last week of March, our Paris Correspondent mentioned that the Protectorate of the Christians was one of the Russian demands; and it was so. But it would seem that the diplomatists were led to believe that that demand had been abandoned, and we are told that great was the surprise of Lord Stratford and M. de la Cour when they found the demand renewed. The real secret appears to be this, that the demand was referred back to St. Petersburg, and, as altered by the Emperor, sent in to the Divan. This, it is thought, amounts to a breach of faith.

Some other interesting particulars of the history of the rejection of the ultimatum will be appreciated.

"The resolution of the Porte had been come to immediately after a grand extraordinary Council, which lasted two days—that is, the 17th and 18th, and to which had been invited all the Ministers, the civil and military *muchirs* (functionaries), Cazaskiers, &c. They assembled to the number of 57, having the aged Khosreff and Raouf Pashas at their head. Among the former Ministers were observed Riza Pasha, Safetty Pasha, Nafuz Pasha, Fuad Effendi, Schekiff Effendi, Chekiff Bey, Ziver Effendi, &c. The discussion was long, and the more eminent of the persons assembled spoke more than once. The letter declares that the negative reply on the question of the Russian Protectorate was unanimous, though, I believe, some of the persons present were supposed to have had Russian tendencies. Lord Stratford had been received by Redschid Pasha, with whom he had a long conference. The suspension of diplomatic relations took place on the 18th officially, and on the 19th officially.

"The Sultan, after the Cabinet Council was over, addressed to the Ministers and the assembled functionaries a brief speech. He said that he had, with his Government, done all that depended on him to maintain with honour friendly relations with Russia; that he could not do more unless he had consented to his dishonour; that he had strong hopes the affair would be arranged amicably; but that if it were the will of God that war should break out, he would remember that he was the son of the Sultans, and that he should do his utmost to show himself the

worthy descendant of his ancestors.' These words, it is said, produced a great effect on the persons to whom they were addressed. Other letters speak very warmly of the 'patriotic ardour' exhibited in the Turkish capital among all classes, and the unanimity of the assembled ex-Ministers and chiefs, civil and military, even of those whose predilections were rather in favour of Russia. They state that the Sultan and his Government have made up their minds to reject the pretensions of Russia, and they repeat that they will resist to the last, and at all costs.

"The *Redifs*, or national militia, to the number of 260,000, had received orders to form themselves into several camps. One was to assemble at Ruschak and the other at Broussa, in Turkey in Asia, the place of residence of Abd-el-Kader. The fleet, under Achmet Pasha, was expected at Constantinople, and that of Abbas Pasha about the same time."

In a Constantinople letter that has appeared in the *Augsburg Gazette* we find some remarks which deserve mention:—"It is believed that Russia aims at forming two vassal States, the one Slavonic, to extend from the mouths of the Danube to the Adriatic (Moldavia, Wallachia, Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, and Montenegro); the other Greek, to include the present kingdom of Greece, and the remaining European Turkish provinces, with Constantinople as its capital."

Here are some startling statements brought us by telegraph, said to have come all the way from St. Petersburg, under date, May 23:—

"Russia demands from the Shah of Persia either the immediate repayment of the loan of 50,000,000*fr.*, or the cession of the territory of Asterabad, on the shores of the Caspian. The Shah has refused compliance with either demand. It is said that the Prince Dolzomki, Secretary to the Russian Embassy at Tehran, has given a blow to the secretary of the Shah, and that Ahmet Effendi, the Turkish Ambassador, who took the part of the insulted dignitary, has addressed a circular to the foreign consuls at Tehran."

If this be true, Russia would have the Turks, the Persians, and the Caucasians to deal with in the event of a war.

For the rest, the King of the Belgians has got back from his German journey; and if the Court newsman of Belgium can be relied on, he has been warmly received on his return home. When M. de Brouckere announced the approaching marriage of the Duke of Brabant on Monday, both the Chamber and the Senate loudly applauded. Addresses were to be presented to the King.

Naples affords proof of the activity of that modern British institution, for which we may thank the Whigs, the *foreign branch of the English police*. In a letter, dated the 24th of May, a very pretty case is described:—

"The vexation caused by the detention of English travellers before allowing them to land, as already noticed, amounts to more than a petty annoyance when they are prevented from landing for five days, as is the case at present, notwithstanding the repeated applications of the English Minister. Mr. William Henry Wilson arrived here recently from Liverpool, by the screw steamer *Tiber*, and on giving his passport to the police, he was informed he could not be permitted to land, as he was suspected of being a revolutionary emissary. Now, it appears the police of Naples have the name, 'Mr. William Wilson,' in their books as a suspected character, which has probably been handed on to them by the Austrian or French police. Mr. Wilson is the son of an eminent manufacturer at Liverpool, I understand, and has been little out of his own country before the present time, when he availed himself of the facilities offered by the screw steamers to see some of the principal towns of the Mediterranean. This system of communicating names from one police to another commenced last winter, and the first victims of it here were the late Lord Belfast and Major Howard Vyse. Heretofore, however, the ban has been removed immediately on a proper representation from the English Minister; but now no notice whatever has been taken of his application, and the representative of England is treated with as little respect as a Neapolitan subject. To-day is the fifth day since the *Tiber* came into harbour, and up to two o'clock this afternoon no answer had been sent to the English Minister's repeated notes. To-morrow the vessel sails for Marseilles, Gibraltar, and Liverpool, and in all probability Mr. William Henry Wilson will go in her, carrying with him an agreeable recollection of his stay in the port of Naples."

But why do the "eminent manufacturers" of England permit their representatives to suffer these insults?

Letters from Berlin state that the Prince and Princess of Prussia will leave for London on the 18th instant. The King and Queen of Hanover are to leave for this capital on the 15th. It is understood in Berlin that her Majesty will accompany her royal guests to the Dublin Exhibition. The Archduchess Sophia, the mother of the Emperor of Austria, is expected at Berlin on the 10th.

THE CONTEST IN CHINA.

THE news from China is not very precise or positive, but we can spell out the story as it is given, without much difficulty. At the latest dates, the rebels were before Nankin, with a flotilla and an army of thirty thousand men: their flotilla had beaten the Imperial junks sent against them, and their army was almost certain of success in besieging the city. Various reports of their movements had been received at Canton and Shanghai: one, that they had gained a battle; the other, very generally believed, that they had breached the outer walls. It is, at all events, certain that the rebels have all their disposable force before the city, and that it is in imminent danger. Its capture would be most important. The rebels would then command the rich coast provinces between Nankin and Canton, cut off from Peking its supplies of grain, and thus en-

force a famine at the capital. But a bolder plan of tactics is reported. Leaving no garrisons in the provinces they have conquered, and withdrawing their forces from minor points, they are said to be pouring all their troops along the road to Peking. Should they reach it unbroken, and meet any popular aid from the Chinese in the suburbs, the Emperor must fly; but what resources he may have in the northward provinces, can scarcely be estimated.

The character of the insurrection seems clearly shown from the more recent information. It is evidently reformatory and popular. The removal of unpopular local officers, the redress of administrative wrongs, and the promotion of literature and education, are its avowed objects. The style of their proclamations is considered superior—accounted for the "fact," widely reported, that some of the insurgents have been members of a literary association called the "Chinese Union" instituted by Dr. Gutzlaff, the Christian missionary. The organization of the rebel body seems based on a complete military system. It is divided into five corps or divisions, each complete in itself. Each division is subdivided into brigades of 6400 men, commanded by a brigadier, and containing four regiments of sixteen companies each. A subaltern's command is twenty-five men, a captain's 100 men, a major's 400, and a colonel's 1600. There is a corps of troops, "masters of the horse," "paymasters," a corps of "surveyors," and "officers in charge of the signal department." All these are dignified with yellow scarfs, and the title of "Excellency." Some English artillerymen are with the rebel army.

Respecting the promised interference of the British, Nankin and Shanghai against the rebels, we have a renewed report; but we have no account of action, and the fact is, as yet, doubtful. It has been said somewhat positively, that Colonel Marshall, the American Commissioner, was about to proceed at once up the Yang-tse-kiang in the great United States steamer, the *Susquehanna*, and to place her before Nankin without delay. The policy of foreign interference against a movement apparently popular with the great mass of the Chinese seems questionable. One writer from Canton says, "The Chinese with whom we come in contact, and who may perhaps be dignified with the title of 'middle classes,' express themselves, both here and at Shanghai, rather in favour of the revolution than otherwise, and I believe that this is the feeling of the masses throughout the country."

Trade at Shanghai was much disturbed by the uncertainty as to the progress of the rebellion. Although Nankin is but 200 miles from Shanghai, very little was known of the actual events of the war: the Imperial officers repressed all reports, in some cases flogging unfavourable newsmongers; and had circulated themselves stories, not believed, of Imperial victories. The real facts have, however, oozed out, and are confirmed by the hurried preparations of the Governor of Shanghai to send assistance to the beleaguered city.

BAD NEWS FROM BURMAH.

OUR arms and negotiations have had ill-luck in India. The Burmese Commissioners baffle our envoys, by repeated postponements, and there seems no chance of a speedy peace. But the failure of our military movements is more annoying. There is no regular account of Sir John Cheape's affair with the robber chief: all we know for certain that Myah Thoon is still unconquered, and in the field. Rumours of disasters to our troops fill the bazaars of Calcutta, and are believed in Bombay. The position of our troops justifies these fears. Our force is scattered along the banks of the Irrawaddy: small garrisons, or detachments, being stationed at Rangoon, Donabew, Prome, Moulmein, and other smaller places. The forces at Moulmein, Martaban, and Beling are all threatened by superior forces of Burmese, and the smaller garrisons are in imminent danger of being surrounded by the enemy. The troops are in bad health, provisions are scarce, and the steamers are getting used up, by hard work. Altogether, the prospect is unpleasant.

THE NATIONAL PUBLIC SCHOOL ASSOCIATION.

BOROUGH EDUCATION BILL.

A DEPUTATION from the National Public School Association, had an interview at Chesham-place with Lord John Russell on Thursday morning, for the purpose of stating their views in relation to the subject of National Education. The following members of Parliament accompanied the deputation:—Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Richard Cobden, Mr. William Brown, Mr. W. A. Wilkinson, Mr. John Cheetham, Sir Joshua Walmesley, Mr. Richard Gardner, and Mr. James Heywood.

Among the gentlemen forming the deputation were:—Mr. Robert N. Philips, Mr. Absalom Watkin, Mr. Mackie, Revs. Dr. McKerrow, Dr. Beard, and Francis Tucker, Manchester; Rev. W. F. Walker, A.M., Incumbent of St. James', Oldham; Rev. J. A. Baynes, A.M., Nottingham; James Simpson, Foxhill Bank, Lancashire; Dr. John Watts, Manchester; Mr. Robert Heywood, Bolton; Mr. Richard Solly, Sheffield; Mr. Samuel Lucas, Mr. Edward Swaine, London; Mr. Walter Ferguson, Liverpool; Dr. Smiles, and Mr. James Kitson, Leeds; Mr. Hugh Ferguson, London; Mr. D. F. Routh, Twickenham, and Mr. R. W. Smiles.

Mr. Gibson introduced the deputation, and his lordship was addressed by Mr. Absalom Watkin, of Manchester; Messrs. Samuel Lucas and Edward Swaine, of London; Dr. Smiles, of Leeds; the Revs. Dr. McKerrow and Dr. Beard, of Manchester; the Rev. W. F. Walker, Incumbent of St. James', Oldham; the Rev. Francis Tucker, Manchester; the Rev. J. A. Baynes, Nottingham; and by Dr. Watts.

The points urged by the deputation were chiefly:—a vindication of the National Public School Association from the charge of irreligion in character or tendency; the necessity of increased means for public instruction; and the expediency of supplying such means by local rates; and the constitutional principle of according to the rate-payer the political, if not indeed the natural, right of control over the rate in its administration.

The deputation urged also the inexpediency of relying on the common day schoolmaster for the inculcation of religious instruction, on the ground that his duties were sufficiently onerous, if he discharged them efficiently, without imposing this upon him. The deputation expressed very decided opinions as to the moral value of a good system of secular instruction, and maintained that the numerous sectarian differences in the country rendered it impossible to provide, with equal justice to all parties, a system of public instruction by means of local rates, or public taxes, unless such system were divested of a special religious character.

The deputation respectfully requested his lordship to take their views, and the views of those they represented, into consideration in relation to his Boroughs Education Bill. The following may be stated as an epitome of the objections urged to Lord John's education bill:—

SUMMARY.—The bill makes no provision for the certain extension of education, except to out-door paupers, and it is not at all certain that any child, not already at school, and not a pauper, will ever get to school under the provisions of the bill, except in places where the population is less than five thousand; and the minutes in Council wholly exclude from aid all purely secular schools, the only class of schools in which the whole of the teaching is unexceptionable to persons of all religious denominations.

Lord John Russell thanked the deputation for the tone and manner of their observations, and expressed his gratification at their practical character. He requested that the suggestions which had been thrown out might be repeated to him in a clear and concise form in writing, and promised them his best consideration. The interview occupied about an hour and a quarter.

LOSS OF A LIVERPOOL SHIP.

An emigrant vessel has been wrecked in its passage from Liverpool to New Orleans. The *William and Mary* left Liverpool for New Orleans on the 24th of March, with over two hundred passengers, mostly Irish, Scotch, and German emigrants. The voyage was at first very favourable, and the mixed company on board formed a very pleasant and cheerful party. On the 3rd, the ship entered the dangerous channels of the Bahamas; the weather then became most threatening, the sky was clouded, the wind blew strong from the south-east, and there was a very heavy sea. After passing the island of Abaco, they steered for Shrimp Key, and at sunset lost sight of it. This, it is considered, led to some error on the part of the captain; the cloudy weather also prevented his observing the sun's altitude; consequently, he mistook his course, and at eight o'clock in the evening, the ship struck upon a sunken rock. Orders were quickly given to brace the yards round; it was done, but without effect. The terrified passengers crowded on deck; some screamed; others caught hold of the sailors, clinging to them for safety; and the confusion of the hapless and frightened crowd much obstructed the efforts of the seamen. The ship now rolled heavily; the sea broke over her with every large wave. The captain ordered the men to prepare to cut away the mast; the head stays were cut, and everything got ready, but the captain still hesitated, as the sails prevented the ship from rolling. The boats meanwhile were got ready, when, after fifteen minutes had passed, the ship got off the rock. But in a few minutes she struck upon another with tremendous force. The

shock flung down many on the deck, and the terror of the passengers was now intense. One of the surviving seamen says:—

"Some were upon their knees, praying for the Lord to have mercy upon them—some were crying, others were running catching hold of the officers and crew, begging them to save them, telling them that they were unfit to die, that they were unprepared to meet their God. Some, who had the evening previous been boasting of their infidelity, were the first upon their knees and loudest in their cries for God to have mercy upon them. It now seemed evident to all that the ship would go down immediately. Men, who before this had acted their part nobly, now ceased to make any effort to save themselves or others. Some went to a cask of liquor that was between decks and there forgot their dangers and troubles."

The water rushed into the hold; at midnight it was four feet; before morning it was eight feet deep; and when day dawned, there was ten feet of water in the hold, and the pumps were abandoned in despair. The crew worked hardly at getting off the boats; there was much trouble, as the passengers rushed to them, and when they were launched, they had to encounter a fierce sea beating under the quarters. Three were swamped almost immediately. The life-boat got safely off; the greater portion of the crew filled it; none of the passengers getting in. This was the first to leave the ship; and it is noticeable that the captain took advantage of it to escape, leaving in the ship six of the crew and about one hundred and seventy of the passengers. At his departure the passengers raised a scream of terror, knowing all hope was over when the captain gave up the ship. But the long-boat was still left. The six seamen got it ready and got it off. The passengers looked on, and then, as the boat got free, they flung themselves overboard to reach it. An eye-witness says:—

"I never saw anything in my life so fearful. Women and men jumped overboard from the after part of the vessel near where the boat lay, and many were drowned. One of the crew who was in the longboat was compelled, with a hatchet, to keep off the passengers who were crowding into the boat, and who, if allowed to enter it, would undoubtedly have sunk it."

The passengers in this boat were picked up by an unknown ship, and the captain and crew in the life-boat by a New York vessel.

OATH TAKING.

THE question of the rights of conscience respecting the taking of oaths arose before the Peterborough Election committee on Wednesday. The decision of the committee makes the proceeding important. The matter is thus reported in the *Morning Post*:—

"Edwin Augustus Scholey was called as a witness, but on coming to the table he said, though he was willing to be sworn on the New Testament, he did not attach more importance to that book than to any other. He said he was not a Christian, but was willing to be sworn in the ordinary way if the committee wished it; but, whether sworn or not, he would, in giving his evidence, speak the truth, and nothing but the truth. The committee ordered the room to be cleared, and on the re-admission of the parties, the chairman desired the witness to be re-called, and on his appearing he asked him whether he believed in a Supreme Being, and in a future state? The witness replied, that he believed in a something superior, but what that something was he had found no one to tell him. He eventually admitted that he believed in a God, and that when he took God to witness that he would speak the truth, that was a form of oath which would be binding on his conscience. He was therefore sworn."

MISCELLANEOUS.

HAVING returned to London from the comparative solitude of Osborne, with her health restored, the Queen is resuming her old habits of activity. She has received the Duke of Genoa in due form; she has held a drawing-room and received two hundred young ladies; she has twice visited the French plays; she attended the Italian opera after the drawing-room; and as early as half-past nine on Monday, with her spouse, she visited the Exhibition of Cabinet Work at Gore House.

For the information of Lord Palmerston, Sir Richard Mayne, and the Government spies, we may state that it is reported by the Court newsman that the Queen has visited the Countess of Neuilly, widow of the ex-King Louis Philippe, residing at Claremont with her sons, the so-called princes of the House of Orleans, alleged pretenders to the throne of France.

Mr. Roundell Palmer has been returned for Plymouth by a majority of 68.

A Conservative, Mr. Aspinall, has been returned for Clitheroe by a majority of seven. Among those who voted for Mr. Aspinall was Henry Taylor—the man who confessed before the committee to having taken a bribe at the last election.

Sir John Key has been elected Chamberlain of the City by a majority of 3179 to 2912. In returning thanks, he alleged that Sir Peter Laurie had persecuted him for years, and that the whole of the late opposition to him emanated from Sir Peter, who put up Mr. Scott.

A monument to Sir Isaac Newton is to be erected at Grantham in 1854, exactly 200 years after Newton entered a free boy on the foundation of the Grantham Grammar School.

