Alfred Edmund Galloway, 7 Wellington Street, Strand.

The Leader.

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

Contents.

VOL. VI. No. 257.] SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1855. [PRICE SIXPENCE.

News of the Week.

THE PALMERSTON Cabinet has been undergoing, since its meeting with Parliament, on Friday last week, a series of shakes that threatened either to break it up, or promises to leave the Premier in greater independence and power—to prevent his going on, or to give his Cabinet a more individual character, by stripping it of the Coalition remains of the last Ministry. It may be said that the question which has agitated it thus fundamentally was one inherited from the last Cabinet, and that the division which displayed itself at the Council on Tuesday was, substantially, the difference between the last Cabinet and the present. Mr. ROEBUCK's motion for inquiry was the occasion. The most consistent adherents of Lord ABERDEEN and the Duke of NEWCASTLE considered that they were bound to persevere in resisting the motion, because it would be an inexpedient and dangerous interference with the military Executive. On the other hand, Lord PALMERSTON had already obtained a material alteration in the terms of Mr. ROEBUCK's motion, and in the proposed composition of his Committee. The altered terms imply less of an inquisitorial interference with the Executive. The altered list of names promises, not a committee of enemies, but a composite committee of business men, likely to give a fair judgment. And to the proposition thus modified the Government assents.

It appears to us that Lord PALMERSTON was acting practically on the stronger ground. The motives of the three dissident statesmen must be respected. A Committee of the House of Commons to explore and disclose the proceedings of a military executive we have always pronounced to be in itself an absurd proposition. On abstract grounds, therefore, the three dissidents unquestionably took a high-minded and a logical position. But how stand the circumstances of the case? It is evident from the concessions made by Mr. ROEBUCK, that he and those who supported him perceived how impossible it would be to carry out their object and the war together—the war being the ultimate purpose which their object was intended to subserve. Mr. ROEBUCK was in effect proposing to a traveller, while on his road through a dangerous country, that his fire-arms, which were in bad order, should be sent to the maker's to be examined, overhauled, and repaired. It would enable him much better to encounter his enemy,—if he could have a promise against a mortal visitation in the mean while. The Commons, however, had committed themselves to stand by their propositions; and there is in that honourable House a certain vulgar tenacity which would make it hate to give up a settled point. We have no doubt that if the House of Commons had resolved upon the meeting of parallel lines, it would refuse to rescind the resolution. But it might be thankful to any witty geometrician who could find for it that the parallel lines should meet "at a point of indefinite extension;" which is just, we presume, what Lord PALMERSTON has done. The Commons will proceed with their Committee, but it will be so conducted as to avoid detriment to the actual conduct of the war. It might have judiciously turned upon another ground of inquiry—"the system"—and so be productive of incalculable advantage. If Lord PALMERSTON had refused the Committee, the House of Commons would have refused his Cabinet; we should have had a final break-down, and perhaps a Derby Administration playing at Government and compromising us with Russia. Lord PALMERSTON was in the right, therefore, when he persevered; and the dissidents, we conceive, retired upon a false position.

The dispute did not make itself known immediately. Some negotiations were supposed to hold out a hope that it might be brought to a close. By Wednesday night it was generally disclosed; and late next day the resignation of Mr. CARDWELL was added to that of his colleagues. Of course a man of Mr. CARDWELL's ability retires from official life only for a time; and he does so, we suppose, only upon a punctilio. But there is evidently something in the dispute more than this simple difference about the committee. It is a respectable cause of division to allege, but there must be other reasons. In the first place it is almost inconceivable that Lord PALMERSTON and his colleagues should not have come to some understanding on the subject of the committee when the Cabinet was formed; secondly, there are well-known diversities of opinion on the subject of alliances, and of the terms upon which peace may be concluded; and thirdly, we suspect there may have been diversities on the subject of finance. It was very generally bruited that Mr. GLADSTONE had in prospect some marvellous *Arabian Nights* Budget, which was to provide for the war without increased taxes, and without loans. Now, besides the palpable absurdity of permitting a Cabinet to raise *any* amount of money requisite without borrowing it, there is the fact that the prospect of a Gladstonian budget—no loan and a direct tax—was becoming daily more unpopular throughout the country, and had occasioned a settled gloom of anticipation in the City. Lord PALMERSTON is not the man to go to the country on an *Arabian Nights* budget, violently testing the virtue of every citizen with direct taxes; and probably Mr. CARDWELL supposed himself to inherit too much of the recent traditions of Mr. GLADSTONE to take the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, which was expected to be his new place, without a Gladstonian Budget.

Lord PALMERSTON was no sooner released from the support of these four conspicuous members of the ABERDEEN Cabinet, than Report set itself to look up other candidates for him, and it was not difficult to find them. Lord CARNARVON was remembered for his excellent liberal speech at the first opening of the Session. Lord ELGIN, who has been an excellent and practical Governor of a place where Englishmen have not abandoned any one of the rights which we have suffered to lapse here—in Canada—recently made a speech at Dunfermline, in which he avowed the respect that he had acquired for the self-government of Englishmen by his colonial experience; and he was set down as another member of the Cabinet. Lord GODERICH would probably not revoke his refusal to join the Ministry, but the offer indicated the tendency of Lord PALMERSTON to look out for "new blood." Mr. LAYARD also, perhaps, stands committed, for a time, by his outspoken, earnest, and uncompromising speech on Monday, surveying the whole state of things at home and abroad, to the position of "an independent member." But there is one person marked out by his antecedents, by the general opinion, by the *Times*, and by himself, for a high position in office; and as he is a man of great power and sagacity, it happens that he is an unusually good authority in his own case. We allude to Mr. ROBERT LOWE, who showed by his speech at Kidderminster, on Tuesday, that he would sway an opposition in this country as powerfully and as formidably as he swayed the Opposition in New South Wales, where he served an apprenticeship to Government at home; for in New South Wales, also, they still act up to the standards of the British constitution, which we have forgotten. From Mr. LOWE's speech the public will regard him as a man who sees the ne-

cessity of checking Russia, whether she be a weak power impudently asserting pretensions to which she has no claim, or a strong power contemplating the absorption of Austria as well as Turkey—of Europe as well as Austria. He will be seen by his speech thoroughly to understand the necessity of reorganising, not only the Horse Guards, but our whole system of military and civil Government, with its aristocratic decay, and its political scrofula of patronage. There is no man who looks more like *the* man for the time than this same ROBERT LOWE.

Lord DERBY has been holding a meeting at Lord EGLINTON'S house, to gather his scattered forces and reconcile his followers to himself. Practically, his speech amounts to a penitent assurance that he will no more consort with GLADSTONE or GRAHAM, but will be faithful to the Tory colours; and the sulky meeting, it is said, relaxed its frowns under the playful cajolery of the earl. One man of the faction might now find in a national party the opportunity for taking a leading place in the country; but Mr. DISRAELI seems to retain a sentimental fidelity to that Quarter Sessions class in which his county ambitions have buried him.

The Ministerial crisis throws a broad shade over the proceedings in Parliament, although they have been of first-rate importance. The Commons have laid before them the navy estimates and programme, the army estimates and military programme, the military reforms intended by Government, and the whole subject of blockade brought forward by Mr. COLLIER. In this place we can only state the results. The army will be increased to a total of 173,000, exclusively of the Indian army. The Militia will be pressed forward to its full amount. The total estimates will be raised to 13,700,000*l.*, and 60,000 will be recruited during the present year. The navy will furnish two fleets in the Baltic and Black Sea, moved entirely by steam. The forces in men will be raised to 70,000. The total estimate is 10,700,000*l.* Commissions will be sent out by Government to enquire into all the abuses of Transport, Commissariat, and Medical Departments, and Staff incapacities, with authority to remedy abuses. With regard to the blockade, the result of Mr. COLLIER'S statement on the one side, and of Mr. CARDWELL'S on the other, is, that the blockade has been enforced as soon and as extensively as it was really expedient; that Russia has suffered from restriction upon her trade; that to adopt more stringent measures towards neutrals, or prohibition of Russian produce at home, would injure ourselves and allies with a minimum of injury to Russia; and that the question of the transit trade through Prussia must be handled on political and military grounds, with respect to the responsibility of Prussia as a power in Europe.

In the House of Lords the Earl of ELLENBOROUGH took the occasion for a new bill to facilitate the enlistment of older men and discharged soldiers, to point out the extension of the campaign necessary to the vigorous prosecution of the war, particularly the employment of Indian artillery and irregulars which can be spared. He advised a diversion in Georgia by means of a Turkish army with European officers, rendering effectual the hostile operations of SCHAMYL and the Circassians; and Lord HARROWBY pointed to similar recruitments, by calling out "the oppressed nationalities." These are good sounds to hear in Parliament.

From abroad we have, really, scarcely anything to report—nothing to say, except that the signs of movement continue without material change. From the Crimea, down to the 9th instant, they send better accounts, with assurances that something must happen shortly. From Germany, testy notes by Baron MANTEUFFEL, and assurances that a treaty between Prussia and the Western Powers is about to be concluded. From Paris, that Lord JOHN has gone forward on his mission to Vienna; and that the EMPEROR talks of setting out for the Crimea between the 10th and 15th of next month—which nobody believes.

Bread riots are proclaimed in Liverpool and London. Immense numbers of the working-classes are thrown out of employment by the season. They are suffering horribly! Some of the rioters may have been really hungry, needy persons, exasperated by genuine suffering. There is too much reason to suppose, however, that idle vagabonds have usurped the name of the people, have raised insurrectionary flags, and have created a riot, in order to snatch, not only bread but cash, from the till as well as the oven. The riots, of course, have been put down; but it would not have been so easy to put down the gigantic mass of want, if the giving of the frost had not brought a hope of relief for trade as well as labour.

Lord CLANRICARDE has published a letter in the *Daily News*, contradicting the calumnies circulated against him, *à propos* to the late trial in the Irish Court of Chancery. Lord CLANRICARDE is correct in saying that he had not sufficient *locus standi* in that court for his share of the cause to be freely investigated. He does not avail himself of his *locus standi*, however, in the *Daily News* to produce that disproof of the inferences against him, which would finally dispose of the calumny.

But, in the personal history of the week, the foremost event of interest is the death of JOSEPH HUME. He has gone at the age of seventy-eight, although a few years since he seemed as hale and as able to continue work as a man of forty. JOSEPH HUME had lived two lives, and the accumulation of years helped to bring contradictions of the presumptions continually made regarding him. As a surgeon, and an official under the East India Company, he acquired a considerable fortune, which was not diminished in later years, and he had attained to affluence and independence before half his life had closed. His public life then commenced, and he did not marry until the same period. New to England and to politics, he began life at forty, as youths often do, on a side different from that to which he ultimately attached himself. He was a Tory. But the inveterate desire for improvement which made him afterwards the Parliamentary reformer, the advocate of the working-class—in their education and their recreation, as well as in their release from the tyrannical combination laws—made him become a Liberal and something more. He viewed most subjects in the material form; could not rise to theoretical politics; but always desired to make things better by the rule of common sense. From this want, so to speak, of general faith in politics, —being only in public affairs a practical Christian, belonging to no sect—he was the auxiliary of more than one party, the leader of none; and, although his support was desired by every Liberal Ministry, he was not invited to brave, on the Treasury Bench, the retorts which some imitator of his criticism might have levelled at his official finance. Few men, except O'Connell, have been more abused by friends as well as foes, and no man is more generally regretted.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

(From the Registrar-General's Report.)

IN the week that ended on Saturday the deaths of 1475 persons—namely, 741 males and 734 females, were registered in London. The mortality which, since the cold weather set in, was highest in the last week of January, has in the subsequent weeks exhibited a decrease, but it is still much above the ordinary amount. The numbers in the last five weeks have run thus:—1549, 1630, 1604, 1546, and 1475. The mean temperature in the same periods has been 28·9, 29·3, 29·3, 30·9, and (last week) 25·4.

Last week the births of 903 boys and 912 girls, in all 1815 children, were registered in London. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1845-54 the average number was 1461.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE WAR—MINISTERIAL EXPLANATION.

ON Monday, on the motion for going into committee on the Army Estimates,

Mr. LAYARD took the opportunity to refer to the present state of affairs. He said, although his remarks would have been more appropriate if given on the proposed motion of Mr. Roebuck, the fear of a compromise induced him to seize the first occasion. But it was not inappropriate, considering his great sympathy with the country and the army, and the fact that nearly seven and a half millions were to be voted for its support. The same sum was voted last year, and the army left the shore in splendid condition, and highly disciplined. Nevertheless, it had absolutely wasted away. Mr. Layard felt quite disgraced in his own eyes that he had not, last year, more boldly and fully expressed his convictions, but he had been influenced by a variety of considerations. Then came Mr. Roebuck's motion, which was carried by a majority of two to one, the feeling throughout the country being so strong that they would miss the pleasure of the society of many members of the minority in future Parliaments. The challenge was accepted. Suddenly the Government went out, and for many days no new administration could be formed. After some days had elapsed Lord Palmerston succeeded in forming an administration. What, then, did they see? They found that administration almost identically composed of the same individuals as the late Government. Under ordinary circumstances, perhaps, in the straits to which the country was reduced, such an administration might have been accepted without much remark, but when they were called upon to trust to that Government the conduct of one of the greatest wars in which this country had ever been engaged—when they were called upon to vote large sums for the support of our army redueed to but a fraction of what it had been —when they were asked to vote confidence in the Government, it behoved the House to inquire what that Government was, and what it had done to merit the confidence of the country? It was said, the same men did not fill the same offices now as heretofore. It was true some changes had been made, but others which might have been desired had not been made. They should, then, consider how far those members of the Cabinet who had been retained were deserving of the confidence of the country. The House was told a few nights since by Mr. B. Osborne that even he (Mr. Layard) had not dared to attack the right hon. baronet at the head of the Admiralty. It certainly was surprising to hear such a challenge after what had passed on two occasions in that House upon two of the most important subjects which could be mentioned—the question of blockade and the question of the transport service. Had not the question of blockade been managed by the Admiralty in such a way as to cause immense mischief, and was it not one of the causes of our present difficulties? As to the transport service, had not hon. members risen over and over again to declare the utter confusion and almost hopeless condition of the transport system? He did not wish to say anything against Lord Raglan, but, when challenged, it was the duty of every member to discharge his duty to his constituents and the country without any false delicacy. There had been serious mistakes made, which had arisen, as he had always said, and conscientiously believed, from the mismanagement of diplomacy. The management of the melancholy conferences at Vienna was a perfect disgrace to the diplomatic body. If a bolder diplomacy had been pursued, he doubted whether we should be in the present state of war. With regard to the diplomatic service, many appointments which were made in it were not worthy of the country. He reminded the House of a transaction between a member of the diplomatic service and a noble lord who had retired from that service, whereby the noble lord who had filled the highest post in the service, but who was from his age past service, was appointed to a mission by what the country called a "job." That was not to be passed over in silence. He (Mr. Layard) had frequently asked whether a blockade existed, and was always told it did; but months afterwards the Government admitted by a new order that there had been no blockade. Then it was stated that there were only 12,000 left of our army, when a right hon. gentlemen immediately answered that the number was 30,000; but afterwards it was admitted that the former was the more correct number. The Government, however, refused to show any document to support the assertion. The country would not be satisfied with such a mode of dealing with the subject when they saw that our army was starving—that our men were feeding on French bread and clothed in French garments. But some member of the Government told them the army was revelling in luxuries and perfectly protected from the weather. The country was not satisfied with those statements. Respecting the Foreign Enlistment Bill, all members of the House were called upon to swallow their declarations made upon the hustings, because they were told the bill was one of the utmost importance, and must be passed at once. Lord J. Russell (then the leader of the House of Commons) made a speech of two hours' duration, to prove that the bill was warranted both in principle and by precedent. He (Mr. Layard) did not vote on that bill, and he believed that there were members

who did vote for it who now regretted that they did so. The bill was passed, but he believed that scarcely a man had been engaged under its provisions. When the bill was brought forward—giving the Government credit for what it was said they were particularly possessed of—administrative capacity and political foresight—it was supposed that they had the measure cut and dried for immediate operation. Not so; and even up to this moment it was not known how it was to be carried out, and upon what footing those persons whose services were accepted would be placed. The result was, that France had been engaging men, Germany had been placing her armies on a war *footing*—if not mobilising them, placing them in what was called a state of readiness for war—by which all the necessary horses and ambulances were prepared, so that the armies could take the field in 14 days. Thus, then, this country would be unable to get men at all, or, if they did get men, they would be the scum of Europe. With respect to German cavalry, two or three months ago a foreign gentleman suggested to the Government where the best horses could be obtained, but not a step had been taken in consequence of that information, and now the difficulty of obtaining horses was greatly increased. The House was now asked to permit the Government to raise 14,000 men abroad, upon which point he hoped some information would be given. Then, with respect to Asia Minor, they had been told that large contracts would be made in that country, but the very gentleman whom he (Mr. Layard) had mentioned as best calculated to enter upon those contracts had written to him to say that months ago he offered contracts to the Government, which they refused. He then went to the French Government, who accepted them, and that gentleman was now buying up all the cattle that could be got for transport and consumption on account of the French Government, so that now it would be very difficult for this country to obtain those supplies in that quarter. Last year he (Mr. Layard) suggested to the Government to take measures for the employment of Turks, who were admirable material for soldiers, although their present officers were bad. Those unfortunate men who had been employed with our army had been thrown into the Crimea without provision for their wants—they had been treated by our soldiers and officers in a manner which he regretted exceedingly, and which was unworthy of English soldiers and English officers—they had been driven almost to death by the treatment they had experienced in the Crimea—they were regarded only as beasts of burden—were insulted—even struck by our men. Was this statement true, or was it not? If true, was that conduct sanctioned by the authorities out there, or by those at home—and had any steps been taken to put an end to such a system? He was now told that 20,000 Turks had been engaged to serve under British orders, but he feared that measure would be too late. Such had been the past conduct—the "antecedents," as they were called—of those who composed the present Cabinet; and it was proper to inquire upon what grounds the House could be called upon to declare its confidence in the new Administration. Supposing Mr. Roebuck's motion to be carried out, the committee would be sitting in judgment on the present Admistration. It would again become a want of confidence motion. The new Government did not cut at once to the bottom of any existing evil, but merely sent out a commission of inquiry. We have sufficient facts before us to judge without commissions. At the head of the commissariat there was a gentleman seventy years of age; and that commissariat was in such a condition that our men had been starved. Were not these facts sufficient to warrant the recal of the head of the department without further inquiry? What had been done with regard to the medical staff? Nearly three months ago a commission was sent out to inquire into its state, yet the same state of things existed. Dr. Horne was at its head, and Mr. Lawson, instead of being removed from his post, had been sent to Scutari, where he was put at the head of the hospital, and was thence removed to Rhodes. Nothing had been gained by that. He believed that no man possessed greater or more eminent abilities than Sir J. McNeill, who was going on this duty, because he believed it to be a sacred duty to do so; but he was no longer a young man, and his health was so weak that he had hitherto been obliged to decline those high appointments to which his abilities entitled him. It was physically impossible that he should go into every hole and corner of the camp, and expose all existing evils. The result would be that, like every other man employed either by the late or the present Administration—for they were the same (*cheers*)—he would lose a well-earned reputation; he would not be able to cure the evils complained of, and the Government would place upon his head the blame which ought to fall upon others. What need was there for a commission upon the transport service? At the head of that service was a Captain Christie, an old gentleman more than seventy years of age, who could not leave his ship after dark without endangering his life from catarrh, and who for five or six days had been unable to land at Balaklava. Was then the state of that harbour to be wondered at? Were they going to send out a commission to inquire how old Captain Christie was, and what was the state of Balaklava harbour? There was not a boy in the streets who could not tell that. What was wanted was not commissions, but men. The country was sick of commissions. He knew it had been said that men could not be found; but to say so was an insult to the common sense of the country. If the test of a man was that he should be above seventy years of age, should be a member of Brookes's, and should always vote for Government, it might be difficult to find such a one who could carry on business properly; but do not let him be told that in a country possessing such material resources as ours, and in which such great works were undertaken as he saw accomplished in England, they could not find a man to set in order Balaklava harbour, or to put the army into a state of efficiency. (*Cheers.*) "If you want the opinion of the army as to who ought to command them, why not let them go to the ballot-box? If you went to the Artillery, for example, and said, 'Now, every one write upon a piece of paper the name of the man whom he thinks most competent to command the Artillery, and put it into the ballot-box;' there would be but one name come out. I would stake my existence upon it. Why, then, send commissions to inquire whether this man is capable or that man? If you want to act vigorously don't send a man an implied censure, and then when you are asked whether he is recalled, say that he is not recalled, when you have insulted him, and know that he must come home. Is that worthy of the country?—Is it manly?—Is it English?—No. If a man is incompetent, recal him; but if he is not incompetent, have the manliness to say that he is not so, and stand by him. If you will do that, I undertake to say that the country will support you to a man. Well, such are the propositions contained in the noble lord's speech. I have perused it very carefully, and, with the exception of allowing Lord Raglan to be a kind of head scavenger, there appears to be nothing else proposed by the Government. Yes, there is one other thing. You are sending out General Simpson to look after the staff and to make alterations and reports. That is a great mistake. You cannot go on with such a system of divided authority. General Simpson may be the ablest military man that ever lived—he may be the man of all others whom you should have chosen for an appointment of this kind under other circumstances; but, I ask, is it fair to Lord Raglan—is it fair to the public service—to send out a man in the position of General Simpson? If you had in this country a regularly organised staff of which General Simpson was the head—having risen through all the grades of that staff, as the head of the staff in France rises—that would be another thing. But you make a new appointment; and you send out a man to look into the conduct of Lord Raglan's staff, the members of which he has appointed himself. Now, has Lord Raglan assented to this, or has he not? Does he admit that his staff is incompetent, or does he not? If he does admit that it is incompetent, why not send home the officers who compose it? But if he does not, how are you insulting him by sending out men to inquire into it? (*Loud cries of 'Hear, hear.'*) Do not send out all these commissions. If you must have inquiry, send out a man in whom you have confidence; and if he will not dine every day with the officers of the staff, but will do as I did, and go about and mix with the regimental officers, I will warrant that he will learn in a very few days where the real evil exists. So much for the actual measures suggested by the Government, for I see no other definite proposals beyond these. There is nothing said about the Horse Guards. I thought everybody admitted that that was a great sink of iniquity; yet there is nothing about its reform in any proposition of the Government. I don't want to look at mere facts alone, but I want to look at principles—not that I wish the Government to say that in a few hours they will carry out those principles, but that they will be prepared in a general sense to act upon them. Depend upon it the country will not be satisfied with the appointment of 60 sergeants. They are no longer in a humour to take as a concession and a privilege that which they demand as a principle and a right. Unless a radical change is effected in the Horse Guards, depend upon it that the country will not be satisfied with anything that you may do. The Government themselves admit that the state of the army is desperate. I saw with considerable surprise a passage in a speech made recently by the right hon. gentleman who till lately held the office of Secretary at War, and which is so remarkable that, perhaps, the House will permit me to read it. The right hon. gentleman says:—

'We have had that war to wage by the instrumentality of an army which is one of the finest and noblest that ever left the shores of England—which never met the enemy except to conquer, but which, I regret to say, has met with an enemy more fell and more dangerous to it than the actual foe,—that is, disease.'

Is there nothing else which it has met with; is there no neglect—no mal-administration which it has encountered? He then goes on to insinuate that it is to the House of Commons refusing to support an army equal to the emergencies of the public service that this state of things is to be attributed. Now it is very easy to throw the blame from one person to another. The general in command says that he is crippled by the authorities at home. The Government at home say that he does not pursue the instructions which are sent out to him. He throws it upon the regimental officers. The right hon. gentleman says that the soldiers are to blame. Everyone concerned blames everyone else, and, at last, all agree to blame the House of Commons. Well, let us investigate the accuracy of that charge. If it be the House of Commons that is to blame, let the people of this country force the House of Commons to do its duty. I, for one, do not believe that the blame is to be attributed to the House of Commons. I see by the estimates that this House has year after year voted sums of money almost sufficient to support the armies of France, or of the other great Continental Powers. It is not, then, the fault of the House of Commons, but it is to the mal-administration of the money which has been voted that the real blame is to be attributed. I do not believe that the most urgent reformer has ever objected to a vote taken for a good purpose—no man objects to such votes; but what is objected to is the system of favouritism and the general system at the Horse Guards. I will tell the House where the mischief lies. There is, in the first place, a general fear of taking any responsibility; everyone is afraid to act with vigour, and, with the permission of the House, I will mention two anecdotes to illustrate my position:—One day, as I was going up to the lines of the army, in company with a gallant officer, we met a number of carts containing men suffering from disease and wounds, some of whom I believe died on the passage down, and with that convoy there were only two or three guards,—privates of the line. I was astounded that there was no medical man in charge of so many wounded and sick men, and I went to Lord Raglan, and he was brought to see that convoy. Lord Raglan expressed that indignation which every honourable and humane man must feel at such a circumstance, and he instituted an inquiry. It was found that the medical men and officers had neglected their duty, and Lord Raglan published a general order, in which he stated that the conduct of certain persons had been disgraceful, but he added that he would spare their feelings and not mention their names. (*Loud cries of 'Hear, hear.'*) I can honour and reverence those feelings in a man, but I cannot honour or reverence such feelings in a general. (*Cheers.*) What was the result? I will tell the House. Two days afterwards, some marines having been landed from the fleet and put under the command of the colonel who had the charge of Balaklava, they were employed upon the same duty as the troops of the line. At night, while on guard, one of the men was seized with cholera, and was taken to the hospital, but the medical man refused to leave his bed, saying that the man could not be admitted, as he was a marine. He was then taken to another hospital, where he was also refused admittance, and the poor fellow was left upon the shore to die. That circumstance came to the notice of Lord Raglan, and what course did he adopt? He condemned the medical officers, but he said that he had recently issued a general order reflecting on the conduct of medical officers, and if he so soon issued another confidence in the medical staff would be destroyed. I do not want to say a single word against Lord Raglan. I believe Lord Raglan to be an amiable and good man, but what I say is, that it is not for amiable and good men alone to command armies. The men to command armies should be men of iron will and unflinching determination—men ready to sacrifice relations, private friends—even all they hold dear in the world, if it be necessary to do so, in order to perform what is an imperative duty. (*Cheers.*) Send out a man of vigour who will cut at the root of the evil, who will spare no one or nothing if he deems it to be his duty to cut it down. If you do so at once, there may be a chance of saving the survivors of your gallant army; if you do not, they will all perish, and on your heads be their blood. (*Cheers.*) I am told by the right hon. gentleman the Secretary for the Colonies that the British army is not accustomed to great campaigns, and that we cannot, therefore, do that which can be done by the French. Well, sir, that is not true. I do not mean to impugn the right hon. gentleman's veracity; but what I mean is, that the assumption is false. Are not our campaigns and battles in India greater than those of the French in Algiers? Has there been a battle in Algiers greater than that of Sobraon, or a campaign greater than that of Affghanistan? Are the services of men engaged in such campaigns to be surpassed by those of men who have spent their lives in idleness? Through a mean and paltry jealousy you do not employ men who have saved your colonies, who have maintained the dignity of the country, and who have safely extricated armies from situations of great peril. And why not? Because they are not in the service of the Crown, but take pay from the East India Company. And for that reason you pass by men who have led their troops to glory, who have seen great campaigns, and you send out men of 70 years of age, who have never seen war, and who scarcely know how to put a regiment through its evolutions, but who happen to possess Parliamentary influence or family connexion." He was told the *Times* excited all this outcry. What a notion! Was there any magic, he then, in Printing-house-square? He dared say, in like manner, Charles I. used to accuse the Puritan preachers of exciting the Revolution, whereas it was the spirit of the Revolution that made the preachers influential; and it was not Voltaire and Rousseau who made the Revolution in France, but the feeling that afterwards effected it was that which made Voltaire and Rousseau. So, it was the public indignation of England which made the *Times* what it now was, the feeling which ministers ment had produced in the country. (*Cheers.*) If ministers

wanted to have the position which the *Times* possessed, if they wanted to have the people at their back, let them do what the *Times* did, come forward and say that which the people thought, not what they wished the people to be made to think. (*Cheers.*) There were many other things on which he should like to have had the opinion of her Majesty's ministers. The bare fact was stated, that Lord J. Russell was going to the continent, to take such a place as that of Castlereagh. Was he going upon the same principles as actuated Lord Castlereagh? Were we to go upon the four points? Was the intention of government such as it was a few weeks ago, such as might be expected of those in the cabinet who represented the principles of its late head? Surely Lord Palmerston, when the whole country was hanging on his every word, might have told us a little about that—whether we were approaching a chance of peace, or going on into a great war—whether Circassia was to be aroused, and whether, if so, we were afterwards to desert Circassia. Without entering on discussions which in a public assembly might be improper and dangerous, he asked, were not the government now placing us in a position to be somewhat despised by our neighbours? It might be that one day, we should bitterly rue what had now happened, by which England made such an unfavourable impression on those who were, perhaps, at heart her enemies, and but for a period her friends. Did the government forget that England, in the situation she now was, had the eyes of all Europe on her, and would they hesitate, for any private family or party consideration, to remove her from that situation where she became the laughing stock of the world, as a nation declining from her former high place, which had failed, which had disgraced itself, and would be an easy prey to those who might seek her destruction? Did these considerations never occur to the minds of the Government? He would appeal now to the noble lord at its head. A few days ago, no man who ever undertook the Government had more general sympathy and confidence. He had once told him that he had heard the name of Palmerston repeated among tribes of whom the noble lord, with his great knowledge, had perhaps not even heard. In Europe that name was a spell of magic: it represented great principles—however justly, such was the fact—it represented the cause of liberty. That reputation was so bright that even the betrayed Sicilians of 1848, and the fate of Italy, could not tarnish it, although he formed a member of the government who betrayed their cause. That reputation endured through every storm; and he rose in the House, as no other man ever did, with the House and the people of England to support him, because they felt that he, in moments of great national difficulties, had undertaken great and arduous tasks; but let Lord Palmerston ask himself now whether the people of England would be satisfied with what he had done? He thought they would not. That people were forbearing and long patient; they would put up with indignities and suffer wrongs rather than by their movement old institutions should be overthrown; but yet the time did come when like a torrent their indignation must burst forth, and sweep away the obstacle. They were so with Catholic Emancipation, they were so with the Reform Bill, they were so with Free Trade. On those questions, night after night, members rose in the house and enunciated truths which every mind must have admitted; but the grievances remained, and the people suffered, until they felt that the wrong was intolerable, that Parliament was betraying them, and in one short year the thing was carried. (*Cheers.*) And so it was now; the people seemed to be quiet, the lake appeared still; but let us not sail upon it in false security, for the waters would rise if the evil were trifled with, and we should suffer unexpected shipwreck. The present state of the country was a matter of deep and painful anxiety. The nation were not satisfied. They wanted, irrespective of the qualifications of particular men at this moment, to see whether they could not be governed by something new; they would not have the same parties over and over again. (*Cheers.*) No doubt a Cavendish in the cabinet was very important; but the people thought more of 20,000 gallant lives than even of a Cavendish in the cabinet. (*Cheers.*) The people wanted a complete and thorough reform; let the noble lord consult their wishes. He entreated Lord Palmerston once more, for his own sake and for that of the country, to reflect; the country as well as that House were ready to support him, if he adopted a course by which his own reputation would be enhanced and this great nation saved. (*Cheers.*)

On the conclusion of Mr. Layard's speech, General Peel and Lord Palmerston arose at the same moment, but in deference to the wish of the House, Lord Palmerston gave way to General PEEL, who merely said that he had voted against Mr. Roebuck's motion only because he thought the proposed committee would be useless. The plain fact was that we had sent out a splendid army without a sufficient commissariat.

