

The Leader.

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

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SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1855.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

THE Parliamentary story of the week is a romance of real life. Before last Sabbath interrupted the turmoil of political existence, it was announced that the Peelites intended to support Mr. MILNER GIBSON's resolution, condemning the war, and proposing the acceptance of peace on Russian terms. There was a grand muster in the House on that day to see the Three Grand Peelites of the Commons commit political suicide all of a row, while JOHN BRIGHT instigated them to the horrid deed, and Mr. MILNER GIBSON winked amusement from his cheerful eyes. The stage managers of that evening either had little discipline over the green-room, or they chose to change the piece, as they do at the Italian Opera, without any advertisement. The merry MILNER GIBSON looked sad, the austere GLADSTONE looked penitent, and the hopeful DISRAELI looked perplexed, when, with an air of much import, Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT rose and asked Lord PALMERSTON whether the negotiations at Vienna had been absolutely broken off. Everybody knew they had not; but Mr. GLADSTONE wanted a plank to pass back from his strange position, and Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT supplied the retreat. Learning, as if for the first time, that the Conferences at Vienna had not been absolutely broken off, Mr. GLADSTONE received a sudden enlightenment on the impropriety of the open proposal to close a peace with Russia; and he advised Mr. MILNER GIBSON "to postpone his motion." Here, then, was a triple desertion. First, of the country, in joining to propose capitulation; secondly, of the Government, whose war Mr. GLADSTONE took part in commencing; thirdly, of his new allies, the Manchester Peace men. An ingenuity less than Mr. GLADSTONE's would have been taxed to comprise a more complicated relation. The whole House was thrown into confusion; nobody knew what to advise.

On the next evening "an Individual" rose *ex machina*, to get the Anti-Ministerialists out of their difficulty, and Mr. DISRAELI announced a motion censuring the "ambiguous language and uncertain conduct" of Government, but offering to the Crown the support of the House for prosecuting the war to a safe and honourable peace. Here was a new combination. Mr. LAYARD, who had a motion for Thursday night, "on the state of the nation," was publicly asked to give way, having, said Mr. DUNCOMBE at Finsbury, previously been

asked in private. He gave way with the most natural grace in the world, and the Individual was master of the situation. But whom could he rally round him? Of course it was presumed the Tory party would rally to his newly-raised standard heartily, since the country requires the war and Opposition required a vote of censure upon Ministers. Of course it was supposed Mr. LAYARD and his immediate friends now took this view of "the state of the nation;" but if Manchester could condemn "the ambiguous language," and so forth, could it support the war? Even the charge of "ambiguous language" was to a great extent disarmed by a very plain statement from Lord JOHN RUSSELL, of what had passed at Vienna, and a very stout blast of the war trumpet from the renovated lungs of Lord PALMERSTON, who appeared to regain much of his ancient vigour in the excitement of a rising contest.

The Derby day offered a lull to the preparation for battle. Veterans of all parties mounted their hacks to have a gallop on Epsom Downs, and to witness the parody of their own contest in the race won by "a dark horse" belonging to a young gentleman of Somersetshire, inaccessible to "nobblers," trained by an Incorruptible who could not be "squared," and ridden honestly to win.

But who was the dark horse to be? LAYARD was the favourite. GLADSTONE was at one time spoken highly of, but with a superequine ingenuity he had "scratched" himself in public! The knowing ones said that BRIGHT had bottom, but he is given to bolting. The eventful Thursday came, and with it the day meetings. PALMERSTON and DISRAELI reviewed their forces. Neither of the great armies proved to be quite in training; sounds of mutiny were heard in either camp; the same disease of intestine division afflicted both.

Thus formally prepared, the debate ought to have had some more positive result. Great occasions bring forth great faculties; but this great occasion certainly failed to exhibit before us any mind capable of bringing out and wielding the power of the nation. There was scarcely a man that seemed capable even of presenting the case: Mr. DISRAELI's speech was in his strongest manner—personal and virulent to the last degree. His virulence indeed is of that Oriental kind which has something sublime in it, though one is glad that it does not come from English lips. Lord JOHN suffered, and we cannot pity him. View of the situation Mr. DISRAELI gave none,

and has none to give. The party is disgraced whose leader at a great national crisis makes such a speech as that of Mr. DISRAELI on Thursday night. Mr. GLADSTONE's friends on the contrary, had reason to be proud of his display, which was that of a noble nature, feeling deeply for its country and humanity, and above the meanness of self-display in wounding an opponent. But his reasonings, however logically cogent, were wanting in practical force. Of course the objects of the war are not the same now that we are before Sebastopol as they were when we first entered into the quarrel. We have gone further, ventured and suffered more, and we ought to demand more—not more "military glory," but more effectual securities than we should have been content with before we had spent a shilling or shed a drop of blood. Virtually, Ministers pass an act of oblivion in their own favour for the past. We are in the war, they say, and we must go through with it, and that was really the most intelligible proposition acceptable by the House of Commons. Mr. LOWE put the case best, when he moved to say, that in consequence of the refusal of Russia, the negotiations had failed, and therefore we must obtain peace by fighting for it; but that of course was too positive an assertion for the House of Commons. The Government affirms that statement, the whole body of the country affirms it; but the House of Commons trims between that rough proposition and all the little niceties and negatives, aptly picked phrases, and pretended votes of censure, that amuse the small factions around the margin of the Commons.

In the midst of these grander battles there was a little skirmish respecting our diplomatic establishments. Mr. WISE had discovered that two years ago an inquiry had been made into our diplomatic and consular establishments, but that the recommendations of the report had not been carried out—the salaries not reduced, the inferior qualifications of Attachés not retrieved, the needless establishments not abolished. No, admitted Lord PALMERSTON; but improvements have been introduced, examinations are to be enforced, and in many cases the expenses cannot be kept down without abating the dignity and utility of the establishments abroad. There is, as usual, partial truth on both sides, absolute truth on neither. The fact is that our consular establishments are made to a pattern of home manufacture, without reference to the necessities of different countries.

We keep up Ambassadors where no Ambassadors are needed; we retain Consuls in a subordinate and uninfluential position. Evidently the best course would be to consolidate the whole corps, and to keep it as a species of staff, available not only to be sent to any place where its members might be needed, but to be distributed freely and not according to the present set rule. The House felt that the present state of things is not satisfactory, and in spite of Lord PALMERSTON'S explanation and Mr. WISE'S wish to retract his motion, it was carried by 112 to 57.

Mr. BERKELEY'S motion for the ballot was not carried, but the respectable minority of 166 shows that the expedient for protecting the voter is not losing its support; and, amongst its new advocates, was Mr. ARTHUR GORDON, son of Lord ABERDEEN.

The extra Parliamentary movement for administrative reform continues to advance. Parliamentary meetings have been held in several of the London districts, and in several of the principal towns committees are formed to act with the central association. As the ice forms in patches in the colder season, and gradually unites in one sheet, so the league is forming round the separate centres gradually to unite in one whole. The minute of Council Directors, that all candidates for civil service shall undergo an examination, and appointing three commissioners for that purpose, is taken as a proof that the Government is yielding, and it has given a decided impulse to the movement. On the other hand, the leaders of the new party do not yet exhibit any complete mastery over their situation. It is, perhaps, too soon since their last public act to expect a new step, but it is a fact that they have done nothing since. Bath is thrown vacant by the appointment of the estimable and successful Mr. PHINN to be Second, that is permanent Secretary to the Admiralty; but we do not hear that the Central Administrative Reform Association seized upon the occasion to put a candidate of their own into Parliament.

Of the two objects put forward in the programme of the Association one, the reform of the public departments, seems now to have been taken up partially at least by Government, thanks no doubt to the efforts of the Reformers. The other object is one which must belong wholly to the people, and an admirable one it is—to purify elections. Nothing effectual will be done till we have a better House of Commons. Let us, as the Association advises, unite together to throw off the influence of the party clubs and their agents—we will add of the landlords and other intimidators—and cries, humbug, and fanaticism to boot. Let us try on the next opportunity to send up a real representative House of Commons. The rest will very soon take care of itself.

It is all expectation, too, rather than performance, in the camp at Sebastopol. The new fact from Vienna is that expectation has ceased: nothing is expected from the Austrian ultimatum, not even by Austria herself. No new proposals remain to hold out the delusion of hope. There is nothing for it, as Lord PALMERSTON says, but to fight. The two camps, English and French, are reported to be in excellent condition, save some appearance of summer disease; the Sardinian contingent is mustering on the ground; there are reports that the Foreign Legion also will shortly be mustering at the head-quarters of Shorncliffe and Heligoland. Everything indicates that the Crimea, and the Crimea alone, is at present to be the field of contest; and both sides are mustering their strength for the event—with this difference, that the Allies command an abundance of transport for men and stores, while the Russians have to drag every man, every weapon, every pound of provisions, across a continent.

Our true disgrace has not lain in the Crimea, but at home. It is bad to be foiled in overcoming

Russia, but infinitely worse to be detected in success against our own fellow-countrymen. "The System" prevents us from starving the enemy at Sebastopol, but the System starves poor creatures in Bethnal Green. A wretched woman was brought up last week at Clerkenwell, for pawning some work which had been given out to her by a clothing contractor, at wages just sufficient to starve upon. Here is one of the beauties of the contract system. The State is cheated into paying too much money, and then the poorest of the people are cheated in paying too little money. The exposure probably will do much good. ELIZABETH GIBBS went from the dock, not a criminal, but a victim; and the true criminal—the contracting system—will perhaps be called to account in the proper quarter.

What do we care, however, for the contracting system, for Sebastopol or Vienna, for Whig or Tory hopes, in Epsom week? The great question at the beginning of the week was, who was to be the winner of the Derby? The great historic fact is, that it was neither of the favourites, but Wild Dayrell, "a dark horse," "reared by the gardener." But Wild Dayrell has become a great name for the time in the contemporary history of the country. Men have their doubts as to the honesty of Lord PALMERSTON, the consistency of Lord JOHN, the courage of Lord DERBY, but none whatever as to the virtues of Wild Dayrell. We have our hundred religious creeds, but on that article of faith there is but one sect in the country.

The dinner of the Literary Fund on Tuesday went off pleasantly and well. The Bishop of Oxford, who presided, was in the fulness of his adroit eloquence, a postprandial MASSILLON; his views of the Church broadening to latitudinarianism with the dessert. The ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN dilated with frank and inoffensive egotism on his own proceedings as an author and a patron. Sir ARCHIBALD ALISON returned thanks for the "Historians" in an historical speech of some pretension. "One feature" of the evening, as reporters say, was the conspicuous absence of our most popular literary men.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE NEW FOREST.