Dr. M'Hale is "alarmingly ill." The news comes by telegraph from Dublin, consequently no details are given.

In the case of Lumley against Gye, for interference with Miss Wagner, in her engagement with Mr. Lumley, a verdict for the plaintiff has been pronounced.

Mr. Burnard, the sculptor, has been commissioned to execute a bust of Mrs. Beecher Stowe. A plaster cast, which was considered a good likeness, was exhibited in Willis's Rooms last week.

Messrs. Keogh, Sadleir, and Monsell, have withdrawn from the Administration. The declaration of Lord John Russell on the Irish Church question is the cause of the secession.

As a means of popular education, the Museum of Ornamental Art at Marlborough-house seems successful. During the month of May, 7759 persons were admitted free on the public days; and 851 persons were admitted as students on the payment of 6d. each. These do not include the registered students of the classes and schools.

We observe with regret the name of Sir Charles Abraham Elton, of Clevedon Court, Somersetshire, in this week's obituary. Sir Charles Elton served the office of High Sheriff of his county a few years since. He had attained the good age of seventy-five, and is succeeded in his title and estates by his eldest son, Arthur Hallam Elton, who, it may be remembered, contested the Eastern division of the county of Somerset on the Liberal-Conservative interest, at the last general election. The late baronet was a good specimen of the English country gentleman, living a life of unostentatious ease and dignified retirement among his friends and tenantry. But he was something more: he was a man of a warm, genial nature, of large and liberal sympathies, of fine scholarly culture; and his loss will be felt beyond his immediate neighbourhood.

The latest news from the Cape is in general gratifying. Occasional murders by Hottentot banditti have taken place, but there is no organized hostility. The inquiry into the cause of the rebellion is proceeding. The provisions of the "Constitution" had given "the greatest satisfaction" to the colonists.

We understand that the Governor-General's report on Indian Railways will be forwarded to this country by next mail; but in the meantime we may state that his lordship approves of the extension of railways in general, and recommends that they should be wrought by Joint Stock Companies. He makes especial reference to the routes embraced in the system of the Upper India Railway plan, as every way desirable, and likely to become remunerating to the shareholders and useful to the country.—*Globe*.

Facts touching wages are few this week, but satisfactory. Generally speaking, the working men have their own way, and are taking an unusual amount of leisure. The "puddlers" of the iron districts are meditating a strike. The carpenters of Birmingham have returned to work on threepence a day, one penny less than what they demanded, but they are to leave work at five o'clock on Saturday. The South Shields shipwrights have obtained the 98s. a week demanded. The tailors are also in full work, having obtained 4s. per day. The joiners have obtained 27s. per week. All the operatives in the district are in full work. From the north of Ireland we hear that hands are wanted in the mills, and that even agricultural labourers are scarce.

The diet in Marylebone Workhouse is described by a writer in the *Times* as unwholesome:—"So short a daily allowance of bread that many of the healthy eat it all at one meal, and beg from the sick what they leave for the others, meat which is so hard that many cannot eat it, broth that many more dare not, and rice, perfectly black, form some of the items enumerated to me of the bill of fare, not by one of the paupers, but by a servant of the establishment. If you look at the diet board you would say the inmates lived well, but I call it a lying board for they don't keep to it. One patient was ordered meat every day, and had it for a week, but then they took it off. Just, perhaps, for a little while before they die they give them wine or brandy, but that is no good."

The *La Plata*, lately arrived at Southampton, from the West Indies, had yellow fever on board; some of the crew have since died. A floating lazaretto for the invalids is suggested.

A question has arisen respecting the ground on which the camp at Chobham will be placed. The churchwardens of the parish notified that they would let portions of the common in the vicinity of the camp, for refreshment tents and marquees; but Lord Seaton at once gave warning that no such thing would be allowed; and that any suspicious persons found on the field would be arrested and sent to head-quarters. This has frightened the churchwardens, but has roused the lord of the manor. Lord Onslow declares that he will let the ground to whom he chooses, and that he is acting under legal advice. Touching the damp ground, we hear that the guardsmen repudiate the offered palliasses, and have already commenced plaiting straw mattresses instead. Orders have appeared commanding the troops to arrive in one day, and set up their tents at once, that it may be ascertained in what period of time 9000 men could be concentrated in one spot.

The rector of Newport Pagnell thought proper to change the hours of service from six to eight, instead of from three to five, the usual hours. A public-house-keeper who had his place open between six and eight was summoned by the police for having his house open during the hours of divine service; but after three trials, the Queen's Bench decided that he had not violated the law, as the service was not held during the usual hours.

Stephen Mount, the man charged with committing perjury before the Chatham committee, has been committed to gaol.

Mr. Commissioner Phillips was knocked down by a cab in Fleet-street, and is lying down so seriously bruised in the arm, that he will not be able to attend to his duties for some time.

A young person from the country went to see the pictures at the Royal Academy. Her hand was detected

"near" the pocket of a person robbed. She was charged with the robbery. She gave a false name at Sessions, not wishing to have the accusation made known. She was acquitted, the suspicion not having been established.

Miss Rosa Cribb and her mother having examined some things at a linendraper's in Oxford-street, went out without buying. The indignant shopkeeper ran after Miss Cribb, seized her by the arm, (not with counter action we presume) and said gruffly,—"I believe you are a couple of prigs, and only come to my shop to get what you can." He also caught hold of Mrs. Cribb's bonnet strings, and said no lady would have such dirty strings. This was in the open street. The shop-keeper was fined 5*l.* for his conduct.

Miss Allayne Goode advertised a concert, and a person named Reeks went to her agent and asked tickets "for the *Morning Chronicle*." Reeks had no authority to do so, and he was charged with fraud. But as neither Miss Goode nor the *Morning Chronicle* wished to be vindictive, and as the prisoner pleaded "desperate circumstances," he was discharged on his own bail for his good behaviour.

M. Lafont, the distinguished French comedian, missed from his lodgings a diamond pin. A female servant was suspected and discharged; and the pin was soon afterwards traced to a private soldier in the Guards, who admitted that he had received it from the servant girl, "with whom he was acquainted." The servant was sentenced to one month's imprisonment, the magistrate awarding this light punishment in the belief that she did not know the value of the pin.

Mary Ann Pienotti was a milliner, and dealt constantly at a linendraper's in Tottenham-court-road. On coming out of it one day, the shop-walker suspected her, and privately charged her with having a pair of stolen stays under her cloak. She produced the stays, and said they were her own. The evidence on this head was not clear, and the character of the lady is excellent. But, on trial, she was convicted. She fainted on hearing the verdict, and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and hard labour.

One day last week, Mrs. Smith, lodging in the Strand, found her bedroom window broken, her drawers opened, and a gold watch, a chain, and a mantle taken. The window opened on leads, and a burglary was suspected. But the cunning eye of the policeman saw that the glass was broken from the inside: the servant-girl was therefore watched. Five days after, on a Sunday evening, the girl left the house stealthily, tracked by the policeman. On reaching Duchy-place, a dark narrow court, opposite Catherine-street, the girl took from under her shawl a mantle and put it on. It was Mrs. Smith's mantle. She is a young Irish girl; has been of good conduct and character for some time; and was led into this offence by a "disreputable connexion." She has been sent for trial.

Mr. George Fitt, a respectable man, invented a design, and made specifications and drawings of it. He lodged them in the Patent-office last November, with the object of getting a patent, and went the other day to get them out and proceed with the patent. But as he had not given twenty-one days' notice, his drawings, according to law, were forfeited to the Crown. Mr. Fitt did not know this; on being allowed to look at them, he seized them, and refused to restore them, swearing he would knock down any clerk who would attempt to take them. Mr. Ruscoe and Mr. Forrester rushed at Mr. Fitt, and a scuffle ensued. Mr. Forrester was wounded in the eye; but both clerks got Mr. Fitt down, and finally had him taken off by a policeman. The magistrate considered the charge "serious," and committed the choleric inventor for trial. Mr. Fitt being from the country, and without friends in London, he could get no bail, and was sent to prison.

Brutal husbands do indeed look like a British "institution." William Taylor struck his wife a terrible blow in the face, and after beating her most savagely, caught her hand in his mouth and bit it ferociously. This was done without any provocation on the part of the poor wife, (who has been deserted by the ruffian) and in the presence of a paramour who hounded on the husband to the brutality. Not being able to pay 5*l.*, Taylor has been imprisoned for two months, and the wife, whose hand has been seriously injured by the bite, has been sent to hospital. Another husband, an idle and drunken fellow, of no calling, got angry because his wife, a laundress, would not give him money to go to the Derby. He got a pistol, and putting it to her head, pulled the trigger. He was arrested by the neighbours. The pistol was found loaded, but fortunately it had a bad flint, and could not have gone off. The husband seemed surprised at "the great fuss;" he "should have cut her throat with a razor, and there would have been an end to her." He has been remanded.

On the Leeds Railway the tire of an engine wheel broke, and having fallen off, it struck against the guard's van and overturned it. The guard was thrown out, and the van passed over him, having been dragged along the line. He was killed on the spot, the body being frightfully mangled.

A remedy for railway collisions is suggested by the *New York Tribune*:—"Two or three, or four preventer cars should be placed on the train between the baggage and passenger cars. They might be stoutly constructed, and, by means of a stuffing of cotton, or the use of india-rubber or some other elastic substance, be made a perfect protection to the passengers in cases like the late fatal catastrophe near Chicago, or the more recent deplorable plunge at Norwalk.

The following story is told by the *Lincolnshire Chronicle*. We give the exact words of the paragraph in our contemporary, as the value of the tale arises mainly from the authority for the facts, and the circumstantiality of the account:—"Mrs. Wilkinson, of Eynesbury, near St. Neot's, completely lost her sight twenty-five years ago, notwithstanding the best medical aid. About six weeks back she accidentally fell down stairs. Fortunately she sustained no injury from the fall, but the shock occasioned by it seems to have led to the recovery of her sight. A day or two

after this accident occurred Mrs. Wilkinson fancied she could see a little, and so stated to her husband. At first he was, naturally enough, inclined to doubt the fact; but her sight daily grew better, and she is now enabled to distinguish colours, and to see pretty well. The joy of Mrs. Wilkinson and the different members of her family may be well imagined. A son, twenty-three years old, she has just been enabled to look upon for the first time."

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

THE Returns of mortality do not yet indicate that improvement in the public health which may have been anticipated from the more favourable character of the weather. The following are the deaths registered in London in each week of May:—1159, 1099, 1098, and (in the week that ended last Saturday) 1128, showing a small increase in the present on the two preceding returns. The mean weekly temperatures of the month have been 47.9 degs., 45.3 degs., 55.2 degs., and 59.7 degs.

In the ten weeks, corresponding to last week, of the years 1843-52, the average number of deaths was 890, which, if raised in proportion to increase of population, will give a mortality for last week of 979. The actual result is therefore in excess of the estimated amount by 149.

Diseases of the nervous system appear to have supplied more than the ordinary contingent; for 155 cases are found in this class, while the average is 120. Taking some particular diseases, cephalitis was fatal in the last three weeks in 14, 11, and 16 cases successively; apoplexy 25, 23, 24; paralysis 17, 23, 33; delirium tremens 3, 2, 4; epilepsy, 3, 9, 13; convulsions 40, 35, 43. Pneumonia shows a decided decrease, the deaths from it having fallen to 57; whooping-cough also is not quite so fatal, while diarrhoea slightly increases. The last-mentioned complaint numbers in the last three returns 18, 28, and 32.

Last week the births of 782 boys and 779 girls, in all 1561 children, were registered in London. The average number in eight corresponding weeks of the years 1845-52 was 1371.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.696 in. The reading of the barometer decreased from 29.96 in. at the beginning of the week to 29.45 in. by noon on the 26th, and increased to 29.60 in. by the end of the week. The mean temperature of the week was 59.7 degs., which is 4.7 degs. above the average of the same week in 38 years. On Thursday and Friday, when the temperature was highest, the mean was about 64 degs., and 8 degs. or 9 degs. above the average. The highest temperature was 78.8 degs. on Friday, the lowest 41.6 degs. on Sunday. The wind blew from the north-east on the first four days, it was calm on the two following, and on Saturday it blew from the south-west, the only day on which the mean temperature was below the average. The mean difference between the dew point temperature and air temperature was 10.9 degs.; the greatest was 17.6 degs. on Sunday and Thursday; the least 1.1 degs. on Friday.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 24th of May, at Panfield Rectory, near Braintree, Essex, the wife of the Rev. E. J. Hill: a son.
On the 26th, at Clewer-lodge, near Windsor, the Hon. Mrs. Charles Grantham Scott: a son.
On the 27th, at 135, George-street, Edinburgh, Lady Scott Douglas: a son.
On the 27th, at Hampstead, the Hon. Mrs. Maurice Drummond: a daughter.
On the 27th, Lady Sebright: a son.
On the 27th, at No. 7, Great Cumberland-street, Hyde-park, the wife of Thomas Chambers, Esq. M.P.: a daughter.
On the 30th, at 27, Park-street, Grosvenor-square, the Lady Olivia Ossulston: a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 14th of April, by special license, at Trinity Church, Cape Town, Edward Herbert Nightingale, Esq., Twenty-third Regiment, M.L.I., eldest son of A. Nightingale, Esq., late of H.M. Twenty-third Fusiliers, and grandson of the late Sir Edward Nightingale, Bart., of Kneassworth-hall, Cambridgeshire, to Sophia Carden Bell, youngest daughter of Colonel R. Blackall, Bengal Army.
On the 1st of June, at Mortlake, George Chandler Ravenshaw, Esq., second son of John Hurdus Ravenshaw, Esq., of Suffolk-house, Richmond, to Eliza, second daughter of Sir Henry Willock, K.L.S., of Castelnau-house, Mortlake, Surrey.
On the 1st, at St. Matthew's, Brixton, John McNeill, Esq., Bombay Army, second son of the late Brigadier-General McNeill, to Hester Law Howard, second daughter of the late Forbes McNeill, Esq., and niece of the Right Hon. Lord Colonsay, of Colonsay, and Sir John McNeill, G.C.B.
On the 1st, at Petersham-church, Richmond, the Rev. William Parsons Warburton, to the Hon. Isabel Mary Lister.

DEATHS.

On the 14th of December last, at Bingara, New South Wales, the Hon. Thomas Montolieu Murray.
On the 15th of April, at Gallo, Ceylon, Robert Henry Ryan, Esq., of the Bombay Civil Service, fourth son of the Right Hon. Sir Edward Ryan, of Garden-lodge, Kensington.
On the 17th of May, at Naples, Louisa, Comtesse de Truguet.
On the 25th at the Rectory, Middleton-Cheney, near Banbury, Oxon, the Rev. S. Hall, B.D., rector of Middleton-Cheney, and rural dean of Brackley, formerly Vice-Principal of Brasenose College, and chaplain to H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence.
On the 26th, at Beaufort-house, Arlington-street, Culling Charles Smith, Esq., aged seventy-eight.
On the 27th, at Eastbourne, Vice Admiral Sir Francis Mason, K.C.B., of Wheeler-lodge, Leicestershire, aged seventy-four.
On the 27th, in London, aged eleven years and seven months, Frederick Cockayne Dudley Ryder, eldest son of the Hon. Frederick Dudley Ryder, and Marian Charlotte Emily, his wife, and grandson of the late Thomas Cockayne, Esq., of Ickleford-house, Herts.
On the 28th, at Totteridge, Herts, in her 86th year, Charlotte Mary, youngest daughter and last surviving child of the late General the Hon. Sir Alexander Maitland, Bart.
On the 30th, at 12, Southwick-crescent, Hyde-park, Major Lewis Mackenzie, late of the Scots Greys, aged sixty-four.
On the 30th, at Putney, after a few days illness, George Aylmer, eldest son of Colonel and the Hon. Mrs. Airey, aged thirteen years.
On the 1st of June, at the residence of his son-in-law, the Rev. E. D. Tindal, 30, Royal-crescent, Bath, Sir Charles Abraham Elton, Baronet, of Clevedon-court, Somerset, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted, it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication. No notice can be taken of anonymous communications. Whatever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer; not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of his good faith. We cannot undertake to return rejected communications. All letters for the Editor should be addressed to 7, Wellington-street, Strand, London. Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.



SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 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.

FAIR-WEATHER STRENGTH OF RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA.

OVERWHELMING as the two great Powers of Europe may have appeared to be during the last five years, their strength subsists only by favour of circumstances; and although they remain almost unchallenged in a period of prosperity, even then there have been signs of influences already existing that would become destructively energetic in periods of adversity. Mutually incompatible in their all-grasping pretensions, Austria and Russia have been accomplices, but ever rivals. The present moment is favourable to the advances of Russia; so favourable, that if she misses it, she may never have an equal chance again, and her complete advance would be destructive to the supremacy of Austria. Yet if Austria were to resist, she would resist that patron who restored to her Hungary, and must be content to take the terms dictated by those whom she has hitherto coerced. If we may trust the demeanour of Prince Menzschikoff, it is to be inferred that Russia considers herself already equal to the task of confronting the whole of Europe in a contest for territory and power. She may reckon upon the want of preparation, upon her own intrigues to effect secret advances, upon the apathy of some States that have hitherto kept aloof from European contests; but if so, singularly discrediting the reputation that she has hitherto obtained for astuteness, she must overlook the distinction between a time of peace and one of active struggle. England, for example, is apathetic in peace time, even to assaults upon her honour; she would be more terribly sensitive in time of war than more mercurial Powers might be.

Present appearances, however, are in favour of Russia. On his own ground the Sultan is feeble; the agents for Russia have procured her a degree of support in Slavonian Turkey that must at all events have greatly impressed the employers of those agents; Hungary, which was given to Austria by Russia, might be rendered independent by the same power; Slavonian Bohemia owns many relations with Russia which have been loosened with Austria. And so the colossal Power, which has fleets in its own ports, North and South, which can half encompass Europe with an army, may for the time feel ready to seize upon the supremacy of Europe—may attempt a European empire which Napoleon dreamed, and Cæsar scarcely had the geographical knowledge to imagine.