Lord PALMERSTON would be, he said, the last to find fault with any man who blamed any part of our administrative system, but he protested against the language he had heard from Mr. Layard, who had talked of the degradation of this country and of its becoming the laughing stock of Europe. Lamenting the sufferings of the army, he admitted that those sufferings had been aggravated by want of management on the part of those who had the administration of the details; but these mistakes had not been confined to the British troops. There was good ground for asserting that the sick and wounded in the camp of the Russians amounted to 35,000 men. These sufferings arose from physical causes in the power of no man to control. After a brief reply to some parts of Mr. Layard's speech, Lord Palmerston added that he was satisfied that the people of this country looked more deeply into these things than Mr. Layard supposed, and that when they saw a Government established in consequence of the failure of two attempts, they would feel that men who undertook the conduct of affairs in such circumstances from a sense of public duty, and from honourable motives, were entitled to the credit of being actuated by a desire to perform a public duty, and that they would give their support to such men, not forcing themselves upon the country, but coming forward at an emergency. The Government threw themselves upon the generosity of Parliament and the country, and, with their support, in spite of trifling reverses, they would carry the contest to a successful issue, and, whether by an honourable peace now, or by force of arms hereafter, place the country upon a proud footing of security.

After some remarks by Mr. J. G. PHILLIMORE, Mr. WARNER, and Major REID, the House went into committee of supply upon the Army Estimates.

Mr. F. PEEL prefaced the details of the estimates by remarking that they differed from the estimates of the current year—first, in the increased number of men—namely, 178,645 (exclusive of the troops in India, of the foreign corps, and the embodied militia) which exceeded the vote of last year by 35,869 men; secondly, in the large augmentation of many of the services heretofore included in the estimates, and in the creation of new departments, such as the land transport corps. He stated the manner in which the increase was distributed over the entire army, and explained the various items. The charge for the effective land forces was 7,353,000*l.*—an excess over the charge of last year of 2,630,000*l.* The charge for the embodied militia was 3,813,000*l.* The total amount for effective and non-effective services was 13,721,000*l.* The total strength of the army for the coming year, exclusive of artillery, engineers, and the troops in India, was 193,595 of all ranks, of which number 14,950 would consist of foreigners.

Immediately on the conclusion of Mr. Peel's statement, a great discussion arose which was not always confined to the matter in hand. Captain BOLDERO objected to some defects in the Medical Department of the Army, relating incidents in proof.

Mr. WILLIAMS detected separate charges for the offices of Secretary *for* War and Secretary *at* War, which offices were to be merged into one. He objected that Prince Albert, who was no soldier at all, had 2,200*l.*, as colonel of the Grenadier Guards, whilst Sir De Lacy Evans, and Sir Colin Campbell, and other veterans, received only half that sum for their colonelcies. The same difference existed throughout with respect to the guards and the line.

Captain KNOX, a guardsman of twenty-five years' standing, denied these accusations, and explained that the Grenadiers numbered three battalions.

Lord SEYMOUR defended Mr. Hume, who was absent through illness, from some charges which had been made. Mr. Hume, he said, had never once opposed any measure for the efficiency of the service. This was followed by a cross-fire from various gentlemen who dwelt on the complaints of green coffee, the inefficiency of the staff, the want of an ambulance corps, the aristocratic influence, the neglect of the sick and wounded, and the various well-known charges.

Lord PALMERSTON replied generally. It had been urged that, as England was a maritime power, we should have crippled Russia by means of our navy, and furthermore, that our navy had been useless. Lord Palmerston differed altogether from those opinions, for our fleet in the Baltic had prevented the large naval force of Russia from stopping our commerce, and possibly ravaging our shores. We undertook to defend Turkey against the aggression of Russia. We did not undertake it, as some have represented, because we preferred a Mahomedan to a Christian. We made war because it was to the interests of the world that the vast region under the sway of Turkey should not fall under the dominion of Russia. Where did that danger lie? In the Black Sea. It was manifest that Austria had such an interest in protecting Turkey from any formidable invasion by land that we might leave the protection of the land frontier of Turkey to the arms of Turkey (which did, in fact, for twelve months oppose a barrier to the inroads of Russia), and to the combined forces of Turkey and Austria, should it become absolutely necessary for that Power to interfere. It is clear, then, that the great power of Russia as against Turkey, lay in Sebastopol; it was its great fleet that had the dominion of the Black Sea; it was in that arsenal that its great fleet rested in security, and from which it could issue, as it were, with the promptitude of lightning, and sweep down upon Constantinople. At Sebastopol, there was centred the great power of Russia; and, if we desired to strike an effectual blow at it, it was there that we must do it. The difficulties attendant upon this expedition were greater than were anticipated when we undertook it. An academy for staff officers had been suggested, but theory in an academy and practice in the field were rather different things. Continental armies had the advantage of constant practice in the shape of mimic warfare, but Chobham was our only recent experience of that description. Mr. Williams had complained of the advantages enjoyed by the household troops, but that was always an arrangement in foreign armies; in France, for instance, there was the Imperial Guard, and in Russia, Austria, and Prussia, there were troops to correspond. In the Peninsula and at Waterloo, the household brigade was irresistible, but the nature of the ground in the Crimea rendered it unadvisable to send them there. We had not commenced the war without any land transport corps, for that was attached to the commissariat, but it was now arranged to have a separate body, whose duty it would be to look after the service and perform it correctly. The loss of the horses must be principally attributed to the severe storm, when twenty days' forage was entirely lost. Of course such a totally unlooked-for disaster could not be immediately remedied. "In the early part of the session we urged the great necessity of passing a bill to enable us to raise foreign troops, and that I especially entreated the House to consent to that bill in order that we might without loss of time enlist foreign troops to go to the assistance of our own troops in the Crimea. It is perfectly true that hitherto we have not succeeded in acting upon that bill, and why? I must tell the House the truth, however unpleasant it may be to some to hear it; but the reason why we have not succeeded has been the language (*cheers*)—I am forced to say it—has been the language which was used in debates in this and the other House of Parliament, and which created such a feeling of resentment and indignation throughout the continent of Europe, that those persons who had before been prepared to take letters of service to raise troops in Germany threw them up, and said that under the circumstances they were unable to raise a man. (*Cheers.*) The condition, also, which was imposed on the Government of not giving half-pay to the officers, likewise tended to impede the execution of the plan. I undertake to say that if Parliament had not put in a clause prohibiting the granting of half-pay to the officers, and if language of so insulting a kind had not been held with regard to what were called 'mercenary troops, Germans, Belgians, Heaven knows who,'—thus raising the national feeling of the Continent against us, by this time we should have had a very different story to tell. This has not altered the feeling of the Continent with regard to the cause in which we are engaged; they still say that England is right and wish us success; but, after the language held with regard to these nationalities, they declare that they cannot take service under the Government. I should not have made this statement, which might be considered as a reproach to gentlemen in the two Houses of Parliament, but when I am asked for a reason I am forced to give it." Respecting the sergeants to whom commissions have been given, the estimates included a supply to enable them to support their new dignity; and, besides that there was a sum named to be given in annuities to those meritorious non-commissioned officers who have not been selected for the other honour. Knives and forks, &c., would be sent to the hospitals for the wounded who have lost their kits, and a good supply of tents would be promptly furnished. The tents would not be on the French model, for, though less portable, the English tents are more protective, and the French tents were now being made on our plan. It would be much better if, as suggested, light cavalry could be obtained from Asia minor, instead of from India, for it must not be forgotten that India is as well worth protecting as Sebastopol is worth taking, and Sir Charles Wood and the Marquis of Dalhousie would have something to say if such officers as Colonel Outram and Major Edwardes were recalled. "The defect has not been the want of things sent from this country, for forage, ammunition, horses, everything that could be required has been despatched from this country; and I venture to say that when the matter comes to be looked into, it will be found that there never was sent from England so large a force in so short a time, so fully equipped, so well provided with everything necessary. The deficiencies arose from the want of arrangements for conveying to the men and to the horses the things that were sent for them. There was great truth and great force in the observations which fell from Mr. Newdegate, in answer to the attacks which have been made upon the aristocracy, along with whom, I suppose, we must include the gentry of this country; for I believe the term 'aristocracy' includes the two. In reply to the charges that our army has not been so successful as it ought to have been, in consequence of the great number of gentlemen who are officers in it, I think the hon. member made the most triumphant answer, by showing that where your system has broken down—that where evil has arisen from the want of capacity, of energy, of intelligence, or of the accurate and zealous performance of duty—it was not that the gentry, not that the aristocracy, not that the noblemen in the army were in fault, but persons belonging to other classes of the community. It is in the medical department, the commissariat department, and the transport department, which nobody contends are filled with the sons of the aristocracy or the gentry. It is there that your system has broken down—it is there that the service has failed; and this it is that has been the main cause of the suffering of which we are all complaining. Now, the hon. member for North Warwickshire also expressed his hope that the new clothing for

the army would be provided in time to be of use for the ensuing campaign. I can assure the hon gentleman and this House that no efforts shall be omitted to secure the promptest despatch of that clothing; and I entertain not the slightest doubt that it will arrive of the proper quality and in due time. I believe that I have now touched upon most of the remarks which have been made during the discussion. Nobody disputes the importance of having a large and effective army. I don't apprehend that any hon. member objects to the amount of force that we propose, or to the extent of the other means required to make that force effective. I trust that, between this and the opening of the next campaign, the Government will be able to organise a sufficient army of reserve to give it the power of putting into the field a force sufficient to cope with whatever difficulties it may have to contend. And I am perfectly satisfied, if that army shall be called upon to vindicate the honour of England, and maintain its interests by the continuance of the war, that the country will find that the duty required of it will be well performed—that the experience of the last few months will have enabled us to correct those faults and errors which have unfortunately been committed, and that by the various instrumentalities which the Government are setting to work to reorganise and rearrange the different departments of the service, we shall be able to send into the field an army of which the country will be proud, and whose achievements will, I trust, deserve the thanks and acknowledgment of Parliament."

After some further discussion, the vote of 7,353,000*l.* was agreed.

ARMY SERVICE ACT AMENDMENT.

On Tuesday Lord PANMURE moved the second reading of this bill.

The EARL of ELLENBOROUGH expected that on the second reading of so important a bill some explanations would have been made. Without wishing to oppose it, it was a strong measure which demanded great consideration. Some limit should be assigned to the term of enlistment, and, as the war would probably be at an end in three years, he would propose that term in committee; Parliament could then, if necessary, grant an extension. "I observe," said Lord Ellenborough, "that the number of recruits expected or desired to be obtained during the present year is 60,000 men, and I find also that the increase of the establishment proposed in this year is 35,869, but I apprehend at the present moment, considering the great losses sustained in the Crimea, it cannot be supposed that the effectives will be very materially increased. Taking the effectives on the establishment at 24,131, the number in which the present establishment is deficient, and the number by which it is to be increased, would only bring it up to the 60,000 for which provision is made. If, indeed, the 60,000 recruits could be obtained in one day, no doubt on that day the army would be in a perfect state of efficiency, and up to the complement which has been voted by the House of Commons. But observe—in this calculation no provision has been made for the casualties which are to be expected during the present year. I apprehend, under ordinary circumstances, if we were not engaged in actual war, we could not expect that the casualties from various causes would be much less than 12,000 men, and I am sure I take a very low estimate of the probable casualties of war when I put them at 18,000 more; and therefore, in addition to the 60,000 recruits required to complete the establishment, if they were obtained to-morrow, he will require 30,000 more, in order, on the 31st of March, 1856, to have the actual establishment up to the strength of 60,000 men now voted by Parliament. This is a very serious state of things. In the expected supply of recruits the militia was greatly depended upon, which entailed the necessity of measures for keeping the militia as full as possible. The lords-lieutenant of counties should be urged to use their utmost endeavours, and the Government should use their power over the Poor-law guardians to compel them to make up a certain *quota* for each union; and recourse might be had to fines for non-compliance. In looking over the estimates there appeared a great increase in the number of officers of all grades below lieutenant-colonels, but in that grade the number was about the same. That was very wrong, for such officers were required, in order that the movements of battalions might be thoroughly understood. Each regiment was to be increased, but broken up into small brigades, probably divided over Corfu, Malta, and the Crimea. This was not giving fair play to the officers, who would never become efficient whilst commanding only small bodies of men. Nor would it be fair to the men, for the *esprit de corps*, and all discipline would be done away with. It was painful to see that there was no combination; while the Turks were fighting in Silistria our army was dying at Varna; and while we were fighting at Sebastopol the Turks were not yet in the Crimea. "I rejoice that in the midst of a great deal of regret on various subjects, I have at least to congratulate the noble earl at the head of the Foreign Department on two events which appear to me to be a very good augury and extremely valuable in themselves. How far diplomacy has affected them I know not, but I really envy the satisfaction which the noble earl must have enjoyed when the convention was signed with Piedmont. I look upon that as contributing a valuable force to the common exertions of the Western Powers. I envy him the satisfaction he must have enjoyed, because I must say that of all the events which have occurred since 1848—events which have generally been creditable to the smaller constitutional Powers of Europe, whose conduct almost universally has been far superior to that of the great Powers in the emergency in which they were placed—I say of all the measures adopted, that which most conduces to the credit of the Piedmontese statesmen by whom it was adopted—that which most conduces not only to their present credit, but to the future interests of their country, is that convention, by which Piedmont joins the Western Powers. That, of all other measures, is destined to find a place in history as one of the most admirable transactions and most remarkable acts of a long-sighted Government. I congratulate the noble earl and the statesman at the head of the Piedmontese Government, the people and the army of Piedmont, on that event. They have taken by it a new position in Europe, and have justified the expectations entertained of their virtue and wisdom, and I most earnestly hope that they may get the reward they so justly deserve in the advantage to be derived from the measure in question to their country, and in the honour which they deserve to have for themselves. (*Cheers.*) I deplore the loss of the Duke of Genoa, as noble a soldier as ever met an enemy in the field, and who, if he had been spared, would have shed another ray of honour—of that honour which never deserts them—on the head of the illustrious military family of which he was so great an ornament," Lord Ellenborough also congratulated Lord Palmerston on the recent Turkish convention. "We have done little or nothing unless we place Turkey in a position in which she will be able to protect herself until the other Powers of Europe may come to her assistance. I know nothing that can tend so directly to the revival of the Turkish empire as the revival of the Turkish army. It has had at no distant period an army more instructed, more disciplined, and more scientific than any army known in Europe at the time, though that was the time of Charles V. I know not why at this time she should not be capable of producing an army of equal merit; but this I know, that in States such as that is, the only possible chance of revival is in the reconstruction of an army. When a state is falling in virtue the last place virtue leaves is the army in the field. It was so in the fall of the Roman Empire, when the highest virtues still adorned the army, while everything that is corrupt existed in the court. And, my lords, I feel satisfied that if you can in any way reconstruct the Turkish army, you will give to that country the chance of reconstruction in other respects which it never yet had, and which may free the future government of that country from many difficulties and dangers to which it has been recently exposed." He thought, however, that the Turkish contingent might well be increased to 30,000, and there was no reason why the French should not engage a similar number to serve on the Pruth, as such diversions were most necessary to the success of the Allies. "My lords, it has been to me a deep subject of regret Government should not have paid attention to the importance of the war in Asia. I entirely concur in all that has been said and written by that able gentleman who, more than any other, is acquainted with the affairs of Asia—I mean Mr. Layard. We are not only a European, but an Asiatic Power. To us this war has a double interest and importance. It affects us, not merely as regards the coasts of the Mediterranean, or the manner in which Russia may get possession of Constantinople and establish her fleet in the Black Sea, with a view to the destruction of our commerce and our position there as a naval Power; it is of importance to us, as it affects greatly our position in the East. Upon the result of this war depends the communication with India through Egypt. Upon the result of this war depends the question whether Turkey shall possess any independent strength in Asia Minor. If Russia conquers, that strength will fall. All communication between Turkey and Persia is cut off. Persia becomes subject to Russia, and all the power of Persia, through Russia, will be against us in India. I most earnestly desire that in addition to these Turkish troops we should have the aid of Persian soldiers. The Persians form the very best soldiers, equally able with those of other countries, to bear heat and cold, brave as their swords, and obedient to their officers whenever they are paid. But, my lords, there is another Power whose assistance I think we have a right to claim in this war—a Power most deeply interested, whose existence as connected with India is, I will not say dependent on the result of this war, but most materially connected with it—I mean the Government of India. Is the Government of India to stand aloof in this war, which affects Persia, and which affects the communication through Egypt? Is that Government to do nothing? Is she to be the Prussia of the East? Is she to let others fight her battles? I think not. In addition to 30,000 Persian soldiers that could with great effect be opposed to Russia in Asia, why should we not have the use of the noblest artillery in the world—the native artillery of India? You can have forty-eight guns without the smallest inconvenience to the service in India—not served by men who will run away when the enemy is advancing to their muzzles, but who will die at their guns; who may have their guns taken from them, no doubt, but who will never desert them, standing at their post till left dead men. Then there is the irregular cavalry, than which there is no nobler body of men in the world. The officers are selected from the whole army of India—men full of daring, full of knowledge, genius, and zeal, to whom the soldiers are devoted, and who would follow them to the end of the world. Of those you can easily have 3000 or 4000, officered by the best men in the world, and the men, being Mahomedans, might bring over with them volunteers from the various regiments in the service of the Government of India, so that thus you might have eight or ten battalions, officered by men—some of whom we know by name—equal to any you possess in the army. Thus, then, including the Turkish and Persian troops, you might have an army of 50,000 men, which would be strong enough to give you Teflis and Georgia. Observe that in this war before Sebastopol you are enclosed by the town and by the enemy, and you have no means of contact with the people of the country. But in Georgia you would have the feeling of the nationality of the country in your favour. We would have allies by our side. We would have Schamyl and the Circassians, and would have an opportunity of attacking Russia with the arms she has herself used for the purpose of subjugating a large portion of Europe. You would attack her with her own arms, and you may depend upon it that in this war you must fail unless you determine to appeal to nations and not alone to armies, unless you will avail yourselves of the means which the national feeling of the people more recently annexed to Russia places at your disposal. This is a war, I regret to say, *ad internationem*, and it is absolutely necessary that you should avail yourselves of every means in your power, for the purpose of bringing it to a conclusion honourable to this country, safe for us, and safe for the rest of the world." (*Loud Cheers.*)

The Earl of HARROWBY reiterated the necessity of making the war a war of nations.

Lord PANMURE had not expected so enlarged a statement of Lord Ellenborough's views on the second reading. He consented to the suggested term of three years, believing, too, that the war would be over by that time. He had distinctly stated that the object of the bill was to enlist men of tried sinew, rather than boys of eighteen. There was no difficulty in recruiting, and doubtless not only lords-lieutenant, but every one who had the power, would endeavour to assist; but the militia must be resorted to. The suggested system of fining poor-law guardians was tried in the last war, and failed. The question of the lieutenant-colonels had attracted Lord Panmure's attention, and he had already instructed the commander-in-chief, instead of making the complement of each regiment one lieutenant-colonel and three majors, to make it two lieutenant-colonels and two majors. It was intended for one lieutenant-colonel to be with the portion of the regiment in the field, and the other with the remainder at home. Of each regiment of 2000, half the number would be at home. "The noble earl proceeded to address your lordships on various subjects connected with the war, and he enlarged upon the course which the Government have taken with reference to the convention entered into with Piedmont. My lords, in every word said with respect to that convention I entirely concur. I also concur most entirely in the high compliment which he paid to that gallant individual whose loss we all deplore; and, my lords, to show the sincerity with which the Piedmontese Government are acting in this matter, I may state that not only are they affording to the Western Powers the aid of their troops, but they are sending in command of them the man whom they recognise as most fit above all to take charge of their troops—namely, their present Minister of War. (*Cheers.*) The noble earl next proceeded to congratulate my noble friend (Lord Clarendon) upon having achieved a convention with Turkey, by which a certain body of Turkish troops are to be maintained in British pay. It is not necessary to follow the noble earl in the details to which he has adverted. Of course her Majesty's Government view with the same satisfaction which he does the conclusion of that convention. We see much benefit to be derived, not only by the English but by the French army, from the Turkish contingent; but we do not say how that contingent is to be raised, or to what extent it is to be raised, beyond what was stated in the terms of the convention itself. With reference to any assistance we might be able to obtain from the Indian Government, I confess that the noble earl speaks with somewhat more conviction upon his own mind than I can speak with conviction upon mine. He has filled a high office in India, and he ought to know more of the feeling of the people of India, than I can pretend to know. But it must be a very serious consideration that can induce us to withdraw from India such troops as the noble earl has described, and I could not venture to express an opinion upon that subject without being thoroughly acquainted with the views of the Governor-General of India at this moment as to the state of that country; nor, further than withdrawing those few regiments belonging to the Queen's service, to the withdrawal of which the Governor-General has given his full acquiescence, would I venture, merely for the sake of employing Indian regiments in the Crimea, to deprive

India of troops on which it may be necessary that she should rely, either to resist attacks within her own territories, or to maintain that order which at this moment, I am happy to say, exists from one extremity of that country to the other. With these observations it is not my intention further to detain your lordships, except to assure you that, in moving the second reading of this bill, I do so solely with the intention of engrafting upon her Majesty's service a body of men who shall be capable of discharging more fully and more immediately the duties, and of supporting the hardships of war. I have no objection, as I said before, to limit it for a period of three years, feeling not the slightest doubt that when that period has elapsed, should it unfortunately be necessary to continue the operation of the act, your lordships will grant that extended power as willingly as you will grant the power for which we now ask."

The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH.—"Perhaps I may be allowed to explain that I did not speak of withdrawing a single European regiment from India, or of employing them in the Crimea."

Lord MALMESBURY complained that the militia regiments had been completely disorganised by the sergeants of the line who had been sent to enlist militiamen for their regiments. In consequence of this system, as well as of the violation of the original understanding on which the force had been raised, an impression now prevailed that the militia as a body had not been fairly treated.

Lord GREY quite agreed with Lord Malmesbury in thinking that the departure from the original understanding had had a very prejudicial effect on the militia. Instead of enticing away men from the militia into the line, the proper way was to increase the army in a legitimate manner, by holding out sufficient inducement to men to enter at once into the regular service. In reference to what he could not help calling the wild and extravagant suggestions of Lord Ellenborough with regard to a campaign in Asia, he was glad to find Lord Panmure gave them no countenance. With regard to Poland, too, and her nationality, he trusted that the present war would not be diverted from its original object into a scheme for the restoration of that kingdom. No man felt more for the fate of Poland; but the Poles, by their incurable dissensions and divisions, had ruined their country.

After some further discussion, in which Lord COLCHESTER and Earl FITZWILLIAM took part, Lord PANMURE, incidental to some remarks, explained the system of purchasing discharge, and re-entering the army. When he (Lord Panmure) first went to the War-office, the existing regulation was, that if a man purchased his discharge, he was allowed six months for further considering the step he was about to take, and, if he rejoined the service before that period expired, a portion of the money was repaid to him, and his former year of servitude then counted towards his pension. When he was Secretary at War he extended the period given for consideration to one year, and he understood from the Commander-in-Chief that it had been still further prolonged, and was now two years. So that, at present, if a man purchased his discharge and repented of the step during the next two consecutive years, he might return to the army, and his previous service would be reckoned as an integral part of the whole term, at the expiration of which he was entitled to a pension. This system, he thought, already presented a sufficient opening to men who had retired from the service and afterwards wished to return to it; and even if they were now to propose that all the men who had purchased their discharge should, without restriction, be allowed to rejoin the army, and reckon their former service towards a pension, an experience of six years at the War-office convinced him that the force likely to be so obtained would be of very trifling worth indeed. During the whole of that period of six years he did not believe that there were more than sixty or seventy men in each year who purchased their discharge; and when they remembered that the cost of a discharge was 20*l.* for the infantry, and 30*l.* for the cavalry, it was easy to understand that the friends of private soldiers, looking at the class to which they generally belonged, would experience considerable difficulty in raising either of those sums. Again, men who had purchased their discharge after fourteen years' service, would, he apprehended, be somewhat too old to enlist again. A man who joined the army at eighteen would be thirty-two years of age when he had served fourteen years; and if he purchased his discharge this year he might be a very good soldier, but if he offered himself after he had attained his thirty-fifth or thirty-sixth year, he would be rather too old to be invited to re-enter the service.

The bill was then read a second time.

The standing orders were then suspended, and the bill went through the remaining stages and was passed, certain words being inserted on the third reading, on the motion of Lord PANMURE, limiting the operations of the bill to three years.

On Tuesday and Wednesday the first second readings were moved in the House of Commons by Mr. F. PEEL, and after some most unnecessary skirmishing between Colonel Forester and Lord Seymour, respecting the desirability of heaviness in the household cavalry, the bill was passed through both stages.

RESIGNATION OF SIR JAMES GRAHAM, MR. GLADSTONE, AND MR. SYDNEY HERBERT.

The rumours of dissension in the Cabinet which were floating about in the early part of the week, were confirmed on Thursday. After a few unimportant questions had been put,

Lord PALMERSTON said—Sir, I have to state to the House that which I believe is generally perfectly well known already, that three members of her Majesty's Government have intimated their intention to resign the offices which they have hitherto held; I refer to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. These officers now hold their offices only until their successors shall have been appointed. Under these circumstances, and considering also that these three officers are members of the Government in this House, I trust that hon. members will not think I am pressing unduly upon their indulgence if I propose to them not to enter upon the public business to-day, except in the case of those orders of the day to which no objection whatever can be made. If anything is in the least objected to, of course we shall not press it. To-morrow my right hon. friends will attend in their places, and state to the House the grounds upon which they have come to the decision which I have now reported. I therefore propose that the House should adjourn without going into other business, after the orders of the day are disposed of.

Mr. DISRAELI: I merely wish to state that I have heard with deep regret—("*Hear, hear,*" *and laughter*)—that before ten days have elapsed the Government which we had hoped would have been a strong one is partially dissolved, and that notwithstanding the presence of the noble lord, who was generally considered to be an obstacle to the formation of a strong Government, is a difficulty which no longer exists. Of course, after the statement of the noble lord opposite (Lord Palmerston), and in the absence of the right hon. gentlemen whose conduct and that of the noble lord will be canvassed on the proper occasion, it will be improper to say more. I only wish the noble lord to understand that I think I am expressing a pretty general feeling, both of this House and of the country, when I say that I have heard the official statement which has been made to-night of the partial dissolution of the recently-formed Government with deep regret and with some consternation.

The members who had motions on the papers for that day consented to postpone them, and the House adjourned; Mr. Roebuck's motion being postponed until the following day (yesterday).

DAY OF HUMILIATION AND PRAYER.

On the motion of the adjournment of the House of Lords on Thursday, the Earl of RODEN said there was a general impression that our army in the Crimea was wasting away. Unless a special day of humiliation and prayer was appointed, we should certainly draw down upon the country the most disastrous consequences. When he had alluded to the subject before, the Earl of Aberdeen had expressed an objection to it. The Earl of ABERDEEN explained that he had not objected to the appointment of a day for such a purpose, but he had objected to the introduction of a special prayer in the liturgy for ordinary use. This explanation was satisfactory to the Earl of Roden, and Earl GRANVILLE stated that it was the intention of the Government to advise her Majesty to appoint a day for the purpose of prayer.

TRADE WITH RUSSIA.