The Earl of MALMESBURY, on Monday, called the attention of the Government to the incendiary fires which have lately taken place in and adjoining the New Forest, and by which not only the grass and underwood, but a large number of the royal plantations, have been destroyed, while the landholders in the neighbourhood have also suffered to a great extent. From January to May, 1854, the number of fires was twenty-four; yet the keepers have been reduced, and four policemen recently employed have been dismissed. Three weeks ago, three or four miles of the forest were in a blaze. The country being in a very wild and lawless state, a large number of squatters have fixed themselves in the forest, where they claim certain rights of pasturage and turf-cutting. There has also been a great increase of poaching; and there is some danger of all the game in the forest being destroyed. Lord Malmesbury thought the Government should consider whether the New Forest ought not to be disafforested, and the land brought into cultivation.—Earl GRANVILLE, in admitting the truth of the statement as to the number of fires, observed that two men are now in prison, and that the deputy surveyor has been ordered to engage as many watchers as he thought necessary.

The Intestacy (Scotland) Bill was read a third time, and passed.

THE LATE CAPTAIN CHRISTIE.

In the House of Commons, upon Mr. ROBUCK giving notice that he would the next day move for certain papers connected with Captain Christie, chiefly for the purpose of establishing the date of the order for trying him by court-martial, Sir JAMES GRAHAM rose to explain a statement he had made on Friday night, to the effect that the court-martial was the result of Mr. Layard's attacks upon Captain Christie, and that he (Sir James Graham) had "yielded too much to popular clamour" in bringing that officer to trial. He now admitted that he was in error in this assertion, and that, as pointed out by Mr. Layard in a letter to the *Times*, the court-martial was determined on before the member for Aylesbury had expressed his opinion on Captain Christie. Sir James further stated, speaking from memory, and under correction of the First Lord of the Admiralty, that there was an indisposition on the part of the naval authorities of the Black Sea to try Captain Christie,

and that the order was repealed; but he added that he thought the court-martial was the fairest mode of treating the deceased officer, and that he was therefore most anxious that it should take place. Referring to that portion of Mr. Layard's letter in which it is asserted that he (Sir James) "had not hesitated to state, calmly and deliberately, that which he ought to have known to be absolutely false," he appealed to the character which he had held in that House for thirty-seven years.

JAPAN.

Lord PALMERSTON, in answer to a question by Mr. WILKINSON, said that Admiral Stirling had concluded a treaty with the government of Japan. By that treaty, British vessels were to be allowed to enter certain ports in Japan for purposes of repair and refreshment. No commercial stipulations were contained in that treaty, with this exception, that British ships are to be allowed all privileges to which the vessels of other powers (excepting China and Holland) are entitled. The United States in the course of last year concluded a treaty with Japan, giving them the right of trading in certain ports; and to the benefit of this treaty this country would be entitled under Admiral Stirling's treaty. He (Lord Palmerston) was not aware of any treaty having been entered into between Russia and Japan.

THE WHITSUN HOLIDAYS.

Lord PALMERSTON, in answer to Mr. FREWEN, announced that the Government proposed that the House should adjourn on Friday until the Monday week following.

MR. MILNER GIBSON'S MOTION.

Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT, in anticipation of the motion of which notice had been given by Mr. Gibson, said, he wished to put certain inquiries to Lord Palmerston, upon the answer to which would depend his own course upon that motion, as well as that of other members. He found in the protocol of April 21 a paragraph stating that Count Buol did not consider the different modes of solution exhausted, and regarded it as especially the task of Austria to look for means of accommodation; and that he hoped, therefore, that the Conferences would meet again as soon as any of the members should have any new propositions to make. The questions Mr. Herbert proceeded to put were these:—"Does the noble lord at the head of the Government consider, or not, that the different modes of obtaining a pacific solution of the present state of affairs have been exhausted? does he consider all negotiations to be at an end? and does Austria consider it to be her part still to look for some means of accommodation? Furthermore, is the Conference completely dissolved, or is it still in such a state, that any of its members may make new propositions to the allied powers?"

Lord PALMERSTON said, her Majesty's Government did not consider that all the modes of solution of the question were exhausted; that the Conferences, though suspended, were not finally closed, but would be ready to assemble upon any proposition being made likely to lead to a satisfactory result; and that Government would feel it to be their duty to give the most favourable consideration to any proposition coming from Austria, with the view of bringing the war to an honourable and satisfactory termination.

Mr. GLADSTONE said that, as Lord Westmoreland had stated his instructions were exhausted, Mr. Gibson was justified in believing that the negotiations were absolutely at an end, and consequently had acted with perfect propriety in bringing forward his motion. But the answer just given by Lord Palmerston showed that the negotiations are still open; and thinking, therefore, that it would be incurring a grave responsibility to interfere with the Government under such circumstances, he ventured to ask Mr. Gibson whether he would not be exercising a wise discretion in postponing his motion to a period when circumstances may more fully justify an appeal to the House. He concluded by moving that the House do adjourn.

Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT repudiated all knowledge of the course which Mr. Gibson would take in consequence of the appeal which had just been made; but said that, should he still consider it his duty to press his motion, he (Mr. Herbert) should feel bound to move the previous question. (At this intimation there were ironical cheers from the Opposition.)—Lord HARRY VANE, who had undertaken to second Mr. Gibson's motion, agreed with Mr. Gladstone in pressing the member for Manchester, under the circumstances, to withdraw his motion for a time.

Mr. DISRAELI, in dissenting from the suggestions of Mr. Gladstone and the previous speaker, said:—

"It is a long time since the House has witnessed such a scene. So perfect a piece of acting has seldom been got up for our entertainment. (Loud opposition cheers.) I think that after the extraordinary, and, as I believe, most impolitic, request of the two right honourable gentlemen who have so suddenly risen this evening, the House of Commons and the country have a right to demand from the Government a much more explicit declaration on the subject of these negotiations than any we have yet been favoured with. (Cheers.) We have,

I contend; a right to know from the noble lord what is really the position in which the country is now placed with respect to recent negotiations; in short, to have much more information than seems to have satisfied the right honourable gentlemen who raised this discussion. Why, what is the state of the case? The noble lord tells us that he believes he can venture to say that he hopes it is not impossible that peace may yet be obtained, and that all the means of solving the political problem have not been exhausted by the distinguished men who now possess the confidence of the sovereign and the country. (*Laughter.*) But has the noble lord stated any circumstances which may induce us, the representatives of the people, to suppose that there is any light by which we may guide our conduct at a moment so difficult as the present? Has he given us any ground to justify us in forbearing from any expression of opinion at the present moment? No."

When his "baffled colleague" came back from Vienna, Lord Palmerston might have intimated that all means for the solution of the peace question were not exhausted, and that therefore discussion would be impolitic; but he did not do so. Neither did he deprecate entering into the question when Mr. Milner Gibson gave notice of his motion; but, on the contrary, disturbed the natural order of the business of the House to give an opportunity for bringing forward the motion. And now, when the whole country is expectant, Lord Palmerston desires that, upon the vaguest declaration on his part, this great discussion shall be silenced to suit his own convenience.

"I do not know what the right honourable member for Manchester means to do with his motion; but, from the remarkable promptitude of Lord Harry Vane in responding to what I will describe as most unreasonable suggestions, one is almost afraid that the proposer of these resolutions, as well as the seconder, has fallen into a position more convenient to the Government than honourable to himself. (*Loud opposition cheers.*) I ask, is there nobody to be considered—is there nothing to be considered—but the convenience of the minister? (*Loud cheers.*) What are we to suppose the country will think of the exhibition of this evening?" (*Continued cheering.*)

Should the House waive all claim for explanation, it will be placed in anything but a favourable light before the country.

Lord PALMERSTON said that, if the recent negotiations had not terminated favourably, the fault did not lie with the Government, nor with our ally, the Emperor of the French, nor with our ally to a certain degree (*laughter*), the Emperor of Austria; but with Russia, and with her alone. Mr. Disraeli had said that he ought to have come down to the House with a message from the Queen; but he had refused to do that, because he did not renounce all hope of a satisfactory result. He had not opposed Mr. Gibson's motion, although he looked upon it as very impolitic; but it was not for him to dictate to members, and, feeling it to be his duty to face the motion boldly, he was there for that purpose. Mr. Gibson must use his own discretion; but, if he persisted, the Government were prepared to meet him. Mr. Disraeli required further explanations; but these the Government did not consider it fit to give. He considered it would be highly injurious if the House were to take upon itself the power of carrying on negotiations.

Mr. BRIGHT declared he would be equally satisfied if the motion were pressed or if it were postponed.—Mr. ROEBUCK urged Mr. Gibson to proceed. The people were afraid that a party in the cabinet were anxious for peace at any sacrifice; and it was because he (Mr. Roebuck) did not concur in that feeling that he desired the discussion to be proceeded with.—The Marquis of GRANBY thought it was necessary to understand clearly whether at this time negotiations are actually taking place.—Lord JOHN RUSSELL stated his opinion that Austria, before the Conferences finally close, will make some proposition which must have one of two results—either it will be rejected, and then the Conferences will be broken off; or the negotiations will be renewed with a better prospect of peace. The negotiations, he explained, are not at present broken off; they are only suspended.—Sir JOHN PAKINGTON insisted on the necessity for a greater amount of information.—Sir GEORGE GREY thought Lord John Russell's statement sufficiently clear.—Mr. MILNER GIBSON said that, under the circumstances, the Government having declared that the Conferences are not ended, he could not, consistently with the interests of the country, persist in his motion at the present; and he should therefore postpone it until after the Whitsuntide recess.—After a few observations from Mr. MALINS (who protested against what he termed a mock proceeding), from Mr. CAYLEY (who held that this discussion would have a most mischievous effect, and would cause France to think that we are about to desert her), from Sir H. WILLOUGHBY and Mr. JOHN MCGREGOR, the subject dropped.

Some routine business was then gone through (in the course of which the Lords' Amendments of the

Scotch Affirmations Bill was agreed to), and the House adjourned at eight o'clock.

EARL GREY'S MOTION.

Earl GREY, on Tuesday, in answer to Lord LYNCHBURST, intimated that he still intended to bring forward his motion with respect to the Vienna Conferences on Friday, unless sufficient reason should be adduced against it. A brief conversation then ensued, in which Earl DERBY and Earl GRANVILLE took part; but nothing was said to induce Lord Grey to alter his determination.

After a little routine business, during which the Sewers (House) Drainage Bill passed the remaining stages, the Lords adjourned till Thursday.

METROPOLIS LOCAL MANAGEMENT BILL.

At a morning sitting of the House of Commons, various details of this bill were gone through in committee.—Clauses 27 and 28 were postponed; and, with those exceptions, the clauses up to 39 inclusive were agreed to. Clause 40 was subjected to certain amendments. The ensuing clauses up to 70 were then passed, with an amendment of the 48th; and, the Chairman having reported progress, the House resumed, when, on the motion of Lord BARRINGTON, it was ordered on its rising to adjourn to Thursday, in order that hon. members might have the pleasure of attending the Derby on Wednesday.