In such a case, Austria would be dismantled, with threat of further spoliation. The position of that empire is indeed, in many respects, more critical than it appears. Her best provinces are retained only by the state of siege. Hungary, which has furnished her gold, Lombardy, which has furnished the largest proportion of her revenue, kept down by armies; the commerce of the empire in the most tottering condition; trade "stagnant;" prices so high that the ministerial organs are obliged to find apologies for the fact in "the bad harvest," the "unseasonable weather," the "unsuccessful fairs," the prevalence of smuggling,

besides other facts which indeed confess the atrocious impotence of the Government. It is at this very season, however, that the Government is contemplating a loan, that annual expedient which every year becomes more difficult, but which must be doubly so under the circumstances described. It is at this season too that the Court is amusing itself by experiments in military costume, which do not answer, wasting money in new military saddles, which are rejected when they are made; and in trying to force upon the heads of the infantry a Prussian morion, which the men so much dislike that it "wears out" with a most marvellous rapidity. Whatever the hold of the Government over the people by means of the army may be, it is evident, by this fact, that the hold of the Government over the army is not absolute. In 1821, the carbonari in Piedmont found no difficulty in procuring the revolt of several regiments; and isolated as the Austrian army is, strongly as the character of a separate incorporation has been imparted to that immense body, it cannot still be unconscious of its power,—cannot be without its own desires, its own ambition, its own trusted leaders. The army of Austria, by which the provinces have been conquered for the Government, could conquer those provinces for itself; and its leaders must know as much. While Russia, therefore, has its hand against Europe, Austria has its hand against its own people, its own traders, its own merchants, and its own army. The last, of course, it will continue to gratify and feed as long as it can; but how can an army be fed out of a bankrupt exchequer? How can an exchequer be rendered solvent when the very sources of industry are oppressed? Of these two great powers of Europe, Austria is decidedly the weaker.

It is evidently the policy of Russia to postpone as long as possible that European war, in the course of which she might augment her possessions at a blow; and in which, besides snatching Turkey from English commerce to be included in her own prohibitory frontier, she might snatch Hungary or Bohemia from Austria, and the Baltic from Denmark. But it is not at all certain that Austria, even if she were to retain her imperial ambitions, would surrender the contest to her great rival patron. A statesman has already been found to promulgate from Vienna a constitution for all the Austrian provinces; and although he has been lodged in a madhouse, we all know that if the first offenders go mad, benefits sometimes survive for those who may retain their senses. The House of Hapsburg has been fond of power, and probably it will be found to be fond of power on any terms. An alliance with King Leopold, constitutional monarch of Belgium, forbids the idea that even Austria has for ever separated herself from Europe.

She has done so, indeed, from Switzerland, as Prussia has. With interests hostile to Russia in Hungary, most hostile to Russia in Turkey, hostile to European liberty in Switzerland, Austria is siding with constitutional Belgium against Louis Napoleon, who is throwing forth offers of friendship to Switzerland and to Italy, and Austrian provinces; and England is acting with France, and with Austria in Turkey, all being against Russia. Thus events begin to grow complicated. Even if an explosion should be deferred for the moment, we are enabled to discern the disposition of several parties as clearly as we see the distribution of an army in the distant night under a flash of lightning which precedes the storm.

There is one interest which is sure to gain by any unloosening of the bonds which now hold down Europe, and that is the interest of the nations. When rogues fall out, honest folks have their day; when Austria and Russia, and any of the crowned heads are disputing, the peoples will put in their claim and will be listened to. The voice of Italy, which Austria refuses to hear, may be audible to the ears of France; and the voice of Turkey, unheard to Russia, already sounds like sense in the ears of Austria, as well as of France and England.

DEBATE ON THE SURRENDER OF CUBA.

LORD CARLISLE'S speech in presenting the Jamaica petition on the subject of slavery in Cuba, ought to read a lesson to several of our friends who have misunderstood our arguments on that

point. Of all men in the world, Lord Carlisle is the one who can be the least suspected of ill feeling or insincerity. His information and literary culture are good, and if not always able to arrive at a sound conclusion by main force of logic, he has many aids to work towards it, at least. He is the brother of that lady who has placed herself at the head of the aristocratic slavery-abolitionist movement in this country, of that duchess who is the ally of Mrs. Beecher Stowe; and long associations with the anti-slavery party pledge Lord Carlisle to that side as much as his sympathies would naturally do. But his cultivated mind and thorough sincerity make him able to admit that the course which seems the most easy and direct may not be the best for its purpose.

Now Lord Carlisle makes two confessions on very important points, corroborating what we have urged on the same subject to the vexation of some of our friends. Speaking of the imperial policy respecting the British colonies in the West Indies, and the encouragement it gives to the cultivation of slave-grown cotton, he says, "I cannot deny my own complicity in the adoption of that policy: at this time of day I feel great doubt whether, in so doing, I was right or wrong." In other words, Lord Carlisle begins to perceive that the free-traders who forgot the declaration of that eminent free-trader, Mr. Deacon Hume, that the West Indies were out of the pale of free trade, did not enlarge the benefits of their own principle, but did expose the West Indies, which ought to have been the school for the free negro, to that half ruin which has attended them, and has made them an example to avoid instead of follow.

Spain is the possessor of Cuba, and is the ally of this country; she professes to act with us in suppressing the slave trade, and is under treaties for that purpose. But she has made Cuba a depôt for the slave trade. This has been done by peculiar means. General Valdez was Governor of Cuba, and exerted himself to the utmost for the faithful fulfilment of the treaties; he became very unpopular, and was removed. General Concha did not quite equal General Valdez, but he refused the perquisite which is enjoyed by most Cuban governors—fees for conniving at the slave trade; he also became unpopular, and was removed. The governors who enjoy their post in peace, have been those who make no scruple to pocket the perquisite, and who enforce internal laws which impede the tracing of newly-introduced slaves; but they are most popular who, like the present Governor, wink at the utmost developments of the slave trade, and defend the officers of the Spanish navy that insult British officers when attempts are made to enforce fulfilment of the treaties. In reflecting on this last trait in the conduct of General Canedo, we must confess that we put no faith in the assurances of Lord Clarendon, that in future that officer may behave better. To use plain English, we do not believe it. But just now we are dealing with the confessions of Lord Carlisle, who, after he has described the facts, speaks thus:—

"My noble friend will, I am sure, not deny that gross derelictions of their duty have been frequently manifested on the part of the Spanish Government. Why, talk of causes of war with Spain, sure I am that this country has been over and over again embroiled in long and ruinous wars on grounds which, in my judgment, were absolutely paltry in comparison with this. Let me not be understood as expressing an opinion that this country is called upon to go to war with Spain, even for the suppression of the slave trade. I know the apathy and indifference which prevail among a large proportion of the inhabitants of this country on all such external topics, and that many of those who feel most zealously and ardently on the subject, would be the foremost to discourage our having recourse to a violent, physical mode of interference. But Spain ought to be told that if she does not observe her treaties,—if she, almost alone of all the nations of the earth, persists in this infernal traffic, she must, if her possession of Cuba is ever endangered, be at least prepared to find this country neutral in the conflict."

In what follows, Lord Carlisle shows that he does not speak out of any favour to the United States, for he launches forth, as if to test his "impartiality," in an attack on the Fugitive Slave Law; forgetting the position of that law as a context with other proceedings in America on the subject of slavery. His admissions, however, are sufficient to show that, in alliance with Spain rather than with America, we have given up the

substance for the shadow. To the United States, at all events, thus much must be conceded—that what they undertake they perform. The United States prohibit the slave trade, and they prevent it. The Government of Cuba undertakes to prohibit, and connives at it, lends its ports for it, and facilitates it. Yet because Spain has professed more than America, English statesmen like Lord Carlisle have hitherto thought they were serving the Negro by siding with Spain rather than America.

We have too frequently explained why it is that we uphold the policy of leaving this question to the spontaneous settlement of the Americans themselves. That they perfectly understand the evil we know; that their best intellects only await the opportunity of removing it, we also know; that they are of a race to be compelled nobody would believe; that we, in this country, can understand their difficulties, so well as themselves—that we can teach them their own business, is a delusion to which we cannot lend the countenance of this journal.

The address (which we published by request in our last number) from certain democrats of this country to the democrats in America, will convince our friends across the Atlantic, that sympathy with the Abolition movement is not confined to brawling dissenters, or to fine ladies, but that it extends to the flower of the working classes. It is shared, indeed, by others still more distinguished. The address to which we allude, although it did not bear the name of the author, was from a pen so distinguished, in the very highest classes of literature, that it would demand respect wherever it went, and necessarily claimed admission to our columns. If the promoters of that address are mistaken, it is in confounding general abstract propositions respecting the merits of freedom for all men and all classes, which nobody would dispute, with the application of those principles to particular circumstances. Well as they are versed in European politics, competent as the promoters of the address are to discuss the quasi-servitude of the working classes in this country, they are not, generally speaking, familiar with the practical working of slavery in America, and they reason, therefore, rather upon abstract than upon practical grounds. Their opinions merit their respect as the result of intellect and high feeling, and they will receive due credit in the United States, as showing that the principal sentiment is not one of levity or bigotry alone in this country; and their want of acquaintance with American institutions will, we are assured, be viewed by reflecting Americans with due allowance. Had all controversy been conducted in the conciliatory and reasonable language of the Address, we know that we should have had a much larger response of feeling from the United States, and a much more intelligible explanation of the reasons why the measure so much desired is deferred. For ourselves we are content to leave the issue in the hands of Time and of God; quite certain that the spirit of Henry Clay is stronger in the United States than the bigots either of absolutism or of the opposite party. Lord Carlisle's admission ought to be an evidence to the friends of abolition that they are not always promoting their object when they are making the most violent efforts to do so.

PROGRESS OF IRISH CONVERSION.

LOYAL IRISH CATHOLICS MADE HOSTILE AMERICAN PROTESTANTS.

PERHAPS the dangers which threaten the empire from without are not near enough to have their full effect of wholesomeness, or else Lord John Russell would have perceived the policy of placing Ireland on a footing of equality with English colonies. It is not many years since Sir Robert Peel claimed for those colonies the right to be put upon a footing of equality with "English counties," and since that day so much progress has been made, that, in practice, English counties might now invert the claim, and ask to be allowed the same degree of political enfranchisement, of local self-government, or religious equality, that has been secured by the colonists of Canada, of Australia, and of the Cape of Good Hope. But if English counties have a right to say that the colonies have outstripped them in conquering their privileges, Ireland is still far behind where the colonies stood when Sir Robert Peel became their champion. We have repeatedly pointed to what is a reason so obvious that

he who runs may read. The colonists have been able to persevere sufficiently in rebellion. Our own history shows that English counties have been able to secure a due share of attention when they had sufficiently made up their minds to carry out the same process. Statesmen persevere in teaching that lesson to the people all over the world. We do not believe there is the history of a single country, distinguished for its progress in political enfranchisement, which has not gained each great step in its career by rebellion. We perceive that truth clearly enough; but what surprises us is, that it appears to be adopted as a rule of conduct by administrators who call themselves conservative, to continue enforcing that truth upon the peoples.

Our present Government of Ireland is one maintained against the will and against the circumstances of the Irish people by the will and conviction of the strong coercing the weak. If the Irish people fail to carry out a rebellion against us, because they are not strong enough, they attain the same object by evading our force, and betaking themselves to the land where rebellion has been successful. If the rebellion will not come for them they go to the rebellion; and by transmigration they convey themselves from the country where it is inchoate, Ireland, to that where it is complete and established, America, British or Republican. We thus, by a double process, force the Irish to feel the value of that practical action which Conservative statesmen ought most of all to abhor. In Ireland we make them feel the deplorable evils under which a people lie, who not being strong enough for rebellion in case of necessity, are not strong enough to maintain their liberties by enforcing their own voice in self-government; and we drive them over to America, where they taste with full enjoyment the entire benefits of the action denied to them in Ireland. Is this statesmanship?

Mr. Drummond "wanted to know why Parliament acted differently towards Scotland and Ireland," allowing the people to be guided by their own convictions in Scotland, but forcing an alien conviction upon the Irish? Conscience, he said, ought to operate as strongly upon the other side of the Tweed as on the other side of the Channel. The remark tells two ways, for religion is a matter of conscience, and if Protestantism is the true result of conscience, then the safe process would be to set the Irish free, as free as the Scotch, and to trust in the due evolution of Protestantism amongst them. Or if conscience compels the Church of England to enforce its own opinion upon the Irish, why not also upon the Scotch?

Let us see how Lord John Russell answers this question:—

"If the Roman Catholic clergy had increased power given to them, and if they, as ecclesiastics, were to exercise greater control and greater political influence than they do now, that power would not be exercised in accordance with the general freedom that prevails in this country; and neither in respect to political power nor upon other subjects would they favour that general freedom of discussion, and that activity and energy of the human mind that belongs to the spirit of the constitution of this country. I do not think that in that respect they are upon a par with the Presbyterians of Scotland. The Presbyterians of Scotland, the Wesleyans of this country, and the Established Church of this country and of Scotland, all no doubt exercise a certain influence over their congregations; but that influence which they thus exercise over their congregations must be compatible with a certain freedom of the mind—must be compatible with a certain spirit of inquiry which the ministers of these churches do not dare to overstep, and, if they did overstep it, that influence would be destroyed. I am obliged, then, to conclude—most unwillingly to conclude, but most decidedly—that the endowment of the Roman-Catholic religion in Ireland in the place of the endowment of the Protestant church in that country, in connexion with the State, is not an object which the Parliament of this country ought to adopt or to sanction."

In other words, Lord John will continue to force upon the Irish the religion of the English, because he thinks the English religion more suited to freedom: so the Irish are, by the force and strength of England, compelled to receive the faith of freedom! He will not trust them to choose their own faith, lest they should fall under compulsion. It is protestant faith, alone, he says, which is compatible with "a certain spirit of inquiry," and, for that reason, he opposes Mr. Moore's motion for inquiry. The Irish must not enjoy a freedom of choice in their church, lest

they should not attain "a certain freedom of mind;" in other words, the Irish people are not to be free in their own way, but they must be free after Lord John Russell's fashion. They are bound, that they may be the freer! This is the most extraordinary doctrine of national freedom that we ever encountered. This, professedly, is why Lord John will not put the same trust in free conscience west of St. George's Channel, that he will north of the Tweed. But such is not the real reason.

The real reason is, that, at certain times, these abstract doctrinal questions are put to the rude test of force; by which, usually, they are determined, where contending parties do not come to a mutual agreement; and, when they have been put to that test in Ireland, the native Irishman has been beaten, physically; whereas, when they have put that test in Scotland, the Scotchman has shown that he could give as good as was brought to him, and that the blow dealt upon his hard hide would shatter the blade, and jar the hand of him who struck. That, and that alone, is the true reason why Scotland has been able to maintain her religious freedom, notwithstanding the diversity of conviction in England.

But there is something in this course of statesmanship towards Ireland more dangerous even than the chronic inculcation of rebellion. We are providing a traitor within the circle of our own allegiance, not only to act with an enemy, but to convert an ally into an enemy. Mr. Moore described a certain feeling in Ireland:—"There was scarcely a part of the Irish coast," he said, "where, if a fight were to take place off it, between an English and an American vessel, a very large majority of the lookers on would not wish the Americans to win." He may truly call this state of feeling existing amongst the Irish population an "Imperial danger:" it is so, and it does not become the less dangerous for emigrating to America. While we kept the Irish in Ireland, we could keep them down. It is not much to boast of, because, after all, we confess that the Irish priests sap the mental independence of the people; we had ourselves circumvented their economizing, in making the best of their land; and we outrun them in resources, military power, numbers, and every comparison by which a conquering people can be shown to be more than a match for the conquered. When we have won victories over the French—when we have shown that we can alternate victories with the Americans, we did something to boast of; but when we have conquered the Irish, we have won the easy victory of the strong over the weak, and have displayed the grossest fault of the bully who repays in moments of tyrannical peace the service which his weaker countryman has rendered him while they were under a common danger.

It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that they may have an opportunity of repaying us. When an escape from unjust treatment tends to great emigrations of a people, whether it is the protestants who carry from France a manufacture, or neo-catholics who seek in America a freedom denied to them in Prussia, or Irishmen seeking in the same land a freedom denied to them in Britain, the sin and the danger of retribution are the same; only in our case it is more apparent, and far more gratuitous.

In order to force protestantism upon the Irish, we drive them over to the United States, and thus post immense numbers of exasperated enemies of England into the midst of the people of our best ally. In America, by the spirit of perfect freedom, it is remarked, those very Irish become protestants. Flying from protestant coercion at home, they are volunteer protestants in the republic. The end of the persecution is attained without its evils. Mr. Bright remarked, that the Roman-catholics are attached to the institutions of the United States; and they have reason to be so; for the Roman-catholic anti-British, anti-monarchist, finds much sympathy in the extreme democrats of the Union. The more violent of the Irish do not hesitate to do their best to use that sympathy in inciting the Americans against England. We have recently had some curious evidences of this endeavour, in their desire to persuade America that an alliance with absolutist Russia, or tyrannical France, would be good, because in the feeling of its advocates it would be detrimental to England. It is true that the great body of the American

people know better; but there is no knowing what chances might occur in a time of general discord. How much better it would be to keep these Irish at home, give them here the freedom that they find there, and make them our friends as well as the Americans! If we were to grant Ireland the choice of her own faith, and establish that, we should only give to her what we have recently conceded to Canada. Why oblige the Irish to seek that same justice in British North America? While statesmanship is busy about peddling reforms, which scarcely reach the body of society to influence it, it has thus exasperated its own friends and blood relations, and arrayed against us a double set of enemies, those who are friends to freedom as well as those who are its foes.

PROSPERITY, PRICES, AND WAGES.

EVERY day we receive fresh proofs of the growing prosperity of the country, and not the least remarkable of these are to be found in some statistics which appeared last week in the *Economist*. We learn that there has been an unusual rise in the price of butter, cheese, and bacon. Thus, butter, which in 1852, sold at 70s. per cwt., has risen in 1853 to 102s. Cheshire cheese exhibits an increase of 36 per cent.—and so forth. Now, as butter, cheese, and bacon are principally consumed by the multitude, and if there is no falling off in the supply—which is not the case—it is pretty clear that the multitude is considerably more prosperous now than it was at this time last year. The higher classes have always had a sufficiency of these homely articles. It is our mechanics, artisans, and labourers who have sometimes found reason to complain; and it is their increased consumption which has produced the advance in price. But we may say the same of almost every other article of agricultural produce. Two things follow from this:—

- I. That the farmer has no reason to complain.
- II. There is a greater abundance of the circulating medium among all classes.