Mr. COLLIER, in asking for some returns, called attention to the conditions of the trade formerly and still carried on between this country and Russia. The staple commerce of that empire consisted chiefly of raw produce, and when the war commenced, it was believed that we could inflict a heavier injury upon our enemy by stopping his trade even than by our efforts in the field. The result had disappointed our hopes in both directions. As far as the commercial attack on Russia was concerned, we had failed altogether. Ten millions of British money had been paid in gold within the last twelve months for Russian produce, against eleven millions last year; and the rouble, that pulse of Russian commerce, which had fallen in value on the first outbreak of war, had since risen to par. The fact was, that no effectual blockade had ever been established, nor could now be said to exist over the Russian ports in the Black Sea. Documents, which he cited at some length, proved that the exports from Russia had increased rather than diminished since the beginning of the war. For the omission to establish a blockade in the Black Sea the Admiralty was accountable, and he challenged an explanation of their neglect. In the Baltic, a blockade had indeed been maintained by sea, but its effect was evaded by a system of land carriage, carried on through Prussia. This state of things, he contended, was disgraceful. We should either render our blockade effectual, or abandon it altogether. Recommending the former alternative, he argued, on the question of international law, that the trade through Prussia was of a character which belligerent nations were entitled to require or, if necessary, to compel neutral powers to abandon. A practical stoppage of his trade would seriously cripple the resources of the Czar, and was worth the efforts and sacrifices which might be required to accomplish it. We might enforce a right of search, or we might prohibit the importation of Russian produce into this country. The objections to this latter policy were twofold—one, that it would be ineffectual; the other, that it would injure ourselves. He denied the former, and, admitting the latter, he insisted that we must be prepared to submit to the necessary sacrifices of war.

Mr. MITCHELL adduced a multitude of facts and details corroborating the conclusions submitted by Mr. Collier.

Mr. CARDWELL said, when, at the expiration of a peace of forty years, we found ourselves involved in a European conflict, it became necessary to consider what ought to be the commercial policy of this country, and to regard the course to be pursued with reference to the enemy with whom we were about to contend, to our allies, and to neutral Powers. The declaration of war was accompanied by a declaration of policy on our part, not waiving our belligerent rights, but suspending a portion of them. Mr. Collier had alleged that the course adopted had been totally ineffective; but he (Mr. Cardwell) would show that it had been far from ineffective. Mr. Collier had indicated the peculiarity of the Russian trade, which was sustained in peace by British capital employed in raising the produce of Russia. The natural corollary was that time should be allowed for British subjects to bring that produce home. Time had, therefore, been given in the Baltic and in the White Sea. With regard to the Black Sea, the blockade, he admitted, had not been enforced in a satisfactory manner; but the general result of our operations had been to annihilate the Russian commerce, while our ships were unharmed. Again, there was reason to believe that the manufactures of Russia had materially suffered, as our blockade of her ports had put upon Russia the very pressure which Mr. Collier was anxious to inflict upon this country in the supply of raw materials. Mr. Cardwell referred to statistical details, showing the diminution of the exports of produce from Russia and of the imports of cotton. The depreciation of the rouble had been appealed to, but an argument drawn from the exchanges was, he observed, but another form of the argument to be deduced from the general results of commerce, and, as the exchanges were liable to a variety of disturbing causes, it was safer, in his opinion, to rely upon other indications. By our blockade, then, we had produced a considerable effect upon Russia. Was it in our power by other means to inflict a greater injury, and would not those other measures inflict a greater injury upon England? Blockades operating upon neutrals produced a *maximum* of pressure upon Russia and a *minimum* of pressure upon ourselves, whereas commercial restrictions at home would have an opposite effect. Mr. Cardwell then examined at considerable length the remedial suggestions offered by Mr. Collier and Mr. Mitchell, insisting upon the evils attending the enforcement of the right of search, and upon the frauds inseparable from a system of certificates of origin. It appeared to him, he said, remarkable that at the end of twelve months of war we had inflicted so much pressure upon the enemy with so small an injury to our own commerce; and this result he thought justified the mode of aggression which had been adopted by the Government.

Mr. J. L. RICARDO adopted the views and arguments of Mr. Cardwell. Their main point was that, by shutting out the produce of Russia, we could so coerce and intimidate and impoverish the Emperor as to compel him to make peace upon such terms as we should dictate. The whole amount of the exports of Russia to this country was but 7,000,000*l.*, and supposing the profit to be 10, or even 15 per cent., the loss at the utmost would be only 950,000*l.*, whereas the Emperor of Russia with a stroke of his pen shut out 6,000,000*l.* worth of corn.

After some remarks on the ineffectual nature of the blockade,

Sir J. GRAHAM explained the causes of the delay of the blockade in the Black Sea. From an honest desire to give information, he had answered questions upon this subject prematurely. The facts were, that orders for the blockade in the Black Sea were issued in May, the mode being left to the discretion of the English and French Admirals, who came to the decision that it should be carried into effect in the Bosphorus, and notice was communicated to the respective ambassadors. They, however, had great doubts as to the legality of the notice, and upon a full consultation with the authorities at home it was rejected. Three months were thus lost. Then the expedition to the Crimea took place, in which the whole naval force of the two Powers was employed, so that it was not until a late period that the orders could be carried into effect. At present, he believed that every port in the Black Sea, except the mouths of the Danube, was closely blockaded.

The motion for the returns was agreed to.

THE CRIMEA COMMISSIONERS.

In reply to Mr. Warner, Lord PALMERSTON said that the commissioners who have been sent out to the seat of war possess power to effect any changes in the arrangements subjected to their inquiries of which they might approve, with the exception of immediately dismissing any officer of whom they might disapprove.

RECAL OF LORD LUCAN.

In answer to Mr. Craven Berkeley, Lord PALMERSTON

said that Lord Lucan had been recalled in consequence of disagreements between him and the Commander-in-Chief, which made it impossible that they could act together.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S MISSION.

In answer to Colonel Sibthorp, Lord PALMERSTON explained that Lord John Russell would receive no salary for his services at the Vienna Conference. His bare expenses only would be paid.

THE BALAKLAVA RAILWAY.

In reply to Mr. Locke, Lord PALMERSTON said that accounts had been received of the arrival of the engineers and workmen who were to lay down the railway. They had already, on the 6th of February, begun to lay the road down; fifteen miles in length of rails were at Balaklava, together with all those things necessary to lay them down, and the operations were being prosecuted with every prospect of success.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

In reply to Mr. Ricardo, Lord PALMERSTON said, at the commencement of the war different views were entertained on the subject by this country and the United States, but he rejoiced to say that it terminated in complete unanimity. He was, moreover, happy to state the relations between the two Governments were as friendly as the best wishers of both countries could desire.

EAST AND WEST INDIA DOCK BILL.

On the motion for a second reading,

Sir J. DUKE said that it was a suspicious circumstance that this company, together with the London Dock Company and the St. Katherine Dock Company, came down at the same time to the House for the purpose of obtaining clauses which were a violation of the original understanding upon which they obtained their acts. He contended that the act sought to be imposed on the trade and commerce of the City of London by the proposed bill was most unjust, and he would move, therefore, that the bill be read that day six months.

After some altercation, the motion was lost by an overwhelming majority, and the London Dock Bill and St. Katherine Dock Bill were withdrawn.

SUNDAY BEER BILL.

In answer to Mr. BERKELEY,

Sir G. GREY said he had no intention of proposing the repeal of this bill. It had been in operation only a short time, and he did not think it would be expedient to make other changes in the law.

PUBLIC PROSECUTORS.

Mr. J. G. PHILLIMORE moved for leave to bring in a bill for the appointment of public prosecutors.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL offered no opposition to the introduction of the bill, and admitted that if anything can be done to appoint a public prosecutor, consistently with a due regard to expense and to patronage, which the measure must extend, it would be very desirable. But the subject was one of the greatest possible difficulty, our whole criminal system being almost incompatible with the existence of a public prosecutor, and he feared the subject was not yet ripe for legislation.

After a short discussion, in which Mr. EWART, Mr. PACKE, and Mr. PHINN recommended a previous investigation of the subject by a select committee, leave was given to bring in the bill.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

The second reading of the Nuisances Removal and Prevention of Diseases Acts Amendment Bill was moved by Sir B. HALL, who stated that since the introduction of the measure, it had been so modified as to have its operation restricted to England and Wales. Special bills on the subject would probably be prepared for application to Scotland and Ireland.

Some comments and suggestions upon different points of detail presented in the measure were offered by Lord SEYMOUR, Mr. HENLEY, Mr. WILLIAMS, and other members. The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be referred to a select committee.

The Public Health Bill was also read a second time, on the motion of Sir B. HALL, and referred to a select committee.

NEWSPAPER, &c., POSTAGE AND STAMP DUTIES.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved in committee the following resolution:—"That it is expedient to repeal the exemption of newspapers from postage duty; and to charge on newspapers and printed books papers transmitted by post rates of postage not exceeding one penny for every four ounces in weight, and for any fractional part of four ounces; that it is expedient to alter and amend the laws relating to the stamp duties on newspapers, the printing and publishing of newspapers, and registration and giving securities in connexion therewith, and the regulation of the duties of postage on printed papers."

The resolution, as previously settled as a matter of convenience, was agreed to without remark.

NORTH AMERICAN FISHERIES.

In the House of Lords, the Royal assent was given, by Commission, to this bill.

TENANT RIGHT IN IRELAND.

Mr. Serjeant SHEE, in moving for leave to bring in a bill to provide compensation for improving tenants and to consolidate and amend the laws relating to leasing powers in Ireland, pointing out the difference between the circumstances and incidents of landed property in two countries, which rendered rules and maxims, however just in England, unjust in Ireland. He described some of the evils resulting from that difference in the latter country, and the nature and the fate of various attempts made to redress by legislative aid the grievances of the Irish tenantry. He proposed to take, word for word, with one exception, the Leasing Powers Bill, as it had passed the other House, and the Tenants Improvements Compensation Bill, as it had passed the House of Commons, with the sanction of the Government.

Sir J. YOUNG, on the part of the Government, acknowledging the moderation exhibited in the speech of Mr. Shee, offered no opposition to the introduction of the measure.

Leave was given to bring in the bill.

NOTICES OF MOTION.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND.—Mr. J. MACGREGOR, that on going into committee of supply on miscellaneous estimates, he would submit to the consideration of the House the expediency of reinstating the office of Secretary of State for Scotland, which has never been abolished, but which fell into abeyance in the latter years of the reign of George I.

ADMISSION TO THE UNIVERSITIES.—Mr. HEYWOOD, that on the 1st of March he would move for a select committee to inquire into the expediency of affording to the nation a full and equal participation in all the advantages which are not necessarily of an ecclesiastical or spiritual character, in the English and Irish universities, and of improving the academical system in those great seats of learning, with a view to enlarge their course of education, in conformity with the requirements of the public service.

THE WAR.

THERE appears to be great prospect of some speedy movement. The latest accounts are decidedly satisfactory. A large Turkish contingent has been taken into the British pay. The navvies in very few days had accomplished a considerable portion of the temporary road, and the railway was to be completed in six weeks. In the mean time sorties are constant.

During the night of the 2nd and 3rd inst. the Russians sallied forth in an unusually strong force to attack the French lines, but were, as has always been the case, vigorously repulsed. This success, however, was attended, unfortunately, with a loss of 200 men, *hors de combat*, on the French side, and principally in consequence of a most deplorable incident. The 36th Regiment of the Line, which had driven in the enemy behind the walls of the city, on returning to quarters, was not recognised by a party of the Zouaves occupying these positions, and thus fifty of their brave companions in arms, with a *chef de bataillon*, were swept away by a volley of musketry.

On the 1st, or the 5th, it is unknown which, a sortie was made on that part of the English lines, now defended by the French. It was already repulsed by the time General Bosquet came to their assistance.

The latest telegraph we have is Russian:—

"On the 30th we succeeded in discovering subterraneous works of the French leading towards the fortifications. With the aid of artillery we destroyed, on the 2nd, a portion of the enemy's gallery.

"On the 6th the French, trying the same means, attempted our countermines.

"The attempt turned to their own disadvantage.

"On the 8th the play of a new mine enabled us still more to destroy the enemy's works.

"Meantime our artillery successfully replied to the fire of the besiegers.

"At night detachments of volunteers continually harass the enemy in their trenches, and, by obliging them to beat to arms, compel them to suspend their works."

Amongst the recent rumours, we hear that General Pelissier, who has arrived in the Crimea, says that no successful attempt can be made on Sebastopol for a month. It is also said that the inclination of Persia in favour of Russia is every day more apparent.

It is distinctly stated that the allied armies now number 115,000 men. Thirty thousand French had arrived at Malta on the 8th, and also some considerable part of the Sardinian contingent. On the other hand, it is announced that the Russian reinforcements in the Crimea are 100,000, but that is absolutely impossible. French accounts bear testimony to the great improvement in the English troops. Warm clothing and huts were abundant, but there is no great diminution of sickness.

Russian attempts on Eupatoria have proved quite unsuccessful. There are upwards of 30,000 Turks there, besides a large body of French.

CAPTURE OF A FRENCH BRIG BY THE RUSSIANS AT EUPATORIA.—Advices received in Paris from Eupatoria mention that the Ajax (French brig), Ardisson, has been stranded at Eupatoria, burnt by the Russians, and her crew (six men) made prisoners.

NOTES OF THE SIEGE.

DESPATCH FROM LORD RAGLAN.

Lord Panmure has received the following despatch:—

"Before Sebastopol, Feb. 6.

"My Lord Duke,—I mentioned to your Grace on Saturday that the weather had broken. The frost was very severe on that night, and the thermometer down at 13, and the wind was very high and piercingly cold.

"Sunday was rather milder, and yesterday was fine. To-day the glass has fallen, and there is every appearance of rain.

"I am happy to state that the medical officers consider that the general condition of the men has improved, although apparently there is no diminution in the number of the sick.

"The enemy has made no movement of importance, but great convoys of waggons have been observed to go into Sebastopol, laden either with ammunition or provisions.

"I enclose the casualties to the 4th inst.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Collingwood Dickson, of the Royal Artillery, an excellent officer, whom I have before had occasion to bring to your notice, was slightly wounded on the 4th inst., when making a reconnoissance in company with some French officers.

"I have, &c., "RAGLAN.

"His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, &c.,"

RETURN OF CASUALTIES FROM THE 26TH OF JANUARY TO THE 4TH OF FEBRUARY, INCLUSIVE.

Royal Artillery.—1 officer wounded.
1st Regiment of Foot.—2 rank and file wounded.
7th Regiment.—1 rank and file wounded.
30th Foot.—1 rank and file killed.
44th Regiment.—1 rank and file killed.
49th Regiment.—1 rank and file wounded.
97th Regiment.—1 rank and file wounded.
2nd battalion Rifle Brigade.—1 sergeant wounded.
Total—2 rank and file killed; 1 officer, 1 sergeant, 5 rank and file wounded.

J. B. BUCKNALL ESTCOURT, Adjutant-General.

The formation of a railroad from Balaklava to the camp has been actually commenced. Some of the evils of five months' neglect will, it is to be hoped, now disappear. The *Times* correspondent gives us a glimpse of

THE NAVVIES AT WORK.

"The only great type of life and motion visible to me is 'the navvy's barrow.' That potent engine of civilisation is lying in stacks on the water's edge at Balaklava. The principal dépôt for the railway stores is in the horrible squalid space in the rear of the post-office. The soil has been for months a liquid abomination, so that it is a glad sight to behold barrows, and sleepers, and blocks of wood laid over it. It is strange that the first use—perhaps the only use—the Crim-Tartar will ever witness for centuries of the great invention of recent days, should be to facilitate the operations of war, and to destroy life. When the railway will be finished I know not; already there is a hitch, for it appears the survey had to be stopped yesterday, inasmuch as the line crossed the road which the French are so busy and so successful in making up towards the front from Kadikoi. After the expedition has left the shores of the Crimea, and has become a tradition among its people, the works of our unfinished railroad may serve to exercise the ingenuity of future Cimmerian antiquaries, and may form the only permanent mark of our presence on this blood-stained soil. The pick is at work, and the peculiar idiom of the navvy strikes the ear as he salutes the 'sojer' and asks after 'the foitin afore Sebastopowl' from his perch up among the rocks outside Balaklava. The line of railway is nearly surveyed, but it has not yet been marked out beyond the mount outside Kadickova, over the plain which leads up to the plateau on which our camp stands."

BALAKLAVA APPROACHED FROM THE CAMP

The *Times* correspondent presents us with a capital picture of Balaklava, approached from the camp. It is the most satisfactory of recent accounts, showing that the late stagnation has resulted in strenuous movement and animation.

"The entrance to Balaklava presents a most extraordinary appearance at present. After descending into the valley from the plateau on which the camp stands, and passing over the plain, all torn and trodden into mud by incessant traffic of horses, men, and carts and camels, which extends up to Kadikoi, you suddenly turn round by a mound, on which stands a battery, sweeping the plain, and behold a new wooden world that has arisen by magic in a few days along the hill-side over the road to Balaklava. Rows of white huts strew the ground. A little town, called 'Buffalo Town,' 'Log Town,' 'Hut Town,' or 'Sutlers Town,' according to the fancy of the speaker, has been erected on the right-

hand side of the path, about three-quarters of a mile outside Balaklava, for the expelled sutlers; and, from the din and clamour, one might imagine he was coming to some well-frequented English fair. A swarm of men, in all sorts of grotesque uniforms, French, English, and Turks, throng the narrow lanes between the huts and tents, and carry on bargains in all the languages of Babel with Greek, Italian, Algerine, Spaniard, Maltese, Armenian, Jew, and Egyptian, for all sorts of merchandise. Here I beheld my runaway servant—a vagabond Italian—selling small loaves of bread for 2s. each, which he had purchased from a French baker in Balaklava for 1s. 6d., and thus realised 6d. out of it for a short walk. The guardhouse had had no effect on him, and, as the authorities do not interfere in such cases, I was left to solace myself with the poor revenge of seeing him break his shins over a tent stick as he ran away to escape my horsewhip. Here you may see all the scoundrels of the Levant who can get across the Black Sea making little fortunes by the sale, at the most enormous prices, of the vilest articles of consumption, which necessity alone forces us to use; and here you may see a few honest traders sitting moodily in ther stalls, and mourning over their fast-departing probity. There is not one Englishman, so far as I know, among these sutlers of the British army, though the greatest vein of nuggets that ever charmed multitudes to a desert was as dross and dirt to the wealth to be realised in this festering crowd. Camel-drivers, arabajees, wild-eyed, strange-looking savages from out-of-the-way corners of Asia Minor, dressed apparently in the spoils of the chorus of '*Nabucco*,' or '*Semiramide*,' stalk curiously through the soldiery, much perplexed by the conflicting emotions of fear of the Provost Marshal and love of plunder. There are about 150 huts and tents clustered together on this hill-side. Close beside it is the new battery; then more huts and tents, occupied by the cavalry. On the other side of the cleft in the mountain ridge through which the town is approached are the huts and tents of the Highlanders, Turks, French, Marines, and Rifles, guarding the lines towards Kamara, and rising one above the other till they cover the tremendous crag which frowns down at the sea 1200 feet below. Then there is an odd-looking acre or two of ground, with a low wall round it, which looks as if all the moles in the world lived beneath it, and were labouring night and day—so covered is it with mounds of earth, through which peer rags and bones. This is the Turkish burying-ground, and full well frequented is it. Little hearses may be seen flocking to it down the hill-sides all day, and returning with the empty litters gravely back again. They have also turned one or two vineyards into graveyards, and they have also selected a quiet nook up among the hills for the same purpose. Our own more decent graveyard is situated outside the town, in low ground, close to the sea. The huts and tents of the 14th, and long rows of wooden sheds for the mules, and the tents of the sailors guarding stores, and the huts of the landing wharf, are all crowded along the steep and at the edge of the bay on the other side of the town, so that the place altogether would give one the idea that he was looking at some great migratory population just settled for a week, or had fallen across one of the mushroom canvass cities of Australia. Of course, those who are nighest get first served to the huts, and are best able to put them up. If Birnam wood were formed of white deal boards, Macbeth would see his worst suspicions realised could he but witness the moving forest of timber marching up to the front. He would behold literally miles of men, and of mules and ponies, all struggling along through the mud with boards, boards—nothing but boards. In calm weather they get on well enough, but a puff of wind puts an end to all progress, and a strong gust lays men and horses in the mire. However, they are slowly working up towards the camp, but it cannot be conceived by a person not on the spot how hard it it is to take up even one hut, and what a great quantity of timber has to be moved ere the building is complete."

THE "CRIMEAN ARMY FUND."

The subscribers will be glad to hear that much good has resulted from their benevolence. The *Morning Post* correspondent says:—

"The gentlemen entrusted with the distribution of the Crimean Army Fund are doing us a great service. They have supplied nearly every regiment with tea—a beverage much needed amongst our poor fellows who are sick, and even by those who are well. It is a change from the coarse coffee, which the men roast and break up with a stone; and another thing, it is easier made, which is a great blessing, since a soldier's time for these little things is very little. They have also sent tobacco and pipes, another luxury to the smoker."

The *Times* correspondent says:—

"Some of the Crimean Army Fund stores have been opened, and are in the course of distribution. They will be distributed officially, and by the instrumentality of the Quartermaster-General's department in each division, but individual officers may get stores for their respective regiments by providing carriage for them. It has been decided by the managers that 'it is better to sell than to give away,' and accordingly all articles which are not actually gifts to the fund will be sold at such a price as may defray cost and expenses.

THE CLASP FOR BALAKLAVA.

We give (from the *Times*) an account of the state of feeling on the subject of an honourable recognition for Balaklava. It should be observed, that at the time the following was written it was unknown in the camp that a clasp had been promised:—

"The English cavalry are not at all appeased by anything that has been urged to quiet them. They are indignant at the refusal of any distinction whatever for Balaklava, and the survivors say they would rather have a bit of string and a stick to fasten to their coats, if it were only to show they had been in the charge of the 25th of October, than the gaudiest and richest riband and clasps for Alma or Inkerman, where they feel they were comparatively inactive. If a clasp cannot be given because the 25th of October was not a victory, let the men who remain to us out of those two immortal charges receive some mark by which their countrymen may know them; two bronze swords, crossed, fastened to a narrow riband, or some simple, quiet decoration of that kind, would satisfy the most ambitious of them."

CHRISTMAS PRESENTS, &c.

"Our parcels and boxes and Christmas presents are turning up very slowly in the chaos of Balaklava. For the last week the Foyle, laden with packages from England, has been lying in harbour, and I am very well acquainted with one person, who has received a polite note from Messrs. Hayter and Howell, apprising him that they shipped for him in the said Foyle a case marked 'so and so,' who has sent on board day after day for it, who has gone to the Parcels-office for it, and who is still without it, and cannot hear anything of it. You may multiply that person and that case by a hundred, if you like, and apply the calculation to most ships out here. The presents sent by the Prince to the Guards are in the St. Jean d'Acre, but have not yet been delivered. Poor fellows! Those who live will have ample comforts if they divide the share of their departed comrades among them. Lord Rokeby is said to have been affected to tears when the three regiments of Guards paraded, on his taking the command. His lordship has communicated a most gratifying letter from the Queen to the officers, in which her Majesty expresses her admiration of the conduct of 'her beloved Guards.'"

THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH—THEIR CONDITION, &c.

The correspondent of the *Morning Post* asserts that there is no great difference in the relative condition of the allied armies. His letter, dated Feb. 3, also describes the exceedingly variable weather:—

"The commencement of my letter to you this time must open on the weather. I must say that we are plunged into extremes, without the slightest warning. Yesterday, the weather was very mild; to-day, we have experienced the coldest weather in the Crimea. Snow fell last night, and again this afternoon. A biting wind blows from the north; it makes us shrink up in our cold tents, for there are hardly huts enough up to shelter the sick. I have been informed to-day that, although the French system is so much better than ours—that although they are said to have more comforts than we—they have at this moment 20,000 sick, which is nearly equal to ours. Now, this I get from the best authority—no contradicting this. And now, how is it that they do so much better than we, with all their good things for a campaign, since it appears that they save no more than we? They have not a bit of hay for their horses, but in this respect we are the same. The fact is, when the expedition landed in the Crimea we were numerically a trifle stronger in number than they were. We took our proper proportion of duty, the French the same, and things went on in this way without change for a long time. In the mean time the French had received very large reinforcements—we received none; hence they gained in strength—we lost; and yet we continued to do the same duty. The consequence was, that our men were reduced by hard labour and constant duty, which, in the end, brought on sickness and disease, and it was not until we had fallen down to this degree that any help was sent us—and that not until the bad weather had set in. And the reinforcements were never sufficient, after deducting sickness, to fill up our former strength; and from this state of things we have never yet recovered."

THE LIGHT CAVALRY BRIGADE.

An officer of this brigade thus writes to a friend in London:—

"You ask me for particulars respecting the Light Cavalry Brigade. I now send you the return of each regiment, as they mustered, men and horses, yesterday, Jan. 31.

Corps.	Officers.		Non-commiss. Officers & Men.		Horses.	
	Present	Sick Absent	Present	Sick Absent	Fit for duty.	Sick.
4th Light Dragoons	12	1	146	63	19	26
8th Hussars	16	1	130	54	45	13
11th Hussars	12	3	141	59	26	23
13th Lt. Dragoons	12	6	156	55	20	25
17th Lancers	9	—	148	57	32	15
Total	61	11	721	288	142	102

"You must understand that 'non-commissioned officers and men' include all the staff and servants; also that the horses returned as 'fit for duty' are those which are still able to crawl up to the front with biscuit and beef. Of the number returned in our regiment, we might perhaps find five horses that could gallop half a mile, and which are really fit for service; the remainder are all sickly and dying. The whole Light Cavalry Brigade together now scarcely musters as many horses as our regiment alone brought to the Crimea."

ONE ENGLISHMAN TO SIX RUSSIANS.

Captain Crosse, of the 88th Regiment, thus describes his easy victory over six of the enemy. The occurrence took place at Inkerman:—

"I fired the first chamber of my revolver (one of Dean's) to save Hourigan's life, and did not see him again during that day. When I was attacked by the six Russians, I saved my own life as follows, viz.:—I shot four, and was then bayonetted by the fifth, who fell, bringing me on my knees, and while there I had to defend myself with my sword against the sixth. I got on my feet, and walked as well as I could to the rear, and at about ten yards' distance met my colour-sergeant, Pat Cooney, and told him to take command of the company, and get me a man to assist me, as I was wounded. Private John Gascoigne came; I afterwards called two more, Privates Samuel Price and Pat Connolly, to defend us, as the Russians were close to us. Privates Price and Gascoigne supported me till I got a stretcher, I think, from the 49th Regiment, and they and two men of that corps carried me to the hospital of the Light Division."

SCRAPS FROM THE CAMP.

A man of the 9th Regiment was stabbed in three places about the head last night, and afterwards strangled with his comforter: supposed to be done by Turks, as he was found close to their tents.

Our men-of-war's men have now huge flowing beards and moustaches, great coats made of cowhide, and trousers of buffalo skin; resembling, in fact, great bears, with nothing to remind you of our blue-jackets but their bold, rollicking, defiant spirit, which four long months in the trenches have not be able to subdue.

I am not sure whether I told you before that the Russian major who was taken prisoner at Inkerman, and convicted of murdering our wounded men, died the other day at Scutari, apparently conscience-stricken. His own brother officers petitioned to be removed from his society, as they would not associate with him, and he pined away and died without any apparent disease.

MR. ROBERT LOWE AT KIDDERMINSTER.