THE MILITARY COLLEGE AT WOOLWICH.

In the evening sitting, Mr. HEYWOOD gave notice that he should upon that day month move for an address praying her Majesty to issue her commission to substitute open examination for the system of nomination at present prevailing at the Military College, Woolwich.

STATE OF THE NATION.

Mr. DISRAELI, referring to the scene which had taken place in the House on the preceding evening, observed that the language of the Government on that occasion was so equivocal, and their demeanour altogether so discouraging, that he shrank from the idea of consenting to the recess without obtaining some clearer conception of the position of the country with respect to the great question of peace or war. In 1853, that House had, with exemplary forbearance, forborne embarrassing the Government by questions and comments; and, as a consequence, we "drifted" into war. With this recollection, the people could not help fearing that during the recess we might "drift" into a disgraceful peace. The House was about to adjourn for an unusual length of time, and at a crisis full of danger to the country. It was impossible to deny that the nation felt thoroughly disgusted with the ambiguous language and uncertain conduct of Ministers; and it would, therefore, be the duty of the House before it rose to take steps which should show that it is not the fault of the members if that uncertainty and ambiguity still prevail, and that they are prepared to support her Majesty in this war until the attainment of a secure and honourable peace. He believed that the honourable member for Aylesbury had given notice of a motion of great importance. (*A laugh.*) Of course he had no right to express a wish that that gentleman should give way to him—(*continued laughter*)—nor to presume to press him to do so. All he (Mr. Disraeli) could say was, that if he obtained an opportunity he should certainly make his motion, and even if the honourable member for Aylesbury persisted, he (Mr. Disraeli) would do his utmost before the adjournment for the holidays to induce a debate on resolutions which he thought tended to vindicate the honour of the House.—(*Cheers and laughter.*)

Mr. LAYARD, amidst mingled laughter and cheering, said he most cordially concurred in the sentiments of Mr. Disraeli, and that he would undoubtedly give way on Thursday.

Lord PALMERSTON observed that Mr. Disraeli had accused members on the Government side of the House of enacting a scene on the previous evening; but certainly the scene they had just witnessed far exceeded the preceding one in dramatic interest. It had been well done, and he gave the actors great credit for their performance. (*Laughter.*) As to the alleged ambiguity of the Government, it would be a great breach of propriety if fuller explanations were given. The forbearance of the House in 1853, so far from destroying the chances of peace at that time, had very greatly increased them; and the opening of negotiations at the suggestion of Austria had in no degree prejudiced the vigorous prosecution of the war, since the Government had proceeded with hostilities precisely as if no negotiations had been opened. Lord Palmerston concluded by assuring the House, in answer to the fear of a disgraceful peace expressed by Mr. Disraeli, that, as long as the present Government remain in power, the country need be under no apprehension that any peace would be made which would not be honourable for England and safe for the future. (This intimation was received with loud cheering from all sides of the House.) Towards the end of the evening, Lord Palmerston gave notice that on Thursday he should move the postponement of the orders of the day until

after the motion of which notice had been given by Mr. Disraeli, in order that that motion might be taken as a substantive one.

THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.

Mr. WISE moved, "that it is the opinion of this House that the complete revision of our diplomatic establishments, recommended in the report of the select committee of 1850 on official salaries, should be carried into effect;" and proceeded to show, from the report of the committee, the great irregularities and expense of our present diplomatic system. One of the suggestions of the committee was, that "ministers" instead of "ambassadors" should be sent to foreign courts, as being less expensive, and involving fewer forms and less etiquette. Russia has no ambassadors, but only sends first-class ministers to foreign courts; yet it must be admitted that Russian diplomatists are quite as successful as our own. As respects Paris and Constantinople, Mr. Wise acknowledged that a great change had taken place since 1850, and that it might be desirable that we should have at the former court a representative privileged to hold personal interviews with a sovereign who takes so great a share in the government as the present Emperor; but the expenses of the Parisian embassy are too large. He then quoted certain figures showing the heaviness of the ambassadorial expenses at Paris and in the Levant. He objected also to the smaller missions. If we had a minister at Frankfort (which Napoleon said was the window from which you could look out upon the whole of Germany), another at Berlin, and another at Vienna, it would answer every purpose as regards Germany. The committee also recommended that the mission at Florence should be united with one of the other Italian missions; and, for his own part, he thought the principle of amalgamation in respect to many of these small missions might be acted upon with advantage both with regard to economy and the effectiveness of the service. Another recommendation was that no diplomatic salary should exceed 5000*l.* a year; though this was a point which it would not perhaps be well to press at the present moment in regard to the embassies at Paris and Constantinople. But it should be borne in mind that since 1840 no less than three millions have been expended in diplomatic services, and in diplomatic and consular services no less than 4,667,000*l.* The country also should have better informed men for its diplomatists. Mr. Addington, who was for some years in the diplomatic service, and afterwards was Under Secretary of the Foreign Department, said in his evidence on the subject of promotion in the civil list—"I fear that the tendency to favouritism, vulgarly termed jobbing, is inherent in every system of government; that members of Parliament will ask favours, and that ministers feel obliged to accede to their requests, and often in this way appoint persons to places for which they are wholly unfitted." The selections for diplomatic services ought to be from the cream of the candidates. It might also be advisable if the young men in the Foreign Office were encouraged to cultivate languages, and acquire that knowledge which would fit them for this higher branch of the public service. In France and Germany, great care was taken that persons appointed to the diplomatic service were properly qualified; and in Germany, before any person's name was placed upon the list of candidates, he had to pass a very strict examination in languages, political economy, international law, and other branches of study. It would perhaps be as well to establish such a system in this country; and, now that we are going to have a new Downing-street, we should allow the old defective system to disappear with the dilapidated and inconvenient offices.—Mr. EWART, in seconding the motion, dwelt more especially upon the necessity for establishing an educational test for diplomatic candidates.

Lord PALMERSTON, while acknowledging the importance of the question, altogether dissented from an opinion which Mr. Wise had expressed, to the effect that it is the business of diplomatists to cheat and deceive, that they are only honourable spies, and that their want of veracity is proverbial. Such, said his Lordship, is not the character of the diplomatists of the present day. In these days of newspaper expresses, any government would throw away its money who employed it in paying spies. So far as this country is concerned, when every column of the *Times* is reprinted by electric telegraph in St. Petersburg within twelve hours after it appears here, the employment of spies is surely unnecessary. So far from our consuls being less efficient than those of any other country, he believed they are fully equal. As Mr. Wise himself acknowledged, several of the recommendations of the committee of 1850 have been acted upon. For instance, the salaries of our ambassadors at Paris and Constantinople, of our minister at Vienna, and of several others of our diplomatic agents abroad, have been reduced. The committee recommended that no salary should exceed 5000*l.*; and that recommendation has invariably been carried into effect, except in the case of our ministers at Paris, Vienna, and Constantinople. The courts of France and Turkey are the only places in which

we maintain an ambassador; and there they are needed for the sake of communication with the sovereign. The effect of reducing the salaries of our ministers abroad would be to prevent their being on terms of easy, social intercourse with influential personages; and this would be prejudicial to our interests. It would also be very hurtful if we were to dispense with ministers at the smaller German states. A minister at Frankfort would not be sufficient; for the delegates who meet at that city are not governments, and we could not lay before them any complaints with respect to Bavaria, or Saxony, or Hanover, which might arise. The same remarks apply to the three Italian States at which we have ministers. As regards the example of the United States, the government there has been obliged to revise the whole of the diplomatic and consular establishments, and that not at all in the way of reduction. Then again, with respect to the question of fitness, it is a great mistake to suppose that in the higher appointments the selection of persons to fill them is not made with a view to efficiency. It is much more to the interest of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to appoint efficient persons than to oblige any political friend. In conclusion, he had to state that on the previous day an order in council was made with a view to establish a system of examinations of persons to be appointed to diplomatic offices.

Mr. WILLIAMS supported the motion, expressing his deep regret that a professed Liberal Government should continue extravagances which have been condemned by a Parliamentary committee.—Mr. PHILLIMORE suggested a rule interdicting our consuls from carrying on business as private merchants, which would prevent a conflict of private interests and public duties.—Mr. WHITESIDE complained that some of our diplomatic agents are deficient in the knowledge of public law; and Mr. OTWAY asserted that they are selected because they are either relatives of Cabinet Ministers or persons of high standing, or because they have some Parliamentary influence.—Mr. WISE offered to withdraw his motion; but, Mr. BAILLIE objecting, a division took place, when the motion was carried, in spite of Mr. Wise, by 112 to 57.—The announcement of the numbers was received with loud cheering.

THE BALLOT.

Mr. HENRY BERKELEY renewed his annual motion for leave to bring in a bill to cause the votes of electors to be taken by ballot. To the arguments which he has hitherto adduced, he now added a fresh consideration arising out of the disasters which have attended our Crimean campaign, contending that, before the Government can be brought into a healthy condition, the rottenness at the heart of the House of Commons itself must be removed. Preceding acts had done little. The corrupt Practices Prevention Act was a pompous pretence. Whatever in that bill was calculated to put down bribery was carefully erased in committee. Everything referring to the upper classes was struck out. The House of Commons is mainly returned by peers; and what attention will be paid by them to any recommendations which might have the effect of reducing the monopoly of power now enjoyed by the aristocracy? It might just as well be asked what would be the effect if a criminal at the bar were allowed to change places with the judge, and to pass sentence upon himself. The right of the elector to a free choice of the member who is to serve him has been wrested from his possession by the oligarchy, squirearchy, and the moneyed interest; and it must be restored. The answers to certain questions framed by the Ballot Committee show that bribery and intimidation exist still to an extent almost incredible; and undue influence is brought to bear upon poor electors to such a degree that three hundred tenants may be moved by their landlord as by strings or wires, they being perfectly passive in his hands. Mr. Berkeley then quoted the opinions of Mr. Disraeli, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Mr. Macaulay, David Hume, Blackstone, Bentham, Mill, Buller, and others in favour of the ballot; and, returning to the question of the aristocratic constitution of our army, reminded the House that, in days gone by, an English army, led by the king, and officered by the flower of the nobility, formed no match for one commanded by a brewer and officered by men of low degree—that the Life Guards were not equal to the Ironsides of Oliver Cromwell.—The motion was seconded by Mr. FIELDEN, and opposed by Lord SEYMOUR, on the ground that publicity is the essence of the representative system, and that it would be dangerous to entrust secret voting to the hands of the trading classes, after the revelations which the *Lancet* had made of the universal fraud and dishonesty of those classes.—Mr. GORDON, in a maiden speech, supported the motion, not so much because he thought it likely to prove a panacea for all the evils of our electoral system, but in the hope that it might tend to eradicate, or materially diminish, evils which all at least profess to deplore, by checking corruption, the direct and scandalous traffic in votes, and a still greater evil—intimidation. In

answer to Lord Seymour, he said he did not believe that retail dealers are essentially a corrupt body; but, if they are, the measure is all the more necessary, in order to take from them the means of being corrupt.—Mr. BENTINCK opposed the motion, which was supported by Mr. PATRICK O'BRIEN and Mr. BLAND, who both gave instances of intimidation and coercion by Irish landlords, and mentioned the names of Lords Norbury and Farnham and Mr. Nesbit as guilty parties.—The motion was also supported by Sir JOHN FITZGERALD.—Mr. MICHELL desired to amend the motion by causing divisions in that House to be taken by ballot. This, he said, was quite as much needed as the other reform; and he hoped he should find some one to second his amendment.—Lord PALMERSTON, in opposing the motion, repeated the stock arguments against vote by ballot, and observed with respect to the example of the United States of America, that the object there is not secrecy, which is entirely discarded, but the convenience of enabling the elector to give his vote for several elections at the same time. Mr. Michell's proposal he thought much more logical than Mr. Berkeley's; votes being often given in that House in deference to the pressure of constituencies. But he should be sorry to see such an innovation introduced; and, in fact, he looked upon Mr. Michell's proposal as a *reductio ad absurdum*.—Upon a division, the numbers stood—For the motion, 166; against, 218: majority, 52.