But the signs of this prosperity are not confined to home. "Young England" in the Eastern Ocean is advancing with rapid strides. The yield of gold in the Australian fields is in no danger of diminishing. The last mail brings us news of the largest nugget ever yet found, and no sooner was the news conveyed to Melbourne than some hundreds of persons left the town, their departure being accompanied by an immediate advance in the labour-market. In short, notwithstanding the numberless disappointments which have occurred, the gold is as attractive as on the first day when the discovery took place. In addition to this, the decision of Government on the transportation question has been hailed with great satisfaction, and now that there is some chance of Van Diemen's Land ceasing to be a "den of thieves," a door is opened for the arrival of emigrants of a higher class. At present, no doubt, the effect of this draught of gold is to derange the general labour market, to unsettle the habits of the people, and to retard the introduction of comforts and luxuries. But, whatever may be the ultimate result, it is manifest that the gold discoveries have had no small share in producing, and will tend to continue, the existing prosperity. Experience has proved that every addition to the gold produce causes more immigration—therefore more settlement of lands, more trade, more consumption of English produce; and, at the same time, more emigration from England, more work to do here, more to pay it with, and fewer hands to perform it.

To apply these facts. The operative cabinet-makers of Newcastle-on-Tyne have addressed a circular to their employers, demanding an increase of wages. Nothing can be calmer or more moderate than the spirit in which the demand is made—nothing more reasonable than the ground on which the claim is rested. We shall let the cabinet-makers speak for themselves:—

Gentlemen,—In conformity with a resolution unanimously adopted at a special meeting of the trade, we venture once more to address you on a subject previously intimated—viz., an advance of two shillings per week on our existing wages and prices. Taking into account our increased expenditure on articles of daily consumption, together with the many honourable examples of other employers having done that which you have refused, we, on our first application, did think that in generosity you would have made a concession to what we consider a just and equitable proposal: just—because not made on our side to take any undue advantage of an artificial stimulus

or temporary press of business, but made quite in accordance with a movement begun months ago, and now felt throughout the whole of Great Britain;—that movement originating in the mighty impulse given to trade and commerce, the causes of that impulse (which in us might be egotism to attempt to define) must, we think, be to you both manifest and manifold. Knowing, therefore, that general prosperity prevails in every branch of industry throughout the country, we do feel justified in *respectfully, yet firmly*, asking to be made comparative partakers of that prosperity which (permit us to say) we, by our industry, in a measure help to perpetuate and sustain. We also think our proposal *EQUITABLE*, because by comparison with other skilled trades we acutely feel we are not on an equality, and that we are not sufficiently rewarded according to our merits. We can appeal with confidence to you, as men understanding the difficulties of our art, to say whether the skill and necessary proficiency needed before we can give satisfaction to you, do not require it; whether the mental capacity and physical activity that must be possessed, do not require it;—whether the continual and necessary outlay on the wear and tear and loss of tools, does not require it;—and, though last, not least, whether the progress of the age we live in, with its expanding intelligence and cultivated refinement, does not require it? We know, gentlemen, by experience, that labour has its duties, and at the same time we also intuitively feel that capital has also its duties; one of those duties, in the one case, requires us to seek—and one of those duties, in the other case, must require you, the possessors of capital, to assist the working man to advance step by step, as other classes of society advance, so that in his own sphere he may realize and enjoy the benefits and blessings that civilization and progression necessarily confer. We have no intention or wish to disturb the kindly feeling that should at all times exist between us, but we do think that an amicable arrangement in accordance with our request would tend to the well-being and welfare of both masters and workmen. Hoping, therefore, that you will take the subject into your immediate and serious consideration,—We remain, respectfully yours.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, May 28, 1853.

We have inserted this address in full, not because it contains any new truth in economical science—there is not a word that will seem strange to any who have read our own columns—but the whole production is a standing proof of the strong intellect and determined, if enduring, spirit which distinguish our true workmen. It is as far removed from nonsense as it puts to shame the blustering of a demagogue. The truth is sound, and it is wisely spoken. The masters cannot choose but listen. For what is to be the end of the great prosperity on which we remarked? Masters seem to have forgotten to whom they owe their wealth. Their capital might be valued as so much rubbish, except for the capacity, intelligence, and labour of the men whom they employ; and still the larger benefit accrues to the capitalist. Certainly, more workmen receive wages, but there is more work to be done, and the master is benefited by every new arrival. But it is the capitalist only who is to be benefited by an increase in the rate of prices—at least, so thinks the master, and so he acts. We wish wisdom to the Newcastle masters, and success to the Newcastle men.

NO CRIMINAL APPEAL.

WEDNESDAY'S debate on Mr. Butt's proposition to create a criminal appeal has rather damped the ardour of our law reformers. It was anticipated that a Government calling itself Liberal Conservative would have been favourable to a measure which compassed a decided improvement without requiring any preliminary destruction. It was supposed that Lord Palmerston, who, whilst Kossuth remains here, must be considered overworked, would have given his support to a suggestion which relieved him of judicial duties, and would have been glad to have had more leisure from his constabulary labours to devote to the concoction of epigrams for delivery on particularly serious occasions. But vaticinations which are clearly expressed before their fulfilment never come true. The Home Secretary is not a man to be judged by ordinary rules, and people who predicted what his common sense would say, forgot that judges have interest and votes, and that the present system of no appeal saves those learned and lazy functionaries considerable trouble. They forgot also that a pardon is every now and then a matter of patronage, and that the member for a borough, every church in which has been putting up prayers for the soul of a "serious" murderer, may be placed under a heavy obligation by the remission of a sentence objected to by his piously unscrupulous constituents. The Home Secretary knows better than to permit a power which is useful to the Government, and a labour which may be delegated to a secretary, to pass from his hands; and his pretexts for perpetuating the injustice of which he

is at present the instrument were very ingenious. But pretexts are not reasons.

Let us look at the actual state of the case, considering it not as possible Home Secretaries, but as citizens interested in the efficiency of our law courts, and anxious to see justice done on all occasions.

There was the case of Kirwan, a man who, if guilty, deserved the severest punishment that, with due regard to humanity, a civilized community could devise. The jury were evidently in doubt; between prejudice and evidence—between their unwillingness to pronounce him innocent, and their temporary scruples as to declaring him guilty—they evinced considerable hesitation. They were not allowed to say, "Not proven;" so, as there were twelve of them to share the responsibility, and they were backed by a hanging judge, they followed their inclination, and pronounced the damning verdict. But the press, representing the unprejudiced public, resisted the iniquitous decision, and, which was worse for the jury, sifted and criticised the evidence upon which it was founded. The judges became frightened: to be sure they had warned the prisoner that they could hold out no hope; but at that time they had not the fear of journalists before their eyes. They had given him some excellent advice, as to the method of preparing himself for eternity in a fortnight; but the newspapers, whose writers thought that, whatever might be the case with a murderer, a mortal not blood-stained should have a longer probation, denounced the iniquity in contemplation; and it became evident that such a judicial sacrifice would bring the law into contempt, and its administrators into execration. The judges advised, not his pardon, but a mitigation of his sentence. The question was, Is he, or is he not guilty? The answer, in the first instance, was "Guilty;" and, if he was guilty, he well deserved hanging. There was an appeal, on the present plan; and what was the reply? Indefinite as to his guilt; straightforward as to his transportation; and, at this moment, nobody knows whether it is Kirwan or the public that is undergoing an injustice.

Barber's case, also, is an illustration. He was accused of being implicated in a forgery—a hanging crime but a few years since—and was found guilty. His counsel, Serjeant Wilkins, convinced of his innocence, was too generous and humane to rest till he had established it. The man was not executed; that was something; there was additional evidence, and that confirmed his friends' belief. But there was no appeal. The counsel supplicated the attention of the Home Secretary, Sir J. Graham, who did not give it, and Barber, a gentleman, found himself a convict amongst the lowest of the low. For months there was the sedulous appeal, and in reply, the cruel and contemptuous neglect. Sir G. Grey, all honour to him for it, did, when he came into office, go honestly into the case. The innocent convict was "pardoned,"—a hard word, which conveys the idea of preliminary guilt; and he came home. Was he even then pitied, and treated as a martyr for what he had endured? It was only a Home Secretary to whom he had appealed; the judges despised that functionary's decision, and Barber was refused his certificate as an attorney. The wrong judgment in court had been his ruin; the right, by Sir G. Grey, could not reinstate him.

We leave these cases to speak for themselves; but we desire to call instant attention to the subject. Law reformers should look to it earnestly. Let men continue to suffer penalties, and to be denied justice, should their witnesses turn out to be "secularists,"—that, they say, is a tribute to religion. Let widows and orphans be completely ruined, if a negligent attorney has left some of their family documents unstamped—that, we know, increases revenue. Let ladies still be tied to lunatic husbands, without the possibility of divorce—that, of course, promotes morality; but do not let the issue of life and death be in the hands of one who has neither the professional aptitude nor the leisure to decide upon the facts on which a jury has gone wrong and judges have been divided. That may be murder.

THE KNIGHT OF DERBY.

WHEN pride is accompanied by a chivalrous exaltation of mind, and a generous regard for the lowly, it may be viewed with indulgence, if not

with affection; but when it descends to the level of the meanest vulgarity, it loses all that can extenuate its arrogance. In like manner an Opposition may win the public approval, however unsuccessful it may be, so long as it embodies independent opinion, and criticises authority with the spirit of popular censure; but when, in an endeavour to impede the responsible managers for the public as such, it resorts to contrivances of obstruction and delay, it is as likely to hinder the wants of the public as the successes of political rivals. The Parliamentary Opposition is seen in that posture. In the Commons it is anti-commercial, in the Lords it is anti-noble. In the Commons Mr. Disraeli and his coadjutors are endeavouring to delay the arrangements of the Budget, upon which not only her Majesty's Ministers, but her Majesty's City of London, and her Majesty's merchants throughout the country, are resting calculations, for the moment kept in suspense by these delays.

If indeed Mr. Disraeli had adopted the amendments of Mr. Ingram Travers, and the City tea-dealers, he might have rendered a public service at least to that body; but he appeared to shrink from such a responsibility. He neither furthered their amendment, nor furthered the settlement for which they were anxious, but hindered Ministers, tea-dealers, tea-drinkers, in short every one: it has been an Opposition to public and people as well as to Administration.

This would be awkward for the statesmen on that side of either House, but it is far less damaging than the posture in which the Opposition is placed in the upper House. On Friday, Lord Malmesbury, a leader of the ex-Ministry, attempted to arrest the progress of the Succession-tax bill by getting a committee to enquire into the "probable effects," &c. That extraordinary attempt at delay was signally defeated, notwithstanding the great attempts of the Opposition to collect strength for victory. Stung probably by the defeat, the Earl of Derby suffered his temper to get the better of him, and not only of himself, but of his courtesy and his sense of what is due from one peer to another.

It was a damaging scene to the Opposition on Monday in more than one respect. Lord St. Leonards was opposing the motion for the commission to enquire into the corrupt practices in the borough of Maldon; he was contending that the conclusion of the committee ought to be in the negative, because the committee had not arrived at that conclusion by accurate judicial process; on which Lord Campbell asked him to read the Act of Parliament; there was a slight laugh: Lord St. Leonards replied with great warmth, and left the House abruptly. In justifying his refusal to take further part in the discussion, Lord Derby not only glanced at Lord St. Leonard's great age, but accused Lord Aberdeen of "permitting levity and sneering laughs to some of his subordinates." The warmth with which Lord Aberdeen rose was natural: he had a right to ask "What does the noble Earl mean? Who does he mean by 'my subordinates?' and what does he mean by saying I gave them permission to sneer?" Peers indeed do not wait for permission from one another, and no man ought to know that better than the Earl of Derby. But by what fantastical and vulgar pride did he deign to call any peer in the House "the subordinate" of another? The man who uses that language shows the pride of aristocracy with the vulgar taste of the most uncultivated man in the community. Lord Derby speaks like one who has been accustomed to look down upon his inferiors in rank, and who has been so hardened to that unseemly condition of mind and heart that he carries it even into the house of his peers. Insolence is a family failing; but that which might pass for a rough kind of chivalry in the days when hard words might have to be sustained by hard blows, becomes the pert vulgarity of the servants' hall when it is exercised in a quiet assembly, and in a day when the only castigation for hard language is social contempt.

"A STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

"The question upon which we have to ask the House to proceed to legislate,—said Sir C. Wood last night, trying to rise to a conception of his position,—affects, for weal or woe, the destiny of 150,000,000 of our fellow subjects." He-ar, he-ar, said three British gentlemen in conscientiously solemn tones. No doubt it was a vast topic and a great occasion: but only 150 gentlemen could be got together to be audience. There were

perhaps 50 more when Sir C. Wood got on his inexpressible legs; but they fled at the signal, and were off scattered through town far out of reach of that dreadful man; comforting their consciences with the promise that they would read the newspaper summaries in the morning, and do what they could for the 150,000,000 fellow subjects. And more than 50 would have gone; hardly a House of the mysterious 40 would have been kept, but for a personal interest, not concerning the 150,000,000 in any respect:—a rumour, almost a belief, that there was a “split” in the Cabinet on the business—that Sir Charles was talking only for the Whigs—and not for the Peelites—and that there was a chance, this fact intimating that the measure was a bad one, of a Government failure, a hostile division, a resignation, and so on. A circumstance somewhat unusual confirmed the impression. No sooner was Sir Charles shot up for his oration than Mr. Gladstone was on his legs, too, hurrying away, up to the gallery, on to a bench, and in five minutes into a deep sleep. Colleagues don’t do this ordinarily; and the supposition was—he didn’t care to hear a drone through a bill he had already repudiated, and would be glad of a decent opportunity to retire upon. Certainly, Mr. Disraeli, having received news from the city that the stock conversion scheme was a complete failure, owing to that odd rise in the bank’s rates, had just given notice with a coolness unsurpassed even in Mr. Disraeli, that he should shortly call the attention of the House to “the state of the finances of this country,” a phrase which suggests that a coalition has brought us to bankruptcy; and Mr. Gladstone, who could not be good tempered after the Ministerial events of the week, felt, doubtless, the fine irony of such a notice of motion. But the one cause would suffice for a retreat; human nature, however well trained in Parliamentary tediousness, must give way under Sir Charles Wood. Here is a Yorkshire squire, of the narrowest capacity for business, utterly unable to speak a sentence in English, with no conception of literary arrangement in statement, with a gulositous voice which renders him incomprehensible for twenty minutes out of every sixty minutes, put up to govern India—his 150,000,000—having been in the Indian department about six months, and before he entered the Indian department having, most likely, doubted whether Hindostan was on this or on the other side of the Persian Gulf. Why? Because he is a Whig country gentleman of immense conceit, who married into the Greys, and whose property and family influence was such—that he could not be left out of a coalition the organizers of which did not look beyond the clique of a class which breeds not only hereditary legislators, but hereditary Secretaries of State. It is ludicrous to hear Sir C. Wood making a speech; the man would be driven and hooted from any debating club of boys; he would be a butt in a vestry; he would be submerged at a railway meeting. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, he made a notorious *flasco* in his measures, principally because no one could ever get at any comprehension, from him, of what the measures were; and if ever they were passed, it was because his private secretary waited upon the editors of newspapers to explain. But of finance, after several years’ practice, and some knowledge of the account-books of his estate, he knew something, and perhaps had a notion of what he ought to say. Of India he could know nothing; and it is a fact, that if Mr. Robert Lowe had not been sitting as prompter,—not being married into the Greys, he is made a subordinate to cran Wood—putting him right every ten minutes, he would never have got to the end of his speech at all. The exhibition was, therefore, pitiable; but it was offensive; and how the House felt it was evidenced in the way it thinned after the first hour, was left thinned long after the dinner-hour, and filled only when Mr. Bright got up, and then cheered him on all sides, but one side clearly out of vexation with Wood, and to get a relief for the wearied and bored heart. Sir Charles talked in a parenthesis of an hour an apology for his incompetence to deal with the “magnitude”—that word came in about twice a minute—of the subject; and one thought and asked, Why, then, didn’t you go back to Yorkshire, and leave it to your sub, who, you know, is a man of genius? Yet, with all his sense of incompetence, he talked from half-past five to half-past ten—five mortal hours of a second rate Yorkshire squire on behalf of the 150,000,000. Plain purpose, symmetry, construction, there was none in his speech; and what he said could have been said in an hour, could have been written into a column of a morning paper, instead of being reported into fifteen columns; and after such an elaboration of chaos, it becomes a question of the day—why are these great Ministerial statements spoken—why are they not laid on the table like resolutions or bills? They are only spoken, as last night, to Houses of fifty bored senators, trying to keep up a decent appearance

to the Stranger’s Gallery—to be printed; and the process involves excessive printing, and practically the non-reading by the public of what the public should familiarly know; and why should not the ludicrous process be reversed? the beginning begun at the beginning? Mr. Gladstone was endurable—Mr. Disraeli was endurable—in their respective five hours budgets; but when we get Sir C. Wood’s performances, we are compelled to consider whether matters could not be arranged in a private interview with the reporter’s gallery before dinner? At any rate if we are to get pamphlets for speeches let them be good pamphlets—let the Woods be edited by the Lowes. Sir Charles was sloppy, slovenly, and loose, with neither exordium nor peroration; it was all middle. He started with a rush in *medias res*, and he floundered there all night—perorating in a jerk responsive to a twitch of the coat tails, which Lord John, as the clock was getting on to midnight, at last thought he was justified in—and was. It was a peroration about the progress of Christianity in India, and what Sir Charles would do to advance the cause of Christ. By what?—by educating the natives. Sir Charles—who had talked fifteen columns, and not one sentence of English!