On Tuesday, Mr. Lowe addressed his constituents, on the occasion of his refusing to join Lord Palmerston's Government, in his late capacity as Secretary to the Board of Control. Referring to that office, he said that under the able Presidency of Sir Charles Wood, very much good had been done; more abuses had been swept away than under any former administration. The bill of 1858 had thrown open the Indian Service to the public, instead of being as before, controlled by patronage. He had not quitted service from dissatisfaction with Lord Palmerston's Government, which he was anxious to support, but merely because he had accomplished his aim, and seen enough of official life to qualify himself for higher office. The votes he had given were probably not always satisfactory to his constituents—they were certainly not always so to himself; but a member of a Government was bound to support it, and he would not have taken office had he not had great confidence in every member of the Government. Mr. Lowe had expected from the presence of Lord John Russell in that Government, that he would not have been asked to vote, or abstain from voting, on questions interesting to Dissenters—such as church-rates, and admission to the Universities. But those subjects were not dealt with as he could have wished, so he usually settled the matter by not voting at all. Mr. Lowe then went to the great subject of the day. "I, for one, cordially approve the war with Russia. (*Cheers*). She had been represented to us as a weak Power, and I fear we have found her a strong one. But, whether weak or strong, I think the war just, wise, and expedient. If she be a weak Power, it is intolerable that she should set up pretensions in order to break faith, violate treaties, attack her weaker neighbours, and disturb by her wanton and inordinate ambition, the peace of Europe. If this is intolerable in a weak Power, how much more dangerous and necessary to be prevented must it be in a stronger Power—one not only able to conceive vast schemes of aggrandisement, but to carry them out by aid of innumerable legions, the resources of inexhaustible arsenals, and all the machinery which barbarism knows how to put in motion in its conflict with civilisation? I hold that we are wise in meeting this danger in time—it would not be wise to wait till Russia had acquired as her own the Turkish empire, till she had spread her arms round the Black Sea, and obtained the command of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, by which that sea is entered. It would not be wise to wait till, having enclosed Austria in this iron net, she dismembered her province by province as she took

Bessarabia from Turkey, and, eating like a canker into the heart of Germany, established herself on its great arterial river, the Danube. We see how difficult it is to rouse and unite Europe in arms; how difficult it is to stimulate Prussia—the very country most likely to be absorbed—to union and action, because her peril is so extreme that she has almost lost the hope of existence; and therefore, when Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet determined on war with Russia, I think they came to a wise and magnanimous determination, and it was the duty of the country to second them." Mr. Lowe contended that, despite the results, the expedition to the Crimea had been well planned for the object in view—an immediate success over the Russians. The landing was admirably managed, and a triumph was at once achieved. There commendation must cease, for the army in twenty-four hours should have been in Sebastopol. "The department whose duty it was to minister to the wants of the army, has utterly broken down. The General has not shown the activity and zeal we have a right to expect. (*A Voice:* "*He is too old.*") Well, perhaps so. I wish to say nothing harsh of that gallant soldier who lost an arm at Waterloo, and has since given his best energies usefully to the public service; and perhaps it is hardly to be expected, that if we take a man from his desk, at which he has been sitting for thirty-five years, and at the age of sixty-four or sixty-five require him to enter on the stirring duties of leader of an army in a severe and active campaign, he should be altogether as efficient as we should desire. . . . Now, the question comes—what is the remedy for this state of things? That it should continue would be intolerable and unendurable—inconsistent with our power, dignity, honour, nay, perhaps, with the very existence of this nation. We possess more of what is desired by mankind than other countries, and we must keep what we have with a strong hand, or a stronger man will come and take it away. The cankerworm which has caused the failure of this campaign, and which pervades every department of the civil and military service, is the vice of public patronage. (*Cheers.*) Merit is not promoted; the only thing considered is personal connexion and favour. It is, indeed, humiliating that we who supply an engineer for almost every railway that is made, and for almost every steamer that is afloat,—who furnish the brains and the talent by which the affairs of other countries are organised—that we should fall so far below others in this very respect when our own public affairs are concerned, and be so infinitely surpassed by what we have been in the habit of scornfully calling the barbarous power of Russia in the art of war, in the art of keeping an army alive." Acknowledging some merits for military service in the despotic system of Russia, the Emperor being able to dismiss and recal at a moment's notice, Mr. Lowe proceeded to say that he approved neither the remedy proposed by Government nor by Parliament; that of Government was to appoint commissioners to take charge of every department of the army, leaving those in command just where they were. To continue in office a man acknowledged to be unfit, and to send another to take charge of him, was repugnant to common sense. It was as if, when they had a horse that could not draw a cart, they put on a leader to draw him and the cart too. (*Laughter.*) He could not approve Mr. Roebuck's committee either, though he had done him (Mr. Lowe) the honour to set down his name for one of the committee. He thought it could not make proper inquiry without having before it the officers and others engaged in the Crimea. It would not be just to enter into an inquiry touching their conduct without hearing what they had to say; and it would not be of any use merely to find out that there was something which was wrong at home, without being able to trace it further. Another objection was, that it would interfere with and hamper the War Department at a time when of all others it could least afford to be bothered. Mr. Lowe drew a frightful picture of the work now to be done at the office of the Secretary of War, and said he was assured that the department was at this moment in a condition of the most hopeless and inextricable confusion. It was impossible that Lord Panmure could do all that was necessary to be done, but at least he might be let alone, and not be worried by a committee. Moreover, a committee of this kind was most objectionable, because it really transferred the duties of the Executive to the House of Commons, always a most dangerous thing; and lastly, such an inquiry as was proposed would certainly involve statements respecting the French army which the Emperor of the French was desirous should not be known, and would probably weaken our alliance with that country. He thought that when an officer did not do his duty the proper way was to recal him. But there was a reason which he believed operated with the Government to prevent the recal of Lord Raglan, and no doubt it was an important one. It was that he had acted throughout most harmoniously with our gallant allies, and had never by any intemperate sally or unnecessary opposition interrupted the excellent terms on which they had acted with us during this campaign. The second remedy would be an entire reconstitution of our military system, so that merit should be the road to promotion instead of favour and seniority. At present an officer did little more than buy an annuity when he entered the army, his pay being only interest on the money he invested in the purchase of his commission, and he gave his services to his country gratuitously. At his death the Government appropriated his commission, instead of its being a benefit to his widow and children, so that, really, our present system was a premium upon cowardice. At present it was almost impossible that a man should rise from the ranks, whatever might be his merit, bravery, or good conduct, being the very opposite of the system pursued by Napoleon, who said that every man ought to have the materials for a marshal's bâton in his knapsack. A similar reform must be carried through all our civil departments. It was not reason enough why a man should be put at the head of the medical department that he had had the yellow fever half a dozen times, had been in the West Indies, and served in the Peninsula with usefulness, and was now a grey-headed man, who ought not to be disturbed in his old age. He would have public men prevented from making appointments, except the candidate's ability and knowledge had been previously tested by a sufficient examination. This would strike at the root of the evils under which we were now suffering. "Finally (said Mr. Lowe), it is my wish, as I believe it is my duty, to support to the utmost the present Government. This is no party question, and I am prepared to say the same should the present Government be dissolved and power passed into other hands. We are at this moment in contact with all the Powers of Europe—who are either our allies our enemies, or in a position which a very slight influence may convert into the one or the other. It is of the last importance to our success or honour that we should exhibit an appearance of stability and constancy in the eyes of Europe. Neither is it easy to overestimate the influence of the name of Lord Palmerston over diplomatic circles on the continent, or the importance that is attached to his being placed at the head of the Administration. His name is a pledge of our determination to resist Russia to the utmost, and his fall would be regarded as a triumph of the principles of the peace party, whom foreigners believe to have a power they do not possess in this country. We must learn to put off party differences till the return of peace, and to present a firm and united front to the powerful enemy with whom we are engaged."

TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

THE annual meeting of this society was held on Wednesday at Exeter Hall. The chair was taken by Mr. Milner Gibson, M.P., who, after briefly sketching the history of the society, said that the remainder of the "Taxes on Knowledge" must follow the advertisement duty. To partially effect this, a bill has been introduced by the Government for the repeal of the newspaper stamp, and having seen it in manuscript, he would take leave to inform the meeting of the nature of its provisions. The Chancellor of the Exchequer—he was afraid he must say the late Chancellor of the Exchequer—had laid on the table the bill, which proposed, in the first place, to abolish the compulsory stamp altogether. It proposed that all printed matter up to the weight of four ounces should be capable of transmission by post at a charge of one penny for each transmission. (*Cheers.*) It further abolished the security system altogether (*cheers*)—that detestable system first established by Castlereagh, in the legislation known as the Six Acts. These were the leading provisions of the bill; but there were clauses in it which had evidently been introduced out of regard to what might be called the vested interests of established newspapers. It had been contended that the privilege of retransmission was very much valued by existing newspapers, and the bill proposed to give them that privilege for seven days from the date of publication, on such of their number as they chose to stamp, and to continue that privilege to them for the space of ten years. As a general rule this privilege was to be conceded where the weight of the paper did not exceed four ounces, but as there were some large papers, and one well-known journal which exceeded that weight, there was a clause in the bill providing that papers containing a certain number of superficial inches should, even where they exceeded the stated weight, still enjoy the privilege. The privilege was, as he had before stated, to be seven days for each publication, and to last ten years from the present date. These were the contents of the measure, which was of the nature of a compromise with publications now existing He should have preferred a more simple measure; but the Government plan, while it was most favourable to the established papers, which retained all their present advantages, yet effected two great objects—the abolition of the compulsory stamp, and the termination of the system of securities. Should there be any opposition to this scheme, he could only explain it on the hypothesis that there was a fear of the cheap penny newspaper; and it was for the sake of that penny newspaper that he supported the bill.

A resolution for the Repeal of the Paper Duty having been moved and carried,

Mr. Cobden moved the following resolution: "That this meeting has heard with satisfaction that a bill was introduced last night by the Government, to abolish the compulsory newspaper stamp and the security system, and to admit all printed matter to a cheap rate of postage." He viewed this question as being so important, socially, educationally, and politically, that he for one should never rest until he had seen it become the law of the land. When he first heard that the Chancellor of the Exchequer intended to bring forward the measure, he said, "Don't be too sure, there's many a slip between the cup and the lip," but he little dreamt, when he said that, that within forty-eight hours the right hon. gentleman would have ceased to fill his important office. He regretted his secession, but did not think that the circumstance would endanger the safety of the measure, for Mr. Gladstone was a statesman whose convictions you could reach; as a statesman he had a conscience; and when once you had convinced his understanding, you were sure to have his support, whether in office or out of it; and holding as he did the very highest rank in the House of Commons for eloquence, he would give the measure such aid, whether in office or out of it, as must ensure its triumphant passage through the legislature. He did not think it necessary on that occasion, seeing that there was a bill on the table of the House of Commons which recognised the wisdom and expediency of all they had been advocating, to go into a long argument to show the necessity of repealing the newspaper stamp. His right hon. friend the chairman had alluded to certain clauses in the bill. He cared nothing about an extra quarter of an ounce, if it carried off the opposition of a powerful organ; neither did he care about giving a privilege for ten years. There was one thing upon which existing papers laid a great stress, but one which he did not think was of such very great advantage—he meant the repeated transmission of these papers by post without any renewed charge. The argument used in favour of this, that it was a great public advantage, was in his opinion a great delusion. People sent papers by post when they cost fivepence, because papers were then a luxury which only the rich could enjoy on the first day, while others must wait. But that would not be the case when newspapers were cheap. He had once asked an intelligent American what he saw in England that most reminded him of his being in an old country, and his friend replied that what most struck him was the notice stuck up everywhere, "Yesterday's papers at half price," adding that in America nobody would have yesterday's papers at any price. That would be the case in England when a totally free press had free scope. People did not buy old clothes when they could get new ones, and neither would they buy yesterday's papers when they could get to-day's—they would rather buy to-morrow's if they could get them. (*Cheers and laughter.*) There would be a new class of papers altogether suited to a new class of readers, and selling alongside of the present papers would train a new class of future readers for the latter. The advocates of this reform had been assailed by individual organs of the press in a way for which they were totally unprepared; for when he first entered the arena of politics, those very newspapers were his fellow-labourers in the cause of free-trade in corn. (*Cheers.*) But the very moment he proposed to make free-trade in newspapers from that moment they became Protectionists. (*Laughter.*) He had once brought great obloquy on himself by saying at a Yorkshire mechanics' institute, when endeavouring to induce the Conservative patrons to permit of newspapers being brought into the room, that what the people wanted was news—*facts*—not leading articles. For that innocent remark he was accused of a disposition to gag the press, and it was added that he disliked leading articles because the papers trimmed him up from time to time. (*Laughter.*) He suspected that in promoting these reforms he should be creating more free criticism than ever, because he believed that in a few years there would be three times as many newspapers in England as at present; and further, he believed that public men were all the better for the criticism they received, and that, on the whole, they got quite as good treatment as they deserved. ("*Question.*") One point connected with newspapers had recently been broached in a pamphlet published by Ridgway, to which he would just allude. In that pamphlet it was urged that all leader writers should put their names to their articles; but all he could say was, that if any law were proposed such as had passed during the republic in France, he for one should give his vote against it, although he was not quite sure that a newspaper did not have more salutary influence when it was known who conducted it. He was sure that public men would not be half so useful if they spoke behind a mask. He looked to the repeal of the stamp as calculated to produce equality between the London and provincial papers, and to give a local paper to any village in the country, and he had sufficient confidence in his countrymen to believe that in the long run the best conducted papers would everywhere meet with the greatest success. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Bright believed that, whether they took it as a question which related merely to a branch of industry, or as a question of a greater and higher character, they would find that there were insuperable objections to the laws which regulated the press; and that those laws were discreditable to them as a people, and disgraceful to the Parliament by which they were enacted. Let them treat it for a moment as a matter of industry. He held in his hand a copy of the *Times* newspaper of the day before. The bare cost of making the paper, the material of it, was three farthings; on that the Government imposed a tax of one farthing, or 33 per cent., on the value of the paper—a very high rate indeed compared with any other tax levied at present. The original

three farthings had already been taxed one farthing, or 33 per cent. A tax of one penny, or 133 per cent., was then added, so that by the time it was ready for printing the tax on the original cost was not less than 166 per cent. Until last session, and then in consequence of the exertions of that association, if the editor happened to inform the world that some respectable woman was anxious to be engaged as a cook where a footman was kept—(*laughter*)—or that a poor widow's son wanted a situation as errand-boy, every insertion of every such paragraph would have been laid hold of by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and eighteenpence exacted for each of them. They could not, however, regard it entirely as a branch of industry. He did not pretend to advantage the interests of the existing press. If they derived any benefit he would be glad of it; but there were thousands of suppressed newspaper editors whom he wished to call from their failure, their obscurity, and, perhaps, their ruin. There were many young men even then studying in college endowed with brain and heart to instruct and teach their countrymen. These he would call from some narrow and badly paid portion of industry, and place them on a high and broad platform, where men could hear and follow them, and where no Chancellor of the Exchequer or Board of Inland Revenue should suppress their efforts to benefit their fellow men. (*Loud cheers.*) There was a much higher question than one of trade; they could not look on a newspaper as a mere matter of trade; it exercised an enormous power for the public weal or harm. A very large portion of the population were in a state of gross and painful ignorance. (*Cheers.*) There were such a number of Sunday and other schools, that there was no child, even of the humblest classes, that did not at some time or other attend some kind of school; but it appeared to him that the number of men and women who were able to read and write did not bear a fair proportion to the number of boys and girls at school. How was that to be accounted for? Let the boy attend school till he was ten or eleven years of age; suppose he read then even imperfectly; take him away, and put him to the plough, or to labour in a mine or factory, for eight or ten hours a day; let him come to a home where books were scarcely to be seen—consider the disadvantages of his position, and it was not wonderful that a large proportion of the children who left school almost entirely lost, as they grew up, the art they had learned to some extent at school. (*Cheers.*) They wished that this great and useful instrument of education should be turned on to every house, like the water or gas—it would be life and aliment to the souls of the working people; things would be different from what they were; and it would be a greater glory for them than those present and historical ones about which they sometimes boasted. If it was proposed that every child who went to school should pay a penny, would not every man and woman revolt against such a hideous proposition? Yet a weekly or daily paper would come in, if the penny was not there as a bar as complete to the gradual education of the family as a penny tax would be if imposed on the child at school. (*Cheers.*) There was the *Manchester Daily Times;* it was not half the size of the *Times*, yet it had to pay the same tax; that was contrary to any just rule of taxation. Take even the *War Fly Sheet;* that would be taxed a penny, although it was not worth a halfpenny; it could not be sold at all if it paid the tax, as no one would give twopence for such a paper; those who could afford that would get a better paper. The tax was most unjust and prejudicial to the public interest. An article against them had lately appeared in a paper of a high literary character, the *Examiner*. He wished the writer was here, for he spoke of Mr. Gladstone as "yielding to a limited but active agitation, in which we do not believe that any considerable number of the intelligent working men throughout the country, or of the educated in any class, has sympathised. Mr. Gladstone made up his mind, in consequence of the importunities of Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Cobden, to put an end to the unrestricted free transmission through the post granted in this country to all newspapers. But this was to be done in the form of a popular concession—as a repeal, in short, of an existing tax." The writer dwells on the fact that the Government will not allow the papers to pass free, but he conceals the fact that Government would enable the paper to reach thousands that it could not now on account of the tax. The same paper was a great advocate for the removal of the stamp some years ago, when it was fourpence instead of a penny. In consequence of an agitation, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, the present Lord Monteagle, reduced it to a penny. What did the *Examiner* say of the penny? "This inconsiderable remnant of the most impolitic impost ever devised. The restriction was one against principle." He believed the *Examiner* was still in the same hands and under the same influence as then. If the measure was carried, to Mr. Gladstone would belong the same credit as Lord Metcalfe had acquired in the establishment of a free press in India. To Mr. Gladstone would belong the credit that, at a time when the public difficulties were thickening around, and the public voice was making itself heard in no very harmonious tones, he had dared to come forward with a measure to make the press of this country as free as the platform, and to admit the public intelligence, the public reason, and the public voice to dictate with increased power to Cabinets and to Parliaments. (*Loud cheers.*) He begged to second the resolution.

Mr. George Dawson supported the resolution. He was connected with the newspaper press, and wished to say a few words on its behalf. It was very pleasant for a noble lord to be supported by a paper, then he praised the press; but if a paper said the noble lord had made himself excessively small, then he calls it a "ribald press." A successful tribune said it was a "venal press." He believed it was neither venal nor ribald; if he thought it was either, he would not support the agitation to increase it. We should have newspapers as universal as they were in America. The press at present could keep down the big wigs in London, but they wanted the big wigs in every little village to be kept down too. Till the press had spread to every corner, they could not hope to put down humdrum tapery and routine. They should educate the working classes in politics—a branch of education they could not get in the mechanics' institutions. There was nothing fogydom dreaded so much as that the working classes should acquire a knowledge of politics. In all these institutions the rule was, "all politics are to be excluded." Take even the rules of a Young Men's Christian Association—(*uproar—great confusion ensued, and it was some time before the speaker could make himself heard amidst the storm of cheers and hisses*)—if the reference did not please, he would withdraw it. He hoped they would not cease until they had made every working man a politician.

The resolution was then put from the chair, and carried.

THE MEDICAL COMMISSION FOR THE CRIMEA.

Dr. Sutherland and Dr. Gavin proceed on Thursday next, *viâ* Marseilles, to the East, the former to superintend the sanitary arrangements at Balaklava, the latter at Scutari. They will be accompanied by the third commissioner, Mr. Robert Rawlinson, civil engineer, long associated with the late Board of Health, and favourably known by his elaborate reports on the hygienic condition of many of the principal towns in England. Mr. Rawlinson takes with him, as secretary, Mr. Taylor, younger brother of Mr. Tom Taylor, secretary to the Board of Health.

SIR CHARLES NAPIER AND THE BALTIC FLEET.

Sir Charles Napier has addressed the following letter to a contemporary:—

"I think it would have been only common justice to publish my reply to Captain Elliott's remarks on my saying, in my speech at the Mansion House, that 'the Baltic fleet was very badly manned, and worse disciplined.' Everybody but Captain Elliott knew very well the Baltic fleet was badly manned. I never wish to see a fleet sent to sea in such a state again. When we first sailed half the men could hardly go aloft, and every sailor knows the meaning of want of discipline, which is, simply, that men got hastily together cannot be in a state of discipline, and every officer is not possessed of the transcendent abilities of Captain Elliott, who can discipline his ship by simply hoisting his pennant. So much use has been made of that expression, that I beg at once to say, no reflection was intended on the officers; on the contrary, if there had not been the greatest exertion on the part of the captains and officers, and willing obedience on the part of the men, the fleet never could have returned to England in the state it was; and, had that fleet had an opportunity, I will answer for it that it would have given a good account of its opponents. Depending on the gunnery of that fleet, I had no fear of leaving Admiral Martin at Nargen with a third of the force of the Russian fleet when I was at Bomarsund, nor did I fear to lie in Baro Sound with a third of their force, or at Nargen with half; and there was nothing to hinder the Russians landing at Sweaborg, had they chosen."

DEATH OF JOSEPH HUME, ESQ., M.P.

The living political reformers of Great Britain have lost the oldest of their leaders—Joseph Hume is dead! Mr. Hume had been visibly declining in health for a year past. During the last few weeks a disease of the heart gradually reduced his strength, and gave warning that his end was drawing near. He expired at six o'clock on Tuesday night at his seat, Burnley Hall, Norfolk.

Mr. Hume was born in January, 1777, at Montrose, his father being the master of a coasting vessel trading from that town.

After some elementary education he was apprenticed to a surgeon, and following that profession, he entered the East India Company's service. His good sense and sagacity enabled him to detect the faults of the system, more particularly the neglect of study of the native languages. Turning his attention particularly to these, during the Mahratta war of 1803, he was of great use to himself and to his country as interpreter as well as surgeon. After travelling in Spain and Portugal, Mr. Hume returned to England in 1811, and was elected for Weymouth, which seat, however, he soon lost. He devoted his next few years, with some effect, to the reform of the East Indian system, and in 1818, was again in Parliament, this time for Montrose, which he retained till 1830.

Immediately on entering Parliament he commenced those vigorous protests against national extravagance for which he has become so celebrated. Commencing single-handed, he was soon at the head of a real minority, which subsequently developed into an undoubted majority, and besides that, gave a key-note to various new styles of reform. From 1830 to 1842 Mr. Hume represented Middlesex, after which period he was again returned, for the remainder of his life, for Montrose.

His long, independent, and disinterested career; his untiring advocacy of the extension and improvement of the education of the people; his unflinching exposure of, and opposition to, official abuses and extravagance of every kind; his pains-taking exertions for the preservation of the rights of the people, as well as his unceasing efforts for their moral and intellectual improvement and amusement, are too well known and too generally appreciated to render either precise description or comment necessary.

Mr. Hume's private worth, his unswerving integrity, unselfishness, gentleness, and consideration for others, endeared him to a large circle of friends.

GREAT FIRE NEAR BLACKFRIARS-BRIDGE.

We gave last week some account of a great fire which was raging when we went to press on Saturday morning. This fire was scarcely extinguished on Sunday night, and may be considered one of the most devastating which have occurred for many years. The loss of property is computed at about 100,000*l*. The fire originated on the premises of Messrs. Routledge, timber merchants, whose yard extended from Holland-street almost to the water-side, the granaries of Messrs. Water and Steel, flour factors, almost abutting on them, and forming the wharf. In addition to the large timber-yard, which at the time contained many hundreds of loads of timber, piled in stacks to a considerable height, there were spacious steam saw-mills, engine and boiler house, with workshops and other buildings. The steam-mills were at work on Friday, and the workpeople assert that when they left off work at 8 o'clock the place was apparently safe. No one appears to have had charge of the place after the doors were locked, and the keys given over to a party in the neighbourhood. Nothing happened to excite alarm until about 20 minutes after 10 o'clock, when the wife of one of the labouring men in the employment of Messrs. Water and Steel saw a glimmering light in the timber-yard, soon after which the flames burst forth. The man then took steps to save his master's horses, some ten or twelve in number, in the stables adjoining the steam-mills. He had just succeeded in lashing the last horse up, and was returning to wheel out a light chaise of his master's, when one of the blazing stacks of timber toppled over into the gateway and shut him in. But clambering through a window, however, he managed to escape.

The arrival of the brigade force and other engines was most prompt. The engineers, however, were unable to get their engines into play for a long time after. The plugs of the water mains were frozen up, and even when thawed the supply of water was so scanty that not a third of the engines present could be put into motion. The large steam floating-engine of the brigade was brought up the river, and got into immediate play, but, in the mean time, the flames had overwhelmed the whole of the property in the vicinity of the Albion Wharf including the warehouses and granaries of Messrs. Water and Steel; those of Messrs. Rosher and Co., lime-merchants, and their dwelling-houses; the warehouses of Messrs. Rickman and Co., bottle-merchants; of Messrs. Radley and Co.; and the main building of the extensive engineering works of Sir John Rennie. For hours after it raged tremendously. The brigade, who were under the personal direction of their chief officer, Mr. Braidwood, exerted themselves zealously, It was the coldest night that probably had been experienced for years (much resembling that on which the Royal Exchange was destroyed). The frost was intense (upwards of 16 degrees below the freezing point). Many of the firemen were coated in ice, with icicles hanging from their uniforms and helmets.

The most melancholy incident was the fate of poor Mr. Thomas Jackson, the step-son of Mr. Braidwood. This gentleman was energetically directing the men when a blazing stack of timber fell upon him. His remains, when got out, presented a shocking spectacle, and could only be identified by the iron of his axe, a knife, and the metal work of his helmet. All that remained of the unfortunate man was a portion of the trunk of his body. He was a young man of great promise, aged 26, and held the office of surveyor in the Sun Fire-office. He had only been married two years, but has left no family. A very large number of workmen are thrown out of work by this occurrence.

BREAD RIOTS IN LONDON.

During Wednesday and Thursday the inhabitants of the east end of London were kept in a state of continual excitement, in consequence of the alarm-

ing conduct of several hundred dock-labourers and other destitute persons, who perambulated the principal thoroughfares in procession, demanding bread and money from the shopkeepers, whose premises they forcibly entered and ransacked of their contents. In several instances the tradesmen were subjected to gross acts of violence, and the most daring robberies were committed in open daylight, and property to a considerable amount carried away by the mob. The alarm was so general during the day that the shops were closed in High-street, Whitechapel, Commercial-road East, Stepney, and the whole of the principal streets at the eastern portion of the metropolis, where business was generally suspended.

Shortly after six o'clock on Wednesday evening about 1000 labourers from the London and St. Katharine's Docks assembled in front of the workhouse of St. Mary's, Whitechapel, where they remained for a considerable time, yelling and making the most hideous noises. An attempt was made to force an entrance at the front gates, when they were informed that no relief could be given until the following morning. Bricks and stones were hurled at the windows, many of which were broken. Subsequently the mob entered the shop of Mr. Gregory, a baker, and cleared the contents, which consisted of nearly a hundred quartern loaves, which the men ate ravenously. One of the ringleaders placed a 4lb. loaf on the top of a long pole, on which a placard was exhibited with the following words:—"We are starving, and want bread." The mob increased, and moved towards Aldgate, and on the way several bakers' shops were completely cleared of the bread, which was carried away. The procession proceeded to Rosemary-lane, where nearly every shop was robbed of its contents. Upon reaching the premises of Mr. Barrett, eating-house-keeper, the ringleaders took the whole of the cooked meat and vegetables, and then inflicted serious injury on Mr. Barrett.

Several of the rioters were taken into custody, and have been remanded until Wednesday. The magistrates have been using every endeavour to allay the distress by distributing the poor-box funds, and they have also recommended the parish authorities to relax their rules as far as possible.

BREAD RIOTS AT LIVERPOOL.—The severe distress in the north has led to some rather serious rioting at Liverpool. Large bands of people paraded the streets, committing occasional devastations, but the bakers' shops were the principal points of attack. About sixty of these poor wretches, principally Irish, were taken into custody. Of course they had all visited the bakers' shops with any intention but that of plunder. It was all accidental, and no harm was meant. They were generally sentenced to some short period of imprisonment.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

THE last Austrian note to the Cabinet of Berlin was dated January 26. It maintained that Count Buol was perfectly justified, even in a defensive point of view, in requiring the April treaty and the additional arcicle to be carried out. It was answered by a note from Berlin on the 31st of January, denying the justice of the Austrian allegations, and putting a full stop to the correspondence on this subject, by assuring Count Buol that this Court will form its own opinion of the obligations contained in these treaties, and will not have one dictated to it. On the day previous a despatch was forwarded to Count Arnim, in Vienna, informing him that the Foreign Office had received notice from its diplomatic agents of the existence of the Austrian secret note to certain Federal Courts of Germany, and of the advocacy extended to it by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France. The Cabinet of Prussia does not ask for any explanation of that note; it reckons with confidence on the continued existence of the Bund, which is secured by treaties, but regrets to observe symptoms of a desire to jeopardise it.

Baron Prokesch is to be the Austrian Special Commissioner at the Congress about to be held at Vienna.

The Vienna correspondent of the *Constitutionnel* writes: "The Envoy of Prussia, three days back, received orders to inquire of our Government what importance it attached to the extraordinary armaments of France. As Count d'Arnim is indisposed, it was Count Flemming, Councillor of Legation, who was charged with the message. The reply was worthy of Talleyrand. 'The armaments of France,' said M. de Buol, 'cause no more uneasiness to Austria than do those of Russia to Prussia.'"

Count Tolstoy is expected to take part in the Vienna Conference, as assistant to Prince Gortschakoff. Count Tolstoy is the author of that pamphlet on the war which we analysed in the *Leader* in the course of last September.

The funeral of the Duke of Genoa took place on the 14th, with all the military honours. The prince was accompanied to his last resting-place by nearly the whole population of Turin.

A strong opposition, composed of the two extreme parties in the Chamber, is being organised in the Piedmontese Senate against the treaty of alliance.

We hear from Genoa that Catania has been nearly destroyed, either by an earthquake or an eruption of the Ætna.

General Niel has arrived in Paris from the Crimea.

Lord John Russell has had an interview with M. Drouyn de Lhuys.

It is known that the French troops at Rome are to be reduced to 3000, and at Civita Vecchia to 500. The effective of the Roman army, including the gendarmerie, may be estimated at between 15,000 and 16,000 men, and if a second foreign regiment be formed the Roman army will then be 18,000 in number.

The following is the full text of the Russian manifesto of which a telegraphic summary has already been published:—

"We, by the Grace of God, Nicholas I., Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias, &c., make known—

"Our faithful and beloved subjects know how much we desire to obtain, without recourse to the force of arms, without a greater effusion of blood, the object which we have had constantly in view—that of defending the rights of our co-religionists, and in general of all the Christians in the East. That desire is also known to all those who have followed with attention and impartiality the progress of events as well as the invariable tendency of our acts. We have been and still remain strangers to any other mainspring of action, to any other view in matter of faith of conscience. Even now, true to those principles which we have adopted, we have announced our consent to the opening of negotiations with the Western Powers, who, with the Ottoman Porte, have formed a hostile alliance against us. We think that we are entitled to the same sincerity on their parts to the same disinterestedness of intentions, and we do not lose the hope of obtaining the re-establishment of peace, so much desired, and so precious for the whole of Christianity. Nevertheless, in the presence of the forces which they array against us, and of the other preparations which they are making to contend with us, preparations which, despite the measures taken for the opening of negotiations, are not discontinued, but, on the contrary, daily assume larger dimensions, we are constrained, on our side, to think of measures to increase the means which God has given us to defend our country, to oppose a firm and powerful barrier to all attempts hostile to Russia, to all projects that menace its safety and its greatness.