THE NEWSPAPER STAMP BILL.

In the House of Lords, on Thursday, Lord CANNING moved the second reading of the Newspaper Stamp Bill, and enumerated the reasons which had induced the Government to bring forward the measure. Lord MONTEAGLE opposed the repeal of the tax, as inopportune at a moment when additional taxes are being laid on the people in order to meet the expense of the war. Lord CANNING replied, and the bill was read a second time.

THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES.

In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. OTWAY, Lord PALMERSTON stated that Lord Westmoreland had been informed by General Hess that Count Coronini, the General commanding the Austrian troops in the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, had issued an order, which was not strictly equivalent to our martial law, since it applied only to the Austrian troops themselves, and to any persons detected in endeavouring to induce those troops to desert; that Lord Westmoreland had inquired of the Austrian Government whether the order would apply to foreigners, and the answer was that it was not applicable to any foreigners in the Principalities.

THE WAR AND THE CONFERENCES.—MR. DISRAELI'S MOTION.

Mr. DISRAELI moved the resolution of which he had given notice, "that this House cannot adjourn for the recess without expressing its dissatisfaction with the ambiguous language and uncertain conduct of Her Majesty's Government in reference to the great question of peace or war; and that, under these circumstances, this House feels it a duty to declare that it will continue to give every support to Her Majesty in the prosecution of the war, until Her Majesty shall, in conjunction with her allies, obtain for this country a safe and honourable peace." Mr. DISRAELI began his speech by repeating the remarks he had made on Monday and Tuesday evenings with respect to the ambiguous language and uncertain conduct of Government, and to the dissatisfaction which he felt, in common with the country, at Ministers omitting, at the close of the Conferences, to ask the opinion of the House, and to state the course they meant to pursue. It was expected that this would be done when the protocols were laid on the table; but the public were disappointed, and they received another balm by the withdrawal of Mr. Gibson's motion. Mr. Disraeli therefore thought it his duty to bring forward this motion, which was limited to the issue expressed in it. If it involved a vote of censure, or implied a want of confidence, this arose from the peculiar circumstances of the time. He wanted the House to declare that their views are not changed nor their spirit daunted, and that they are ready to carry on the war until its great object is secured by an honourable peace. The appointment of Lord John Russell as Plenipotentiary at Vienna was an unfortunate one. For nearly two years—while we were "drifting" into war—the noble lord had been stimulating the passions of people by harangues which were not only fervent, but inflammatory; and he had plainly asserted in that House that England ought not to lay down her arms "until material guarantees are attained, which, reducing Russia's power to proportions innocuous to Europe's liberties, will afford perfect security for the future." This announcement almost overturned the whole of European policy; more especially as the Vienna protocol of December 5th, 1853, signed both by France and England, provided that the war should not lead to any territorial diminution of the Russian Empire. However, not only Lord John Russell, but Lord Clarendon, declared, in effect, that England

would not be influenced by the protocol which she had herself signed; and, in the course of last July, Lord John Russell, in a moment of almost unparadonable indiscretion, revealed the secret intentions of the cabinet, and that the destruction of Sebastopol was the great object in view. But, during the brief period in the early part of 1853 when his Lordship held the position of Foreign Secretary, he wrote a secret and confidential despatch to Sir Hamilton Seymour, having reference to the propositions made by the late Czar with respect to Turkey; and in that despatch there occurs this passage:—

"Her Majesty's Government wish to add that in their view it is essential that the Sultan should be advised to treat his Christian subjects in conformity with the principles of equity and religious freedom which prevail generally among the enlightened nations of Europe. The more the Turkish Government adopts the rules of impartial law and equal administration, the less will the Emperor of Russia find it necessary to apply that exceptional protection which his Imperial Majesty has found so burdensome and inconvenient, though, no doubt, prescribed by duty and sanctioned by treaty."

Mr. Disraeli continued—

"Let the House remember this, for it is important. Not to taunt the noble lord with an error—probably the most gross ever committed by a statesman—not to taunt him with that one fatal error, for every man will forget himself at times—I called the attention of the House, at the time when this despatch was so much the subject of admiration, to this disastrous admission. The noble lord never gave any answer, for he could not, and I should not have brought the matter forward had it not been for the remarkable reason I am now about to state. The mistake committed by the noble lord was in acknowledging the protectorate of Russia over the Christian subjects of Turkey, which Count Nesselrode himself now says does not exist; but which the noble lord acknowledged, and says is prescribed by duty, and sanctioned by treaties."

The next fatal admission made by Lord John Russell was at the Conference held on the 26th of March, when he said that, "recalling the declaration made at the opening of the negotiation by Prince Gortschakoff, that he would consent to no condition incompatible with the honour of Russia, in the eyes of England and of her allies, the best and only admissible conditions of peace would be those which, being the most in harmony with the honour of Russia, should, at the same time, be sufficient for the security of Europe, and for preventing a return of complications such as that the settlement of which is now in question."

"Well, we shall soon see what the admission of the noble lord led to. The noble lord stated that in the eyes of England and her allies the best and only admissible conditions of peace would be those most in harmony with the honour of Russia. What had he to do with the honour of Russia? I apprehend the noble lord was not sent to Vienna to take care of the honour of Russia. The noble lord was sent to Vienna to take care of the honour of England. But, having made this admission, he proceeded, on the 17th of April—to do what? Why to propose the most humiliating and insulting conditions that could possibly be conceived, and those humiliating conditions were supported by an historical precedent the most unhappy that he could have selected. The noble lord appealed to the treaty of Utrecht and the destruction of the fortifications of Dunkirk. Under what circumstances was the treaty of Utrecht completed, and the fortifications of Dunkirk destroyed? Why after the splendid victories of the armies of Marlborough and Eugene, and after the most humiliating reverses of the once great French king, who at the end of a long reign found his resources exhausted, and France, high-spirited France, obliged to undergo the greatest humiliation which history affords. This was the precedent brought forward by the noble lord, who had made the curious admission that he thought the preservation of the honour of Russia essential to the conditions of any peace. The noble lord must admit that on that day he made that admission there was a rupture of the Conferences, and that it prevented the Russian court from taking the initiative. On April 17, the noble lord said that 'since Russia declined to take the initiative on this subject, the chances of success attending the negotiations for peace appeared in his eyes much diminished.' The noble lord admitted that the chance of peace was much diminished; and, in fact, we have been deprived of a peace which we might otherwise have obtained."

The objects which he (Mr. Disraeli) proposed in the present motion were, to obtain a definite statement of the position in which we are placed, and to show how ambiguous and uncertain is the character of that negotiator who first wishes to respect the honour of Russia in the conditions of peace, and then proposes conditions of peace which it could not be expected that Russia would accept. The spirit of this country had not been properly kept up. It had been said that "the door" was to be "left open" for the entrance of peace; but the proper course is to shut the door, and let those who want to enter knock, and then there will be a chance of a safe and

honourable peace. After the sacrifices which the country has made—after the hearths of England have been darkened with the shadow of calamity—men must not be told that it is for a question whether the Emperor of Russia shall have four frigates or six. (Cheers.)

"I trace the discontent that is prevalent, and the dissatisfaction which we find in many quarters, I trace them to the continued alliance between diplomacy and war. I may be permitted so say that there are two methods in which you may carry on war with Russia. In one case, you may invade her provinces, despoil her of her territory, beat her back into the North, reconstruct, in short, the map of Europe, and solve the knot, which now you are trying to undo, by movements of the most determined character. And if there were a young Minister, full of genius, energy, and fortunate enough to possess, as a colleague, a general as consummately gifted, backed by an enthusiastic people, unembarrassed by public debt, I am not prepared to say that that career would not be well worthy of his attention. I will not presume to predict what might be the consequences of that struggle; but I think I may venture to prophesy that the grey hairs would cluster on the temples of not the oldest members among us before its termination. But there is another mode of carrying on the war with Russia. It is one essentially protective. It is to protect your ally, not by reducing the peculiar influence of Russia, but by increasing the power of Turkey. That was the policy which, as I understood from the declaration of war, we had embarked upon. But what have you done? Having embarked in a war to protect the Turkish Empire, you suddenly resolve to invade the Russian dominions, while you were protecting the Turkish Empire, and engaged in diplomatic transactions which were to carry out the protective policy. You have combined, therefore, aggressive war with protective diplomacy; and to that incoherent and inconsistent union I trace the dangers that are surrounding us, and which, in my opinion, unless you terminate that union, must increase, and fatally increase. While you are wasting your time at Vienna in this protective diplomacy, all that you can do is to devise schemes which will apply to the objects of protective war; but the evil consequences for the objects of aggressive war are easily traceable, because you not only by these Conferences, by this morbid diplomacy, damp and destroy the spirit of the nation, which, after all, you must alone rely upon, but you are, by these very Conferences, paralysing those allies, preventing that energy on the part of European powers, which would be necessary for you to carry on your aggressive warfare, and to extricate yourselves from the dangers to which you must now feel exposed. It may have been a great error to depart from that protection of the Turkish Empire and to invade Russia. But having, though most rashly, once taken that step, you must meet the consequences of the fatal policy which you have pursued. You cannot extricate yourselves from these consequences by Conferences at Vienna." (Cheers.)

It had been said that the present motion expresses distrust of the Government; but is there any man who does not feel distrust of the Government? And that distrust reaches still further; it reaches even to a dark suspicion of the practical working of our representative institutions. The heart of many a patriot would be gladdened if, by the successful issue of that motion, it should appear that the House of Commons has decided that there shall be an end of diplomatic subterfuge and ministerial trifling. (Cheers.)