Nearer religions have occupied attention during these last few days. Lord Derby—about to face an Oxford installation, and scrupulously bigoted up to the last moment—would have it that Lord Lyndhurst meant to let in the Jews by the Parliamentary Oaths Bill, and out the Bill has gone accordingly, with two consequences—one, Lord Lyndhurst’s ire, almost persuading him to coalesce with the Coalition; another, the last feather in breaking down the “austere intriguer’s” endurance of Lord Derby; so that there is a prospect of debates in the Lords improving, when Lord Derby gets back to provoke the two angriest and two of the most able men in the empire. He revelled in spitefulness in regard to that Bill. Lord Derby is essentially, be it said with due regret, a little-minded man, of a peevish, vixenish nature—though, being an Earl, whenever he scratches, he is said to be chivalrous—and Lord Lyndhurst, however anxious to please his Semitic connexions, ought to have known that the occasion he has presented of hitting the Government through him would not be lost by the man who has no other amusement but debating and dividing. He threw the Bill out on an hypothesis, and that was ludicrous, in a “responsible” senate; but it was as good a reason as another, when his mind was made up to tease the Coalition, whom he can’t forgive for having convinced mankind that he is an incapable, as little qualified for the consulship as his two-year-old animal, “Dervish.” A little thought should have convinced him—his son might have suggested to him—that public opinion generalizes, and that the nation, finding Lord Derby attempting to restrain the hidden Liberalism of Lord Lyndhurst, will come to a dismal conclusion as to the position of the former in respect to the “spirit of the age,” and that such a suspicion, just now, does not promote practical power, even in the Peers, whatever the readiness of the Mesdames Harris of that assembly to invest in him their proxies. The public will generalize, and will not master all the facts and circumstances; and after Lord Lyndhurst’s speech, Lord Derby’s vote will be accepted as the vote of a silly man, falling back from the Conservative party into the ranks of the camp followers and preachers—the Winchelseas and Inglises. For half a century has Lord Lyndhurst served that Conservative party, led by Lords who, as a rule only proved by exceptions, are incapable men. The Conservative party is always importing and bringing up champions—once it was Lyndhurst, then Peel, now Disraeli: and his reward is—he is repudiated when he is seeking to relieve it from a stigma stupidly attached to it, out of the mere personal littleness and spitefulness of a man who never could distinguish between the characteristics of a party debate, and a cock-pit struggle. Lord Lyndhurst, however, got his reward; for the first time, in his restless career, he has felt the mass of his countrymen moving with him; and that sensation must have been grateful when he talked over with Mr. Disraeli, Lord Derby’s wrong-headedness, and when these two foreign gentlemen—the son of the American, and the grandson of the Spaniard—shook their heads over the bigotry and boobyism of inane British nobility. Lord Lyndhurst has other compensations. He had performed a parliamentary feat which is not likely ever to be paralleled. Eighty-one years of age, he walked down to the House of Lords, and made a speech of an hour’s length, and in which no traces of age could be detected:—no, not even in the voice, which though low and subdued, is still tempered into that telling modulation which used to make it a

notorious musical luxury to see Lord Lyndhurst on his legs. He is not now, either, to be listened to as you listen to the Marquis of Lansdowne;—as a relic of the old style of Parliamentary oratory. Lord Lyndhurst never adopted the parliamentary style; he aimed at fine elocution, and not at the knack of “the house;” and he succeeded in being the finest speaker of his time—something to succeed in, seeing that in his time he has seen two generations of fine speakers, from Charles Fox to Benjamin Disraeli. An excitement would reproduce, even now, his old vigorous and desperate sarcasm—a sarcasm from Lord Lyndhurst is given in a Kean whisper, inexpressibly searching—and it would be a vast benefit to an unamused gallery, at present, if he could be got into a good passion with Lord Derby. And it would be a benefit to the Government: for, with all the “array of talent” talked of so loudly, when the Coalition was formed, they are actually browbeaten by Lord Derby. He is ready and impudent, and they only match him with men who are only impudent and not ready. The Duke of Newcastle always raises his voice, and tries to look contemptuous; but he invariably breaks down. The Duke of Argyll, if he were youthful and natural, would be a fair antagonist: but he argues; and Lord Derby should be laughed at, for Lord Derby, in a proper point of view, is ridiculous. Earl Grey says very savage things, and really feels the inspiring disdain; but he is now sulky with the Government, and it is not his business to debate for them. Then Lord Aberdeen—he has no readiness, and is bidding for some of Lord Derby’s proxies, and daren’t talk out to the party, though, as we have seen lately, he can lose his temper, now and then. As for the Marquis of Lansdowne, he acts in the Lords, like Lord John Russell (as Lord John fancies) in the Commons, only as Veneer-Liberal, and doesn’t talk. His buff and blue (he dresses like a cover of the *Edinburgh*—Whigs have lost all other distinctions) is seen standing out from the reach of the Ministerial benches, merely to relieve the Austrian colours of Aberdeen, black on white, as, in fact, warranty of a Cabinet whose colours will wash. If Mr. Gladstone cannot get rid of Lord John, he should go up to the Lords himself, or send Osborne, or Cockburn. Without a debater, they’ll never get Lord Derby’s majority out of his hands. If some man of weight and tact would set to, and devote a session to exposing the real nature and character of Lord Derby, that fiery Chief would gradually disappear in training stables.

But there have been not only incidental, but direct religious feuds. The debate on Mr. G. H. Moore’s motion, on Tuesday, raised the whole question of religious endowments; and the division taken, as it has been, in conjunction with the division on the Nunneries Inspection motion, is likely very largely to affect the position of the Government in Ireland. Lord John Russell raised, with his usual tact, a special religious question, in proving—eager cheers waiting on his every word from the *Opposition* side of the House—that the Catholic priests of Ireland were the enemies of liberty (how Mr. Keogh must have quaked!), and in showing that it would not do to endow them (which was not the point) because they would be inclined to oppose the coalition—as if Mr. Keogh had not positively informed him that all the Bishops approved of his (Mr. Keogh’s) acceptance of office. Lord John did not weaken his position in England by attacking the Roman Catholics, though he probably should have found, in his Durham letter experience, that truths of the kind he talked on Tuesday had better be left to the professional Tories; but the recklessness of his lead in the matter was this, that he could have resisted the motion, and got it defeated, and kept his Government together without repeating the Durham letter, and again estranging Ireland. Tuesday was a Durham letter debate scene—a packed House. Lord John with his elbows in his hands; dead silence on the Ministerial benches above and below the gangway, and hurrahing cheers from the Opposition country party. While Lord John was lifting his treble to demonstrate that the Roman Catholic priests were the enemies of liberty, two gentlemen in front of him were conspicuously loud in their hear, hears; and sight of them should have been the comment on his logic. They were Messrs. Napier and Whiteside, spokesmen of the University of Dublin, and of “Orange” society in Dublin; and perhaps, on the whole, the most blatant and intense Tories of their era. Lord John, remembering that these gentleman had been in the Derby Ministry, might have asked himself whether it was quite clear that Protestantism, as a church, led more directly than Popery, as a church, to liberty? But Lord John has given up thinking; having no office he is out of practice; and so on Tuesday, he quietly “sold” all the Peelite members of the Coalition, destroyed their growing popularity in Ireland, and put the Government in Ireland exactly where the Russell Government was. Mr. Gladstone

* By the way, this high-Tory epigram is an imported Gallicism; it was applied to Guizot by the journals of the Opposition in the days of French Parliamentary journalism.

they say, didn't like it; but what can Mr. Gladstone do? You cannot have a Cabinet council to disown a speech. You can, however, have a Cabinet council to repudiate a measure; and, as we see, Lord John has been obliged—one thought of Mr. Walpole withdrawing his militia franchise—to intimate that, "in consequence of other important business," he will not go on with his Dockyard Disfranchisement Bill. Rather odd, however, for a "leader." More people than the present writer thought of a parallel between Lord John and Mr. Walpole, on Thursday, for the grin was general in the House, though the grin did not aggravate into that audibleness which justifies the scrupulous stenographer in recording "a laugh." Members of the House have not yet realized the idea of Lord John having become laughable; and, besides, "a laugh" is becoming serious in public business,—as witness divers incidents, two or three noted out of many. Mr. Disraeli was replying, late on Tuesday, to Lord John Russell, about the Budget. "Mr. Disraeli thought that the noble lord had treated his observations in a very disingenuous spirit, and did not consider himself bound to say, as the condition of postponement, that he would oppose this particular motion. [An honourable member laughed.] He supposed that the honourable gentleman who had indulged them with that intellectual sneer would not speak; indeed, he advised him not to do so, but rather to adhere to that particular style of oratory in which he was super-eminent. (Laughter and cheers.)" Then observe the effect which a laugh has upon Lord Derby's Lord Chancellor. This is an occurrence taking place among the grave Lords in the course of this week:—Lord Campbell: Read the words of the act of Parliament! Lord St. Leonards was understood to retort—Did the noble and learned lord mean to say he could not state the effect of an act of Parliament without reading it? (Laughter.) [His lordship had taken the act in his hand, as though about to read from it, but immediately on hearing the laughter he desisted. After a few inaudible sentences, expressive of his opposition to the address, he resumed his seat, and two or three minutes had only elapsed when he walked out of the House.] Observing these results of non-respectful hilarity, Mr. Gladstone might engage some one to go off into uncontrollable merriment whenever Lord John's elbows fall into Lord John's hands—for then the Cabinet is invariably in danger—and Lord Aberdeen should train,—for an imitation of Momus—with a Minister on each hand to hold his sides,—whenever Lord Derby rises to talk chivalry at venerable Red Tapers. He would find it better than getting into a passion—which is Lord Clarendon's only forte, and fails with him.

Wanted, then, by the Cabinet—a Cervantes for Lord Derby. What an effect would be produced in the Lords if this needed individual were to give notice of this question: Whether the noble Earl, whom I see in his place, will—with the Batch of Doctors—take Coventry in his way to Oxford? The Coalition is standing on its dignity; but, meanwhile, the laugh is getting up against it: Mr. Disraeli (about whom the rumour is again raised, that he is going abroad in search of a policy) is actually training a corps of jesters, who think that they are serving the "Conservative" cause by making the people merry over the strongest Government of modern times. Mr. Disraeli laughed Peel out of place; and may make Lord Aberdeen ridiculous, even in the eyes of Court; but it is not very clear, so far, that the policy is serving him, if it be indeed true that he has given in, and is going off. Certainly he might as well be touring for the Asian mystery as sitting still and looking helpless on the Opposition front bench: *de jure* leader; and *de facto* having to see Pakington, Walpole, and Lord John Manners (the latter statesman with an amendment in favour of dear Pikturth) leading minority amendments night after night. Why did neither Mr. Disraeli or one of his colleagues take part in the Irish Church debate on Tuesday? Was it because they thought they could add nothing to Lord John's oration—believing that Lord John was, *pro tem*, leader of the Tory and higher Protestant party? Were they afraid that if they commented on Lord John Mr. Gladstone might comment on them, and so set the Government right again? Or because they foresaw "an Irish difficulty" roused by that one speech which might curtail Mr. Disraeli's travels? There they sat, however, stolidly silent; and enjoying Mr. Bright's reply to Lord John. Mr. Bright seems to have hit on his mission; he is always replying to Lord John now; and he never did it better than on Tuesday. The Radicals have lately made up their minds that there is no more hope in Lord John; that what is to come out of this Government is to come from Mr. Gladstone; and hence Mr. Bright is becoming unreserved about the Ministerial leader—and Mr. Bright, in a state of unreserve about any particu-

lar man, is rather a formidable orator. Mr. Bright is also aiming—very practically—at getting hold of the Liberal Irish members; and on Tuesday he combined his objects—destroyed Lord John Russell in Ireland, and got furious applause from the Celtic and Roman Catholic gentlemen below the gangway on the Opposition side—even clutching a cheer now and then from the Ministerial Celtic and Roman Catholic gentlemen who like Keogh, and detest Lucas, and are favourable to an equal distribution of Treasury patronage among Irish and English of the hanger-on classes. Perhaps Mr. Bright has no equal—it is his peculiar style—(illustrated in his Burke-like Indian declaration last night)—in sneering invective, in suggesting rather than in speaking contempt; and his energetic innuendos told wonderfully on Tuesday. His comparison between Ireland and Canada, between the principles of self-government as insisted on for Canada, and the principle of forcing an alien religion upon Ireland, as now actually defended by Lord John Russell, was masterly and appropriate—was putting an old controversy in a new light, effective as being that in which the people could best see it; and Mr. Bright, unlike Lord John Russell, never forgets that there is an audience beyond the Club to be talked to, influenced, and governed. But see the results of that splendid speech—eighty men voted for the motion. Could there be a better proof of the idiocy of Radicalism, its ruinous want of organization? Some sixty or seventy Irish members should certainly have voted for the motion; and would, but that Mr. Keogh has broken up the Irish party, and that Mr. Moore took no pains, either through constituencies in Ireland, or about the House in England, to get pledges; and, besides these, there are at least eighty Radicals who, if led and officered and governed properly, would have been bound to be present on such a division, and, if present, to vote with Mr. Moore. Mr. Moore is a very unpopular man with members of all sorts—his own countrymen and English Radicals; and if you met men next day and asked them why they had not voted they would say, "the question has no business in his hands." But ought not personal tactics to be arranged beforehand? When Sir Henry Ward had charge of the Irish Church question, the two kingdoms were beat up for recruits; when Mr. Mr. Roebuck put the notice on the paper session after session (and never brought it on) the Anti-State Church Association wrote and talked him and it up for months before the expected day. This year the matter is incidentally tumbled on; and eighty loose men—present by accident—vote in the minority. Are we getting less liberal as our age gets more enlightened? Mr. Bright warned the noble lord of one thing in the course of the Durham-letter debates: let him pass this measure, and he will have to give up the Irish Church. Is this the proof of it? The general election in Ireland turned as much on this question as on any other, and here is the result: Mr. Whiteside talking his vehement bigotry, in a stupendous brogue, with an infuriated madman's gestures, to a not very dissatisfied House; Mr. Lucas cowering into moderation, with a deprecatory voice, in the presence of a clearly unfavourable assembly, and about twenty English Radicals following Mr. Bright, after one of the most superb debating speeches ever delivered. And after the mischief—for the question goes back, after such a division—Dublin resolves to meet and protest, and to invite Mr. Moore over to bark his disgust; and the English Radicals find their solace in going about to shake their heads at Lord John. "Did you read that speech? By —! I'm hanged if he's not going to throw the Peelites over, and try a coalition with Lord Derby!" But there is good out of the evil, if the Irish liberals would but consent to see it. If they fight the point in the House of Commons, they must arrange for the House of Commons, and it is an English House of Commons. Every one of the Irish members who spoke on Tuesday did the cause a mischief: the House would listen to no one, for the motion, but an English member, Mr. Bright. The Irish members must fight the battle through the English members; for whatever Irish public opinion demands can only be carried by getting English public opinion in favour of it. And, after such a division, not in the House, but in the country. What is the use of meeting in Ireland—publishing tremendous leading-articles in Ireland? Ireland is convinced already; it is English public opinion that has to be influenced; and there must be meetings and newspapers in England; and Mr. Bright's advice must be taken. Let the Irish members (Mr. Keogh might go back to them if they'd unite) devote their attention to this one question. If they did, they would carry it. Lord John's speech has to be answered, not in Ireland, but in England, where he is supposed to have talked truths; and the answer is the last sentence of Mr. Moore's rather spirited reply—this question, "Was there a single question affecting civil and religious liberty that

the Catholic representatives and the Catholic clergy had not supported, and that the representatives and the clergy of the Irish Established Church had not strenuously opposed?"

It was pleasanter talking on Wednesday, when the position of Mr. Macaulay in Great Britain was measured in a great way. On a Wednesday the House and the committees are sitting at once, and the building is filled with scattered M.P.'s—some at work, many looking at those who are at work, but most loitering about the lobbies and corridors, picking up old acquaintance and feeling for public opinion. About three, on Wednesday, one was loitering about, too; for the talk in the House was not interesting—on a Wednesday it seldom is—and one could pick up members' opinion, which is as important as public opinion. You were walking along the committee lobby, wondering which "room" you would take next, when, as you paused uncertain, you were bumped against by somebody. He begged your pardon, and rushed on, and you looked to see who it was: a member—a stout member; a man you couldn't conceive in a run; and yet he's running like mad. You are still staring at him when two more men trot past you, one on each side; and they are members, too. You are very puzzled, and see the door close to you—"Members' Entrance" above it—dashed open, five members dash from it, and plunge furiously down the lobby. Why, what can be the matter? More doors open; more members rush out; members are tearing past you from all points, in one direction—towards the House. Then wigs and gowns appear; they tell you, with happy faces, their committees have adjourned; and then come a third class—the gentlemen of the press, hilarious. Why, what's the matter? Matter! Macaulay is up; and all the members are off to hear him. You join the runners in a moment, and are in the gallery to see the senators who had the start of you perspiring into their places. It was an announcement one hadn't heard for years; and the passing the word "Macaulay's up," emptied committee rooms now, as of old it emptied clubs. It was true; he was up, and in for a long speech; not a mere spurt, but an oration. He was in a new place, standing in the second row (above the treasury bench) from the table, and looking and sounding all the better for the elevation and the clearer atmosphere for orators which must be found in that little remove from the green boxes. The old voice, the old manners, and the old style—glorious speaking. Well prepared, carefully elaborated, confessedly essayish; but spoken with perfect art and consummate management; not up and down, see-saw, talking off a speech, but the grand conversation of a man of the world, confiding his learning and his recollections, and his logic to a party of gentlemen, and just raising his voice enough to be heard through the room. That is as you heard him when you got in; but then he was only opening and waiting for his audience. As the House filled, which it did with marvellous rapidity, he got prouder and more oratorical; and then he poured out his speech with rapidity, increasing after every sentence, till it became a torrent of the richest words, carrying his hearers with him into enthusiasm (yes, for dry as was the subject he gave it grandeur by looking at it from the grand and historical point of view), and yet not leaving them time to cheer. A torrent of words—that is the only description of Macaulay's style when he has warmed into speed—and such words—why it wasn't four o'clock in the afternoon, lunch hardly digested, and yet the quiet reserved English gentlemen collected there to hear the celebrated orator were as wild with delight as an Opera house after Grisi at ten. You doubt it? See the division; and before Mr. Macaulay had spoken you might have safely bet fifty to one that Lord Hotham would have carried his bill. After that speech the bill was not thrown, but pitched out. Speeches seldom do affect measures: and yet this speech will have altered British policy, on a great question, and—don't forget that—on a Wednesday, in a day sitting! People said, when it was over, that it was superb, and so on, and one began to have a higher opinion of the House of Commons, though it is queerly "led," seeing that if the Macaulay class of minds would bid for leadership, they would get it, and that, perhaps, the Lord Johns only get it, at present, by a sort of moral justice, because they work for it. But it wasn't all congratulation. Mr. Macaulay had rushed through his oration of forty minutes with masterly vigour; and, looking at his massive chest and enormous head, you couldn't be surprised. That is the sort of man who would go through whatever he undertook. Yet the doubts about his health, which arise when we meet him in the street, (he never meets anybody,)—when you take advantage of his sphinx-like reverie,

"Staring right on, with calm, eternal eyes;"

to study the sickly face,—would be confirmed, by a close inspection, on Wednesday. The great orator was

trembling, when he sat down: the excitement of a triumph—the massive head, notwithstanding—overcame him, and he had scarcely the self-possession to acknowledge the eager praises which were offered by the Ministers and others, in his neighbourhood. Evidently he had reasons for being as quiet as Gibbon was, in the House; and, in this case, too, no doubt, we must think enough will have been done for fame and for our pleasure, if the History is finished. "A STRANGER."