"This, the first of our duties, we accomplish, and invoking the support of the Most High, with entire faith in His grace, with full confidence in the love of our subjects, animated like ourselves with the same sentiment of devotion for our faith, for the Orthodox Church, and for our beloved country, we address this new appeal to all classes of our subjects, ordaining:—

"The formation of a general militia of the Empire.

"The measures relative to the formation and organisation of this militia have been examined and confirmed by us, and are embodied in detail in special regulations; they will be everywhere carried out with punctuality and zeal.

"More than once Russia has been menaced, and has undergone sad and cruel trials; but she always found her salvation in her humble faith in Providence, and in the close and indissoluble bonds which unite the Monarch with his subjects, his devoted children. Let it be so again to-day! May the Almighty, who reads every heart, who blesses pure intentions, grant us his assistance!

"Given at St. Petersburg, the 29th of January, of the year of grace, 1855, and in the 30th year of our reign.

"NICHOLAS."

It is believed that General de Wedell, assisted by Baron von Usedom, has come to an understanding with he French Government about the Prussian Alliance. tPrussia will sign a treaty identic with that of the 2nd of December, save the omission of the second article, relating to the Danubian Principalities.

It is still believed that the French Emperor has finally resolved to go to Sebastopol, but his departure will not take place before the middle of March, General Pelissier having written to say that no decisive attack can take place before the end of next month. The Emperor, it is reported, will be accompanied by 400 of the Guides, the Cent Gardes, and a battalion of each regiment of the Imperial Guard. On the other hand, it is said that M. Mauvel, a stockbroker, and intimate acquaintance of M. Fould, is to be prosecuted for having spread the report of the Emperor's projected departure.

The frost has continued, not only in Paris, but throughout France, with extraordinary severity. On Tuesday the procession of the *Bœuf-Gras* took place. So cold a *Mardi-Gras* was not remembered. The ox, christened this year *Sebastopol*, was conducted to the Place du Carrousel, and inspected by the Emperor and Empress from the central balcony. The following of *Sebastopol* consisted of about a hundred Knights, Crusaders, Mousquetaires, Turks, Persians, and Noblemen *à la* Louis XIV., all on horseback.

General de la Marmora has arrived in Paris from Turin, to decide upon the organisation of the Piedmontese expedition to the Crimea.

The Imperial Palace at Prague was burnt on the 20th inst. It was the residence of the ex-Emperor and Empress of Austria.

Several political arrests have recently been made in the Roman States and in Tuscany. The Roman Government has forbidden masks again this year in the Carnival.

The *Parma Gazette* of the 12th says that Lieutenant-Colonel Chevalier Lanati, the President of the Permanent Court-martial at Parma, was stabbed on the preceding night, while returning home, a few steps from his own door. He received five wounds, none of which is mortal.

Advices from Pesth announce the death of Count Joseph Teleky, which took place on the 16th inst.

Dutch newspapers confirm an announcement that the Government of Holland is preparing to send an extraordinary embassy to the Emperor of Japan, in order to take advantage of his friendly dispositions towards Europeans.

The Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs has made an emphatic declaration of neutrality in the Chamber of Representatives. He declared the neutrality of Belgium, as guaranteed by the treaties of 1831 and 1839, to be "perpetual and obligatory."

The *Moniteur* says:—"The French Government has just caused proceedings to be taken before the Belgian tribunals against a pamphlet published recently at Brussels, with the following title:—'On the conduct of the war in the East; Expedition to the Crimea; Memoir addressed to the Government of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon III. By a General Officer.' We need not affirm that this Memoir has not been addressed to the Government of the Emperor. This production, the tendency of which is to libel the chiefs of our army, to exaggerate our difficulties and losses, to give confidence to our enemies, is merely a pamphlet published in the interest of Russia, and falsely attributed to a French officer."

The Austrian Government has contradicted, through its accustomed organ, the *Austrian Correspondence*, the statement that an Austrian loan of 15,000,000*l.*, guaranteed by England, is about to be raised.

HANDCOCK *v.* DELACOUR.

IN justice to Lord Clanricarde we make some extracts from a letter which he has addressed to the *Daily News*:—

"The main allegation, upon which the story you relate upon the authority of the Irish Attorney-General seems to rest, is that in the year 1841, 'in consequence of a suspicion of too great intimacy between Lord Clanricarde and Mrs. Handcock, a separation took place, and Mr. Handcock went to France.' This is wholly and notoriously false, and I cannot learn that any attempt was made to sustain such a statement by a particle of evidence. In fact, it is perfectly well known that Mrs. Handcock left her husband on account of his conduct with her French maid, who thenceforward lived openly with him until his death. This was happily concealed from the daughters, and Miss Handcock in her diary attributes the separation to the machinations of persons in her father's employment. My affidavit was not, as you say it was, inaccurate in dates upon this matter. It states that I saw Mr. and Mrs. Handcock in the *autumn* of 1840, and, 'having passed the *winter* of 1840 in Russia,' I did not see either of them again until after their separation, which took place in the spring of 1841, while I was still abroad. All this is indisputable out of the Irish Court of Chancery. My affidavit, however, was not made to explain or defend my conduct in any respect, but it was made upon the application of one of the ligitants, that I should bear testimony to facts within my own knowledge, to contradict statements sworn to by the opposite party as having been 'heard and believed.' If no other evidence existed to show that Mr. Handcock entertained no such suspicion as is attributed to him, his own conduct when I met him in Paris and in his last illness afford good proof of it. . . .

"I, however, do not wonder that when I had acted thus to Mr. Handcock, his daughters, who had known me from their childhood, should recur to me for aid and advice. And whenever I was so called upon, my interference was uniformly not in furtherance of, but in opposition to, the views of Mrs. Handcock, who was determined to secure for herself, in any way she could, the fortune of each of her daughters after their deaths. Persons who knew her well are aware that she was highly incensed against me for aiding Miss Handcock to make a will, whereby she left to her mother, in pursuance of her own and her deceased sister's wishes, 10,000*l.*, instead of her entire property. When the youngest daughter communicated to me her intention to convey her estate to her mother, I prevented her executing any deed to that effect which should not contain the power of revocation thereupon inserted, and I delayed the execution of any such deed for some months."

OUR CIVILISATION.

MURDER.—Abigail Shea, a repulsive-looking Irishwoman, with a baby in her arms, has been charged with cutting the throat of Catherine *Lyons*, with whom she worked at a furrier's. The prisoner had nothing to say, and was committed for trial.

INGENIOUS APPLICATION OF THE DOMESTIC FORK.—Henry Beresford, a promising young gentleman of nineteen years of age, or rather youth, had a disturbance with his mother. He assaulted her so violently, that she sent for her son-in-law to protect her. As usual, the

interfering "party" had the worst of it, in this case stabbing with a table-fork being rather promptly followed up by an attempt with a knife. This young man, whom we recommend to the guardianship of Mr. Layard or Mr. Catlin, has been remanded.

SHOOTING AN AUCTIONEER.—Mr. Leah, an auctioneer, had some property to sell for Mr. Cleary. Owing to some accident it got sold for something less than the sum understood, so Mr. Cleary sought to "take his change" by shooting the auctioneer in his office. He did so, ran out, and discharged a second pistol at Mr. Leah, who pursued him. Cleary appears to be a very bad shot, but good enough to warrant his committal for trial.

THE MURDER AT CHATHAM.—The girl Elisabeth Avis Law, charged with the murder of Mrs. Bacon at Chatham, has been examined before the county magistrates at Rochester. Two pawnbrokers proved that the prisoner had pledged dresses and other property belonging to the deceased. The magistrates committed the prisoner for trial on the two charges of murder and robbery.

KING, THE THIEF-TRAINER.—This police officer in plain clothes has undergone a final examination, in which the evidence of theft at a fancy fair held at a chapel in the Hampstead-road was completed. He was fully committed for trial.

SUGGESTIONS FOR GOVERNMENT STORE KEEPERS.

MR. J. H. Elphinstone, writing to the *Times*, comments on the "stove case" in the Crimea. He says that when officials are responsible for every article under their charge, they are bound to look first at their own interests.

"The plain remedy for such a state of things is simply, to treat our commanding officers as honest men. If a regiment requires clothing, food, or fuel, let it be forthcoming on the receipt of an order from the commanding officer, countersigned, where it is practicable, by the brigadier. The same with hospitals—a requisition from the youngest assistant surgeon in the service, if he is in charge of an hospital, ought to place within his reach every medicine and comfort in store. Better far that a few thousand pounds' worth of stores should be unaccounted for at the end of the war, than that one British soldier should lose his life for the want of comforts that are within his reach.

I doubt not that ten years hence a balance sheet will be produced accounting for every article of food, clothing, and medicine which has been sent out to the Crimea. But let the public judge whether this will compensate for the fearful loss of life caused by an adherence to a system equally at variance with every rule of common sense and practical business!"

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE COURT.—Her Majesty has held the Court at Buckingham Palace during the week. Skating has been diversified with sledging. On Thursday the Queen inspected some wounded soldiers of the Grenadier and Coldstream Guards, in the Grand Hall of the Palace. Her Majesty questioned every soldier about his wounds, and received a report of the condition of the wounded from the surgeon-major of each regiment. Several Cabinet Councils have been held during the week.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL has left Paris *en route* for Berlin and Vienna.

THE CRYSTAL PALACE.—We understand that it is proposed to add a court containing illustrations of Indian manners, art, and manufactures to the collections at the Crystal Palace. A nucleus for such a court already exists in a series of *fac simile* copies of the remarkable fresco paintings of the Ajunta Caves, which were made for the East India Company, and have been lent by them to the Palace, where they are exhibited in the gallery over the Assyrian Court.

RESTORATION OF POLAND.—At a public meeting held at Birmingham, resolutions have been passed recognising the importance of the restoration of Poland as an independent nation.

MR. LAYARD AND ADMIRAL DUNDAS.—The dispute between these gentlemen has been amicably arranged through some correspondence with Mr. Drummond. Mr. Layard courteously says that he never intended to impute anything against the honour of Admiral Dundas and regrets that his words should have been capable of such an interpretation.

FATAL RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—Two accidents occurred last week near the New Holland Station on the Manchester and Sheffield Railway. In one case, a man who had ventured to cross the line was run over and killed. In the other, a train was missing at a point where there was only a single line of rails, and on the responsibility of Peacock, a foreman, an engine was sent to inquire after it. A collision occurred, and a piece of wood struck a young man, a passenger, on the side of the neck, and killed him instantly.

ESCAPING FROM NEWGATE.—Last Saturday three convicts managed to escape from Newgate. It is supposed that they had picked oakum to some purpose, made a rope with it, and so reached the top of a wall. Thence it is imagined they got on to the roof of a house in Warwick-square, and passed through. When they escaped they did not wear the prison dress—but why, is not stated.

Postscript.

LEADER OFFICE, Saturday, February 24.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE House was at an early hour filled to the utmost of limits with members, peers, and strangers anxious to hear the explanations both of the Government and of the retiring members of the Cabinet. A few minutes before five, Lord PALMERSTON rose, and moved that the first order of the day be postponed. Upon this,

Sir J. GRAHAM said he would take that opportunity of entering into the explanation which the salutary custom of the House expected from persons in his position. He proceeded to urge that the further prosecution of such inquiry of a select committee, was in the present circumstances of the country, highly inexpedient; and he, therefore, regretted to know that the Government had now adopted the motion—at least, they had agreed to nominate the members—and to that course he could not assent. If the Government had, on the whole, however, made up its mind that the committee should be appointed, he regretted extremely not to find in the names now proposed any of the members of her Majesty's Government included in the list. Now, he had a strong feeling that if that inquiry was to be conducted in a fair and impartial manner, and at the same time with a due regard to the interests of this country, there would have been a great advantage in having a Minister of the Crown present during its proceedings, and if during the inquiry any questions were opened which, from that Minister's knowledge of our foreign relations, appeared to him inexpedient, or perhaps dangerous to be disclosed, warning might have been given to the committee to that effect. Although it was not the business of any member of the Government to object to the appointment of a select committee under ordinary circumstances, at the present time the circumstances in which we stood were of a most peculiar nature. The Speaker would bear him out that it was a question open to a majority of that committee—which was to consist of eleven members—to decide whether the inquiry should be a secret one, or open to the public. If six out of the eleven should be of opinion that strangers ought not to be admitted, then it would become a secret committee; but, on the other hand, if the decision should be the opposite, it would of course be an open one. Now, he would regard that committee in this double light. If it be a secret committee, all check of public opinion upon that committee would be withdrawn, as its proceedings would not be known; persons inculpated by the evidence would not have an opportunity of defending themselves—of appearing in their own defence—of cross-examining the witnesses, or of rebutting any false accusations; in fact, until the termination of the inquiry, the purport of these examinations would remain a secret. If, on the other hand, it was to be an open committee, the evidence would be published from day to day, the most adverse comments, and of a party character, would be made upon it, and most erroneous impressions would be circulated, bearing hard, probably, on individuals at a distance, who had no power of defending their character from any unfavourable aspersions, and throughout the conduct of the inquiry, there would be no appeal to that House after this delegation of its power had been made. He felt bound to say that considering the deep importance of the subject, and magnitude of the interests involved in it, such a delegation of power to a committee was not only unprecedented, but quite a dangerous course. He was not aware that there was any precedent whatever in Parliamentary history for such delegation. He was aware that one or two rare inquiries of this character had been instituted at the bar of the House. He should prefer an investigation of this nature far before a select committee, as the inquiry would then proceed in the presence of the public, and under the check of the knowledge and intelligence of the House. But, although there had been one or two precedents of this nature, none of them were applicable to the case in hand. It was true that at one period in the reign of William an inquiry was made at the bar into the conduct of a naval expedition; and, at a still later period, in reference to the expedition to Walcheren; but in both these cases the operations connected with them were not pending—they were concluded. And the generals and the admirals whose characters were at stake were present to defend themselves, and Lord Chatham, in the latter instance, appeared at the bar, and had an opportunity of being heard. But as the matter now stood the question for the committee would be the condition of our army in the Crimea, and no instructions of a definite nature as to how they should act, or what course they should pursue, had been given to them. Whilst it was far, very far, from his wish to limit the scope and power of that House, for he knew of no subject too minute, and no subject too great to come within the sphere of its consideration, and whilst he admitted, in the broadest sense, that there was no limit to its power, he felt bound to add that this power ought never to be incompatible with its functions. He then proceeded to show that the present Government was practically the same as that which had been censured by the recent vote of the House, and that they were equally bound to resist any further proceeding with it. He explained that when he joined Lord Palmerston he had only inquired as to what the foreign policy of his Government would be; and being satisfied on that, he had inquired no further on the question of the committee. He had said the committee was unjust, and he would tell the House why he thought so. The executive government had the power of appointing and furnishing the officers in command of the army and navy, and it was unjust that they should be subjected to the dictation of another tribunal. But not only was the committee unjust, not only was it unnecessary, but it would, in addition, be mischievous, because it would disclose circumstances and details which might greatly advance the cause of the enemy, while the feelings of our gallant allies, the French, might be so excited by the disclosure, as to hurry them on to measures that would place this country in a position of great peril. (*Cheers.*) Take, for instance, our operations in the Baltic; suppose they were to be inquired into by this committee, the commander of the fleet would be called before the committee, and he might be betrayed into a confession of the advice he received from the Admiralty, which betrayal would do no good to us, whilst it would assist the enemy and irritate our allies. The other night he appealed to the forbearance of the House not to press him for such details, and the House readily granted him that forbearance; but what security had they that a committee of twelve gentlemen would manifest the same spirit? Well then, therein lay the danger of the inquiry. But it might be said that he had deserted his colleagues at a critical moment. Well he was quite ready to meet this charge, and he contended that it was his colleagues who had deserted him and not he them, for they had not the courage to oppose a measure which was eminently calculated to endanger the interest of the country. He had been for standing manfully by the guns and resisting the inquiry altogether, whereas the policy of those whom he was said to have deserted was first to spike the guns and then to run away from them. (*A laugh.*) He should nevertheless give those colleagues his humble support; he had acted with them for two years, and although he could not agree with them in the course they proposed to take with regard to the committee of inquiry, he was yet friendly disposed towards them, and they should have all the conscientious support that he could give them. He would make no further professions, but leave his future actions to speak for themselves; and, with that confession, he would resume his seat, thanking the House for the patience with which they had listened to him.

Mr. BRIGHT rose and said, he considered the country to be in a very critical position, and recent events ought to induce every man to stand by any Minister who would undertake the Government. We were at war with perhaps the largest military Power in the world, carrying on the struggle at a distance of several thousand miles from our own shores, and the magnitude of the contest could not possibly be overrated. He could not help feeling, however, that too much was expected to result from it; the terms of peace assented to by the late Government only contemplated the crippling of the Russian power in the Black Sea, but he was surprised to find that there were writers in the press and members of the other House who entertained vague dreams about reconstructing the map of Europe, and reviving extinct nationalities. Now he hoped the Government would lend no countenance to such enthusiasts, but confine the countries strictly and honestly to the terms of peace which had already been offered to Russia. Next to our Minister at Constantinople, the noble lord at the head of the Government, and the noble lord who had gone on a mission to Vienna, were the most responsible for our present position, and he hoped they would despise out of door clamours, such as that which he had referred to, and use their utmost endeavours to restore peace, upon those terms which should simply destroy or reduce the influence of the enemy in the Euxine. He should like, therefore, to know whether the noble lord who had gone to Vienna had power to enter into an armistice directly that he saw there was a prospect of the negotiations being successful. Hon. members seemed to forget that 40,000 lives had already been lost in this struggle. They appeared anxious for an attack upon Sebastopol, which, as sure as it was made, would result in the loss of 20,000 more lives; but he trusted such sanguinary desires would be disregarded by the Government, and directly they saw a prospect of the negotiation terminating successfully, they would lose no time in taking such steps as should immediately stop bloodshed, and he appealed to Lord Palmerston in the most powerful and energetic language to let one of the last great acts of his political career be the restoration of peace to Europe.

Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT next addressed the House, and stated his reasons for leaving the Government. They were mainly the same as those of Sir J. Graham; but he strongly insisted on the probability of the motion of Mr. Roebuck being successfully resisted, urging that it only wanted a man capable of leading the House of Commons, and who like Sir Robert Peel could induce them to rescind a vote to which they had come; and that, in fact, like all popular assemblies, the Commons only wanted strong men taking strong courses, to be easily managed. He expressed his regret at leaving his colleagues, and declared that he had acted in perfect

harmony with them in the Cabinet, and that he should give them his support.

Mr. DRUMMOND made a strong and eccentric speech, but declared he only wished the inquiry to be directed to the civil departments of the army.

Lord SEYMOUR strongly urged the inconvenience of an inquiry at present, though he had consented to be a member of the Committee.

Mr. LOWE, in an able speech, very urgently argued against the appointment of the committee, pointing out the great inconvenience which it would cause to the War Office, which was now in course of reorganisation; but contrary to expectation he did not enter on the question of the Ministerial crisis. The debate then ranged through a number of the lesser members. Sir JOHN PAKINGTON and Mr. WALPOLE next spoke in favour of the motion.

Mr. GLADSTONE commenced the explanation offered on his own behalf by alluding to the proffers made to him by Lord Derby in the early stages of the Ministerial crisis, and read some passages from the correspondence that passed on that occasion. It had been a subject of regret to him that a government had not then been formed by the noble earl from among his own parliamentary supporters. When subsequently he was asked by Lord Palmerston to join his administration, he felt that he had no just cause to refuse, although suffering much pain by his severance from Lord Aberdeen. After expressing his conscientious admiration for his late chief, Mr. Gladstone stated that his reason for quitting office arose from the fact that the Government had decided upon adopting an alternation, which he considered fatal. The stigma of desertion could not apply to men who retained their opinions, even if for that cause they quitted office. Ou the 29th of January he had denounced the proposition for a committee with all the vehemence he could command, and could now only repeat his words and adhere to his convictions. He added some arguments against the appointment of the committee. To inquiry, he had no objection, but drew the distinction that while every department of the Government might be called to account, the investigation upon a multitude of considerations ought not to include the conduct of the war in the Crimea. The strong objections urged against the committee during the debate had never been fairly grappled with, but were merely met by an array of precedents or vague demands for inquiry. No one had shown that the committee was a fit engine for prosecuting such an investigation, or said anything to shake his persuasion that it would turn out either an imposture or a mischief, if not both at once. Even in the speeches of members who ostensibly supported the committee, he found expressions which effectually condemned it, and declared his belief that if the House could decide the question by a ballot the motion for its appointment would be negatived by a large majority. Towards the commanders engaged upon the ordinary duties of the war he considered that the advisers of the Crown, who had employed and did not recal them, would act with injustice, if they allowed them to be handed over to the tender mercies of a select committee. That committee would be a tribunal for accusation, at which the character of honourable men were to be assailed in their absence; but it would be useful neither for the infliction of punishment nor the application of remedies. By insisting on its appointment, the House would practically wrest the powers of Government from the hands of the Executive, and delegate them to a section of its own members. To the argument that an unprecedented emergency justified an extraordinary intervention, he replied by contending that the instrument now suggested must prove, not only mischievous, but altogether weak and futile.

Lord PALMERSTON acknowledged the conscientious motives which had urged his late colleagues into retirement, and expressed his sorrow at losing their services and co-operation. Briefly adverting to the ministerial vicissitudes of the last three weeks, the noble lord observed that he had undertaken to form a Government after the failure of all other combinations. Proceeding to the question of the committee, he confessed that he still entertained many objections to its appointment, but remarked that the country had adopted the propositions in a different sense from that it had borne within the house, and wished for a serious investigation from a measure which many honourable members had supported as conveying a vote of censure. When assuming the responsibility of office, Lord Palmerston declared that he had never intended to abandon the post merely upon the contingency of the vote for a committee being persisted in, and such he intimated was his persuasion respecting the determination of his colleagues. Answering the challenge of Mr. Bright, he stated that the Government still adhered to the terms proposed as basis for the negotiations at Vienna, and were prosecuting the conferences in perfect good faith. They would lose no opportunity of hastening the advent of peace, but would never consent to any terms which did not afford a full security of reform and independence to Europe. The question now before Parliament involved the honour of the country, and he trusted that neither party divisions nor personal jealousies would prevent the Legislature and the Government from dealing with them in an effectual manner. The House, he hoped, would not withdraw its confidence from an Administration who had assumed office in a time of emergency until the measures they proposed had been fairly tested.

Mr. DISRAELI observed that the Prime Minister claimed support for a Ministry which did not appear to be in existence. The House was still unacquainted even with the names of the holders of many important offices of State. The Cabinet had been formed solely upon the basis of opposing the appointment of the committee, and yet within ten days it split upon that very question; and Lord Palmerston himself had abjured his principles, and accepted a measure which he had so recently termed unconstitutional. As to the committee itself, he believed that the House and the country had resolved to prosecute an inquiry, and proceeded to comment upon some of the arguments against it which had been presented in the course of the discussion.

Mr. GLADSTONE having given some explanation,

Sir G. GREY denied that the Cabinet had been formed on the basis of resistance to the Commitee of Inquiry. Their great principle was the vigorous prosecution of the war, and to this all other considerations were subordinated. He had opposed the appointment of the committee from a persuasion of its many inconveniences; but, nevertheless felt that, seeing the House persisted in its resolution, those grounds were not sufficient to justify the Government in abandoning its course.

The motion for precedence was then agreed to, and a discussion arose as to proceeding with the nomination. The names were put *seriatim*, and divisions took place on the two last, but they were all retained.

The House then adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Their lordships sat for a short time only, being employed principally in a discussion originated by Lord LYNDHURST, with regard to the necessity of preparing summer clothing for the troops in the Crimea.

THE WAR.

It is clear, by the last detailed accounts from the Crimea, that the Russians have established themselves in menacing proximity to Balaklava. General Liprandi, as the telegraph reported, returned to his old lines north and east of Kamara, somewhere about the 7th February. In two nights, during which the allied force covering Balaklava were under arms, Liprandi threw up entrenchments, and so disposed at least one battery of two guns, as to bear, it is thought, with inconvenient force upon our right. The reader will note that the British base of operations is protected by a chain of breastworks, with strong batteries at commanding points, so as to sweep the only places accessible to an assailing force. But on the extreme right, where it has always been said we had batteries manned by Marines, we are now told there are no guns; and speculators on the spot were actually canvassing the probabilities of the success of a night attack by the Russians. At this distance nothing can be predicted with certainty; but one thing is certain, the Allies at Balaklava will have to keep a very bright look-out, now that from 20,000 to 30,000 men occupy an entrenched camp within a mile or two of their lines.

It does not appear to be true that the British infantry have been moved down to Balaklava—certainly up to the 9th of February no such movement had been made. Although the accounts of the health of the troops are as gloomy as ever, yet amid all the disasters of the military affairs, there is one bright spot. The railway, that effort of civil genius, was progressing with astonishing rapidity, and is probably now stretching upward towards the plateau where lie the allied armies.

(*By Continental Telegraph.*)

Paris, Friday.

The *Moniteur* of this day contains the official announcement that the Emperor has given audience to Lord John Russell.

The Funds closed rather firmer in consequence of the report that the Emperor has given up the plan of going to the Crimea.

MR. PETO.—Mr. Peto is gazetted a Baronet in appreciation of his services, and more especially of his recent disinterested and patriotic conduct in retiring from the representation of Norwich to carry out the construction of the railway from Balaklava, originated by the Duke of Newcastle.

THE CHEAPEST VICE—is ingratitude. A translation of this axiom from the Austrian into the Russian language has already been set about.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

During the Session of Parliament it is often impossible to find room for correspondence, even the briefest.

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.

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The Leader.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1855.

Public Affairs.

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

THE POSITION AND THE PROSPECT.

IN the present "crisis" we see reason for healthy political hope.

There is an absolute Whig Government in power: the policy may be the personal policy of a potent individual, Lord PALMERSTON; but the Government is a Whig Government. Just as the ADDINGTON Government was still the PITT Government, so the PALMERSTON Government is clearly the BEDFORD Government.

There is an absolute Tory party in opposition; numerous, compact, organised, ambitious, well-officered.

Here, then, there is constitutional symmetry restored; the Court passive between the two great historical parties; coalition actually at an end, and the idea of coalition distasteful to the people.

But there are two other parties in the House of Commons—the Peelites and the Radicals. Between these two there is but this difference: the Radicals have been the representatives of public opinion and the originators of all the reforms of the last ten years; while the Peelites have been the statesmen who have realised public opinion and carried out those reforms. And as it now happens that the statesmen find themselves isolated from the two great governing parties and among the ranks, on the benches, of the popular representatives, the probability seems to be that these statesmen will, naturally, become the leaders of the popular party. Thus, we see reason to hope that a third organised party will appear in the constitutional arena, and we assuredly believe that, by tact and with patience, this party can destroy the two other parties, drive them, as one party, into opposition, and itself take power. The prospect, in short, is, that some day soon the country may be "sent for." Not the worst way, perhaps, of getting out of the dead-lock created by the complete failure of the governing class in attempting good government.

The Peelites do not belong to the aristocracy; they cannot stand alone; they do belong to the people. The policy of Sir ROBERT PEEL was thoroughly democratic—that is to say, thoroughly national—and his followers—those who were in his Cabinet, and have been in coalition with the Whigs—fully comprehending the spirit of the country, and the character of the time, have never ceased to pursue that policy—witness their Succession Duty Bill, their Canada Clergy Reserves Bill, with their whole colonial policy, their Irish

policy—witness such suggestive measures as this Newspaper Stamp Bill. On the suffrage question they are at least as advanced as Lord JOHN RUSSELL; ignorant of Cabinet mysteries, we cannot assert, though we surmise, that they are *more* advanced—at least they were parties to the Reform Bill of last session. And, more fortunate than the Whigs, the Peelites are not only the "Liberal party," but they are the intellect of the Liberal party. Mr. GLADSTONE is acknowledged on all hands to be the first personage in the House of Commons; sprung from the middle class, the aristocratic instinct has detected his tendencies, and the aristocracy hate him. His colleagues are the only men, of official prestige, to whom the country can look as the successors of the weary race of old statesmen who are all now at sixties and seventies. The Duke of NEWCASTLE, honest and devoted as a politician, eloquent as a debater, laborious as a man of business, is distinguished by his popular sympathies and his ambition to serve the country, in the sense of obeying the voice of the country and not in the sense of securing family or class predominance. Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT, happily for himself separated, like the Duke of NEWCASTLE, from the oligarchical conspiracies of Whigs and Tories, is of, but not in, the aristocracy: bound up with the Peelite policy, his whole career indicates a conviction that the great nobles cannot stand merely on their titles and their wealth. And, fourthly, there is Mr. CARDWELL, a man of the middle class, born to be the Minister of Commerce in a commercial country. With four such leaders—four such men to place in front office—the "national party" would be omnipotent. Who will forbid the banns?

The national party means nothing that can render its organisation a difficulty. It contemplates a revolution of the political system; but it is a revolution to which the common sense of the country assents. It does not mean the destruction of the aristocracy; it means merely the destruction of aristocratic ascendancy. It means, not the annihilation of aristocracy, but of oligarchy. It means, that England shall be governed by the intellect of England, the honour of England, the morality of England.

We have the men—and there is the opportunity. Shall we miss it?

THE DUTY OF INDEPENDENT MEMBERS.