The motion was seconded by Mr. BARROW.

Sir FRANCIS BARING moved as an amendment "that this House, having seen with regret that the Conferences of Vienna have not led to a termination of hostilities, feels it to be a duty to declare that it will continue to give every support to her Majesty in the prosecution of the war, until her Majesty shall, in conjunction with her Allies, obtain for this country a safe and honourable peace." He proposed this amendment because he could not meet the original motion with a direct negative, since it would be liable to misconstruction. In answer to the charges brought by Mr. Disraeli against the Government, he denied that there had been any unfair concealment or any ambiguous language on their part. It would not have been prudent or politic, nor would it have been just to our allies, from day to day to expose confidential communications. The Government had given all the information they fairly could.

Sir WILLIAM HEATHCOTE said it was impossible for him to vote for the original motion, the object of which was avowedly to shut the door to negotiation; and he thought the amendment was open to the charge of being ambiguous and uncertain. To get rid of this objection, he would insert, after "hostilities," the words, "and still cherishing a desire that the communications in progress may arrive at a successful issue."

Mr. KIRK SEYMOUR said he should support the original resolution.—Mr. WILKINSON was disposed to vote for Sir Francis Baring's amendment.—The Marquis of GRANBY denied that Russia had ever had

any intention of seizing Constantinople, and thought that the second proposition of Russia contains elements of negotiation.—Mr. ROBERT PHILLIMORE, while admitting that there never was a war more just in its origin than that in which we are now engaged, asserted that Russia had made great concessions, and held that we should not propose to a great power terms which she would be despised if she accepted.

Mr. GLADSTONE said he could not possibly agree with Mr. Disraeli's motion, because he thought the negotiations had offered an admirable opportunity of terminating the horrors of war. He was disposed cordially to agree with the amendment of Sir William Heathcote, which expressed the opinion of the House that the advantages of negotiation should not be lost to view. The war was most just in its origin; but it would become unjust if we continued to prosecute it after its object has been attained. The second proposal of Russia was the question properly before the House; but the designs originally contemplated by the war had completely vanished from sight. After the war commenced the objects had been enlarged, and finally merged into the Four Points, not merely limiting and restraining the treaty rights of Russia, but abolishing them altogether. These Four Points were, in August, 1854, previous to our expedition to the Crimea, absolutely rejected by Russia; but in December the Emperor promised his unreserved acceptance of terms which four months before he had contemptuously refused. It could not, therefore, be said that our attack on Sebastopol had altogether failed. The only one of these articles not now settled was the third, and the difference arose, not upon its principle, but upon the mode of its application, so that the quarrel was merely as to the mode of construing a moiety of the Third Point. The question of the Black Sea, he observed, was surrounded with difficulties, and the choice was to be made between several plans of limitation, all being open to objections and imperfect arrangements. The more he looked at the question of limitation, the more apparent was its enormous difficulty and the indignity it would offer to Russia; and no policy could be more dangerous than that of inflicting indignity upon her without reducing her power. Russia had receded from her pretences; she had gone far to put herself in the right, and, in war as well as in peace, the great object should be to be in the right. All the terms we had demanded had been substantially conceded; and, if it was not for terms we fought but for military success, let the House look at this sentiment with the eye of reason, and it would appear immoral, inhuman, and unchristian.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL began his observations by commenting on the opinions expressed by Mr. Gladstone. The speech of that gentleman, he said, was characterised by great fairness, therein contrasting with the oration of Mr. Disraeli; but he (Lord John Russell) dissented from Mr. Gladstone's views with respect to the war. The terms proposed by Russia would not guarantee the protection of Turkey; for a Russian fleet might sail from the Black Sea, and dictate terms to the Sultan at the gates of his own palace. According to the second Russian proposition, it was true, Turkey was to have the right of calling upon the fleets of her allies for succour whenever she might be menaced; but, in these cases, as Marshal Marnont said, priority is everything, and the allied fleets might be at a distance while those of Russia were near at hand. To accept, therefore, such futile and nugatory terms as those of Russia would be to deceive Europe in a way quite unworthy of England and France. With respect to Mr. Disraeli's charges, Lord J. Russell said that the right hon. gentleman, in speaking of the protectorate of Russia over the Greek Christians of the Turkish Empire, confounded two things which were perfectly distinct—the protectorate over Wallachia and Moldavia, which was sanctioned not only by the treaty of Kainardji, but by the subsequent treaties of Bucharest and Adrianople, and the proposition which was put forward by Prince Menschikoff, which went far beyond those treaties, and was based on an erroneous interpretation of the treaty of Kainardji. His lordship then gave a brief historical summary of the ambitious designs and aggressive policy of Russia, and sketched the progress of the present war, and the course he had taken at the Conferences. The Austrian occupation of the Principalities had enabled us to attack Sebastopol; and that attack had demonstrated the weakness of the Black Sea fleet for defence, and had shown that its real purpose was to create a standing menace to Turkey. As to the charge against him that he had desired to conserve the honour of Russia, he still believed that that object was a fitting one, supposing it to be compatible with our own designs. The most important of those designs, the limitation of the Russian power in the Black Sea, is indispensable for the security of Constantinople; and the refusal by Russia to accept those terms is a sure indication of the dishonesty of her intentions towards her neighbour. The conduct of Austria was not altogether such as he could wish;

but with her frontier open to invasion from Russia without sufficient fortresses to prevent the Russians after a single victory, from marching up to Vienna—it must be admitted that her position is one of great difficulty.—With a fling at the Administrative Reform movement, and a rebuke to the ambitious and partisan designs of Mr. Disraeli and his friends, Lord John Russell resumed his seat.

On the motion of Mr. WHITESIDE, the debate was then adjourned.

METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT BILL.

Lord PALMERSTON announced that Sir Benjamin Hall had postponed the further proceeding on this bill until Tuesday after the recess, to be then taken at a morning sitting.

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.

Mr. FRANCIS SCOTT asked the Vice-President of the Board of Trade whether the bill to prevent railway accidents, which the Government said in March would be laid before Parliament, and which in May was said to be ready for presentation, would be introduced into Parliament immediately after the Whitsuntide recess?—Mr. BOUVERIE said it was the intention of the President of the Board of Control to bring in this bill upon an early day.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON asked the Solicitor-General whether the Church Discipline Bill would be introduced after the Whitsuntide recess, whatever might be the progress and success of the Testamentary Jurisdiction Bill; and whether it was yet decided that provision shall be made in the bill for constituting one final court of appeal for the United Church of England and Ireland?—The SOLICITOR-GENERAL said it was the intention of the Government to introduce the Church Amendment Bill at an early day after the recess. He hoped on Friday to be able to give the exact date. The prosecution of the bill would depend upon the fate of the Testamentary Jurisdiction Bill, not from any connexion of the subject matters of the two bills, but because there were certain arrangements with respect to compensation contained in the Testamentary Jurisdiction Bill, upon which were founded certain regulations in the other bill. He was enabled to answer the last part of the right hon. baronet's question, as to the Court of Appeal for the United Church of England and Ireland, in the affirmative.

ADMISSION OF JEWS TO PARLIAMENT.

Mr. DUNCOMBE asked the First Lord of the Treasury if it was his intention to bring in any bill during the present session to enable Jews to sit in Parliament; also on what day the long promised bill for the reform of the Corporation of the City of London would be introduced?—Lord PALMERSTON said it was not the intention of the Government to propose during the present session any measure for the admission of Jews into Parliament. With respect to the other portion of the question, he could assure the hon. member that the bill to which he alluded was in the course of being drawn; it was a matter of much difficulty, and would require considerable care. He trusted, however, that at an early day it would be before the House.

THE WAR.

THE latest news of the war is literally that there is no news at all. The electric telegraph that extends from the heart of the contest into the heart of peaceful London has been silent for the last week, or, at any rate, has spoken not to unofficial ears. With the approaching heats of summer, a languor seems to have come upon both sides; and the two opponents—meaning thereby the Allies and the Russians—

"Like giants in contention, planet-struck,
Stand gazing at each other."

The expedition to Kertch has added another mistake to the long list of our Crimean blunders. With the fleet in sight of the place which it was designed to attack—with the soldiers and sailors both of France and England eager to attack the enemy, and confident of success—with our opponents unprepared for the assault, and therefore at every disadvantage—the order comes that the armament is to return, and return it does, to the infinite satisfaction, and no doubt amusement of the Russians. No such opportunity can again occur for the capture of a place which is generally held to be second only in importance to Sebastopol itself; for the intentions of the Allies are revealed—the enemy are now on their guard—their weak spot has been pointed out to them—and we all know the energy and rapidity with which the Russians can strengthen themselves in a doubtful position. The return was in consequence of a message from Lord Raglan and General Canrobert, withdrawing the French troops; which of course rendered it impossible for us to proceed. This message, it is whispered in the camp,

was the result of an intimation that the Emperor himself was coming out to take the command, and that in the meanwhile all operations were to be stopped. But this is manifestly improbable; and the more probable reason seems to lie in the vacillating and fussy character of the late Commander-in-Chief of the French army. The *Morning Herald* correspondent says that the message was conditional, and only to the effect that the expedition was to be abandoned if the details were not already arranged. Should this be true, the chief blame falls upon those who so mislead their instructions; but, whomsoever be the guilty party, there is no concealing the fact that disappointment is a weak word to express the feeling of the men. This is better described by saying that it is a mixture of despondency and rage.

The French still retain possession of the works which were taken by them on the 1st and 2nd of May, and which now form a vast *place d'armes*, the parapets of which are cannon-proof.

General Gortschakoff, in a recent despatch, says that in the sortie on the night between the 11th and 12th inst. his men spiked some English guns. It will be observed that Lord Raglan makes no mention of this.

STATE OF BALAKLAVA.