Saturday Morning.

THE LIVERPOOL ELECTION COMMITTEE.

THE Liverpool Election Committee was looked forward to with great interest by the Parliamentary reformers, because its investigations were expected to produce a conviction in the Parliamentary and public mind that there must be a wholesale disfranchisement of "freemen" as freemen, and by the "Liberal" party generally, because it was anticipated that the Carlton Club would be detected at Liverpool as distinctly as at Derby, Chatham, or Norwich, and that Mr. Forbes Mackenzie would be coupled with Mr. Stafford among the victims of the system referred to by Mr. Coppock, on Thursday, as the system of "preserving appearances." So far, the over-wrought expectations have not been very completely fulfilled. The incidents evolved are of a very commonplace character, and there is nothing dramatic in the various positions in which the sitting members are represented by counsel and witnesses. But the petitioners nevertheless win; they prove bribery, and bribery of a kind and on a plan to separate Liverpool from all the other corrupt constituencies. Messrs. Turner and Mackenzie will, no doubt, be unseated; but something more will be gained if the case is looked into for the purpose of obtaining a general "moral."

The last contest and election for Liverpool took place under peculiar circumstances. The two members who sat for Liverpool in the previous Parliament were Mr. Cardwell and Sir Thomas Birch—the one a Conservative, and the other a Whig: a Melbourne Whig, he called himself. They appear, up to a certain point, to have been popular with the constituency, and the governing classes in the town—that is, on Change—would seem to have been satisfied with the compromise which gave to the two parties—Whigs and Conservatives—a member a-piece. But Mr. Cardwell and Sir Thomas Birch voted wrong "religious" votes; Mr. Cardwell, with the other Peelites, voted against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and Sir Thomas Birch went "wrong" about Maynooth. Everything, then, went against them, and Sir Thomas found himself in such sudden bad odour—with the Tory party for his ecclesiastical votes, and with the Liberals because he had voted with Lord John Russell in all Lord John's mistakes about reform—that he shrank from facing the town, and resigned his pretensions. Mr. Cardwell was not in so bad a position; the Liberals, not expecting much, had been surprised at his liberality, and accepted him as their candidate; and he was pretty sure of a large contingent of the moderate Conservative party. With him was run, specially by the Liberals, a local Whig. The Tories repudiated both; they took up a local Tory, and ran, with him, Lord Derby's Whig—Forbes Mackenzie. Here then was the Liberal party opposing the Tory party with a Conservative; for, on each side, the local men only counted as dummies. But the peculiarity did not end there. The elections in other places were on the question of Free-trade—of Parliamentary Reform—of the State Church—and so on. But in Liverpool the election was on a religious point, and on that one point only,—Ought Maynooth College to be endowed? Mr. Cardwell said, "It is endowed; and I won't vote for its disendowment." Mr. Mackenzie said, "I am a Protestant; this is a Protestant community; and I'll vote for the disendowment of Maynooth, because I won't endow Popery." Mr. Mackenzie talked for a Government—as did many of his colleagues—the Protestant pastors told the sheep that Lord Derby would bring in a measure to repudiate the act he aided Sir Robert Peel in accomplishing; and the sheep flocked to the poll; and Mr. Mackenzie laid his hand on his heart, specified the proudest moment of his life, and telegraphed hurrahs to the anxious Premier, and the trembling triumvirate at the Carlton. It was an election of a man who cried "No Popery;" and the Government organs talked triumphantly about the verdict of the first export port in the world upon the question of "recent commercial policy." The result was that Lord Derby brought in no Anti-Maynooth bill; and that Mr. Mackenzie did not even vote the other day, for Mr. Spooner's "coup" on the Miscellaneous Estimates, in withholding Protestant putty from the Papistical panes of Maynooth windows. In the result was a lesson for the simple religious people of Liverpool and other places; that the election of a

member of Parliament is a matter of business, greatly affecting the secular arrangements of every tax-payer; and that the "religious" opinions of a delegate on worldly affairs are not of primary importance.

But there is another lesson to be learned. The evidence taken by the Committee discloses the enormous deception practised upon these deluded and pious householders. This election, on a religious question, was carried by the most unsparing resort to the most undisguised immoral machinery. The Tory and Protestant gentlemen who carried the seat for Mr. Mackenzie, the "true Protestant," as his banners described him, were gentlemen who had vast numbers of poor men in their employ; and it would appear that they conspired to bully and intimidate into Protestantism these ballotless wretches, who were getting more wages, and more for the wages—and they knew it—from Free-trade, with which they insisted on identifying Mr. Cardwell, for much the same reason as the other classes identified him with the Pope. These Protestant gentlemen, in addition, subscribed large sums to buy those whom they had no chance of bullying: and day by day, one by one, 150 bribed voters are in course of being brought up to disgorge the truth before the Committee. Where one thief is detected, ten escape: if 150 confess to bribery, what a constituency! There are in Liverpool 1600 freemen; and according to the counsel who opened the case, these freemen, as their numbers would certainly allow them, decide every election. The freemen, as a rule, possess no other qualification—they are the poorest and the most impressionable in the town; so that the anti-democratic organs who boasted last time, and have always boasted of the verdicts of Liverpool (notorious for Tory representatives), may now know what the voice of Liverpool is worth—viz., always what the richest party choose to give in the competition for the freemen. Only 295 freemen voted for the Liberals' candidates; some 1100 or 1200 voted for the "true Protestant;" and, from what the witnesses who have been examined testify, the fair inference is, that every freeman who voted for Mackenzie got 5s. "for the loss of his day's work." There were other and more insinuating methods of corruption. Sixty-one public houses were kept open, and true Protestants got drunk in thousands on the days of nomination and election. Colourmen were in great request; any voter who would wear "the red" was employed in that way. Cabmen were numerous employed, but it would appear that many of them were bad drivers; and the Liberals sneeringly said, that all the cab-drivers in Liverpool enjoyed the privilege of the franchise, until evening, when there were so many collisions from general drunkenness that it was doubtful which were the professional and which the amateur charioteers. All these scenes, so indicative of "true Protestant" enthusiasm, went on under the eyes of the "true Protestant" gentlemen taking part in Mr. Mackenzie's election; and they must have had some doubts of the religious sincerity of the managers, who did not scruple to reach their holy end by means so equivocal. To affect to believe that the candidates themselves were not directly responsible is—not being on a Parliamentary committee—beyond our power; and after reading that portion of the opening allegation which charges Mr. Turner (the local Tory candidate) with offering a situation to one voter for his vote, we decline to suppose that they showed even the common prudence of not appearing to know what was going forward.

But there is still a further lesson, not applicable merely to true Protestant communities, but to large towns generally, to be gathered from the Liverpool election exposure. Here we see how candidates are chosen, how elections are managed, and how compromises are proposed; and clearly the towns themselves—the body of the community—have nothing to do with the arrangement. It is completely an affair of cliques. The first witness called is a Mr. Rathbone, a Whig, who appears, *proprio motu*, to have offered a compromise to the Tory side, viz. that if they'd give up one of their members, and let a Whig in, the petition should be "managed." Of course he now states that his party repudiated the proposition; but there is this suspicious circumstance, that the negotiation broke down. He speaks confidently of "his party," and on inquiry, it appears that he is the son of an old gentleman who has always been influential in Liverpool elections—a merchant. In fact, "his party" consists of the petitioners, about a dozen gentlemen, among whom he and his father count as two. Further inquiry still enables us to ascertain that there is no "Liberal" organization in Liverpool, and that, consequently, he and his party are self-elected. Further inquiry, again: it appears that one of the petitioners' counsel is the son-in-law of this old gentleman, who is always busy at elections; and inevitably the impression

produced is—the petition is not from the town of Liverpool, but from a small family party there; and, of course, the succeeding impression, that the "Liberal" candidates at the election were the chosen, not of the town, but of this clique. And here is the particular moral we would adduce from this story of the Liverpool election—that these great towns, because they have no democratic confederation, are in the hands of the old gentlemen, who are always busy, and who are invariably found to be Whigs, rather inclined to moderate Conservatism, like Mr. Cardwell. Our inclination, after reading this Liverpool committee evidence, would therefore be to get rid of the freemen, and of old gentlemen, "always influential."

THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

(From a Correspondent.)

THE Bill for the future government of India was laid on the table of the House last night, by Sir Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control, in a speech which in many parts was much like a brief for the India House converted into a bad pamphlet. I have no wish, however, to undervalue some of the sentiments expressed by the right honourable gentleman, which your readers will easily recognise in the full reports of the speech. Possibly the mere sentiments were his own, while the evident absence of any tolerable grasp of the subject may be attributed to his short official connexion with Indian affairs—a connexion which present arrangements must render short in the case of most who hold the office.

The principal features of the new plan are as follows:

1. The East India Directors to be reduced from 24 (or practically 30), the present number, to 18.
2. Of the 18 Directors, 12 to be elected as at present, and 6 to be nominated by the Crown out of officers, civil or military, who have served the Crown or the Company 10 years in India.
3. Admission to the Civil and Military Colleges of the East India Company to be dependent on competition and on conformity to an elevated standard of previous education; direct cadetships to be still in the patronage of the East India Directors, subject to passing an examination, of which the terms shall be approved by the Board of Control.
4. A statement of Indian finances to be laid annually before Parliament.
5. A Deputy-Governor to be appointed for Bengal, so as to leave the Governor-General free for the affairs of all India.
6. The Legal Code arranged by Mr. Macaulay, in 1833, and ever since under the consideration of the successive Law Commissioners, to be completed by a Commission, to sit forthwith in England.
7. The Legislative Council to be augmented by a member from each presidency, and by two of the Queen's Judges, so as, with the present members, to consist of 12 in all.
8. The members of Council in India to be still nominated by the Court of Directors, but subject to the approval of the Crown.

X.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

P., who writes from Birmingham, is informed that the statement he refers to has the best of all authorities in such a matter—personal acquaintance.

E. J.—The review he sent us was not excluded because considered "unworthy of our columns," but in accordance with an absolute rule. If we allowed correspondents to furnish us with volunteer criticisms, we should never be certain that we were not lending our columns to private influences.

We have received several letters this week intended for our Open Council; but we are forced to omit them for two reasons; first, because some of them are ill-timed; and secondly, because many are not authenticated by the name and address of the writer. Once for all we beg to repeat distinctly the notice already given, that on no occasion can we insert letters where the real name and address of the writer is not given.

"The Value of Evidence," and several other articles unavoidably omitted this week.

RECOGNITION OF MERIT.—To acknowledge every species of merit is the privilege of a liberal minded man.—From *Goethe's Opinions*.

PRIDE.—Pride is disgusting, if it manifest itself in contempt of others, even of the lowliest. A careless, frivolous fellow, may deal in ridicule and contempt. Without respecting himself, how can he respect others? But a man who is conscious of his own worth, has no right to undervalue his fellow-men.—From *Goethe's Opinions*.

THE HIDDEN LIFE.—Among the workings of the hidden life within us which we may experience but cannot explain, are there any more remarkable than those mysterious moral influences constantly exercised, either for attraction or repulsion, by one human being over another? In the simplest, as in the most important affairs of life, how startling, how irresistible is their power! How often we feel and know, either pleasurably or painfully, that another is looking on us, before we have ascertained the fact with our own eyes! How often we prophesy truly to ourselves the approach of friend or enemy just before either have really appeared! How strangely and abruptly we become convinced, at a first introduction, that we shall secretly love this person and loathe that, before experience has guided us with a single fact in relation to their characters.—COLLINS'S *Basil*.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not makelaws—they interpret and try to enforcethem.—*Edinburgh Review*.

It moves! it moves! A miracle, another miracle in this miraculous age! Another new Agent,—another Avatar of the God Electricity, who has now the delegated power of the whole universe, presiding over everything, from the creation of planetary systems to the creation of the *Acarus Crossii*—from Cosmic grandeurs to Belgravian Table-movings! A proud CORIOLANUS it can say, "Alone I did it!" Electricity is the throned God of this faithless age. Whatever men do not understand, they attribute to that great thaumaturge. Electricity has been made subservient to such astounding purposes, that men naturally credit it with the authorship of all astounding phenomena. If, instead of talking so much trash, men would commence by a little serious study of the elementary phenomena known as electrical, would it not be better, think you?

We are haunted by these Table-movings—persecuted by angry credulity—worried by correspondents, who superfluously assure us that they "cannot accept" our explanation of Table-moving. We knew they would not, and we said so. We knew the radical incompetency of men untrained in scientific method; men who are unaware of what constitutes an experiment, of what is evidence. From a mass of letters we select two (it is obvious that we cannot print all that are sent), which may be called typical letters—one of the wild hypothetical spirit, which the "facts" give play to; the other of the curious "facts" we are called on to explain.

Will you allow me a corner of your columns to state, in a few words, why the letter of Dr. Wyld, and your own paper in the preceding number, fail to satisfy me of the cause of the phenomena of table-turning?

After witnessing numerous experiments, with the details of which I will not trouble you, I formed an hypothesis that the invisible nervous fluid, or whatever we may suppose to be the immediate motor of the muscles, has probably in itself a rotatory action, and a power of throwing off, like other bodies in motion, a portion of its surplus force.

This hypothesis I want to test; but the tests supplied by you and Dr. Wyld are inapplicable, for as we know beforehand that the will acts upon the nervous system, we may easily imagine that any one who determines "to stand firm," and resist the assumed nervous current, may change its direction, or stop it altogether.

This may be illustrated by a hand employed to check the eddy or whirling motion of water in a basin. Of course the weaker energy will always yield to the stronger. The hand will stop the eddy or alter its course; but the fact does not prove that the eddy was not there.

To try these experiments fairly, it is obvious that we must allow the nervous fluid in our own bodies to obey the impulse given, or which seems to be given, from without, and confine our first tests simply to the question of muscular contraction. If it can be shown that the finger placed upon the table or hat are invariably stiffened, and flattened against its sides, and that neither the hat nor table will move if they be placed so lightly as to render pressure impossible, we may then certainly suspect involuntary muscular contraction to be the cause; but my own observations, as far as they have yet extended, have led to quite opposite results, and I cannot bring myself to believe that I have been cheated by a double delusion of sight and touch.

Your obedient servant,
H.

Observe, "H." is unsatisfied with our explanation, because he has formed an hypothesis of his own; and this hypothesis turns out to be one which in itself outrages every scientific principle. For the "invisible nervous fluid" is itself an assumption,—an assumption which Physiology cannot countenance, except as a mere artifice—viz., as a temporary expression convenient for conducting our reasonings—a mere algebraic formula, therefore. In the next place, granting the "fluid," what wild disregard of philosophic Method is displayed in the sheer assumption that "it has probably in itself a rotatory action, and a power of throwing off a portion of its surplus force!" "H." must first prove his fluid; then prove that the fluid has a rotatory action, and throws off some of its surplus force; having done that, we will ask him to prove that it is the actual force employed in Table-moving. Till he has done so, he is out of court. He must first enter his horse for the race; no one can be expected to take the odds for a horse which may turn out not to exist—to be the progeny of a mare's-nest, in fact.

Let us now read the second letter selected:—

Sir,—Permit me to call your attention to the undermentioned experiment in table-magnetising, which, although probably already known, yet, from the silence, as far as I know, of the public journals, may assist in the extension of the inquiry. On Saturday evening last I sat down, with four friends, round a mahogany table; after waiting about twenty-five minutes, the table began to rotate, turning in the direction, or standing upon the leg indicated by the expressed wish of any of the party. Others were afterwards admitted into the circle, to whom the table at first showed repugnance, refusing to turn towards them, but afterwards becoming reconciled to them. Having desisted, we found that two only, myself and another, could move the table at will, by placing one hand upon it. When attracted towards me, it required considerable muscular force, applied to the other side, to stay or retard it. When I even sat upon it it moved with facility, and when a friend sat with me, being back to back, the table made the greatest endeavours to move, which occasioned me some pain in the lower part of the spine, which I still feel. My friend declared that he found himself strongly attracted towards me, of which I felt nothing. The last trial was the most extraordinary. We formed lines, by taking hold of each other's hands, I touching the table only, which moved in conformity with the unexpressed wish of the last person, so that I served as an unconscious medium. This being successfully repeated, several times, convinced all as to the truth of the preceding experiments. At the interval of half an hour, I

called upon some friends, in another part of town, and, placing my hat upon the table, requested those present to form a line, as above described, touching the hat myself, which was also entirely obedient to the thought of the last person, no one but myself having seen any trial of the kind before. The result appears this: that any one can will, under certain circumstances, but that few have direct power, and also that the power does not immediately quit the possessor. Trusting you will excuse that which your known love of science has called forth,

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A. I. HIPKINS.

As we were not present, we cannot express an opinion on these cases; we do not know what are the circumstances which escaped our correspondent's notice, and which, if known, would perhaps wholly alter the aspect of these phenomena. But to all persons anxious for a careful experiment, we would suggest the necessity of their first arranging the conditions of the experiment so as to preclude if possible all sources of error. Thus, for example, if the table be moved by unconscious muscular action consequent upon an expectant emotion, that may be shown by the persons resting their fingers on pieces of paper, the paper rubbed on both sides with French chalk. This paper will slide easily over the polished surface of a table; if it slide and the table do not move, there will be something like evidence that after all the motion comes from the muscular action of the operators; if, on the contrary, the table moves—proper precautions being taken—then there will be something like evidence that no muscular action is operating. On the other hand, if any person believes that Electricity can make the table rotate on its axis, let him try; a large battery will prove the absurdity of his supposition.

It may be remembered that two weeks ago we quoted a characteristic passage from the *Literary Gazette*—characteristic we mean of the rash theorizing so popular on this subject. That journal, repenting of its mistake, endeavours to clear itself as follows:—

"Our fast contemporary the *Leader*, commenting upon the garrulity of a foreign correspondent in this journal on table-moving, has been at considerable trouble to disprove, what no really scientific man has ventured to assert, that this all-absorbing 'phenomenon' is the effect of human electricity. The explanation given by our contemporary, namely, that the movement of the hat or table is merely the result of unconscious muscular action arising from fixed expectant attention, has long been, to our knowledge, the opinion of Sir David Brewster and other competent authorities,—and we believe it to be the correct one. Sir David and a few scientific gentlemen interested in the question of 'unconscious *tendance au mouvement*,' met last week, at the invitation of the Duke of Argyll, to confer together on the subject, but nothing new was elicited, and no other result could be arrived at."