THE issue between the people and the Government is every day narrowing, and the time is rapidly coming when we are to ascertain whether the public is as far short of its duty as the Government has proved—as corrupt as "the system." In the brief debate before the moving of the army estimates, on Monday, the question was very distinctly laid down by Mr. LAYARD. He admitted what every man who probes the subject must admit, that an inquiry carried on by the House of Commons into the practical administration of the army, even with reference to grievances, must cripple the Executive Government. The first majority in favour of Mr. ROEBUCK'S motion was a vote of no confidence in the late Ministry; and the PALMERSTON Ministry would have had a right to claim a reversal or suspension of that vote, in one or other of two cases—either if it presented new men not amenable to the censorious inquiry, or totally new measures superseding the necessity of inquiry. The Ministers undoubtedly exhibit a degree of activity which would have been very welcome at the earlier stages of the war. But it would be greatly underrating the actual complaint of the public, to suppose that the slowness of the siege at Sebastopol is now *the* grievance of the day. The dilatory proceedings there, the want of anything like efficient administration, and the disasters that have resulted, grievous as they are, are only the means of disclosing to the English people the really painful facts. These larger facts may be thus set down: the departments organised to serve the public prevent the service they were destined to execute; the Ministers of the public are too feeble to compel the departments to do their duty; the Sovereign is forced by a certain routine to continue alternating in a round of three sets of statesmen who have proved their inability to grapple with the enterprises exacted by the country; and, finally, the most painful fact of all, the House of Commons, as it is at present constituted, cannot present better men, and demands for them the acceptance of the Sovereign. It is *that* state of things which is the grievance. It is not the disastrous siege of Sebastopol, but the impregnability of the Treasury bench against all but those privileged with the *entrée*.

There may be many reasons why the army in the Crimea was too weak for its work, and yet the work could not be delayed; why a sufficiency of provisions, of clothing, and of shelter was sent out, and yet they did not reach their destination—the long peace and the habits of routine tending to harden the experienced officials against new ways. All this has been pleaded, and might be admitted; and it would excuse the state of things in the Crimea. But it was of so much importance to grapple with this master evil, that the public has now a right to make an accusation against Ministers for not doing so effectually. The announcement that they are sending out commissioners would do very well, if any one fault were the thing to be examined; but it is *all* faulty. The commissioners selected do not increase confidence in a plan of instituting separate inquiries and separate offices. The Commissariat is to be routed out, but by whom? By Sir JOHN MCNEILL, who is seventy years of age. A chief is to be appointed to the transport service, but who is it? Captain CHRISTIE, seventy years of age, with such a catarrh that he cannot leave his ship after dark—a sailor who cannot face the wind! Lord RAGLAN has got an inefficient staff, and it is proposed to send over an old gentleman—General SIMPSON—to superintend the staff, and to "recommend" RAGLAN what to do. This is literally copying the custom of the Laputans, whose statesmen had an attendant with a flapper to call their attention to the necessary business of the moment. General SIMPSON is appointed flapper to RAGLAN. We, therefore, have promise, should these old gentlemen reach their destination in safety, and should not die or should not break down, that there may be improvements in the transport, in the commissariat, the staff, &c.; but the public service out of which these departments sprout will still be left in its state of vitiated organisation; and by dabbling at the extremities with very elderly hands, Government confesses that it has neither the intention nor the wish to go to the root of the evil. It is *this* of which the public has a right to complain.

But, as we observed last week, there really are—and Lord PALMERSTON may discover the fact if he will search—men available for the public service who are less than seventy years of age. It may, to certain experienced statesmen, appear rash to say so; but we are convinced that our assertion would be borne out by the facts. Threescore years and ten is the age of men for doing rough and ready work according to the new Ministerial interpretation!

Yet if we admit the recognised rule of Ministerial appointment, we do not see what we should gain by turning out Lord PALMERSTON. The QUEEN must then send for the next set in the small circle of selection, and that of course would be Lord DERBY, with Mr. DISRAELI and others. Now, if those gentlemen are not seventy years of age on an average, too many of them are men of such a stamp as to have attained the characteristic of that age precociously. They have not even the same amount of energy and vitality that is displayed by Lord PALMERSTON, their senior by the calendar alone. Really vigorous members are not sent up by the country, or if they are found in the House of Commons, they are not adopted by the House of Commons. Lord PALMERSTON treats it as a joke to make a Cabinet which shall not include the families, or the seventy-year-old colts; and when the pleasant Viscount taunts Mr. LAYARD with his unnamed Cabinet, the House of Commons pushes home the taunt with laughter. The honourable House does think it ridiculous not to have a Cabinet of seventy-year-old statesmen. Mr. LAYARD, therefore, and those who think with him, must carry on their quarrel, not against the Government, but against the House of Commons, and, if necessary, must appeal from the Commons to the people. Her Majesty is only allowed to "send for" some few out of particular cliques, and the House of Commons is prepared to stand by the members of those cliques in supporting the system. Let men like Mr. LAYARD and Mr. LOWE display anything like vigorous patriotism, independence, and true statesmanship, and unless they consent to be tamed into subordinate officers, they shall be treated as persons excluded from political influence. Mr. LAYARD will get nothing by making speeches to prove the incompetency of the septuagenarians. He may be perfectly familiar with the ground in the East, which others only know by reading or talk. He may be, as he is, a man of so much earnestness, courage, and organic energy, as to subdue, by sheer force of will and mastery of spirit, the wild tribes that haunt the desolate solitudes of Nineveh. He may be prepared to speak the truth about the position of the country in Parliament. But these are not qualities recognised as essential to English statesmen. To truckle to those in power, to fall in with the freemasonry of "the system," and to promote the alternation of gentlemen to be "sent for"—these are the true qualities for English statesmanship as the privilege of a caste.

Mr. LOWE, who had been accustomed to wield a popular assembly in New South Wales—who had seen the workings of British institutions in that school which was so instructive to Lord ELGIN, a British colony—comes into the House only to find how much English representatives have degenerated from the type of their forefathers, and how little a real patriot is at home in the Senate that sits at Westminster.

We much doubt if anything is to be carried through in that place. The system has to be altered, not only in the departments, but in Parliament. If Mr. LAYARD and Mr. LOWE, and men like them, intend to reverse the present state of things, and to rescue their country, they must be prepared to do *more* than to denounce a Ministry to a House of Commons—to denounce an Artful Dodger to a CHARLEY BATES! There is plenty of discontent out of doors; plenty of genuine feeling; plenty of latent resolve to do what Ministers and Commons have neither the heart nor wish to do—lay the axe to the foundation of the present system. And if the members of the Commons who see their duty

before them find that they cannot, by denunciation or by warning, rescue either our army or the national honour, they must undertake the more arduous, and perhaps the more hazardous, task of trying to correct the master evil, by wrenching the power of the State from the class that have usurped it.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S WAR POLICY.

WANTED a War Minister of energy, invention, and insight, who thoroughly understands the present war. Wanted a Minister who will make the most of the enormous resources of the British Empire in men, money, ships, material, and science, to crush the Russian Empire and build up a strong barrier between the barbaric North and the civilised West. Wanted a MAN, in short, to lead the British nation, in Parliament and out of Parliament, supreme in the council, prime moving spirit in the field.

Has the British nation got such a man in its public places, or in its holes and corners? If it has, let him come forth and take up the mighty burden the British nation declares itself ready to lay upon him. As yet, certainly, the leader and saviour of the state, the MARLBOROUGH or the WELLINGTON, the NAPOLEON or the PITT, of this degenerate day, has not appeared. Lord RAGLAN is not he; Lord PANMURE is very far from being he—his only resemblance to CHATHAM is that he is liable to the gout; Lord PALMERSTON—we have strong doubts whether the sprightly War Secretary of 1810, is the mighty War Minister required in 1855.

Is it possible that Lord ELLENBOROUGH is the man? True, he has a natural inclination for war; true, he has a natural love of matters military; true, he deals eloquently in far-reaching views, and affects a familiarity with details. He is full of years, he would fain persuade us he is full of vigour also. He is a thorough Tory, and asks to be the Minister of a Liberal war. *Can* Lord ELLENBOROUGH, chiefly known as a reckless talking power in the House of Peers, latterly presented to us as Lord DERBY'S Mars, be the man the nation is seeking; and if he be, will the nation accept his policy and its consequences—a policy not new to the public—but new in the House of Peers? Not new, we say, to the public, for programmes equally bold have been proposed before; but new from the lips of a Tory statesman, and a sign that the party is going to bid high for popularity.

Since Lord ELLENBOROUGH'S war policy, should the Executive relapse into the hands of the DERBY-DISRAELI faction, may become the policy of the country, it is important that we should note it, the more especially as the DERBYITE press have sanctioned the programme ostentatiously declaimed by the possible Minister.

At the commencement of the war, Lord ELLENBOROUGH declared that it was "a statesman's war," and that the people of this country would never understand it. At that time the people, and the people's organs, were demanding that the war should be at least partly carried on by an appeal to nationalities. On Tuesday night Lord ELLENBOROUGH treated the House of Peers to a sketch of the war policy *he* would pursue. We find, to our infinite surprise, that the statesman has taken up the people's view, and that he solemnly assures us that we must "appeal to nationalities as well as to armies," if we would succeed. Let us assume that this is not a "bid" only; but the earnest utterance of patriotism. Here then is one great principle of the policy of the man who aspires most pertinaciously towards the leadership of England—war by nationalities. It is true that among the nationalities be named, that of Poland is *not*—but surely he must, for consistency's sake, include Poland, and perhaps Finland too. Next to this great principle is that of adequately carrying on the war in Asia—certainly a most important object. For this purpose he would call on the Indian Government to furnish cavalry and artillery, and take a prominent part in the war; he would obtain the aid of a corps of Persians, "who are the very best soldiers, as brave as their swords;" he would employ the Turkish troops in British pay in this service, and with these combined he would overrun Georgia, and with the further aid of the Circassians he would drive the Russian army beyond the Caucasus. He would have a body of Turkish troops in French pay, joined, we presume, with Austrians, make a diversion on the Pruth; for he calculates that without these diversions in Asia and Europe, Persia will be compelled to side with Russia, and that the Allies' force in the Crimea will be unable to hold their ground. Of course, it is easy to fill up the outline. There would be vigorous war from the mountains of Georgia to the shores of the Baltic; there would be Turks and Georgians, and Persians and native Indians, and Austrians and Poles, and Fins, and English and French, all surging steadily up against the great bulwarks of Russian power. It is a magnificent programme!

But what security have we that it would be carried out if Lord ELLENBOROUGH were entrusted with the war? There are some important, some significant omissions. Lord ELLENBOROUGH spoke of the militia, and recommended coercive measures; but he is evidently not prepared to make it a truly national force, accessible in its higher ranks to others than gentlemen at large possessed of certain property. What view would he take of the system of promotion? Is it likely that the Tories would abolish the military Game Laws, and throw open the commission preserve to merit? Certainly not. Yet that must be done by the minister who makes the military service popular and attractive in England. Besides, what guarantee have we that the party, whose Chief of the Staff this Lord would become, would sympathise with his policy *in* office—*out* is another matter? Lord STANLEY is not an insignificant Disraelite; yet only last week he professed a belief in the good intentions of Russia, and insinuated that war broke out because the Emperor was misunderstood! When has Mr. DISRAELI ever declared heartily in favour of the war? It is just, he says, but was not necessary. But if the armed and aggressive policy of Russia be not strangely belied by facts, the war was not only just but was inevitable, and necessary for the safety of Europe.

Still Lord ELLENBOROUGH'S position in Parliament, and his relations with parties, give his speeches an importance which they otherwise would not have; and suggest a few reflections which demand consideration, and a few questions which demand replies.

Are the British people so fully awakened from the dreams of peace, so fully aware of the dangerous power of Russia, as to give their adhesion, if not to Lord ELLENBOROUGH, then to Lord ELLENBOROUGH'S adopted programme? Look the thing full in the face, and it will be seen that it carves out for us years of steady and unfaltering war. Yet the danger confessedly is great. Russia must be the conqueror or the conquered; a compromise would be a delusive and a criminal waste. Look at Russia. The picture has often been drawn by abler pens than ours. Look along any large map, from Finland to the Caspian Sea, and observe the aggressive nature of the whole line of frontier. The Baltic is lined with fortresses of enormous strength, gradually edging down to the Sound, and permanently menacing Sweden and Denmark. Poland, an entrenched camp, equally studded with citadels, projects into Germany like a huge bastion, lowers over Prussia, and outflanks Austria. Farther southward Russia almost holds the keys of Transylvania; is master of the Pruth; and is positively, at this hour, supreme on the Lower Danube. From Sebastopol—if Sebastopol escape us, she can again send forth a huge naval armament; and on the Circassian coast her forts will rise from their ashes under the sun of peace. She is master of the Caucasus; she is king in Georgia and Armenia; her legions have occupied Bayazid, that eastern gate to Syria; her steamers float upon the Caspian, and her soldiers encamp on the Jaxartes. Over neighbouring nations she exercises a subtle influence, even beyond her frontier, from Montenegro to Herat.

Certainly, now is the time to deal the giant a fatal wound; and the man to deal England's share of the blow is wanting.

But is it the man alone that is wanting for an earnest and deadly war? Are the people high-tempered enough to support the man if they find him? to give him men, to give him money, to give him obedience, all with a prodigality as yet not manifested? Are they who call for the reconstruction of Poland, are they who demand freedom for the Circassians, are they willing to pay the cost of the enterprise? We put the question distinctly, are the British people ready to spend their energies in a war on this gigantic scale, and stake their honour on its success? It is full time that the question should be searchingly put and frankly answered; and if answered in the affirmative, that the strongest demonstration of that affirmative should be made throughout the country.

Is Lord ELLENBOROUGH'S policy *the* policy, and is the expounder of that policy the man of the hour? If Lord DERBY comes into office we shall probably see; but till then, at least, we may be permitted to doubt the self-advertised pretensions of Lord DERBY'S Minister of War.

MILITARY PROMOTION BY BIRTH.

THE treatment which Lord GODERICH'S motion receives from Government is curious. He was asked by Lord PALMERSTON to postpone it, because Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT was absent through indisposition, and he wished to take part in the debate. In the interval between Tuesday last and Thursday next, the day newly named by Lord PALMERSTON, Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT leaves the Government. What part then will he take in the debate? The position that other men may occupy is also an interesting question. We know, by the experience of Kidderminster, what Mr. LOWE will say to it. Mr. OSBORNE, who mounted on the top of the Admiralty to discharge red-hot shot into the building "next door"—the Horse Guards—may be fairly asked, what part of the system—"rotten from top to bottom"—is worse than the promotion? There are other men of the rank of Ministers who have some knowledge of the world of England as well as of class or department, and they must know what is their duty on this occasion. Mr. CARDWELL, for instance, ought to be able to tell the men of his order what is the feeling of the nation; just as officers risen from the ranks have been able to tell their brother officers at mess what are the feelings of the men.

It may be supposed that the complaint of undue "aristocratic" exclusiveness is imaginary—that the sons of the aristocracy do no more than take the advantage which their position gives them to keep the lead of their countrymen. If that were so, we should not grudge the use of accumulated and hereditary honours.

But it is not so. Certain posts are kept for "gentlemen," with a very vulgar test of gentle birth; and those who cannot undergo the test are disqualified, though they have a right to bear arms without stain or abatement—which is more than some of our aristocracy could say if heralds did their duty. A single case will illustrate our meaning; and from its nature it will be seen to be only one of a class in a host of abuses where there are many classes. A young gentleman is educated at a public school, goes to college, and at every stage in his progress takes such honours as show that his attainments are worthy of higher tests. He studies engineering, and has an ambition to avail himself of the new "opening," by which students at the established schools are admitted to the Woolwich Academy for six months' probationary study before entering the corps of Royal Engineers. The testimonials of the candidate are absolutely conclusive as to his eligibility; but he is stopped at the first question. He applies for admission. The official asks—

Not what the youth's attainments are, what his training, his qualities, or his health; not anything about himself at all; but

"Was *your father* in business?"

"Yes," is the answer; and the door is closed against the youth!

His father *was* "in business"—he may without exaggeration—when we compare what he found and what he left—be said to have organised the trade of the Shetland Isles; and he accomplished an enterprise which proved him to be a man of energy, invention, and high spirit—just the qualities that a cadet of the Royal Engineers should inherit. But to have been "in business" is to be not a gentleman—though Lord TORRINGTON, a railway chairman, is a gentleman and something more; Lord LONDONDERRY is a gentleman though a coal-dealer; and Lord CLANRICARDE would not be excluded on *that* account from the Royal Engineers!

The young man applies to an officer in command, states his case, and is advised not to attempt perseverance. Evidently the worthy old Epaulettes thinks that a young gentleman who is not "a gentleman" *ought* not to be admitted.

Now are men born engineers by the rules of the Herald's college, or by the rules of a much higher college? For it strikes us, that if the Royal Engineers are selected according to the exclusively "gentle" station of their fathers, Sebastopol is no mystery, nor likely to be the last of commentaries on that mode of selecting of Engineers.

OUR PRESTIGE IN EUROPE.

HUMAN nature is so made, and it would be waste of time to repine thereat. The French—at least such of them as have not joined the opposition of silence and patience, the French of the official and venal species—are secretly exulting over our discomfiture in the Crimea. They now believe, perhaps with some semblance of reason, that England has ceased to be a first-rate Power. We are shining, fiery, but dim and artificially magnified, far down on the western slope of the heavens. There can be now no further doubt about it; we are, indeed, a nation of shopkeepers, and nothing else; capable, perhaps, of a vigorous, though vain attempt to defend our plate-glass and our four-post bedsteads if directly attacked, but too incompetent, too ill-constructed, too steeped in mere questions of profit and loss, too suffocated with wealth, too fond of ease and our skins to be worth a jot as allies in a great war. John Bull, poised on legs of Egyptian proportion, may stand on his threshold or step to the curb-stone, and give one sturdy blow with his fist; but take him out for a campaign, and he pants and chokes, and indulges in harmless martial pantomime miles behind. There was a letter from the scene of war read the other night in a Parisian *salon*. "We should have done the work," it said, "but for the English and the Turks."—Is it come to *that* coupling?—"It is impossible to act with such people. They are *never ready*." We are not cowards, only stupid and slow!

We know what stress is really to be laid on this opinion, but it would be very unwise to dissimulate the fact of its existence and rapid spread, not only through France, but over the whole Continent. It may come to constitute a great danger. At least one half of a nation's power consists in the prestige that surrounds it. A man of honour, courage, and strength may fight his way through a crowd which, if it ever learned to despise, could crush him at once. Is it not worth while, instead of trusting any longer to the vast latent resources of Anglo-Saxon energy—no doubt capable of bringing us safe through far greater dangers than we have yet encountered—to do something at once calculated to give a different direction to the current of public opinion abroad, and to save this country from the attacks of the *Coalition of Envy*, which may be nearer in possibility than we like to believe?

Within the last few weeks it has become an article of Continental faith—greedily accepted—that the last Englishman to be feared or respected fell at Alma or Inkerman, or is freezing to death in the peninsula of Cherson. We have no longer, it is said, either an army or the means of getting one together. How this strange result has been brought about is a mystery. No one can understand why, in a country which has made so much boast of its warlike enthusiasm, which has thundered in monster meetings, emptied out its purse in subscriptions, and shaken the sides of the world by the clamour of its press, recruits more numerous than the Government can manage do not pour in. There is certainly at first sight a sufficiently broad contradiction between our talk and our performance in this respect. Unless the apostles of peace at any price have a greater hold than seems likely on the classes whence the raw material of armies is drawn, it must be admitted that there exist artificial reasons by which the people are separated in feeling from the Government. What these reasons are, no calm observer of public affairs here at home can fail to perceive; but they are perfectly inappreciable abroad where people wait only for the practical results that ought to follow on national bluster;—and so the report goes round: *England's glory is on the wane.*

There is probably some slight want of good faith in those who propagate this opinion. At any rate they are ignorant of the stuff of which soldiers are made, and of the way in which they are made. In former years the English army, which has done so many fine things, was recruited from the ranks of idleness, of misery, and of crime. Tall, raw-boned youths were lured into the arena like bulls by a bit of scarlet cloth. Discontented sons and disappointed lovers started on the heroic road through mere spite, stupified during the first irrevocable steps by beer and gin. No one can regret the fact, if it be true, that these causes have ceased to operate in so great a degree; and surely in the vast multitude of human motives there may be found others quite as operative, and more respectable. But we cannot expect to get new men with the old machinery; people think nowadays before allowing their palms to be tickled by the shilling; they know what they are doing, and would like to know whither they are going; and, although foreign statesmen and diplomatists—sharing the opinion of our short-sighted and selfish governing classes—may deride the idea of a reform, and tell us that the necessity we plead is a sign of decay, we must not accept these interested suggestions. He who laughs at reform fears it.

A vague rumour has been circulated that some of our boldest statesmen have discussed, at Imperial suggestion, though for the present they have rejected, the idea of introducing the conscription into England. In Paris, those who affect to wish us well cannot see that we have any other alternative. Either we must submit to that degradation, or perish. This is nonsense. Let our friends be quite sure, at any rate, that until all other reasonable measures have been tried, England will not receive any such proposition, except with derision. Yet, no doubt many of our wise governors—wise in their own interest—would prefer even taking such a hint from the man whose policy they so much admire—it seems true that the Emperor did really throw out the hint—to striking in with public opinion, and giving us, in a country which has so many democratic tendencies, a really democratic army.

One of the sophisms by which the conscription is made tolerable abroad is the assertion that it is a democratic institution. A Frenchman, becoming a hero on compulsion, is ready to accept the apology without much scrutiny. But there never was a greater mistake. The conscription is a tax of blood practically raised only on the poorest members of the community. Save in rare exceptions, no man looks forward to the period of drawing without horror; and no man goes for a soldier unless he fails in an attempt to beg or borrow sufficient to buy himself off. The aristocratic and bourgeois classes, therefore, escape the heavier obligations of this law, which spreads misery and immorality amongst the poor. We will have nothing to do with it. There must be, there are, means of raising an army quite effective enough for our purpose on very different principles.

It is now superfluous to enumerate those means. Every one knows them—both those who recommend, because they have the honour and safety of the country at heart, and those who oppose, because they think only of class interests, and would prefer reigning alone in a degraded realm to sharing power with the real citizen of a free commonwealth. It is quite evident that the soldier's life may, both by increased pecuniary advantages and greater promise of honour and advancement, be made attractive to as many young men as we can find use for. The mere hope of good pay would, perhaps, not be sufficient, although a little increase might have a considerable effect. But you must put a Marshal's bâton in the knapsack of every soldier. Unless you do that in these days of enlightenment, nothing will avail. At present, the common soldier is in the position of a man who stands for hours with his nose against the doors of a theatre to secure a good place, and when it is opened, finds all the front seats taken. Everybody has been before him there with his money.

These ideas of reform, however, as we have hinted, are laughed at in France, where people, even in opposition, take their opinion often on such matters from authority. Whence we derive our hopes—from free discussion—they imagine all our dangers to flow. We are under the curse of Parliamentary government—meaning not only our cramped forms, but all the means by which public opinion expresses itself. Look at the article published the other day in the *Moni-*

teur Universel, unsigned, but recognised as from the pen of the Emperor himself, from its authoritative style. The writer is delighted with our discomfiture, and attributes it to our imperfect form of government. Nothing like leather, says he. See what the "Elect of eight millions," invested with absolute authority, can do. No babblers thwart him. And then he tells us that if we did have a brilliant time of it towards the beginning of this century, it was because then we had King Pitt to reign over us. The universal panacea is silence, repression; the great political watchword is *mum;* the finest people is a people of puppets. This philosophy is accepted by the venal and indifferent classes in France. We shall talk one of these days of its results.

MR. GLADSTONE'S NEW POSTAL LAW AND THE EXETER-HALL MEETING.

OUR readers need not to be reminded of the steady support which this journal has rendered from the first to the just and useful agitation for repealing the imposts which impede the diffusion of knowledge. The abolition of the compulsory stamp on newspapers, and of that disgraceful CASTLEREAGH-devised security system, which assumed journalism to be a felonious profession, we are happy to say is now inevitable. We agree with Lord STANLEY that the newspaper is not intrinsically a tax on knowledge, but rather a postal payment, and the adjustment proposed by the late CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER of making the stamp optional to those who need it, is as necessary as it is beneficial. There is, however, no denying that it was *intended* to act, and *has* acted—as the most offensive of taxes on the diffusion of information, by making the stamp indispensable to the publication of *news*. The monopoly of political facts is now irrevocably doomed, and once abolished by Parliament, no power in the State will ever be able to re-enact it. To Free Bread will be added Free News, and the body and soul of the nation will stand sentinels over the concessions.

It has been narrowly and ungenerously suggested that Mr. GLADSTONE'S Bill was thrown out by an expiring Cabinet as a bidding for the support of the Manchester party. We protest against this malignant judgment of public acts. If the worst motives are for ever to be ascribed to the best measures of a Minister, what reason is left to any Minister to study the independent service of the people? The great meeting at Exeter-hall on Wednesday evening was not only creditable to the people who thronged in thousands more than that vast hall could hold, as indicating a popular desire for knowledge, but creditable to the higher political sentiment which they manifested. We have the means of knowing that thousands of working men, both inside and out of the Hall, went to give applause to the Minister who had set the example of conceding to reason what could not be carried by clamour. Distrusting the Government, as well they may—jealous as they are of our national renown endangered by octagenarian routine — indignant as they are at a Government which, enforcing responsibility among the populace, yet avoids all responsibility for Cabinet disasters—yet they went to thank Mr. GLADSTONE for his Bill. The *Examiner* calls upon the Minister to resist an agitation not seconded by clamour. What are we to expect then? If the pride of the statesman will not yield to clamour, and his judgment is not to yield to reason and right, on what principles are concessions to be made? The people went to honour the man, well described by Mr. COBDEN as "a statesman with a conscience," and we count the *moral* effect of that meeting of as much value as its political influence.

Absurd apprehensions prevail (absurd as those which needlessly agitated the farmers on the eve of corn-law repeal) that the multiplication of cheap journals will damage the circulation of existing ones. We have long ago exposed this fallacy. When printing was invented writing was expected to go out of fashion. Mr. GLADSTONE is regarded now as CAXTON was then. But as there is still need for the labours of the penman, so there will be a demand for metropolitan journals when, as Mr. DAWSON rightly prays, every hamlet in England shall have its journal, criticising Squire BUMPUS and Lady BOUNTIFUL, of the Grange, as we criticise the red-tapist of Downing-street. MACAULAY relates how, in the reign of CHARLES II., "the literature which could be carried in a post-bag then formed the greater part of the intellectual nutriment ruminated by the country divines and country justices. The difficulty and expense of conveying large packets from place to place was so great, that an extensive work was longer in making its way from Paternoster-row to Devonshire or Lancashire than it now is in reaching Kentucky." Had the Chancellor of the Exchequer of CHARLES II. proposed the present rates of transit for news a revolution would have been foretold. Newsvendors and news-buyers would alike have arisen in rebellion—but the innovation would have done both good, and so will the new postal law. The news-maker and the news-consumer are now on the eve of new advantages, and the wonder will be twelve months hence that the press was the last to see its own interests. Unless our contemporaries look to their duties, the public will be in advance of its teachers.

THE "GLOBE" AT WAR.

WE are not usually disposed to pay particular attention to the criticisms of official or semi-official journals. To make the worse appear the better reason is a sorry business at the best of times; but to vindicate the imbecilities of incapable administrators demands a lower deep of ingenuity. It is a pity that our daily Ministerial apologists should desert the safe ground of universal optimism. The *Globe*, echoing with congenial sneers the jaunty PALMERSTON, descends upon Mr. LAYARD with an imposing array of historical perversions. We fear our respectable Whig contemporary has acquired this bad habit in bad company. Already this week we remarked in its columns a somewhat wiredrawn eulogy of our imperial ally's elaborate attack on the British Constitution. But the off-hand arrangement of history we are now about to notice is only surpassed by the *Moniteur* itself.

Fastening upon a suggestion rather hinted than expressed by Mr. LAYARD, that the conduct of the operations in the Crimea might be improved by the surveillance of Parliamentary Commissioners after the manner of the Commissaries of the French Convention, our Ministerial contemporary, in that style of flippant gravity which is presumed to be agreeable to evening readers, pronounces that "it may not be uninstructive to ask whether—as a matter of fact—those 'representatives in mission' to the revolutionary armies *did* enable them, as Mr. LAYARD says they did, to perform the prodigious deeds which all the world admired." Hereupon, in answer to this instructive inquiry, which no one but the writer in the *Globe* would have thought of proposing, we are treated to the following novelties:—

"The military witnesses of the events of that epoch, testify that these representatives militant produce, for the most part, *nothing but disorder* in military operations. They in fact 'operated injuriously to the public sense.' . . . . There were indeed some few members of the French Convention, who employed their dictatorial authority with discernment, and became useful auxiliaries of the military commanders. Amongst these Merlin de Thionville and one or two others were distinguished, and Carnot himself was engaged in person at the battle of Watignies. But the majority of these emissaries, like St. Just, brought no other contingent to the armies of their country than *ignorant presumption, and reckless ferocity. Their presence produced nothing but disorders and violences; they decreed massacres, but prepared no victories.* . . . . It was Carnot's assumption (in effect) of the functions of Minister of War that put a period to the blind and blundering direction of the Committee of Public Safety collectively, and its emissaries. They had done their utmost in '*operating injuriously on the public service.*' When Carnot took the War Department in hand, *he decided the adoption of that plan of campaign of the Army of the North in* 1794, which retrieved the disasters caused by the Terrorist 'representative' missions of 1793, and recalled victory to the arms of France in the battle of Fleurus. The General who won that victory (Jourdan) was one of the most emphatic in denying all obligation to the Terrorist committee men on the part of the army. Marshal St. Cyr has left the same testimony in his Memoirs—that these 'representatives of the people' brought nothing into the camp but confusion, and knew no discipline but terror.