The Sanitary Commissioners have examined the hospitals in front, but, so far as I can hear, they had nothing important to suggest of a practical nature. The soil is saturated with decaying animal matter. I have slept lately in a sunken hut in which a corpse lies buried, with only a few inches of earth between its head and my own. Within a yard and a half of the door of my present abode are the shallow graves of three soldiers, a little earth heaped up loosely over them, mixed with scanty lime, which does not even destroy the rank vegetation that springs out of them. Nearer still is a large mound, supposed to contain the remains of a camel—rather a large supply of noxious gases; and further away, at the distance of about one hundred and eighty yards, are the graves of the division, where hundreds of bodies lie lightly covered as close as they can pack. In front of the hut are two mounds, about ten feet distant, containing the buried offal of the butchers; and on the left are the remains of more camels, and of God knows what beside, which emits pestilential odours when the sun shines. Among one of the most useful improvements in Balaklava must be reckoned the filling in of the end of the harbour. It had become a horrid swamp, hideous and nauseous to every sense—where water and land had contended for the mastery, and at last effected a compromise in the form of the most abominable mud, blended with floating offal from the ships, the debris of drowned animals from the sea and starved animals from the land, decayed vegetables, and slimy nastinesses unutterable. Thanks to Admiral Boxer or Colonel Harding, this devil's quagmire has now been covered over with gravel and with stones, and stakes have been driven into the sea so as to form a quay all along the top of the harbour. The slough is covered over, and a hard, clean, solid bit of ground takes its place, banked up at the sea side, and fit for landing goods and stores on from boats with shallow draught of water. The facilities of the piers constructed under Admiral Boxer's direction on the west of the harbour of Balaklava are invaluable. The seamen under his orders have blasted away the solid rock which rose almost precipitately from a depth of ten or twelve feet from the bottom up to the height of several hundred feet above the sea, and have constructed a broad road winding along under these rocks from the top of the creek half-way down the harbour towards the sea. A branch rail runs along the centre of this road from the depot at the end to join the main line at the head of the harbour; and very fine jetties have been also constructed, under the same authority, alongside which large vessels may lie with safety, and where horses, guns, &c., can be discharged even from such ships as the Himalaya with the greatest ease and rapidity.—*Times Correspondent*.

THE FIGHT ON MAY 10.

About one o'clock this morning, the camp in front was roused up by an extremely heavy fire of musketry and repeated cheering along our right attack. The elevated ground and ridges in front of the Third and Fourth Divisions were soon crowded with groups of men from the tents in the rear. It was a very dark night, for the moon had not yet risen, and the sky was overcast with clouds; but the incipient flashing of small arms which lighted up the front of the trenches, the yell of the Russians (which our soldiers have christened "the Inkerman screech"), the cheers of our men, and the volume of the fire, indicated the position, and showed that a contest of no ordinary severity was taking place. There is an earnestness and reality about the musketry on such occasions which has a language of its own that cannot be mistaken. The regularity and precision of the *feu de joie*, the platoon or file-firing of our reviews, have little kin with the passionate, intense, and startling bursts of rifle and musket, and give but an imperfect notion of the deadly rattle and fitful roll of small arms in action, where every man is loading and firing as rapidly as he can, and where the formation of the line is

altering every moment. For a mile and a half, the darkness was broken by outbursts of ruddy flame and bright, glittering sparks, which advanced, receded, died out altogether, broke out fiercely in patches in innumerable twinkles, flickered in long lines like the electric flash along a chain, and for an instant craters of fire. The musketry, having rolled incessantly for a quarter of an hour, began to cease at intervals along the line. Here and there it stopped for a moment altogether; again it burst forth. Then came a British cheer, which thrilled through every heart. "Our fellows have driven them back; bravo!" Then a Russian yell, a fresh burst of musketry, more cheering, a rolling volley subsiding into spluttering flashes and broken fire, a ringing hurrah from the front; and then the Russian bugles sounding "the retreat," and our own bugles the "cease firing;" and the attack, after half an hour's duration, was over. The enemy were beaten, and were retiring to their earthworks; and now the batteries opened to cover their retreat. The Redan, Round Tower, Garden Batteries, and Road Battery, aided probably by the ships, lighted up the air from the muzzles of their guns. The batteries at Careening-bay and at the north side of the harbour contributed their fire, and the sky was seamed by the red track of innumerable shells. You could see clearly at times the ground close around you from the flashes of the cannon. The round shot tore the air with a harsh roar, and shells burst almost in volleys along our lines. The Russians were avenging themselves as best they might for their repulse; and the extent of their mortification and anger might be inferred from the vigour and weight of their cannonade. The instant they began to fire, our ever active allies, the French, on our right, opened from their batteries over Inkerman and from the redoubts, to draw off the Russian guns from our men; and our own batteries also replied, and sent shot and shell in the direction of the retreating enemy.—*Idem*.

THE KERTCH BLUNDER.

Men and officers in the Sebastopol front do their duty, and their merit is the greater because they do it without the slightest hope of success. Not that the army despairs of taking Sebastopol; it only despairs of taking it by pitting our engineers against those of the Russians, and staking the lives of our troops upon the result. The work in the trenches is deadly, more especially at night, when, amidst the din of the siege, the round shot comes among us unheard and unseen. The gallant line regiments that support the batteries are giving proof of the highest courage of which human nature is capable. It is not a battle, not the movement, the excitement, the fury of a conflict, which probes a man to the heart, but this standing or crouching in utter darkness to be shot at; awaiting death, which may come at any moment and in any shape, without moving a hand or an arm—without being able to do anything in self-defence. And yet that is the condition of the officers and many of the men who do duty in the trenches. It is a necessary duty, but in most sieges the generals are sufficiently prudent and humane to make this time of severe probation as short as possible. Our troops, and those of our allies, have for nearly six months borne with the ordeal. Hence our hopes of the Kertch expedition: hence our deep mortification at its unseasonable return. There is no concealing the fact that, now that the Russians are warned, they will make such preparations as will astonish the troops that are sent out to set right what has been made wrong in the last few days. And yet, as matters stand, Kertch is the key to Sebastopol. . . . On this locust-eaten land, we have an enemy numbering perhaps 150,000 men, and a fortress which must be provisioned from without. We have it in our power to cut off the enemy's supplies of victuals, of ammunition, of men: the capture of Kertch gives us the command of the Sea of Azoff, and our destroying Odessa stops great part of the supplies from Bessarabia. Our threatening Perekop threatens the Russian basis of operations and also their line of retreat. If we take Kertch, the Russian generals must either evacuate the Crimea altogether, or lead their columns that were driven back from Inkerman against the lines of Balaklava and Inkerman, now bristling with cannon. If they do neither, they must see their troops starve in this country. Through Perekop alone—especially before the time of harvest—they can hardly manage to provision Sebastopol. They must either fight a battle, with the ground and all other chances against them, or they must fly; or, if they starve, and wait until we occupy Perekop, they must surrender at discretion.—*Daily News Correspondent*.

DESPATCHES FROM LORD RAGLAN.

Before Sebastopol, May 8, 1855.

My Lord,—The enemy assaulted our advanced parallel on the right attack on the night of the 5th instant, and some actually got into the trench; but they were speedily driven out and repulsed with the utmost gallantry by the detachments occupying it, of the 80th and 49th Regiments, under Captain Williamson and Lieutenant Gubbins, of the former, and Lieutenant Rochfort, of the latter, who, unfortunately, was severely wounded; and I regret to have to add that several valuable non-commissioned officers and men were killed and wounded on the occasion.

On the same night, Captain Arnold, of the 4th Foot,

was wounded and taken prisoner, whilst posting the advanced sentries on the left attack.* The loss of the services of this officer is greatly to be lamented. He had done his duty unremittingly, and in the most spirited manner, throughout the operations of the siege.

I enclose the return of casualties to the 6th instant.

I have heard that six ships, having on board Sardinian troops, have arrived in the Bosphorus.

I have, &c., RAGLAN.

P.S. I have the satisfaction to announce to you the arrival of the first detachment of the 12th Lancers.

The Lord Panmure, &c., &c.

Casualties.—9 rank and file, killed; 1 officer, 2 sergeants, 35 rank and file, wounded; 1 officer, 1 sergeant, 2 rank and file, missing.

Before Sebastopol, May 12, 1855.

My Lord,—I do myself the honour to acquaint your lordship that General de la Marmora, with a portion of the Sardinian contingent, arrived off Balaklava on the night of the 8th instant, and he came up to headquarters the following morning.

The very unfavourable state of the weather since the 9th has prevented any material part of the force being landed; and it has been found necessary to send the vessels that brought it, and which could not be got into the harbour, to Kasatch Bay, until it should moderate.

Five troops of the 12th Lancers landed on the 9th from the Himalaya, which performed the voyage from Alexandria to Balaklava in ninety-four hours.

The enemy made two serious assaults upon our most advanced parallel of the right attack on the night of the 9th, but were on each occasion most nobly met, and repulsed with considerable loss.

The arrangements of Colonel Trollope, who had charge of the right attack, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mundy, the field-officer of the trenches, were most judicious; and Captain Turner of the Royal Fusiliers, and Captain Jordan of the 84th Regiment, are reported to have done their duty in the most gallant manner.

They opened a powerful fire on our trenches on the following night, and exposed their columns to a heavy musketry fire from the troops on duty. They did not, however, reach the parapets, nor indeed come very near them.

Last night, a very determined sortie was made upon the advance of our left attack. The enemy moved forward in two columns from the Woronzow road. Our advanced sentries having slowly retired, the guard of the trenches was prepared to receive them, and consequently drove them back in the most determined manner. A few Russians only got into the parallel, and five were left dead close outside.

The conduct of both officers and men was admirable; and it is with deep regret that I have to report the death of Captain Edwards, of the 68th Foot, and that of five men.

I have also the pain of saying that the wounded amount to thirty.

Owing to the great quantity of rain which has fallen during the last few days, the service in the trenches has again been most arduous and severe upon our men, who deserve all praise for their energy and untiring perseverance.

I enclose the returns of casualties to the 10th instant.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN.

The Lord Panmure, &c., &c.

Casualties.—1 sergeant, 9 rank and file, killed; 2 officers, 1 sergeant, 56 rank and file, wounded. Naval Brigade: 1 killed, 4 wounded.

THE BALTIC BLOCKADE.

Notification (*From the Gazette*).—By the Hon. Richard Saunders Dundas, C.B., Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty's ships and vessels employed and to be employed on a particular service. It is hereby notified that, on the 28th day of April last, the entrance to the Gulf of Finland, from Hangö Head, in lat. 59.46 N., lon. 22.58 E., to the Dagerort Lighthouse, in lat. 58.55 N., lon. 22.12 E., and that all Russian ports, roads, havens, and creeks, from the Dagerort to the Filsand Lighthouse, in lat. 58.25 N., lon. 21.50 E., were placed in a state of strict blockade by a competent force of her Majesty's ships. And it is hereby further notified that all measures authorised by the laws of nations, and the respective treaties between her Majesty and the different neutral powers, will be adopted and executed on behalf of her Majesty and her ally, his Majesty the Emperor of the French, with respect to all vessels which may attempt to violate the said blockade. Given on board her Majesty's ship Duke of Wellington, at sea, in the Femern Belt, this 3rd day of May, 1855.

(Signed)

R. S. DUNDAS.

WAR MISCELLANEA.

RUSSIAN LOSSES.—Lord Lansdowne said the other evening, in the House of Peers, that the Russian loss since the commencement of the war had been 247,000 men. The following are further details. In the month of January last, a report was presented to the Emperor Nicholas, stating the loss of the army at 187,000 men, including those who died under the severity of the long

* Intelligence has since been received of the death of Captain Arnold.

marches and of sickness. A new report was presented to the Emperor Alexander in April, fixing the total loss of the army to March 31 at 250,000. In this report, especial stress was laid on the effect of the marches, and some disastrous incidents were particularised. It was stated that an entire company had perished under the snows between Odessa and Perekop, and another between St. Petersburg and the south. An entire battery had been lost in the same manner, with the men and horses. The guns were found after the thaw, and are again in use.—*Daily News*.