We must inform our "slow contemporary" (*tu l'as voulu, Georges Dandin!*) that he is completely misinformed in supposing that "no really scientific man has ventured to assert" electricity to be the cause in question. CARUS, of Dresden, and KÄEPLIN, of France, are scientific men, and they venture to assert it. Moreover our remarks were not written to convert men of science, the vast majority of whom we could not suspect of belief in the "new agent," but to convert the unscientific public. If the editor of the *Literary Gazette* knew that "Sir DAVID BREWSTER and other competent authorities," held the opinion we attempted to demonstrate, and if he believed that opinion to be the correct one, why did he not say so at once?

Table-moving does not wholly absorb drawing-room gossip, and we may, therefore, expect to make a diversion to "fresh fields and pastures new," by announcing that the authoress of *Mary Barton* has a new story almost ready for publication. It is a revised reprint of what the readers of *Household Words* will recognise as an old acquaintance. Moreover, by way of announcement, we may mention that NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE has sent over a new book, *Tanglewood Tales*, which will be published shortly, by CHAPMAN and HALL, who are about to reprint, in their agreeable, and extremely well-selected series, *Reading for Travellers*, several of Carlyle's biographical studies, such as JOHNSON, VOLTAIRE, BURNS, DIDEROT, MIRABEAU, and others. Good news for slender purses!

Here, however, is an announcement, which, although taken from advertising columns, and not, therefore, such absolute "news," is, nevertheless, extremely welcome intelligence to lovers of poetry—namely, ROBERT BELL's annotated edition of *The English Poets*, to be issued in monthly volumes, separate, yet serial. His purpose is not the ordinary one, of simply reprinting the texts, but of first exercising a strict supervision of the text, and next of illustrating it by notes, critical and explanatory,—doing for the mass of our English poetry, what hitherto has only been done for individual writers. A man of the taste, acquirements, judgment, and laborious courage of ROBERT BELL, is peculiarly fitted for such a task.

Our wisest and wittiest essayist, in alluding to his dislike of correspondence, declares that "friendship is apt to be written away in letter-writing;" may one not also surmise that Religious writers have a fearful facility in writing away all their Religion, seeing how rabidly intolerant they become—the intolerance being always proportionate to the literature? The tone of religious controversy is not simply irreligious, it is disgraceful. That vain and foolish man, BREWIN GRANT, for example, who is struggling into scurrilous notoriety, has to be rebuked even by his orthodox brethren; and yet although better taste reproves BREWIN GRANT, no better taste is found to support candour and toleration, as we see in the forced cessation of *The Advocate*, a monthly paper, conducted with unusual

it, but the enthusiasm does not express itself successfully. The exaggeration of youth, and the prevalent cant about art, *that* is all we see in it. And, to us, even this exaggeration has its interest. We cannot see young women so "romantic" in their pursuits without bidding them God speed! sure as we are that experience will abate it, in due course. What a glimpse, for example, does such a passage as the following give, into the lives of young visionaries taking their visions seriously:—

"What schemes of life have not been worked out whilst we have been together! as though this, our meeting here, were to be the germ of a beautiful sisterhood in Art, of which we have all dreamed long, and by which association we might be enabled to do noble things.

"Justina, with her expansive views, and her strong feelings in favour of associated homes, talked now of an Associated Home, at some future day, for such 'sisters' as had no home of their own. She had a large scheme of what she calls the Outer and Inner Sisterhood. The Inner, to consist of the Art-sisters bound together by their one object, and which she fears may never number many in their band; the Outer Sisterhood to consist of women, all workers, and all striving after a pure moral life, but belonging to any profession, any pursuit. All should be bound to help each other in such ways as were most accordant with their natures and characters. Among these would be needle-women—good Elizabeth's, whose real pleasure is needle-work, whose genius lies in shaping and sewing, and whose sewing never comes undone,—the good Elizabeth! how unspeakably useful would such as thou be to the poor Art-sisters, whose stockings must be mended! Perhaps, too, there would be some one sister whose turn was preserving, and pickling, and cooking; she, too, would be a treasure every day, and very ornamental and agreeable would be her preparation of cakes and good things for the evening meetings once or twice a month."

There are many glimpses at life and art in Munich we should be glad to quote, but can only find room for the following account of the

FEET-WASHING OF THE APOSTLES.

"The door at the further end opened, and in streamed a crowd. Then tottered in ancient representatives of the twelve 'Apostles,' clothed in long violet robes, bound round the waist with white bands striped with red, and with violet caps on their heads: on they tottered, supported on either side by some poor relative, an old peasant-woman, a stalwart man in a black velvet jacket and bright black boots reaching to the knee, or by a young, buxom girl in her holiday costume of bright apron and gay bodice. On they came, feeble, wrinkled, with white locks falling on their violet apparel, with palsied hands resting on the strong arms that supported them—the oldest being a hundred-and-one, the youngest eighty-seven years old! My eyes swam with sudden tears. There was a deal of trouble in mounting them upon their long snowy throne; that crimson step was a great mountain for their feeble feet and stiff knees to climb. But at last they were all seated, their poor friends standing behind them. A man in black marshalled them like little school children; he saw that all sat properly, and then began pulling off a black shoe and stocking from the right foot of each. There, with drooped heads and folded withered hands, they sat meekly expectant. A group of twelve little girls, in lilac print frocks and silver swallow-tailed caps, headed by an old woman in similar lilac and silver costume, took its place to the right of the old men in a little knot; they were twelve orphans who are clothed and educated by the Queen, and who receive a present on this day.

"The hall at the further end was by this time filled with bright uniforms—blue, scarlet, white, and green. In front were seen King Max and his brothers, also in their uniforms; numbers of ladies and children; and choristers in white robes, who flitted, cloud-like, into a small raised seat, set apart for them in a dark corner behind the uniforms. A bevy of priests in gold, violet, blue, and black robes, with burning tapers and swinging censers, enter; prostrate themselves before the King of Bavaria, and before the King of Hosts, as typified to them on the altar; they chant, murmur, and prostrate themselves again and again. Incense fills the hall with its warm, odorous breath. They present open books to the King and Princes. And now the King, ungirding his sword, which is received by an attendant gentleman, approaches the oldest 'apostle'; he receives the golden ewer, as it is handed from one brother to another; he bends himself over the old foot; he drops a few drops of water upon it; he receives a snowy napkin from the Princes, and lays it daintily over the honoured foot; he again bows over the second, and so on, through the whole twelve; a priest, with a cloth bound round his loins, finishing the drying of the feet. A different scene must that have been in Jerusalem, some eighteen hundred years ago!

"And now the King, with a gracious smile, hangs round the patient neck of each old man a blue and white purse, containing a small sum of money. The priests retire; the altar and reading desk are removed. Six tables, covered with snowy cloths, upon each two napkins, two small metal drinking-cups, and two sets of knives, forks, and spoons, are carried in, and joined into one long table, placed before the crimson step. In the meantime the man in black has put on the twelve stockings and the twelve shoes, and, with much ado, has helped down the twelve 'apostles,' who now sit upon the step as a seat. Enter twelve footmen, in blue and white liveries, each bearing a tray, covered with a white cloth, upon which smoke six different meats, in white wooden bowls; a green soup—remember it is *green Thursday*; two baked fish; two brown somethings; a delicious-looking pudding; bright green spinach, upon which repose a couple of tempting eggs, and a heap of stewed prunes. Each footman, with his tray, is followed by a fellow-footman, carrying a large bottle of golden-hued wine, and a huge, dark, rich-looking roll on silver waiters. The twelve footmen, with the trays, suddenly veer round, and stand in a long line opposite to the table, and each opposite to an 'apostle'; the twelve trays held before them, with their seventy-two bowls, all forming a kind of pattern—soup, fishes, spinach; soup, fishes, spinach; puddings, prunes, brown meats; puddings, prunes, brown meats,—all down the room. Behind stand the other footmen, with their twelve bottles of wine and their twelve rolls. I can assure you that, seen from the gallery above, the effect was considerably comic.

"A priest, attended by two court-pages, who carry tall, burning tapers, steps forth in front of the trays and footmen, and chants a blessing. The King and his brothers again approach the 'apostles'; the choristers burst forth into a glorious chant, till the whole hall is filled with melody, and the King receives the dishes from his brothers, and places them before the old men. Again I felt a thrill rush through me; it is so graceful—though it be but a mere form, a mere shadow of the true sentiment of love—any gentle act of kindness from the strong to the weak, from the powerful to the very poor. As the King bowed himself before the feeble

old man of a hundred—though I knew it to be but a mere ceremony—it was impossible not to recognise a poetical idea.

"It took a long time before the seventy and two meats were all placed upon the table, and then it took a very long time before the palsied old hands could convey the soup to the old lips; some were too feeble, and were fed by the man in black. It was curious to notice the different ways in which the poor old fellows received the food from the King: some slightly bowed their heads; others sat stolidly; others seemed sunk in stupor.

"The Court soon retired, and twelve new baskets were brought by servants, into which the six bowls of untasted food were placed; these, together with the napkin, knife, fork, spoon and mug, bottle of wine and bread, are carried away by the old men; or, more properly speaking, are carried away for them by their attendant relatives. Many of the poor old fellows—I see by a printed paper which was distributed about, and which contains a list of their names and ages—come from great distances; they are chosen as being the oldest poor men in Bavaria. One only is out of Munich, and he is ninety-three.

"We went down into the hall to have a nearer view of the 'apostles'; but, so very decrepit did the greater number appear, on a close inspection,—their faces so sad and vacant; there was such a trembling eagerness after the food in the baskets, now hidden from their sight; such a shouting into their deaf ears; such a guiding of feeble steps and blinded, bleary eyes, that I wished we had avoided this painful part of the spectacle."

NEW BOOKS.

In rapid summary manner we must once more clear our Library Table of several volumes mutely demanding notice.

And first, of J. P. Collier's new edition of *Shakspeare* (Whittaker and Co.), a reprint in one volume of that much-talked-of volume which Mr. Collier discovered written over with emendations and additions. We have already, in our notice of Mr. Collier's former work, expressed our opinion of the value of many of these emendations, which, let their source be authentic or conjectural, deserve adoption; but we must doubt whether it was desirable to print all the MS. corrections as they stood, merely giving a general disclaimer in the preface. It was a delicate task, no doubt, to settle which emendations should be accepted and which rejected; and the present edition of *Shakspeare* can only be regarded as a curiosity, until the authenticity of the volume from which it is printed be established.

For those who love controversy and controversy about "readings," there is Mr. Singer's *Text of Shakspeare Vindicated* (Pickering), full of minute ardour, unrestrained conjecture, indisputable learning, and questionable taste. He gives Mr. Collier no quarter; will accept none of Mr. Collier's discoveries; but his *Vindication* produces no conviction in our minds, and will only interest a few squabblers.

It is a huge stride from the laborious searcher among blackletter marvels to the laborious searcher among the marvels of organic life, from Mr. Singer to Prof. Valentin, whose *Text-book of Physiology* (Renshaw) has been translated by Dr. William Brinton, and illustrated with more than five hundred drawings on wood, copper, and stone. Valentin is not a writer who lends himself to translation, yet this translation has been made with great care; it is somewhat stiff and obscure in the earlier pages, but grows easy and clearer as it proceeds. The measurements are reduced to English standards, and the weights to the avoirdupois standard. Only the first part is published, and we must wait for the completion before giving it the examination it deserves. Meanwhile, let us note, in contradiction to the preface, that it is by no means a work for the beginner. It throughout implies a previous knowledge of the subject; and although an admirable work for the advanced student, its multiplicity of details, valuable in themselves, will confound the beginner. The book is beautifully got up.

Of the work on cholera by Dr. Stevens—*Observations on the Nature and Treatment of Asiatic Cholera* (Baillière)—there are several reasons why we should withhold an opinion. In the first place, a work so purely professional exceeds our jurisdiction. In the next, it is the work of "an injured man," who states his own case against the Board of Health, and as we have no means of correcting his statement, we decline entering into the quarrel.

There may be among our readers many who will welcome Dr. Donaldson's *Longer Exercises in Latin Prose Composition* (J. W. Parker and Son), which are intended to facilitate those who desire "to acquire and exercise the accomplishment or faculty of expressing their thoughts in the diction of Cicero;" but for ourselves, while indicating the existence of such a work, we must protest against so prodigal a waste of human labour on so frivolous an attempt. When Latin was the language of literature, the accomplishment of writing it elegantly and idiomatically was desirable enough; but now that it has utterly ceased to hold such a position, now that even notes to classic writers are written in the vernacular, and a general protest is raised against the use of Latin, to make the writing of Latin a desirable object, is the merest pedantry of a pedagogue to whom a college is the universe. Dr. Donaldson is an old pleader for "the revival of writing Latin," and resolutely declares, "there is nothing like leather." But if any one conscious of the labour necessary to attain even a respectable proficiency in an art which none can practise with success, will think of the value derived thereby, compared with that derived from a similar amount of labour bestowed on a science, on natural history, or any other branch of education commonly neglected for Latin, he will see the utter frivolity of such labour. "Apart from all opinions respecting the practical use of the Latin language as a medium of communication, I fully concur," Dr. Donaldson says, "in the opinion expressed by Niebuhr, that Latin composition is a capital school for the formation of a good style in general." If so, it is a capital school which turns out infamous scholars! Niebuhr himself was surely no sample of success; indeed, the writers of Latin (with an occasional exception, such as Hobbes and Landor) are distinguished for the inaccuracy and cumbrousness of their style; Dr. Donaldson among the rest.

It was a good idea that of making a volume on *English Forests and*

Forest Trees, (Ingram, Cooke, and Co.,) which uniting the legendary and historical with the scientific attractions of this inexhaustible subject, and bringing wood-cut illustrations to aid the writer, presents us with a large amount of information agreeably set forth. Windsor, Epping, Dean, Sherwood, Dartmoor, and the New Forest, are graphically brought before the eye; and many pleasant details vary the descriptions. A good index makes the volume serviceable for reference.

An excellent compendium is *The History of English Literature*, by Prof. William Spalding, (Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.,) containing in brief yet not careless outlines, the origin and growth of the English language and literature down to 1852. It is carefully compiled, and with more independence of judgment than one usually finds in such works; as a manual for schools, families, and private reference, we can recommend it.

Whatever opinion we may hold with respect to Sir Archibald Alison as a writer and thinker, there can be no doubt of his enormous success, nor, let us add, of the actual merit which created the success; merit not of a philosophic kind, but of a kind the public at large is better able to appreciate. Hence the new edition of the *History of Europe* (Blackwood and Sons), in weekly numbers at threepence, and monthly parts at one shilling, will carry the work into many a house where its rampant Toryism, tawdry commonplace, and continuous platitude, will be forgiven for the sake of its marshalling of facts, and its animated narrative.

The first volume of that great undertaking, the eighth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, (Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.,) lies before us, rich in matter, rich in promise. This volume, complete in itself by the way, contains the *Five Preliminary Dissertations*, which, however, need one simple thing—an index—to make them perfect. The publishers should think of this, and supply it in time. An index to the *Encyclopædia* itself would obviously be needless, and scarcely possible, but these historical dissertations, crowded with facts, names, and citations, require an index more than most works. It may be necessary to state that the third dissertation, entitled *A General View of the Rise, Progress, and Corruptions of Christianity*, is new, and is contributed by no less a person than Archbishop Whately; it forms a very suitable pendant to the two preceding dissertations on the Rise and Progress of Metaphysical and Ethical Philosophy, by Dugald Stewart and Mackintosh. At present we merely notice its introduction among the series; on a future occasion we may enter more elaborately into its argument; but for so important a work we need space and opportunity. The editor has done well to incorporate with Mackintosh's dissertation the preface written some years ago by Dr. Whewell.

Mr. Bohn is indisputably the Mæcenas of our age, venturing upon publications such as no patron could venture on, and endowing the poor public with recondite works at trivial prices. What in the name of all that is speculative could Mr. Bohn imagine to be the possible profit of such a volume as this last in the antiquarian series? It comprises Pauli's erudite, admirable, and exhaustive *Life of Alfred the Great*, a book which certainly ought to be on every Englishman's shelves, if the national spirit be not wholly extinct; but—and here commences our wonderment—Mr. Bohn has asked the great Anglo-Saxon, B. Thorpe, to edit the volume, which he has done, affixing to it *Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Orosius, with a Literal English Translation*, on the opposite pages, and an *Anglo-Saxon Alphabet*, a brief *Anglo-Saxon Grammar and Glossary*—all for the sum of five shillings! You will soon see that the miners and weavers of Cornwall and Lancashire are adding Anglo-Saxon to their attainments! What a reflection to those who still think it a "pity" the people should be educated and made "dissatisfied with their condition," (as if any being above the intellectual status of pig is, or ought to be satisfied with the incompleteness of the present!) and who regret the days when all literature was Latin!

Pursuing his relentless course of emancipating the people, and admitting those who have never received a "liberal education" into the arcana of Greek and Latin literature, Mr. Bohn gives us a translation of *The Lives of the Philosophers, by Diogenes Laertius* (Classical Library), executed by Mr. C. D. Yonge. Diogenes was not a wise man nor a good writer; but the plodding stupidity of the old Laertian has been of considerable service in transmitting anecdotes, opinions, and citations which otherwise would never have reached our hungry curiosity. Mr. Yonge has translated the book stiffly, but accurately, as far as our inspection enables us to judge, and has added some brief, serviceable notes. Altogether, it is a very creditable volume, with—as usual in Mr. Bohn's libraries—a good index.

Bechstein's *Cage and Chamber Birds* (Bohn's Illustrated Library), newly translated by Mr. H. G. Adams, who has incorporated the whole of *Sweet's British Warblers* among his numerous additions, makes a very agreeable volume of natural history.

The philosopher and the philanthropist will be equally interested in examining the beautifully-executed work Mr. John Edward Taylor has printed as the first of a series for the *Bristol Asylum for the Blind*. It is a *Life of James Watt*, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and is printed in relief, so that the blind may accept the intimations of touch with an accuracy almost equally to that of the intimations of sight. It is a very curious volume.

In the cheap series of Bulwer's novels and romances we have *Leila; or, the Siege of Granada*, and *Calderon the Courtier*, in one small volume (Chapman and Hall), and are thus brought within the reach of those who could not hope to possess them in their original expensive form.

In *Whittaker's Traveller's Series* (Whittaker and Co.) we have *Thomas Carlyle: a Critical Essay*, reprinted from the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*. It is really very well written, although of course from a point of view neither we nor any of Carlyle's admirers can accept; and passes in review his Style, his Teaching, and his Tendency.