"As Carnot became in fact Minister of War, Saint-André became in like manner Minister of Marine."

We cheerfully abandon to the laborious *persiflage* of the Whig journalist that undoubtedly incapable Minister of Marine, SAINT-ANDRE. Even the Convention was not always ably served; in this respect at least the revolutionary Republic was as respectable as regular monarchies. It is delightful to observe with what satisfaction the Whig writer chuckles over the reputation of an incapable. "*I hail thee, brother.*" But to return.

It was not until after the defection of DUMOURIEZ, when all France was in consternation at the dangers of the army and of the State, from the incapacity or doubtful fidelity of the generals, that the Convention, acting through the Committee of Public Safety, appointed commissaries to the armies in the field, whose duty it was to be personally responsible in the face of the army for the conduct of its chiefs. The "ignorant presumption" of men who exposed their lives not only in the foremost front of battle abroad, but to the terrible consequences of direct responsibility at home, was better appreciated by the soldiers they led to victory than by the Whig writer whose office it is to excuse disasters. Certain it is that, whereas at the time of the appointment of these commissaries the armies of the Republic were harassed by successive defeats, and the enemy in occupation of French territory, from the moment they assumed the direction of the resistance, France was able, not only to expel her invaders, but to feed, clothe, and house her troops at the expense of Europe, to extend the territory of France, and to preserve the freedom of her new institutions. Not a single reverse occurred in this career of victories—which, as Mr. LAYARD says, "all the world (even the most bigoted of Legitimists) admired"—so long as the representatives of the Convention remained at the head of the armies. They inspired the soldiers with confidence, and the generals with a just sense of liability to the State. As for the "reckless ferocity" of which this complacent Whig trifler talks, in what way, we may ask, was "reckless ferocity" brought to the armies by the Representatives of the People? It will not be pretended that they treated their

own soldiers with 'reckless ferocity;' is it meant that they 'brought reckless ferocity' to the enemies of their country? It was not their business to punish the soldiers; deficient generals were sent to Paris to account for their defection. The times, indeed, were exceptional; perhaps a Whig journalist cannot conceive exceptional times—except when the Whigs are not in office. But who was the Member of the Committee of Public Safety, by whom, as Minister of War, the nomination of every one of these military commissaries of the Convention was approved and signed? Why, CARNOT, Member of the Committee of Public Safety and Minister of War during the whole "Reign of Terror"—CARNOT, who, according to the *Globe*, "put a period to the blind and blundering direction of the Committee of Public Safety collectively and its emissaries."

The General JOURDAN, who, if we are to trust the historical teaching of the *Globe*, "was one of the most emphatic in denying all obligation to the Terrorist Committeemen on the part of the army," happens to have been, *par excellence*, the Republican General, *created* in fact by the Committee of Public Safety. Marshal de ST. CYR, the *Globe* informs us, left his testimony against the Commissaries of the Convention. It is quite possible that Marshal de ST. CYR, a moderately distinguished soldier, but not remarkable for other qualities, may have insulted the Republic, in his Memoirs, written during the Restoration. Writing in the midst of a profound reaction, after serving three *régimes*, the Marshal can hardly be accepted as an impartial witness. Besides, it is not to be wondered at that professional soldiers should constitutionally resent the interference of civilians, especially of civilians who, finding it hopeless to contend strategically and tactically against veteran troops with inexperienced commanders and raw recruits, revolutionised the whole art of war, and overran Europe with the bayonet and the *Marseillaise*.

To conclude: the dexterous Whig Journalist, not unaccustomed to seasonable adulations, would have done well to remember that it was the Commissaries of the Convention who found out a young and obscure officer of artillery at the siege of Toulon, and when that young officer offered to take Toulon in the teeth of all the incapables, gave him his opportunity. That young officer was NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

"THE STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

[The responsibility of the Editor in regard to these contributions is limited to the act of giving them publicity. The opinions expressed are those of the writer: both the *Leader* and "The Stranger" benefit by the freedom which is left to his pen and discretion.]

A CROWDED House of Commons last night for the enjoyment of the new crisis—third of the season—the *lever du rideau* of this session being rather a lengthy light piece. But the crowded House was not alarmed. Mr. Disraeli had said the previous night that the feeling with which the new difficulty is faced is a feeling of "consternation." But Mr. Disraeli does not understand Lord Palmerston, and what Mr. Disraeli himself would call the "reproductive power" of the country in the way of Ministers. Lord Palmerston always found fault with Peel that he had only three courses to follow: Lord Palmerston himself has always half-a-dozen. Granted that most of his eminent men have left him, and that none of the outside eminent men will join him. He is a man who would go to the messengers of the House, and put *them* on the Treasury bench—and very respectable-looking Ministers would they make—if he could get no one else. He himself says—and the House knew that before it collected yesterday into an audience expecting to be amused—that he could "carry on the Government with a bundle of sticks"—which, indeed, is all he is likely to get. It would be a Catalini company—*ma femme et trois ou quatre poupées*. In short, a Marionette Ministry. Didn't we, Liberals, demand some changes as to our governing classes?

Of course the sensitive English public will doubt the assertion that the House of Commons on such an occasion could be otherwise than as the public is—intent, anxious, fearful. Undoubtedly there was much said of sympathy for the suffering troops—frost-bitten, starving, ill-clothed. Why that's awful. But there are 50,000 English out of work, and starving, within half an hour's walk of Palace-yard. Are they less precious than the soldiers?—is the winter here less severe?—and what is done to remedy the metropolitan Balaklava? Still it must be admitted that the House of Commons, at one moment yesterday evening, was excited, vehement, fierce. It was when awful F. Scott rose at eight, and when members took the opportuntiy to rush to dinner, overcrowding the dining-rooms. For, alas! at half-past eight, there was not a potato to be had. Worse, the cutlets were underdone!

The Peelites wouldn't be Marionettes:—that is the conclusion one came to hearing Sir James Graham in his first-class counsel defence of himself. It was too technical to be altogether reliable. Sir Graham's tone was the tone of a man who had found out that he was not sufficiently consulted in the Cabinet, and who accordingly took an excellent pretext to stand on his dignity—the pretext of the Committee. He incidentally confessed that he had made the discovery by Tuesday last that the Palmerston Government was just as little in possession of the House's confidence as the Aberdeen Government had been; and how natural that Sir James, foreseeing a speedy crash, should hurry to get out of a false position and into a thoroughly good position? What did his taunt, that Lord Palmerston was the real deserter, mean, but that the Peelite party in the Cabinet did not choose to have a Dictator in their First Minister? Mr. Sidney Herbert's vindication was in a different line from his old friend's. It was not a special pleader's; it was that of an intellectual man of honour, whose main motive for his resignation arose in his aversion to the committee. But he also innocently indicated some things not intended to be explained. His argument against the committee is that it would be "a sham." Why, Lord Palmerston, the practical man, knows that, and therefore lets the poor stupid House have its committee. Mr. Herbert is not so practical and more logical. But when he is older he will discover that Lord Palmerston is now quite right in doing the best he can in a dilemma—and keeping in.

That is to say, Lord Palmerston has done the best thing he could. But at the same time Mr. Gladstone, without proving Lord Palmerston in the wrong, proved himself in the right: and at any rate liberals will rejoice at finding Mr. Gladstone at last in his right position—not merely with Sir Robert Peel's followers, again isolated from both sections of the aristocracy, but now entrenched against both sections of the aristocracy amidst the intellectual middle-class Radicals who mean middle-class power. Not that Mr. Gladstone indicated any consciousness of the significance which the House attaches to his retirement from the Treasury Bench to the bench from which he last night spoke: he confined his speech to a logical argument against the Committee. Perhaps it was a speech which might just mittee. But for an hour and a half the closely-packed House, piled to the back seats of the side galleries, listened with scarcely an interruption—the interruptions being no more than murmurs of extorted applause—to the fast flow of the exquisitely balanced sentences of an orator who, in a minority of half a dozen, was convincing an audience of five hundred that the five hundred were in error. What a rhetorical triumph—what a tribute to genius!

When the retiring Ministers walked up the floor, turned up the gangway, and took their places among the Radicals—ostentatiously welcomed by Mr. Bright the full House buzzed its astonished comments on so significant a proceeding. Sir James Graham was full of impatient importance, and the House was eager to begin the evening. Some formalities were got through; it was time. But no Palmerston. Five minutes past; ten minutes; fifteen minutes; still no Palmerston; Mr. Berkeley and Lord Mulgrave were in and out, despatching messengers and cabs, and cheered ironically by the Tories, when at intervals they turned up at the Treasury to report to the bewildered colleagues that the Premier was *non est*. The fact is Lord Palmerston, who takes all things coolly—so far a *Civis Romanus*, that not Pyrrhus's elephant would intimidate *him*—had not considered it necessary to hurry, and was, all the time, sauntering in St. James's Park, getting his usual exercise before he went to work! He turned up, amid great laughter, at his usual time, quite unconcerned, and went to sleep before Sir James had well got through his exordium! Sir James was, perhaps, glad of that; it is easily conceivable that he is rather afraid of that intellect, more crafty and more unscrupulous than his own. Sir James Graham's speech was a surprise; he spoke merely as to the past; he did not advance a word—a "Radical bid" was counted on—as to the future, as to war or peace. After him there should have been a Minister. Every eye was on Lord Palmerston, when the Speaker boomed "Bright." Mr. Bright was going to rejoice over his new allies? Not at all. Mr. Bright was supporting Lord Palmerston's government!—proffering his friendship if the noble lord would get peace. That was not the most marvellous change in him; he denounced the agitation against the governing classes; he did not like opinions expressed in passion, fomented amid the excitements of public meetings:—in fact, he forgot for the moment that there was once such a thing as the Anti-Corn Law League. These were grave blunders for a man so genuinely great. But the solemn and and religious feelings with which Mr. Bright regards the war, must explain and excuse not only these points, but the singular bad taste characterising his intrusion on the House of Commons of 1855 of a Puritan sermon which would scarcely have told in the days of Sir Harry Vane. As to his "Angel of Death," it was an Angel of the Poultry; and its wings, on which Mr. Bright sailed in a passage scarcely worthy of Henry Vincent, must be pronounced remarkably heavy wings—very rhetorical "property" wings. Well, then, somebody should have answered Mr. Bright's appeal as to Peace: it was business-like, earnest, emphatic: it startled the idle House into a new conception of the actual position. But, no: Mr. Sidney Herbert rose to proffer his defence; and he startled again by an episodical innovation on his ordinary style—proving an unsuspected quality of wit, as in his *mots*, that Mr. Disraeli's support of the Government was a "vituperative support," and that Lord Palmerston was "a strong man taking a weak course"—this last being a peculiar happy analysis of the man and the position. Then, another surprise; a Mr. Gaskell, whom nobody had ever heard before, rose from the back benches of the Tories, and made a capital party speech—well constructed, happily delivered. Next Mr. Drummond made a speech, without one good thing in it, and in which he virtually gave up the case for the committee by admitting that Mr. Sidney Herbert had convinced him the powers of the committee ought to be limited. Next, Lord Seymour, of whom one had been talking all day as a new Secretary of State, spoke—in a better manner than he ever spoke before, that is to say, with tact as well as talent—strongly against the committee—thus arresting a considerable set of rumours. Then Mr. Lowe, of whom one has been hearing as a gentleman given to Cambyses' vein, made a speech, mild in manner, and quiet in tone, satirical as to the *Times'* tone, and logically destructive to the proposition of a Committee: the quidnuncs accordingly abandoning the notion that Palmerston had secured *him*. At this point the debate ought to have closed—it was eight o'clock, and the House of Commons *must* dine. But small men got up and the House emptied, and very few had the opportunity of hearing the admirable exposition of the political position, delivered by a man hitherto as unknown as Mr. Gaskell—Mr. Vernon. For a long time there was no surprise. Sir John Pakington bored every one—particulary Mr. Disraeli—as he always does. Mr. Walpole was sententiously silly, as he always is. But Lord Palmerston's speech was a climax of surprise. He did not affect any concern; he restated the old facts as to how and why he had formed a Government; he rather incidentally mentioned that he was rather sorry he had lost the Peelites—not very, but rather; and he as incidentally referred to the circumstance that he had not the least intention to go out. But as to the new Government—the new men—not a word. As to Mr. Bright, a word or two. As to the wonderful argument of Mr. Gladstone, not a syllable. As to his policy, not a sentence. As to the appointment of Mr. Rawlinson—who *is* the committee, sent to the Crimea to supersede all the epaulettes—not one remark. He spoke ten minutes; sat down; and went to sleep again! Mr. Disraeli did not wake him. Mr. Disraeli had only to say the Government could not be very strong, and that it would be rather courteous if Lord Palmerston had mentioned who was the Government. Not splendid opposition; and the speech was a blunder from beginning to end. Mr. Disraeli even missed the point that Mr. Gladstone had ridiculed Mr. Walpole's argument as to precedents, notwithstanding that Mr. Gladstone had himself said in a former speech, quoted by himself, that "precedent meant wisdom." Lord Palmerston had certainly astonished his friends—and he still further astonished them by leaving the House to loiter into confusion on the several nominations to the committee, by a "lead" of the House utterly unequal to the occasion, and peculiarly offensive to the House. But Mr. Disraeli did not in the least demonstrate the error of the latterly-deepening impression—that his Parliamentary skill is somewhat falling off.

A "day of humiliation" has been appointed. The country will probably consider this the day—when a House of Commons breaks up before an insolent Minister sublimely asleep to the national affairs.

"A STRANGER."

Literature.

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

We mentioned last week the reproduction, in the German press, of those political sketches, which, under the name of *The Governing Classes*, were published in the *Leader* in the autumn of 1853. We have since received a fresh testimony of the European reputation of these articles. At Berlin, certainly one of the most intellectual cities in Europe, a very distinguished professor is engaged in delivering a course of lectures upon the entire constitutional fabric of British polity. We have before us a synopsis of these lectures on *Das Heutige Englische Staatsrecht.* Nowhere, out of Germany, would it be possible to find so vast an amount of research, at once discursive and profound, as the mere order of subjects and enumeration of text-books in this syllabus of Professor KLEINST affords. The Professor seems to have omitted absolutely nothing from his investigations; an attentive student may here obtain an exhaustive summary of our institutions, and of all the various activities, fictions, discrepancies, agitations, and traditions of English politics in the nineteenth century. Among the text-books of the lecturer on "political parties" we find *The Governing Classes of Great Britain.*—Political Portraits. London, 1854. We hope to be able to give our readers some account of this remarkable series of lectures delivered in the Prussian capital. For the present we are content to express our satisfaction, in which we are sure many of our readers will sympathise, at these proofs that the good seed sown by the *Leader* has not been all sown upon the barren rock.

In the last Number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (February 15) M. EDMOND ABOUT continues his story of Roman society, *Tolla Feraldi*, with a fine delicacy of observation, and chastened grace of manner, which appear to us to contain the promise of a fictionist of a very rare order. If we are not mistaken, France has here another writer of decided originality to add to her rich gallery. It must be confessed that the want was beginning to be felt. All the known names are exhausted. But the most serious and important article in this Number of the *Revue* is one "On the Interests of the Scandinavian Powers in the Present War." At this season, while we are preparing for a new campaign in the Baltic, we would earnestly invite the attention of political readers to this historical chapter on the decomposing policy of Russia pursued steadily for a century and a half towards Sweden. The diplomatic and military history of the occupation of Finland, and the joint intrigues of the Courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin in the last century, are particularly suggestive just now. In a second paper the writer promises to consider the influences at work within Sweden, which have hindered her accomplishment of liberal reforms and hampered her foreign policy—influences which it may be the work of the present war to destroy.

In the fifth volume of Dr. VERON's Memoirs, just appearing, there will be found some curious inedited letters of the Ministers of LOUIS PHILIPPE, and an account, by the Doctor himself, of the Revolution of February. There seems to be a rage for Memoirs in France. Madame George Sand's Memoirs are found to be the Memoirs of every one but herself, and the *Presse* has suspended their publication in its feuilleton.

The Memoirs of ALEXANDRE DUMAS have also been discontinued, because, as he said himself, "they have been found tiresome. I am sure, however (he added), that the public will ask for them again when it has felt the loss." The public, however, does not yet appear to have felt the loss.

The Memoirs of M. DUPIN, ex-President of the Legislative Assembly, are announced. The biography of M. DUPIN, like that of most public characters in France, is the biography of a man who has served successive régimes with equal fidelity. M. DUPIN was first known to the public, during the Hundred Days, as one of the moving men of the Liberal party; his defence of NEY is well known; under the Restoration, he belonged to the moderate constitutional Opposition; he was one of the first to give his adherence to the Monarchy of July, as he was, eighteen years afterwards, to adhere to the Provisional Government of the Republic. As the intimate legal adviser and confidential friend of the ORLEANS family, that part of his biography which includes the late king's reign is likely to be the most interesting. As President of the Legislative Assembly, M. DUPIN was remarkable for his determination in keeping order, and for his petulant and pungent wit in "putting down" extravagant representatives of extreme doctrines. But his partiality was often offensive to excess. As Procureur Général of the Court of Cassation, it was M. DUPIN's office to declare the author of the *coup d'état* an outlaw. This did not prevent him, however, endeavouring to effect a conciliation with the Usurper. He resigned his high legal position rather than appear to connive at the decrees for the confiscation of the ORLEANS property, but he has since, we believe, made indirect approaches towards the existing Government, whose confidence (fortunately for his reputation) he has not obtained. His politico-bucolic harangues to the peasantry at agricultural meetings are now his only public appearances. As a lawyer, he is *facile princeps* in France—perhaps in Europe. He has long been the intimate friend of Lord BROUGHAM, to whom, in some of the singularities of his character, he bears a certain resemblance.

The January number of *Brownson's Quarterly Review* (C. DOLMAN) has reached us. This is, in many respects, the best Catholic Review with which we are acquainted. The present number contains a rather novel paper on Russia and the Western Powers, to which we may possibly revert. The Know-nothings are discussed with impartiality. The philosophical contributions to this number are learned and refined in treatment, and the subjects more decidedly controversial, treated of course from that ultra-Romanist point of view peculiar to converts, are nevertheless handled with less acrimony and intemperance than we often find in Catholic publications nearer home. Each paper has the rare merit of being short. It is a singular phenomenon, a Catholic Review published in the United States, and edited by an ex-Transcendental Pantheist.

M. BERRYER has at last taken his seat among the FORTY in the PALAIS MAZARIN. His reception took place on Thursday last. M. DE SALVANDY, and not M. GUIZOT, was to reply to the new Academician. Another disappointment, we hear, had been apprehended in consequence of objections to the reply of M. DE SALVANDY, who, although he is indebted for everything he has, and is, to the Revolution of July, had taken this occasion to confound all the revolutions which France has experienced in one common anathema. Since 1848 M. DE SALVANDY believes in nothing more modern than the seventeenth century. It is deplorable to find an amiable and accomplished man venting his personal disappointments in these intellectual *sulks*. However, these objections, if they existed, having been removed, the ceremony, which in the midst of the universal silence is a political event, has taken place. We have only seen a portion of M. BERRYER's address as yet. It is a somewhat diffuse and laboured eulogy on the literary character of his academical predecessor, M. DE SAINT PRIEST. But in the course of a critical appreciation of M. DE SAINT PRIEST's *Histoire de la Royauté*, the Legitimist orator, alluding to that portion of the history which included the later Roman Empire, and the origin of the Christian nations, arrived after a long *détour* at the following significant apostrophe:—

> In this critical study of the greatest moral and political revolution that was ever accomplished, from the commencement of the Empire as during its decadence, but for rare intervals of a few wise and glorious reigns, one perceives with alarm, in the absence of a fixed law to regulate the succession to the throne, how rapid and simultaneous was the degradation of the Roman people and of the masters whom it accepted or endured, whether imposed by the soldiery, or by the insensate passions and deluded hopes of the multitude. The heart is struck with a profound melancholy, and the imagination revolts at the spectacle of the terrible and stupid excesses of these invaders of authority. The Government of Rome was given over to the frenzy of triumphant conspirators. To rule was no longer to enlighten, and to govern the public thought, whatever that might be, it was deemed sufficient to flatter, to despise, or to extinguish it. It was no concern of the new sovereign to win over the intellect and the heart of the people; he was powerful enough so long as he possessed the means of corruption. The people-king had become nothing but a people of slaves who revelled in the follies and the disgraces of their servitude.

We hope to be able to give next week some account, from a private correspondent who was present on the occasion of this interesting and important reception.

So long ago as 1714, ST. SIMON (in a note to the *Journal de Dangeau*) complained of the tendency of the Academy to become more and more an arena of cabals; an ill-assorted club, in which the servility of men of letters thought itself ennobled by sitting next to unlettered nobles, and the fatuity of unlettered nobles thought itself made learned by sitting amongst Academicians. The tendency of the Academy to become more and more political and less and less literary, seems to be the natural result of despotism, where so much intellectual and political activity smoulders as in France.

GEOFFREY CRAYON'S NEW SKETCH-BOOK.

Chronicles of Wolfert's Roost, and other Papers. By Washington Irving. Constable and Co.

ANYTHING written by Washington Irving is welcome at all times. To us, the collection of "Papers" which we are about to notice is doubly and trebly welcome just now, from the mere force of the delightful contrast which Washington Irving, as a writer, presents to certain writers of Young America, and of Young England also, whose books it is one of the misfortunes of our position to be officially compelled to read. We have had hard work given us to do of late by the small authors. There is scarcely any form of exasperating nonsense with which "rising geniuses" on both sides of the Atlantic have not made us more or less familiarly acquainted, by means of a too compliant printing-press. Mrs. "Fanny Fern's" Tale, which we allowed to expose its own worthlessness a fortnight since, is only a specimen of dozens of other contemporary books, just as badly written, which we have forborne to notice. After having sought in vain through the Transcendental literature of Young America, and the fast literature of Young England, for thought, feeling, *taste*, and style—and after having found nothing to compensate for the want of all fair qualities but broken-winded "eloquence" in the American case, and simious smartness in the English—it is a luxury, indeed, to open the pages of *Wolfert's Roost*, and to find there not only the evidence of natural abilities of a rare and high order, but also, in every paragraph, the most delightful proofs of workmanlike earnestness, patience, and care. Here is an author who thinks justly, feels

delicately, labours sincerely;—what a contrast to Mrs. "Fanny Fern" and "Mr. Verdant Green!"

The *Chronicles of Wolfert's Roost* occupy only the first twenty pages of the volume before us. Tales, sketches, picturesque anecdotes, and snatches of history, travelling experiences, and short essays, fill the book in the most miscellaneous manner. Now, as in *Wolfert's Roost*, we have some pages which seem to have been taken from the manuscript of that admirably-humorous book, *Knickerbocker's History of New York*. Now, as in *The Creole Village*, we are presented with an exquisitely-graceful and graphic Sketch, which reminds us of Geoffrey Crayon's best days. Now, as in "The Great Mississippi Bubble," we have a specimen of that delightful power of narrating which enables Washington Irving to make the oldest subject new again for all his readers. Whether he is writing "Sketches in Paris," or searching for traces of "Don Juan" at Seville, or telling a ghost story of the "Grand Prior of Minorca," he is sure to achieve the one great triumph of interesting his readers. Everybody who has read at all knows something by this time of the genial humour, the delicate irony, the quiet tenderness, and the graceful correctness of style which distinguish Washington Irving as a writer. The best and briefest opinion we can offer on the volume now under notice is that it is worthy of its author—which is as much as to say, in other words, that it is worthy of being read by everybody.

We cannot prevail on ourselves to close the book without tempting our readers irresistibly to its perusal by an extract. How genuine and delicate is the humour—how exquisitely true and happy the observation in this passage:—

THE TWO DOGS.

Beside this African domestic, the seigneur of the village had another no less cherished and privileged attendant. This was a huge dog of the mastiff breed, with a deep, hanging mouth, and a look of surly gravity. He walked about the cabin with the air of a dog perfectly at home, and who had paid for his passage. At dinner-time he took his seat beside his master, giving him a glance now and then out of a corner of his eye, which bespoke perfect confidence that he would not be forgotten. Nor was he; every now and then a huge morsel would be thrown to him, peradventure the half-picked leg of a fowl, which he would receive with a snap like the springing of a steel-trap—one gulp, and all was down; and a glance of the eye told his master that he was ready for another consignment.

The other village worthy, travelling in company with the seigneur, was of a totally different stamp—small, thin, and weazen-faced, as Frenchmen are apt to be represented in caricature, with a bright, squirrel-like eye, and a gold ring in his ear. His dress was flimsy, and sat loosely on his frame, and he had altogether the look of one with but little coin in his pocket. Yet though one of the poorest, I was assured he was one of the merriest and most popular personages in his native village.

Compère Martin, as he was commonly called, was the factotum of the place—sportsman, schoolmaster, and land-surveyor. He could sing, dance, and above all, play on the fiddle—an invaluable accomplishment in an old French creole village, for the inhabitants have an hereditary love for balls and *fêtes;* if they work but little, they dance a great deal, and a fiddle is the joy of their heart.

What had sent Compère Martin travelling with the Grand Seigneur I could not learn; he evidently looked up to him with great deference, and was assiduous in rendering him petty attentions; from which I concluded that he lived at home upon the crumbs which fell from his table. He was gayest when out of his sight; and had his song and his joke when forward among the deck passengers; but altogether Compère Martin was out of his element on board of a steamboat. He was quite another being, I am told, when at home in his own village.

Like his opulent fellow-traveller, he too had his canine follower and retainer—and one suited to his different fortunes—one of the civilest, most unoffending little dogs in the world. Unlike the lordly mastiff, he seemed to think he had no right on board of the steamboat; if you did but look hard at him, he would throw himself upon his back, and lift up his legs, as if imploring mercy.

At table, he took his seat a little distance from his master; not with the bluff, confident air of the mastiff, but quietly and diffidently; his head on one side, with one ear dubiously slouched, the other hopefully cocked up; his under teeth projecting beyond his black nose, and his eye wistfully following each morsel that went into his master's mouth.

If Compère Martin now and then should venture to abstract a morsel from his plate to give to his humble companion, it was edifying to see with what diffidence the exemplary little animal would take hold of it, with the very tip of his teeth, as if he would almost rather not, or was fearful of taking too great a liberty. And then with what decorum would he eat it! How many efforts would he make in swallowing it, as if it stuck in his throat; with what daintiness would he lick his lips; and then with what an air of thankfulness would he resume his seat, with his teeth once more projecting beyond his nose, and an eye of humble expectation fixed upon his master!

That picture of the two dogs is as perfect a masterpiece as ever appeared on Landseer's canvas. Here is another study from the life, of a very different subject, but equally delightful in its humorous and delicate truth of observation:—

MY FRENCH NEIGHBOUR.

I often amuse myself by watching from my window—which, by the by, is tolerably elevated—the movements of the teeming little world below me; and as I am on sociable terms with the porter and his wife, I gather from them, as they light my fire, or serve my breakfast, anecdotes of all my fellow-lodgers. I have been somewhat curious in studying a little antique Frenchman, who occupies one of the *jolies chambres de garçon* already mentioned. He is one of those superannuated veterans who flourished before the Revolution, and have weathered all the storms of Paris—in consequence, very probably, of being fortunately too insignificant to attract attention. He has a small income, which he manages with the skill of a French economist; appropriating so much for his lodgings, so much for his meals, so much for his visits to St. Cloud and Versailles, and so much for his seat at the theatre. He has resided at the hotel for years, and always in the same chamber, which he furnishes at his own expense. The decorations of the room mark his various ages. There are some gallant pictures, which he hung up in his younger days, with a portrait of a lady of rank, whom he speaks tenderly of, dressed in the old French taste, and a pretty opera-dancer, pirouetting in a hoop petticoat, who lately died at a good old age. In a corner of this picture is stuck a prescription for rheumatism, and below it stands an easy-chair. He has a small parrot at the window, to amuse him when within doors, and a pug-dog to accompany him in his daily peregrinations. While I am writing, he is crossing the court to go out. He is attired in his best coat, of sky-blue, and is doubtless bound for the Tuileries. His hair is dressed in the old style, with powdered ear-locks and a pigtail. His little dog trips after him, sometimes on four legs, sometimes on three, and looking as if his leather small-clothes were two tight for him. Now the old gentleman stops to have a word with an old crony who lives in the *entresol*, and is just returning from his promenade. Now they take a pinch of snuff together; now they pull out huge red cotton handkerchiefs—those "flags of abomination," as they have well been called—and blow their noses most sonourously. Now they turn to make remarks upon their two little dogs, who are exchanging the morning's salutation; now they part, and my old gentleman stops to have a passing word with the porter's wife; and now he sallies forth, and is fairly launched upon the town for the day.