M. FANE, Officier d'Ordonnance of the French Emperor, has, it is said, carried out to the Crimea a new plan of operations, concerted between the Emperor and Marshal Vaillant, and that it was the inability of General Canrobert to acquiesce in this plan that determined his resignation.

RUSSIAN SUPPLIES.—A letter from Odessa, of the 25th ult., in the *Danube*, says:—"The heavy rain which has been falling here for some time past has rendered the roads quite impracticable. In an order of the day of the 22nd, General Osten-Sacken has expressed the hope of being able to attack the enemy with success. General Liprandi has returned to the entrenched camp of Kamara. Not less than seven hundred waggons laden with balls and shells have been conveyed into Sebastopol, as well as 140,000 pounds of gunpowder; the pound is about 35lbs. New works are being executed in front of the bastion of Korniloff, and sixty-two pieces of cannon are to be placed there."

THE GOVERNOR OF BALAKLAVA.—Amongst the Russian prisoners brought home in the *Simla* last week, was the Governor of Balaklava, who was taken prisoner when Balaklava was first seized by the English army. In the confusion of the capture, the Governor lost his wife and daughter, and has never heard of them since. He appeared quite broken-hearted on account of his misfortunes.

DENMARK AND SWEDEN.—Rumour states that the British and French envoys at Copenhagen and Stockholm have received instructions to inform the Danish and Swedish Cabinets that their neutrality can be no longer acknowledged, and that they must declare openly either as friends or foes. In consequence of this demand, the Swedish militia has been ordered to be mobilised.

LORD DUNDONALD'S PLANS.—It is said, and, we believe, is correctly said, by well-informed persons, that the scientific commission appointed to consider the feasibility of Lord Dundonald's plan for destroying the arsenals and fortresses of the Russians, have reported in favour of the project, subject to certain conditions, which will have to be decided by military engineers.—*Athenæum*.

ENGLISH PRISONERS OF WAR IN RUSSIA.—The Earl of Clarendon has published a list, received from an unofficial source, of some of the English prisoners at Voronezh, in Russia, who have been relieved from funds supplied by her Majesty's Government for this purpose, through the obliging intervention of the Danish Minister at St. Petersburg. The number of articles distributed has been 50 caps, 59 coats, 82 pairs of trousers, 143 shirts, 40 stocks, and 88 pairs of boots.

NEW RUSSIAN WORKS.—A new battery which the enemy has completed, to the left of the Mamelon, is intended for four guns. They have also run a boyau, or zigzag trench, on their right of the "Onorage Blanc," down into the ravine, with the intention evidently of connecting it with that which runs from the left of the Mamelon, or possibly with the trench which connects the line of rifle-pits in front of the French parallel. The enemy has enlarged the rifle-pits opposite the boyau, running from our advanced parallel. Every day, in fact, brings new moves, new devices, to defeat our exertions; but, notwithstanding, we continue to advance our works.—*Morning Post Correspondent*.

THE ALLIED FORCES.—The available force of the French is thought to be about 100,000 men. Our own army is probably at least equal to its first strength; the Sardinian contingent numbers about 10,000, or 12,000; and Omar Pacha has a powerful army of Turks at Eupatoria.

THE NEW RUSSIAN LEVY is twelve in one thousand—not in one hundred, as we erroneously stated last week.

THE HEALTH OF THE TROOPS continues very favourable. In one of the divisions in front, which, with the regiments attached to it, numbers 6000 men, there are 460 sick only in the hospitals, including cases of all kinds. A few cases have occurred not unlike cholera in some of the symptoms; but they have been slight in character, quite detached, and some of the principal features of that disease have been wanting. The prevailing cause of sickness is still fever. The sanitary condition of the camps is now excellent. Tanks are continuing to be made, and every attention is paid for the preservation and careful distribution of the water. This is a most necessary provision. The weather has continued dry, warm, and favourable for operations in the field.—*Daily News Correspondent*.

THE TURKISH CONTINGENT to be officered from the Anglo-Indian army, and to serve under the command of General Vivian, still remains in inexplicable idleness at Constantinople. General Vivian, according to a letter written by one who appears to speak from his own know-

ledge, has not once intimated his wish to see the men who have come to serve under his command, but, on the contrary, will hardly recognise any officer of his contingent whom he may meet as he strolls about the streets in his plain clothes, apparently doing nothing. One of the officers has already resigned, and others, it is said, intend taking a run over to the Crimea on their own account, for some chance of active employment. General Vivian's omission to pay his respects to the Sultan is looked upon as very ill-judged.

EUPATORIA.—The Trieste papers of Friday week publish the following despatch:—"8000 Russians are menacing Omar Pasha. Their cavalry is endeavouring to cut off the Allies' communications by land. The bulk of the Russian army, 150,000 strong, having taken up a position near Simpheropol, is in non-interrupted communication with Sebastopol." We have seen no confirmation of the above; which, at the best, is doubtful.

THE TURKS AND TARTARS AMUSING THEMSELVES AT EUPATORIA.—The fine mild weather and calm sea have already induced some of the more enterprising Tartars and Bashi-Bazouks to open the bathing season, and the beach presents now a complete contrast to its former appearance. The piers, not long ago the centre of activity, have quite a desolate aspect, with the exception of one situate in the middle of the town, where a large quantity of wood is daily landed; but, if the piers are deserted, the whole extent of the beach is covered daily by hundreds of Tartar women washing their clothes, and higher up towards the quarantine building, where the sand is deepest and the slope of the beach gentlest, by soldiers and Tartars washing themselves and their horses. After the long winter and the little opportunity which this place affords for copious ablutions, it is quite a treat for them to be once more in their favourite element, as you may judge from the joyful yells with which the beach resounds towards noon.—*Times Correspondent*.

THE BRITISH MILITARY HOSPITALS at Balaklava, Smyrna, and Scutari, are now in a comparatively excellent condition. Disease is diminishing; the proportion of deaths is less; and the comforts of the men are greatly increased. Still, many reforms remain to be effected; and many of the details of management might yet be improved.

COUNT NESSELRODE'S VERSION OF THE VIENNA CONFERENCES.

THE *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* of the 12th of May contains a circular addressed by Count Nesselrode, on April the 28th, to the different Russian legations. This document—which occupies eleven columns of the *Journal*—gives a narrative, with comments, of the recent negotiations at Vienna; and, although the facts are only such as have already been published in our official history of the same transactions, it is not uninteresting to see them from a Russian point of view. We therefore annex a few extracts.

After some general and preliminary observations on the sentiments with which Russia entered into the debates, Count Nesselrode observes—

"The sittings of the 17th and 18th of March were devoted to the question of the Principalities. It was settled honourably, loyally, and disinterestedly, as the late Emperor wished it. In his august thoughts he had essentially at heart to maintain the populations of Moldavia, Wallachia, and of Servia in the peaceful enjoyment of the religious and civil immunities which Russia had assured to them as the price of her blood shed for a century in the cause of her co-religionists.

"Their immunities remain intact. The protocols of Vienna 2 and 3 have served to consolidate their maintenance, under the collective guarantee of all the high contracting parties. By this guarantee, the privileged régime of the Principalities enters the domain of the law of public right in Europe. Hitherto the care of watching over the execution of the engagements taken by the Porte in her quality of sovereign Power fell upon Russia alone. Henceforth she will share that obligation with the other guaranteeing Powers. This community of duties will put an end to that feeling of rivalry which the exclusive surveillance exercised by Russia gave rise to.

"For too long a time public opinion had denounced that state of things to the hatred of the stranger under the name of the Russian protectorate. This is the proper place to remind you that you will not find that expression used in any of our treaties—either in that of Kainardji, or in that of Bucharest, or in the convention of Akerman, or in the treaty of Adrianople. There could be no question therefore of erasing from our acts a protectorate which never existed.

"The Vienna protocols, then, deserve appreciation as a permanent pledge of security added to the bases upon which the political and national existence of the Danubian provinces reposes. The Imperial Cabinet has the satisfactory conviction of having loyally accomplished that result with the double object of assuring on the one hand the welfare of those countries, and, on the other, of putting aside new causes of misunderstanding, rivalry, and perturbation from politics in general.

"By protocols 4 and 5 it was agreed to apply to the navigation of the Danube the principles generally estab-

lished concerning river communications by the acts of the Congress of Vienna. In virtue of that legislation, a mixed commission will henceforth have the task of removing the material obstacles which have impeded the navigation, and on more than one occasion have given rise to the complaints of commerce."

Coming to the consideration of the Third Point—the revision of the Treaty of 1841, or, in other words, the limitation of the Russian power in the Black Sea—Count Nesselrode observes that, in the preliminary meetings of the 28th of December and the 7th of January, the Allies refused clearly to define their conceptions, declaring that the precise arrangements depended too much on the events of the war to allow of the bases being settled at once.

"Public manifestations in France and England, however, sufficiently betrayed the idea which lurked behind those words. It aimed at the destruction of Sebastopol. Doubtless, according to the calculations of the Cabinets of London and Paris, the military operations in the Crimea, going hand-in-hand with diplomatic deliberations, were to influence the issue of the Vienna Conference. When they opened, the anticipation was not justified by events; and therefore the name of Sebastopol was never uttered. Russia is indebted for this silence to the heroic resistance of her brave generals, officers, sailors and soldiers. Their noble devotion has been the most victorious means of negotiation."

The Russian Plenipotentiaries, as we all know, wrote home for fresh instructions with respect to this Third Point; and it now appears that the answer they received was to the effect that they were to abide by the instructions with which they were charged by the late Emperor; so that it seems obvious that the reference to the young Czar for a confirmation of the policy already dictated by the master spirit who had just left them, was merely a device for obtaining time. The instructions given by Nicholas were to the effect that Russia would not oppose the throwing open of the Black Sea to foreign vessels of war, provided she were allowed a similar right of entering with her armed ships into the Mediterranean. Having alluded to Lord John Russell's declaration that the only admissible conditions of peace would be those which should combine the honour of Russia with the security of Europe, Count Nesselrode proceeds—

"Lord John Russell cannot be surprised that the propositions made on the 19th of April were not judged by the Imperial Cabinet as 'the best and only admissible ones.' In sooth, to limit the number of vessels in the Black Sea while the naval forces in the Mediterranean remained without control; to open the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to France and England while closed to the Russian flag; finally, to stipulate the nomination of foreign Consuls in our ports without the Imperial government having it in its power to refuse them the *exequatur*—a right enjoyed equally by France and England, in the territories submitted to their rule;—surely these were not conditions of a nature to assure the blessings of a solid and durable peace to Europe; for a transaction, to be permanent between States, must be mutually honourable; otherwise it is not peace, but an armistice.