The last work on our list is Miss Margaret Darton's *Earth and its Inhabitants*, (Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co.,) an excellent book, calculated to effect its object, which is that of making geography interesting to children.

The Arts.

ERNANI.

ON Saturday we had *Ernani* with a new cast. There was Tamberlik for *Ernani*, Ronconi for *Carlo V.*, and Belletti, who made his débüt at this house, for *Don Silva*; the *Elvira* was to have been Madame Bosio, but "sudden indisposition," or, as lobby-gossip averred, "champagne at Epsom," deprived us of her piercing voice, and so we had to listen to Mdle. Albini by way of trial of patience. The trial was severe.

I cannot share the common prejudice against Verdi. His music seems to me fully equal to that of many operas we accept *de confiance*. It has life, *brio*, melody, movement. It is noisy, commonplace, but not dull. There are charming vocal effects in it, and occasionally exquisite phrases. If the instrumentation is poor, if the choruses are written in unison to conceal poverty of harmonic invention, if the trombones clang uproariously, these are defects I find abundant elsewhere, and therefore, on the whole, by way of variety, I welcome Verdi, and especially Verdi's best opera, *Ernani*.

On Thursday the *Huguenots* was given for the first time this season, and drew an immense audience. It is perhaps the most popular of all the operas played at Covent Garden, while *Guillaume Tell*, so immeasurably its superior, can scarcely get an audience! There were three novelties in the cast. Belletti performing *St. Bris*, and making it an important part, by his excellent singing, such as no *St. Bris* in London has approached; Mdle. Didiée performing the small part of the page, with success; finally, Stigelli displacing the horrible Soldi in the Huguenot soldier, and singing the rataplan couplets instead of howling them like a maniac cart-wheel that never was greased!

THE REAL PIG AND THE IMITATION.

THERE is a story of a Roman actor (which, of course, you know, but which I will ask you to listen to once again for the sake of the commentary) whose imitation of the squeaking of a pig was vehemently applauded; a jealous rival, probably critical in pork, appeared before the audience, holding under his toga a real pig, which he made squeak lustily by pinching it. The audience hooted, hissed, and "off-off'd," utterly discrediting the miserable attempt, so inferior to that of their darling actor! Whereupon the actor produced the real pig, and scornfully demonstrated to the audience the valueless nature of their judgment, applauding the false, and hissing the real!

I am not so certain of this demonstration. Had I been one of the audience, I should perhaps have said, "My dear sir, you are hasty, illogical. Your pig is truly a pig, and the squeak thereof is real; but although a real pig, it is not a Representative Pig (no more than Jones is one of Emerson's Representative Men),—it is not a type,—it is not ideal,—it does not give articulate expression to the abstract possibilities of pork! On the stage I require Pig,—not *this* pig or *that* pig, but Pig *par excellence*,—Abstract Pig. My favourite actor gave me the squeak of that Representative Pig, and I applauded him; you have given me the squeak of an individual,—a pig perhaps with an idiosyncrasy,—a pig with a cold in his head,—a pig who can't pronounce his *s's*,—in a word, a miserable concrete pig, with whom Art has no transactions!"

Or if, instead of that defence, one were quietly to disbelieve the whole story? That, perhaps, were wisest; for the story is not a probable one. Audiences, though not wise, have sagacity enough to detect the real, as we saw at the Haymarket on Saturday, where, to the inexpressible astonishment and delight of the pit, Albert Smith personated himself, in the place of his imitator, Mr. Caulfield. You have seen, or at least have heard, how in *Buckstone's Ascent of Parnassus* there is a view of Mont Blanc, and of Albert Smith acting as "guide, philosopher, and friend," up its snowy inaccessibilities. In this scene Mr. Caulfield gives an extremely feeble imitation of the illustrious Showman; and Albert Smith, prompted by the spirit of practical joking, or probably wishing to test the credibility of that ancient story anent pigs, suddenly mounted in Mr. Caulfield's place, replying to Buckstone's queries with tone and manner so resembling those of the original, that the audience, for a moment puzzled, burst forth in a roar of recognition! There never was a better imitation. Nevertheless, the real is not always appreciated. I hear, for example, that a very wise wisacre objects to Mathews's dress in *The Lawyers*, and advises him to go down to Westminster Hall to see how the real Lawyers array themselves. Unhappily for the critic, Mathews's dress is the *actual* gown and wig of a barrister, lent him by a friend!

RACHEL.

It is really "an event" in the season when the great tragic actress opens a series of performances at that most charming of theatres, the St. JAMES'S. All those who have never seen her, feel within them the longings of an old desire; all who have trembled beneath her passionate eloquence long once more to feel the strange thrill which follows the flashing terror of those eyes, the wild unearthly grandeur of "that little rod of Moses."

And here she is again amongst us, in the power and the glory of her genius, in the consciousness of her unapproached excellence! *Phèdre*, languishing in the restlessness of unsatisfied unholy desire—

"C'est Vénus tout entière à sa proie attachée,"

and recurring in remorse to the time when

"Mes jours moins agités couloient dans l'innocence."

Phèdre, miserable, because from amid all the sophistications of passion emerges the clear steady conviction of her own criminality—

"Objet infortuné des vengeances célestes"

Je m'abhorre encor plus que tu ne me détestes."

In a word, *Phèdre*, the great creation of a great poet, who has infinitely surpassed his Greek model, is represented by Rachel with an intensity

and subtlety of passion and discrimination which make one feel how great an artist she is, and how great a poet she is representing. If English audiences do not appreciate Racine—and they do not—so much the worse for them. As Fuseli once said in a dispute about the merits of Petrarch, "Dere is many reasons why de Petrarca shall not be understood in England; de first is, de d—d ignorance of de language!" and although the St. JAMES'S audience may flatter itself it knows French, it is miserably mistaken, if it cannot taste the exquisite beauty of Racine's verse. Let me, however, say in defence, that unless people knew the verse before they went to the theatre, they are to be excused for not feeling its beauty when they hear it mauled and mangled by those merciless mountebanks.

"Who mouth a sentence as curs mouth a bone."

Such a troupe! ye gods! There is a Theseus—the godlike Theseus—represented by "a party from Astley's without his horse," as little Jarker, sitting beside me, remarked. There is an Aricie of about four hundred; and Hippolyte, a little pudgy Jew boy, who ought to be selling lemons.

But now imagine the other parts to be played by actors at all resem-

bling Rachel, and then what a tragedy would the *Phèdre* appear! Not that Rachel does justice to the verse. In days of yore, when she had her reputation to make, and made it, Rachel used to deliver those verses, *que c'était une bénédiction!* It was a charm, a spell, to listen to her musical utterance and delicately shaded expression of the poetry; now she gabbles, mashes up the rhythm, hurries over the ground as if only eager to reach her "points," becomes often unintelligible even to me who know the lines by heart, and—were it not for the splendour of her flashes, and the general truth of her conception—would spoil the effect altogether. For, be pleased to observe, in these plays composed after the Grecian model, with little story and no incident, the verse becomes all important. Elaborately written, it should be uttered so that not a syllable be lost. Her acting now resembles that of the elder Kean; it is saved by its points; formerly her level speaking was equally admirable.

I will not disguise the fact, that Rachel has greatly fallen off from her own standard; but it is also true, that no one on the stage approaches even her present standard; and the crowded, delighted audiences seem to think so too.

VIVIAN.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, June 3, 1853.

THE Money Market has been more depressed during the last ten days than we have seen it for a long time. The very uneasy and unsettled feeling that prevails here and on the Continent with regard to the Turkish and Russian differences, and the temporary panic exhibited on the Paris Bourse—always much more sensitive than our own—has had the effect of bringing money sellers into the market. Consols have been down as low as 99½. The effect of the Bank of England, at their meeting yesterday, having raised the minimum rate of discount to 3½ per cent., caused a further downward movement. In Paris there has been a considerable reaction since the first panic, and French shares are remarkably well supported this morning. English shares are weak, and many sellers coming in: yet from several reasons, always supposing that the Russo-Turkish difficulty is once got over, one would imagine that we have nearly reached the bottom of the hill, and a rise must ensue. There will be about three millions soon thrown on the market for investment from the Exchequer Bills, and whatever they may be reinvested in, will produce a reaction, for three millions is no small sum. The arrivals of gold from Australia and California, considerable as they are, already promise to be of still greater magnitude; and the large exports which have been taking place since last year, must soon be beginning to have a return. Money, therefore, will probably become much easier during the next two months, and a corresponding rise may be looked for, always supposing, as before stated, that the state of Europe remains pacific.

All the minor securities of Land Companies and Mines, have partaken of the general fall, and can be very hardly sold. The reports from Nouveau Monde and other Californian mines, would seem to be very good indeed; and the first of these mines that makes any great return, will doubtless advance cent. per cent. in price. In Copper Mines, Jamaica and Metcalfe's have experienced most heavy falls, the first reports not having been borne out by the subsequent discoveries. The only Land Company that has improved, is the British-American Land Company, upon whose estates it is reported that gold has been discovered. All Australian Mines are flat, and but little doing in them.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday, June 3, 1853.

The arrivals of wheat, oats, and barley since Monday are moderate. Fine wheat is held for an advance of 1s. to 2s., and the inferior description of 1s. per quarter, from Monday, at which a fair amount of business has been transacted. The value of oats and barley is firmly maintained. Beans and peas are scarce, and rather dearer. There is less demand for rye from the Continent, and the extreme prices of wheat in some of the Baltic ports have not been supported. They are still too high for shipment to England.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	230	229½	229½	230	230½	229
3 per Cent. Red.	99½	99½	99½	99½	99½	99½
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½
Consols for Account	100½	100½	100½	100	100½	99½
3½ per Cent. An.	102½	102½	102½	101½	102	101½
New 5 per Cents.						
Long Ans., 1860	6	3-10	5½	5½	5½	5½
India Stock					262½	260
Ditto Bonds, £1000	30	25	25	25	22	25
Ditto, under £1000		30	25	25	20	
Ex. Bills, £1000	1 p	par	1 p	par	par	par
Ditto, £500	1 p	par		par		par
Ditto, Small	1 p	3 dis		par	1 dis	par

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Brazilian Bonds	100½	Sardinian Bonds	94½
Danish 3 per Cents.	84½	Spanish 3 p. Cents.	48½
Granada, ex Dec., 1840,		Spanish 3 p. Cts. New Def.	23½
coupon	21½	Spanish Passive, Conv.	5½
Granada Deferred	10	Spanish Com. Certif. of	
Mexican 3 per Cents.	26½	Coupon not funded	5½
Peruvian 4½ per Cents.	85	Venezuela 3½ per Cents.	38
Peruvian Scrip	par.	Dutch 2½ per Cents.	65
Peruvian 3 per Cent. Def.	61	Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	95½
Russian 4½ per Cents.	103½		

French Plays.

ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.

On Monday, June 6, the Entertainments will commence with ADRIENNE LECOUVREUR. Adrienne, Mlle. Rachel—Michonnet, M. Regnier.

On Wednesday, June 8, will be produced DIANE. Diane, Mlle. Rachel.

Boxes, Stalls, and Tickets may be obtained at Mr. Mitchell's, 33, Old Bond Street; and at the Box Office of the Theatre.

KOLNER MANNER-GESANG-VEREIN, or COLOGNE CHORAL UNION.—Mr. Mitchell begs to announce that the above distinguished Society, consisting of Eighty Members, will give their FIRST MORNING CONCERT, in this country, at the Hanover Square Rooms, on Tuesday next, June the 7th, commencing at Half-past Three o'clock; the subsequent Concerts are fixed for June 9th, 11th, 14th, 16th, and 18th, which cannot possibly be extended. One EVENING CONCERT will be given by this Society, at Exeter Hall, on Monday, June 13th, composed entirely of Sacred Music, and at which the eminent organist, Herr Schneider, attached to the Court of Saxony, and organist to the Protestant Church at Dresden (his first appearance in England), is engaged expressly to perform several masterpieces by Handel and Bach. Director—Herr Franz Weber. Programmes of these Concerts, with the libretto in German and English, and full particulars of the general arrangements, are now ready, and may be had at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 33, Old Bond Street, and at all the principal Music-sellers and Libraries.

MR. BENEDICT'S CONCERT.—QUEEN'S CONCERT ROOMS, HANOVER SQUARE.—Under the immediate Patronage of her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, his Royal Highness Prince Albert, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge.

Mr. BENEDICT begs respectfully to announce that his ANNUAL GRAND MORNING CONCERT will take place at the above Rooms, on Wednesday, June 22, 1853. Vocal Performers:—Madame Pauline Viardot, Madame Marchesi-Graumann and Madame F. Lablache, Mrs. Sims Reeves, Frieulein Agnes Bury and Miss Louisa Pyne, Miss Dolby and Miss Williams, and Madame Clara Novello; Signor Gardoni and Herr Reichart, Mr. Sims Reeves, Herr Pischek, Signori F. Lablache, Ciabatta, and Marchesi, Mr. Weiss, and Mr. Burdini. Instrumental Performers:—Pianoforte, Miss Arabella Goddard, Mr. Benedict, and Mr. Charles Hallé (who will perform Bach's Triple Concerto for three Pianofortes)—Violin, Messrs. Vieuxtemps and Sainton (who will perform Spohr's Duet for Violin and Alto)—Violoncello, Signor Piatti, and Double Bass, Signor Bottesini (who will perform a new Concertante, composed expressly for the occasion).—An efficient Chorus.—The Orchestra will consist of the Members of the Orchestral Union, conducted by Mr. A. Mellon.—Conductor, Mr. Benedict.

A limited number of Tickets, 10s. 6d. each, to be had at the principal Music Warehouses and Libraries. Early applications for the few remaining Reserved Seats, £1 1s. each, is respectfully solicited at Mr. Benedict's residence, No. 2, Manchester Square.

MR. ALBERT SMITH'S MONT BLANC, EVERY EVENING, at Eight o'clock, except Saturday. Stalls, 3s. (which can be secured at the Box-office every day from Eleven to Four); area, 2s.; gallery 1s.

A Morning Performance every Tuesday and Saturday, at Three o'clock.

A View of the celebrated Mer de Glace, from Montanvers, has been added to the Illustrations. Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly.

MR. JAMES HANNAY, Author of "Single-ton Fontenoy," &c., will deliver the First of SIX LECTURES on Satirical Literature, at the Literary Institution, Edwards Street, Portman Square, on Wednesday, June 15th, at Eight o'clock, p.m. precisely. Subject of Lecture First:—HORACE AND JUVENAL.

Tickets for the Course, 15s.; Reserved Seats, 3s.; Area and Gallery, 1s. To be had at Sams' Royal Library, St. James's Street, and at the Library of the Institution.—Second Lecture, Wednesday, 22nd.

AT GORE HOUSE, KENSINGTON.—THE EXHIBITION OF CABINET WORK lent by Her Majesty the Queen, and several Noblemen and Gentlemen; the Works of the Schools of Art, and Studies of Mr. Mulready, R.A., together with the Gardens, is NOW OPEN to the Public daily (except Sundays), from Twelve to Seven.

Admission:—Mondays and Tuesdays, 6d.; Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, 1s.; and Saturdays, 2s. 6d. each person.

SOCIETY OF PAINTERS IN WATER COLOURS.—The FORTY-NINTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION is NOW OPEN, at their Gallery, 5, Pall Mall East, from Nine till dusk.

Admittance, One Shilling. Catalogue, Sixpence. GEORGE FRIPP, Sec.

SUPERIOR TO COFFEE, BUT LOWER IN PRICE. FRENCH CHOCOLATE, 1s. per pound, or in packets, 6d., 3d., and 1d. each, a preparation from the choicest Coconas of the English markets, and manufactured by the most approved French method. Coffee is far inferior in nutritive qualities to Cocoa. And Chocolate, or properly prepared Cocoa, is now universally recommended by the Medical Profession, as more conducive to health than any other vegetable substance which enters into the human diet. The superiority of the above One Shilling French Chocolate, over raw and unprepared Coconas, may be judged of by the perfection attained in its manufacture, owing to which it may be used either as food or beverage.

PARIS CHOCOLATE COMPANY, distinguished by the Patronage of her Majesty the Queen, and the unanimous award of both "Council" and "Prize" Medals at the Great Exhibition of 1851. Manufacturers of Breakfast Chocolate, Bonbons, and French Syrups.

Sold Wholesale and Retail by the principal Grocers, Confectioners, and Druggists in the kingdom. Chocolate Mills, Isleworth; Wholesale Depot, 35, Pudding-Lane, City; West-End Agent, Mr. JOHN HATFIELD, 221, Regent-Street.

NEW FOLDING CHAIR BEDSTEAD. WILLIAM S. BURTON has pleasure in offering an entirely new and very ingenious WROUGHT-IRON CHAIR BEDSTEAD, which, from its being extremely light, durable, and portable (measuring, when folded, 2ft. 11in. by 2ft. by 8in. deep), and easily and instantaneously convertible from a chair to a bedstead, or vice versa, presents to

MILITARY OFFICERS AND PARTIES TRAVELLING an amount of comfort and elegance long desiderated, but hitherto unattainable. Price, £2 2s.; complete, with best hair mattress and stuffed arms, £3 12s.

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

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CUTLERY WARRANTED.—The most varied assortment of TABLE CUTLERY in the world, all warranted, is on SALE at WILLIAM S. BURTON'S, at prices that are remunerative only because of the largeness of the sales. 3½-inch ivory-handled table-knives, with high shoulders, 10s. per dozen; dessert to match, 9s.; if to balance, 1s. per dozen extra; carvers 3s. 6d. per pair; larger sizes, in exact proportion, to 25s. per dozen; if extra fine, with silver ferrules, from 36s.; white bone table-knives, 6s. per dozen; dessert, 4s.; carvers, 2s. per pair; black horn table-knives, 7s. 4d. per dozen; dessert, 6s.; carvers, 2s. 6d.; black wood-handled table-knives and forks, 6s. per dozen; table steels, from 1s. each. The largest stock of plated dessert knives and forks, in cases and otherwise, and of the new plated fish carvers, in existence. Also, a large assortment of razors, penknives, scissors, &c., of the best quality.

THE PERFECT SUBSTITUTE for SILVER. The REAL NICKEL SILVER, introduced 20 years ago by WILLIAM S. BURTON, when plated by the patent process of Messrs. Elkington and Co., is beyond all comparison the very best article next to sterling silver that can be employed as such, either usefully or ornamentally, as by no possible test can it be distinguished from real silver.

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