No man is so methodical as a complete idler, and none so scrupulous in measuring and portioning out his time, as he whose time is worth nothing. The old gentleman in question has his exact hour for rising, and for shaving himself by a small mirror hung against his casement. He sallies forth at a certain hour every morning to take his cup of coffee and his roll at a certain *café*, where he reads the papers. He has been a regular admirer of the lady who presides at the bar, and always stops to have a little *badinage* with her, *en passant*. He has his regular walks on the Boulevards and in the Palais Royal, where he sets his watch by the petard fired off by the sun at mid-day. He has his daily resort in the Garden of the Tuileries, to meet with a knot of veteran idlers like himself, who talk on pretty much the same subjects whenever they meet. He has been present at all the sights, and shows, and rejoicings of Paris for the last fifty years; has witnessed the great events of the Revolution; the guillotining of the king and queen; the coronation of Buonaparte; the capture of Paris, and the restoration of the Bourbons. All these he speaks of with the coolness of a theatrical critic; and I question whether he has not been gratified by each in its turn; not from any inherent love of tumult, but from that insatiable appetite for spectacle which prevails among the inhabitants of this metropolis. I have been amused with a farce, in which one of these systematic old triflers is represented. He sings a song detailing his whole day's round of insignificant occupations, and goes to bed delighted with the idea that his next day will be an exact repetition of the same routine—

Je me couche le soir,
Enchanté de pouvoir
Recommencer mon train
Le lendemain
Matin.

There are some delicious descriptions of scenery, which we should like to extract; but our space is exhausted, and we must refer the reader at once to the book itself. When a new edition is wanted, we would seriously counsel Messrs. Constable to give some prefatory explanation on the subject of the various Papers in the volume. At present, not a word of information is given as to how many of these Papers have been printed before. They are all new to us; but we can hardly imagine that Washington Irving can have kept by him to the present time such a mass of unpublished manuscript as the contents of this book represent.

The Arts.

THE DRAMA IN FRANCE—MDLLE. RACHEL AND "THE CZARINE."

EVERY one knows that when Mdlle. RACHEL refused to perform the part assigned to her in M. LEGOUVÉ'S miniature tragedy of *Medea*, it was at the same time announced by her friends that she had determined to create no new characters. She had probably a presentiment of what was in store for her, and wished to avoid, if possible, making her farewell to the European public under the disagreeable features of the *Czarine*. Great influences, however—influences superior to the decision of any tribunal—have been at work; and the same magnificent powers which were once employed on those same boards to exalt popular enthusiasm in favour of the Republic, have been pressed into the service of a new despotism that wishes to make an old despotism hateful and ridiculous. The experiment was dangerous for the actress; and would have been dangerous for the French Government if the points of all allusions were not blunted against the indifference of the public spectators. Some few did, indeed, laugh knowingly when there was talk of "a great man ready to put half his subjects to death in order to teach the others how to live," and whispers went about that certain still stronger passages had been suppressed; but it was generally felt that such back-handed hits were to be attributed rather to accident than to the malice of M. SCRIBE, who, like many Frenchmen of his calibre, no doubt is only horrified at what takes place on the banks of the Seine, when he sees similar scenes enacted on the banks of the Neva.

The *Czarine* is called a "drama in five acts and in prose." It should rather have been called a parody of the various tragic situations known to be effective on the French stage. No one can deny the skilfulness with which M. EUGENE SCRIBE arranges these sort of things. His reputation is so well established, and he is so conscious of his power over the public mind, that by degrees he has learned to neglect nearly all the constituent elements of a play except one—situation. His characters are no longer discriminated with care; and the literary department is treated with the most supreme contempt. M. SCRIBE has written so many *libretti* for operas where the words are drowned in harmony, that he has become quite careless of expression; and the next step will be, probably, for him to construct a drama in which the personages, without uttering any distinct phrases at all, accompany their tragic attitudes and grimaces with a continuous *hum*, variously intoned from beginning to end.

As the *Czarine* was written expressly for Mdlle. RACHEL, we naturally find in it two or three long tirades, and a great number of startling little phrases, questions and answers, in the delivery of which she is known to be particularly effective; and it is easy to see that the writer has exhausted his ingenuity to bring in as many as possible of these in proper places. The story—for which LEVESQUE, KARAMSIN, VILLEBOIS, and SEGUR are made responsible—is a kind of solemn version of *Bertrand and Raton*. The Czar, *Peter the Great*—made the most of by BEAUVALLET—towards the end of his career, is away from St. Petersburg. *Catherine*, the Empress, whom he has raised from a humble rank to splendour and misery, has recently seen a young Polish nobleman, *Sapieha*, on a visit to Russia, and has become enamoured of him. The thing is not very surprising; nor, perhaps, ought we to wonder, on the other hand, that the young *Sapieha* is bewildered by the charms and the majesty of so august a lady. Such incidents have occurred in more southern and more civilised regions; and, considering that we are speaking of the French drama—always so poor and narrow in its suppositions of human nature—we may almost admit that interest could not be got up in any other way. The action commences before the intrigue. We see the whole development of it. *Sapieha* is about to leave for France because he sees no ground for hoping success. But the *Czarine* will not drive him to despair, and having talked a good deal, as usual in such cases, about duty, appoints him as her chamberlain, and induces him by the most efficacious arguments to remain.

Each of the two lovers has a semi-confidant; in the case of *Sapieha*, an amusing, drunken old Dutch admiral, named *Villerbeck* (MONROSE), and in the case of the *Czarine*, *Menzikoff*, Prime Minister of the Empire, who had formerly taken *Catherine* prisoner at the siege of Marienburg. Although himself struck by the charms of his captive, being more of a courtier than a gallant, he gave her up to the *Czar*, but continued on friendly terms with her, and is represented in the play as, partly from compassion and old sentiment, partly from interested motives, endeavouring to excite his imperial mistress to conspiracy against her husband. The lady, however, acting according to a code familiar to Parisian wives, whilst having no objection whatever to push her intrigue with *Sapieha* to the utmost limits, is at first shocked at the idea of treason, or even of disobedience in the smallest particular. "If," says *Menzikoff*, endeavouring to provoke her, "the *Czar* sends for you to Ladoga at this time, 'tis that he wants to kill you."—"*Je le crois*," replies Mdlle. RACHEL, with superb resignation; and the house, ready to admire, resounds with applause.

The real interest of the piece—which is made interesting, despite its trivial diction and repulsive incidents, by the genius of Mdlle. RACHEL and the ability of her supporters—turns on the struggle between this *bourgeois* idea of matrimonial fidelity (swaying the Empress to the alcove exclusively) and the more natural development of female passion. We are not allowed to doubt, after the first act, that the *Czarine* gives herself up wholly to *Sapieha*. She has a fortnight of intense—we were going to say pure—happiness, because we are speak- of an unreal world. But the terrible *Czar* returns full of fury and suspicion. He talks of nothing but blood and vengeance, yet does not know how and by whom he has been injured. The drunken admiral, by a contrivance common to M. SCRIBE, whose philosophy of history consists in always finding small causes for great effects, is made the accidental instrument of disturbing the loves of the *Czarine* and *Sapieha*, and of putting *Peter* on the right scent. After a drunken bout he wanders through the snow, and, coming to the door of the Empress's pavilion, is admitted by mistake, but immediately expelled with violence. The way in which he tells this story suggests the truth, and the *Czar* is on the point, in the second act, of being completely enlightened, but for the existence of a pleasing heroine of the second order, charmingly played by Mdlle. FIX. *Olga*, the daughter of *Menzikoff*, is the favourite lady-in-waiting of the Empress, and has an apartment in her pavilion. When, therefore, it comes out that *Admiral Villerbeck* was mistaken for *Sapieha*, the latter is obliged to pretend a passionate attachment for this same *Olga*. "Let them be married," says the *Czar* at once, still half doubting. The marriage takes place; but *Catherine* exacts conditions very hard to be complied with, especially as *Sapieha*, making a morning visit to his bride, discovers that he has long been loved by her. The situation becomes more and more delicate, and some of the most disagreeable conflicts of sentiment which French dramatists are fond of exhibiting succeed. The young bride, rather surprised, and probably somewhat annoyed at the neglect of her husband, presumes to play the part of a listener, and overhears a dialogue between *Sapieha* and the *Czarine* which more than satisfies her curiosity. She resolves to escape from her unprofitable chains as soon as possible, but remains quite devoted to her mistress, and absolutely kisses her hand after learning that she is her rival. The gallery and the pit applaud.

We cannot, however, notice every detail of this intricate plot. The *Czar* at length becomes convinced of his disgrace, and seeks an explanation with his wife, who tells, with wonderful effect, because Mdlle. RACHEL gives life to a very bald phraseology, a long story of how in former years, when the *Czar* was in difficulties on the banks of the Pruth, she had been allowed to give a smile and "something more" to a Turkish general to get him off. This "something more" is admitted in a startling *peut-être* which excites the enthusiasm of the audience by the extravagance of its audacity. The *Czarine* gains her point, and turns away suspicion for a time from herself and her lover, but only for a time. She is at length arrested, and condemned to execution. The plot becomes more complicated. *Menzikoff* seeing at length that it is necessary to put a stop to the mad career of the *Czar* who has drawn up a formidable list of great people for execution, endeavours to excite the *Czarine* to conspiracy. He tells her that she is to be put out of the way by poison. "He has the right, for I am guilty," replies the *Czarine*. Then she learns that *Sapieha* is condemned to death, and determines to save him or to die, but still refuses to listen to the treasonable suggestions of *Menzikoff*, the Bertrand of the piece.

But *Sapieha* has returned to St. Petersburg to see his wife, to whom he has now transferred his affections. He is again arrested, and the *Czarine* hears the terrible fact from the *Czar* himself. The scene, though most trivially written, is of thrilling effect on the stage. *Sapieha* is supposed to be led to execution under the windows of the palace. She commands her emotions, having a poignard ready to stab herself as soon as the fatal blow is struck. The *Czar* describes the progress of the terrible procession, and wonders at her insensibility. She twice answers him "*Eh bien*" with splendid affectation of indifference. The *Czar* is completely deceived, and stops the execution. He asks pardon of *Catherine*, saying: "Now I know you did not love him. As for him, I knew it already—he loves another." This throws her quite off her guard. She is supplanted in *Sapieha's* heart by *Olga*. Her indignation bursts forth. She betrays herself in her jealous fury, and the *Czar* condemns her to death—her, and we believe everybody else. But meanwhile *Menzikoff* has "drugged his posset," and death comes on with fearful and convenient rapidity. The friends of the *Czarine* proclaim her Empress, and she has both leisure and power for love or vengeance. She indulges in neither—has a fine movement of forgiveness—sends *Sapieha* to Warsaw as her ambassador, allowing him to take his wife with him. "Go," she says, "without regret, without remorse, if you can. To him happiness—to me empire.—*Allons...régnons !*"

All this is, of course, very effective, if we believe in the manners and admit the philosophy of M. SCRIBE. The cast of the piece is excellent. GEFFROY plays the part of *Menzikoff* with great care and finish. DELAUNAY, though he dresses too much in the Opera Comique style, makes a very elegant and interesting *Sapieha*. MONROSE is admirable for dry humour in the sober scenes of the *Admiral*; but his drunken confession to the *Czar* is not well marked. MAUBANT, one of the most useful men of the company, is entrusted with a character of which we have not found it necessary to speak—a stiff, well-disciplined Russian head of the police, a great favourite with his master because he always answers "Yes, Sire," to everything. BEAUVALLET's part, as written by M. SCRIBE, is both extravagant and wearisome—full of clumsy allusions to present politics. He has a sleeping scene, in which he talks indistinctly of "Constantinople," and is almost comic. However, what with his tragic voice and his great experience, he manages to lug on this ungrateful part, and to produce considerable effect here and there. We have already hinted how well Mdlle. FIX—who has, indeed, but to show her face to excite applause—performs her duty. As for Mdlle. RACHEL, all we shall say is that she creates a character almost without the assistance of a part. Her representation of the impassioned woman, struggling with duty, but yielding to love, defending her happiness with more energy than she defends her life, hoping, fearing, submissive, jealous, irate, and despairing by turns, we would call perfect, if in "this naughty world of ours" perfection and insipidity were not near neighbours.

Θ

THE PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION.

THERE is a variety, of character no less than of subject, in the exhibition of photographs, which we hardly expected to find there. Indeed, it might almost be supposed that the excellent Society of Water-Colour Painters, in whose gallery the Photographs are shown, had been "keeping up its reputation," by general agreement of its members, through the sole medium of VANDYK brown. When we say that these five or six hundred sun-pictures vary among themselves in character, we do not mean to imply a mere inequality of skill among the exhibitors in dealing with the thousand niceties of their delicately-capricious art; such variety as this would not have been remarkable. What we mean is that, just as one may readily trace the individualities of GILBERT, HAAG, DUNCAN, TAYLER, DAVID COX, and the rest of the popular water-colour painters, so may you at once discern the bold, steady hand of SHERLOCK; the singular breadth, force, and richness of CUNDALL; the brilliancy of HENNAH; and the familiar grace of ROGER FENTON, whose love of nature is as poetically and truthfully manifest in the charming little bit of natural history, "Common Quail (*Coturnix Communis*), England," as in the grand studies from Rivaulx Abbey, the views at Spithead on the departure of the Baltic Fleet, the genial pictures of English homesteads, and the English landscape scenery of a more romantic character. FENTON's place in photography is that of WILLIAM HUNT in water-colour painting; and next to FENTON, as a true artist, we do not hesitate in naming HUGH OWEN. Mr. SPENCER (the photographer, we believe, of the Panopticon) may be particularised for a very careful and judicious method, and for the adherence to one effective tone. The most showy of the uncoloured photographs are the Parisian scenes by BISSON *Frères;* and the best of the tinted and slightly "touched" works are by Mr. S. R. LOCK. This gentleman also exhibits a frame of untouched miniature portraits, very neat and pictorial in their arrangement.

The portraits by Mr. MAYALL are so prominently placed that it would be difficult to avoid noticing them; but we regret our inability to do so in a way that will satisfy the pretensions of an exhibitor who parades printed testimonials of his merit and skill. The eminently clear and sharp outline of Mr. MAYALL's portraits appears to have captivated some persons. Our own impression, at a first glance, was that the heads and figures were cut out and fastened on a "fancy" background. We were wrong, as a very slight inspection assured us. Perhaps our second guess was nearer the mark. It seems to our inexperienced eye that the background in the "negative" of these portraits has been invariably "blacked out," so that in the "positive" impression there is no background at all, but the object stands against plain white paper; and that this is afterwards filled in, "according to taste;"—such taste, we imagine, as would accept WEST's "Characters and Scenes," especially when coloured, as works of art.

We would impress on our readers that the Photographic Exhibition is worth a visit, if only for the reason which has led us there a second time, and which is identical with our opening remark, that the pictures are various in their character, thus showing that Photography is not the mere mechanical work that might be supposed, but that, while it confirms the best works of pictorial art, it is itself an art, capable of being judged by the same standard.

VIEWS OF SEBASTOPOL.

ONE of the best, perhaps quite the best, of the many attempts to impart a distinct conception of the positions of the Allies in the Chersonese, is the model exhibited by Mr. Wyld, at the Great Globe, in Leicester-square. There, in miniature, the spectator may familiarise himself with Balaklava, Kadikoi, Kamara, the terrible country leading up to the camp, the ground over which the Light Cavalry so gallantly but fatally flew, the ridge leading to Inkerman, the scene of the battle, and the whole country between the great harbour of Sebastopol and the sea. The rugged ravines which intersect the lines of the besiegers, those remarkable lines themselves, and beyond them the defences of Sebastopol, all modelled after drawings taken on the spot, are spread out before him. It is another merit of this model that it shows the great road to Simpheropol; which sweeps up the heights and passes by Mackenzie's Farm. Certainly any one who wishes to "know the country" should go to the Great Globe for assistance.

Another praiseworthy and portable attempt is "Stanford's Bird's-eye View of the Seat of War in the Crimea." This is a remarkably well-coloured and shaded map; and while, with much accuracy, it portrays the country and "the lines," it, at the same time, is an elegant picture.

GALLERY OF ILLUSTRATION.

THE recently added pictures of "Inkerman," "Balaklava," and the "Great Storm in the Euxine" have materially strengthened the interest of the War Diorama at the Gallery of Illustration; while, by judicious compression at the opening part, the entertainment is varied and enriched, without being spread over more room than it has hitherto occupied. We have still to object that the fighting business, though quite up to the spirit of the old stage direction for making the scene "as bloody as may be," is needlessly violent, and at the same time deficient in force. But the pictorial merit in other respects is undeniable. The storm scene conveys a pretty tangible idea of the awful reality. It is in painting objects of external nature that Messrs. GRIEVE and TELBIN are excellent.

Sir HENRY BISHOP has been engaged by Mr. MITCHELL to give a short series of Afternoon Vocal Concerts, selected from his own compositions. The first Concert will take place at the Hanover-square Rooms, March 6th.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

BAILLIE.—Feb. 14, at 9, Queen Ann-street, Cavendish-square, the wife of Capt. F. Baillie: a daughter.

DASHWOOD.—October 28, at Nelson, the wife of Edwin Dashwood, Esq., of Moutere House, Nelson, New Zealand: a son.

LOFTUS.—Feb. 15, at Berlin, the lady of Lord Augustus Loftus, Secretary to H.M. Legation at Berlin: a daughter.

PIXLEY.—Feb. 13, at 34, Kildare-terrace, Westbourne-park, the wife of T. W. Pixley, Esq.: a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

BOWYER—SANDBY.—Feb. 20, at St. George's, Hanover-square, Henry George Bowyer, Esq., youngest son of Sir George Bowyer, Bart., of Radley, Berks, to Katherine Emma only child of the Rev. George Sanby, vicar of Flixton, Suffolk.

JERVOISE — CHURCHILL. — Feb. 20, at Funtington Church, Sussex, Jervoise Clarke Jervoise, Esq., Captain Twenty-third R. W. Fusiliers, eldest son of Sir Jervoise Clarke Jervoise, Bart., of Idsworth, Hants, to Sophia Horatia Churchill, sixth daughter of Henry Lawes Long, Esq., of Hampton Lodge, Surrey, and the Lady Catharine Long.

DEATHS.

COLBORNE.—Feb. 17, at 19, Hill-street, Berkeley-square, the Lady Colborne, aged sixty-nine.

DARNFORD.—Feb. 17, in Great Portland-street, Mrs. Darnford, aged one hundred-and-two.

HUME.—Feb. 20, at Burnley Hall, Norfolk, Joseph Hume, Esq., aged seventy-nine.

JACKSON.—Feb. 16, killed by accident, whilst voluntarily assisting to extinguish the fire in Holland-street, Blackfriars, Mr. Thomas Parker Jackson, aged twenty-five.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, Feb. 23, 1855.

CONSOLS closing on Friday the 16th at 90¾ 90¾; for account, 90⅞ 90⅞ for money, have shown but little fluctuation during the week, closing this evening at 91½ for account, and 91⅛ 91 for money. Exchequer Bills 6 to 9 pm.; but little business has been transacted either in Funds, Railways, or other securities, in consequence of the unsettled state of affairs. General Screw Steam Shares are still at improved prices. A most satisfactory meeting of the Waller Mining Company was held on the 21st, at the London Tavern, a report of which has appeared in the *Daily News*. The Shares are, last quoted, ½ ⅝. The following are the last leading quotations:—

Caledonians, 61½, 62; Eastern Counties, 11¼, 11½; Great Northern, 88½, 89½; Great-Western, 65, 65½; Lancashire and Yorkshire, 74⅝ 74⅞; London and Blackwall, 7⅞, 8⅛; London and Brighton, 96, 98; London and North Western, 99¾, 100¼; London and South-Western, 85½, 86½; Midlands, 68¾, 69; North Eastern (Berwicks), 73½, 74½; Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, 29, 31; South-Eastern, 58¼, 59; Antwerp and Rotterdam, 6⅜, 6⅝; Eastern of France, 32½, 32¾; Great Central of France, 1, 1½ pm.; Great Luxembourg, 2¾, 3; Northern of France, 33⅜, 33⅝; Paris and Lyons, 20⅜, 20½. pm; Paris and Orleans, 45, 47; Paris and Rouen, 39, 41 x. d.; Western of France, 6½, 6¾, pm.; Agua Frias, ⅜, ½; Copiapo, 17, 19; Cobre Copper, 46, 48; St. John Del Rey, 28, 30; Waller, ½, ⅝; Australasia Bank, 80, 82; Chartered Bank, 1, 1½ dis.; London Chartered Bank, 19½, 20½; Union Australia Bank, 63, 65.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday Evening, Feb. 23, 1855.

THE supplies of all grain this week are very scanty. The continuation of the frost renders the transport by water impossible either into or from London, and business consequently remains quite at a stand still. The low price to which Barley has declined has induced some speculative purchases for future delivery at rather over the lowest point. A cargo of Salonica Wheat, arrived off the coast, has been sold at 59s., cost, freight, and insurance.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Sat.	*Mon.*	*Tues.*	*Wed.*	*Thur.*	*Frid.*
Bank Stock	.....	.....	214	.....	215	213½
3 per Cent. Red.	91¼	91⅝	91⅝	91⅝	91⅝	91½
3 per Cent. Con. An.	91⅛	91½	90⅞	90⅞	91	90⅞
Consols for Account	91	91⅛	91	91	91¼	91⅛
3½ per Cent. An.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New 2½ per Cents	.....	.....	76½	.....	4.....	.....
Long Ans. 1860	4⅝	4 5-16	4 5-16	4⅝	5-16	4 7-16
India Stock	221	220	222	.....	.....	220
Ditto Bonds, £1000	12	.....	.....	12	12	.....
Ditto, under £1000	.....	15	12	.....	12	.....
Ex. Bills, £1000	.....	.....	9	8	6	9
Ditto, £500	.....	9	.....	.....	6	9
Ditto, Small	9	9	.....	.....	6	9

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Brazilian Bonds	100½	Russian Bonds, 5 per Cents., 1822	99
Buenos Ayres 6 per Cnts.	51	Russian 4½ per Cents.	...
Chilian 6 per Cents.	103	Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def.	17⅝
Danish 5 per Cents.	103	Spanish Committee Cert. of Coup. not fun.	½
Ecuador Bonds	4	Venezuela 3½ per Cents.	...
Mexican 3 per Cents.	...	Belgian 4½ per Cents.	92½
Mexican 5 per Ct. for Acc. Feb. 28	20⅝	Dutch 2½ per Cents.	61⅝
Portuguese 4 per Cents.	...	Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif	93
Portuguese 3 p. Cents.	...		

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Tuesday, February 20.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.—EDWARD WRIGHT, Holderness, Yorkshire, draper.

BANKRUPTS.—STEPHEN GRANTHAM, Connaught-terrace, dealer in hay—JAMES BISHOP, Caroline-place, City-road, builder—WILLIAM JOHNSON, Deeping, grocer—JOHN BAILEY SERGEANT, Portsmouth, wine merchant—VICTOR BAUER, Lilypot-lane, St. Martin's-le-Grand, merchant—MATTHEW JOHN GOFF, Queen's-crescent, Prince of Wales-road, Kentish-town, toyman—RICHARD ASHBY, Melina-place, Lambeth, baker—WILLIAM HARRISON, Clyde-terrace, Caledonian-road, Islington, baker—ROBERT JACOB HILLS, Ryde, Isle of Wight, tailor—ANTONI FORRER, Regent-street, jeweller—CHARLES HENRY HARBEN, Goulston-street, High-street, Whitechapel, and Carlton-hill-villas, Camden-road, Holloway, wholesale cheesemonger—WILLIAM RANDALL BARRETT, Folkestone, ironmonger—JOSEPH CLEVER and CALEB STANGER, Kent-wharf, Queen's-road-bridge, Haggerstone, builders—DAVID LLOYD WILLIAMS, late of Cannon-street-chambers, Cannon-street, civil engineer—THOMAS SALMON, Kettering, Northamptonshire, ironmonger—RICHARD BRAWN, Rushall, Staffordshire, lime burner—FRANCIS BEHRENS, Birmingham, general merchant—JAMES CARTWRIGHT, Birmingham, factor—GEORGE PORTEOUS ROBY, Leamington Priors, fishmonger—JOSEPH and EDWARD EDWARDS, Truro, jewellers—JOHN DANCASTER, St. Mary Church, Devonshire, plumber—JOHN ROPER and WILLIAM MITCHELL, Keighley, Yorkshire, worsted spinners—SARAH, BENJAMIN and JAMES RATCLIFFE, Halifax, manufacturers—JOHN WILLIAMS, jun., Llanllyfni, Carnarvonshire, draper—THOMAS BELL, Jarrow, Durham, alkali manufacturer.

Friday, February 23.

BANKRUPTS.—JAMES SPELLER, Wapping, sail-maker—GEORGE CUMMING STEWART, Hackney-road, draper—SIMON OATES, Cambridge, builder—JAMES HOWELL, Judd-street, Brunswick-square, builder—THOMAS SALMON, Kettering, Northamptonshire, ironmonger—JAMES KING, Birmingham, licensed victualler—JANE MARY BENTLEY, Dudley, grocer—WILLIAM BOWLER, Lambeth, timber merchant—JOHN CLENCH, Exeter, timber dealer—LUIZ CAUZIE, Bute-road, Cardiff, hotel keeper—JOHN MOORE, Skircoat, Halifax, brewer—HAYDON SOUNDS, Lincoln, wheelwright—JOHN HENRY CHEETHAM, Nottingham, lace manufacturer—DANIEL HEARN, Cheltenham, linen draper and laceman—GEORGE COOPER ROUSE, Dovercourt, Essex, baker—GEORGE RICHARD BLACKWELL, Cheltenham, marble mason—JAMES TWINER, Hedge-row, Islington, draper—WILLIAM RANDLE, Cheltenham, miller—WILLIAM WESTMORE COWHERD KIRKHAM, Manchester, money scrivener—RALPH PICKSTONE and AMBROSE MAXALL, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancaster, cotton spinners.

HOT AIR, Gas, Vesta, Joyce's STOVES.—STOVES for the economical and safe heating of halls, shops, warehouses, passages, basements, and the like, being at this season demanded, WILLIAM S. BURTON invites attention to his unrivalled assortment, adapted (one or the other) to every conceivable requirement, at prices from 10s. each to 30 guineas. His variety of registrar and other stoves, fenders and kitchen ranges, is the largest in existence.

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	Fiddle Pattern.	Thread or Brunswick Pattern.	King's Pattern.
Tea Spoons, per dozen	18s.	26s.	32s.
Dessert Forks ,, ...	30s.	40s.	46s.
Dessert Spoons ,, ...	30s.	42s.	48s.
Table Forks ,, ...	40s.	56s.	64s.
Table Spoons ,, ...	40s.	58s.	66s.

Tea and coffee sets, waiters, candlesticks, &c., at proportionate prices. All kinds of re-plating done by the patent process.

CHEMICALLY PURE NICKEL NOT PLATED.

	Fiddle.	Thread.	King's.
Table Spoons and Forks, full size, per dozen.....	12s.	28s.	30s.
Dessert ditto and ditto...	10s.	21s.	25s.
Tea ditto.....	5s.	11s.	12s.

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, 11s. per dozen; desserts to match, 10s.; if to balance, 1s. per dozen extra; carvers, 4s. per pair; larger sizes, from 14s. 6d. to 26s. per dozen; extra fine ivory, 32s.; if with silver ferrules, 37s. to 50s.; white bone table knives, 7s. 6d. per dozen; desserts, 5s. 6d.; carvers, 2s. 3d. per pair; black horn table knives, 7s. 4d. per dozen; desserts, 6s.; carvers, 2s. 6d.; black wood-handled table knives and forks, 6s. per dozen; table steels, from 1s. each. The largest stock in existence of plated dessert knives and forks, in cases and otherwise, and of the new plated fish carvers. Also, a large assortment of Razors, Penknives, Scissors, &c. of the best quality.

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

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

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CHUBB'S LOCKS, with all the recent improvements. Strong Fire-proof Safes, Cash and Deed Boxes. Complete lists of sizes and prices may be had on application.

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EVERY LOCK being made and finished at the MANUFACTORY bears THEIR OWN STAMP, and is WARRANTED, without which none are genuine. These Locks can be procured by order through any respectable Ironmonger in the United Kingdom.

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NO MORE PILLS NOR ANY OTHER MEDICINE.—For Indigestion (Dyspepsia), Constipation, Nervous, Bilious, and Liver Complaints, Cough, Consumption, and Debility. By DU BARRY'S delicious REVALENTA ARABICA FOOD, which saves fifty times its cost in medicine.

A few out of more than 50,000 cures are given.

Cure No. 71, of dyspepsia, from the Right Hon. the LORD STUART DE DECIES:

"I have derived considerable benefit from Du Barry's Revalenta Arabica Food, and consider it due to yourselves and the public to authorise the publication of these lines.

"STUART DE DECIES."

From the DOWAGER-COUNTESS of CASTLE-STUART:

Cure 52,602.—"Rosstrevor, County of Down, Ireland, 9th December, 1854.—The Dowager-Countess of Castle-Stuart feels induced, in the interest of suffering humanity, to state that Du Barry's excellent Revalenta Arabica Food has cured her, after all medicines had failed, of indigestion, bile, great nervousness and irritability of many years' standing. This Food deserves the confidence of all sufferers, and may be considered a real blessing. Inquiries will be cheerfully answered."

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"MARIA JOLLY, Wortham, Ling, near Diss, Norfolk."

1lb., 2s. 9d.; 2 lbs., 4s. 6d.; 5 lbs., 11s.; 12 lbs., 22s.; superfined, 1 lb., 6s.; 2 lbs., 11s.; 5 lbs., 22s.; 10 lbs., 33s. The 10 lb. and 12 lb. carriage free on receipt of a post-office order. Barry, Du Barry, and Co., 77, Regent-street, London; London agents, Fortnum, Mason, and Co., purveyors to her Majesty, 182, Piccadilly; and also at 60, Gracechurch-street; 49, Bishopsgate-street; 4, Cheapside; 330 and 451, Strand; 55, Charing-cross.

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Secretary—W. C. URQUHART, Esq.

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R. HODSON, Secretary.

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