"These considerations, appreciated in their exact truth, will complete the proof that in reality the combinations suggested by the plenipotentiaries of France and England would have offered fewer and less solid pledges for the peace of Europe than the plan drawn up by the late Emperor. He threw open the Black Sea freely to the flags of all nations, thereby he put an end to the isolation of the Ottoman Empire, and to the apprehension caused in foreign States by the disproportion of the naval forces of the two Powers who have territory in the Black Sea. By ceasing to be closed, it was made accessible to the surveillance and observation of all other Powers. This did away, also, with the fear of the presumed danger to which the capital of the Ottoman Empire might be exposed by the vicinity of our naval establishments."

The Russian counter-project is then described in detail; the subsequent suggestions of Russia after the departure of Lord John Russell are stated; and, at the conclusion, the chief points are thus summed up:—

"The first was one of political rivalry. The Emperor took the most exalted view of it; he resolved it in the interest of the welfare of the Principalities, the prosperity of which Russia had promised to guarantee. She has kept, and will keep, her promise.

"The second was connected with general interests of commerce. The Emperor has decided in favour of the free trade of all nations.

"The third concerned, not only the general balance of power, but touched nearly the dignity and honour of Russia. It was thus that our august master judged it. The national sentiment of the whole country will respond to his decision.

"The fourth point was one of religious liberty, of civilisation, and social order for all Christendom. In the eyes of the Imperial Cabinet, it is that which ought one day to be placed at the head of a treaty of general peace worthy of being invested with the sanction of all

the Sovereigns of Europe. The Plenipotentiaries of France and England refused to touch even this question of religious interest before that concerning the navigation of the Black Sea had been settled.

"After this reflection, there remains nothing for us to add to the recital we have made."

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM.

MEETING AT BIRMINGHAM.

A MEETING, convened by the Mayor, was held at Birmingham on Monday. Mr. William Matthews moved, and Mr. T. Attwood seconded, the following resolution:—

"That this meeting entertains a strong and earnest conviction that the disastrous and disgraceful condition in which England has been placed in the conduct of the war with Russia, is mainly attributable to the inefficiency of the executive and the defective system of conducting the business of the nation; and that this state of things is the natural result of the systematic postponement of merit to family and personal influence in the selection of ministers and other public servants."

Mr. J. A. Langford, a working man, supported the resolution. He observed that an attempt is being made to sever the working class from the middle class, and that the aristocracy is bidding high for the support of the former. The people, however, must not be led away by this delusion, since whatever has been already accomplished in the way of good government has resulted from the union of the middle with the working classes. Nevertheless, he thought a great sin lay at the door of the middle class, as, having accomplished their own political freedom by means of the Reform Bill, they had not endeavoured to obtain a similar boon for their fellow-workmen. Speaking as a working man, he said the working classes would be betrayed no longer. The government must be rescued from those who are trampling the honour of the country in the mire. Let the people be prepared to work as well as shout, and success would be their own.

Mr. Wright, a county magistrate, also spoke in favour of the resolution, and made use of a rather startling parody of the words which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Brutus. He said they were not there that day because they loved their Queen the less, but because they loved their country the more.—The resolution was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Muntz, M.P. for Birmingham, proposed the second resolution:—

"That the monopoly of the honourable and lucrative offices of the state by one class discourages men of ability from qualifying themselves for entering the service of the nation, and this meeting, while it disclaims any desire to exclude the aristocracy from that share in the direction and conduct of public affairs to which their ability or their special fitness may entitle them, is of opinion that the most prompt and effectual remedy for the official mismanagement from which the country is now suffering is the substitution of the test of merit and fitness for that of rank and family connexion in all official appointments."

He regarded the present as the most momentous crisis the country has ever gone through. It could only be compared with the state of things a century ago, prior to the time when the elder Pitt came into power. That great man soon effected a change; but he was not long in power, and the good he did was speedily undone. Mr. Muntz said he had looked with some satisfaction on the advent of Lord Palmerston; but he was soon undeceived. What he found fault with was that many of the aristocracy are put into places for which they are thoroughly unfitted. Before now, he had seen men connected with governments whom he would not have had as porters in his counting-house. When a new man enters the House of Commons, the question often asked is—"Who is he?" "Oh," the reply will be, "he's an Oxford or Cambridge man; he was a double first-class of his time." Now this often really means that he is a double first ass (laughter), possessing many accomplishments, no doubt, but none that fit him for national employment. The constituencies must be careful to return proper men to the House of Commons: if they omit this, the democracy will be as culpable as the aristocracy. The Sebastopol expedition was a mistake, undertaken without forethought, and conducted without adequate means; and Lord Raglan is too old and inexperienced. If some of our wiseacres had only followed the example of Julius Caesar prior to his attack on this country two thousand years since, and had made proper inquiries, nearly all our disasters would have been avoided. He heartily concurred in the spirit of the resolutions he had moved.

Mr. George Dawson, in seconding the resolution, observed that "incapacity, imbecility, senility, and frivolity rule over everything connected with the war." In Lord Palmerston he had not been disappointed: he is a double-faced shuffler, and such he has been all his life. Sir James Graham is equally

hypocritical; and the aristocracy are greedy, rapacious, selfish, and grasping.

After a few words from Mr. Alderman Baldwin, the resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. Thomas Lloyd, merchant, then moved—

"That an Association be now formed in Birmingham for the purpose of promoting Administrative Reform; and that a committee (with power to add to their number) be formed, to define the constitution of the society, prepare laws for its government, and to take measures for enrolling the names of members."

Mr. T. H. Gill seconded the resolution, which was adopted without a dissentient voice.

The foregoing terminated the resolutions framed by the promoters of the meeting; but a working man stepped forward, and moved a resolution in favour of universal suffrage and vote by ballot, as the only means of effecting Administrative Reform. This was seconded by another working man; but, after some discussion, it was negatived on the ground that it was not within the scope of the object for which the meeting was called.

FINSBURY.

A numerous-attended meeting of the inhabitants of the eastern division of this borough was held on Tuesday evening, in the Mechanics' Institution, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane. The chair was occupied by Mr. Duncombe, M.P. for the borough, who briefly addressed the audience. The meeting was also addressed by Mr. W. Wilkes (who said, alluding to Lords Palmerston and Aberdeen, that we have now got "a clever knave for an old imbecile"), by Mr. J. Bell, Mr. Murray, Mr. Cole, Mr. Shaen, and Dr. Epps. The following resolutions were unanimously carried:—

"That, in the judgment of this meeting of inhabitants of the borough of Finsbury, the disasters of the Crimean expedition are mainly attributable to the incapacity of her Majesty's Ministers, the corrupt state of the House of Commons, and the general inefficiency of the public service—the results of the undue influence of the aristocracy in the councils of the Sovereign."

"That, while the only efficient remedy for this principal evil of the State is the adoption of manhood suffrage and the protection of the voter by the ballot, this meeting heartily sympathises with every genuine movement in opposition to oligarchical misgovernment, and especially tenders its thanks to Mr. Layard for his independent and courageous conduct in the House of Commons."

Also, a third resolution, directing that the substance of the foregoing should be formed into a petition in support of Mr. Layard's motion, and requesting Mr. Duncombe and his colleague in the representation of Finsbury to promote the adoption of that motion. Three cheers were given for Mr. Layard; and Dr. Epps also called forth the prolonged acclamations of the meeting by saying that the day would come when her Majesty would send for Mr. Layard to form an administration.

GLOUCESTER.

The inhabitants of Gloucester held a meeting on Friday week at the Shire Hall, when it was determined to form a branch association to co-operate with the central London body, and also to present a petition to Parliament. The meeting, unlike those which have been held in other localities, did not pass off without receiving two "snubbings"—one from Admiral Berkeley, M.P., who, in a letter of apology for absence, said that, though he agreed in the necessity for reform, he greatly regretted the exaggerations and false statements on the matter which have been made both in and out of Parliament, and that he "utterly despised" those who lose sight of truth for the sake of notoriety; the other from Mr. Price, M.P., who thought the nation to blame for its own misfortunes, which he conceived to be caused by our alternation of apathy with the brief worship of particular men, from whom too much is expected, and who are ultimately made victims to popular fury.—The individual more particularly pointed at by Admiral Berkeley, it is not difficult to divine. Mr. Price probably belongs to the class of universal objectors. Both, however, belong to that perplexing description of supporters who "damn you with faint praise."

YARMOUTH.

The Town Hall of Yarmouth was on Thursday week the scene of an Administrative Reform Meeting, at which resolutions in harmony with the general design, were adopted.

Meetings have also been held at Lincoln and Southwark.

ADDRESS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM ASSOCIATION.

A very able, clearly-written, and eloquent Address has been published by the new Reform party. It commences as follows:—

"Fellow-countrymen,—The Administrative Reform Association has been brought into existence by the exigency of the time. Its members have no interest in agitation; they have no personal ambition to serve, no

individual advantages to gain; they intend no personal attack—they can only enter upon the movement, which involves a long and arduous struggle, at a large sacrifice of time and means. . . . There never was a period when, under similar emergency, the people so long remained silent; there has been a positive sense of danger in the quiet. It has been matter of wonder, that, with daily accumulated evidence of mismanagement, the most general and of the grossest kind, there have been so few meetings; that, with proof that millions of pounds have been actually thrown away, an increase of taxation, amounting to more than thirty millions, has been submitted to without a murmur; that, though every post has brought letters to thousands of the poorest in the land, detailing the horrors of the winter before Sebastopol, there has been no organised movement. The want of forethought, the incapacity, the mismanagement, the complication of duties, the adherence to routine at the cost of human life, the thousands of brave men wasted by over-work, by exposure, by insufficiency of clothes and shelter, by unwholesome food, by hunger, by lack of medicine and medical attendance, by neglected wounds, by starvation in the very hospitals, have called forth no popular outburst. There has been no protest against those in command, against the Ministry, against the Parliament. We believe that this silence is not safe; that if some organisation were not set on foot to give utterance to the pent-up indignation of the people, and to give hope of a better future, some movement would speedily show itself of which it would be impossible to foretell the results. 'Where there is abuse (says Burke) there ought to be clamour, because it is better that our slumbers should be broken by the fire-bell than that we should perish in the flames.'

"Fellow-countrymen, the war is the first thought with all; it is almost impossible to divert attention to anything else than that actual battle has swept down 5000 men, mismanagement 15,000; that, of 6,000,000, spent upon transport ships, full 2,000,000, were as utterly wasted as if the money had been thrown into the Black Sea; that ships, filled with essential stores, provisions, and clothing, were exposed to the fury of a foreseen storm, and wrecked, and sunken from sheer obstinacy. The recent addition to the income tax, the increased duties upon tea, sugar, and coffee, have been rendered necessary by the grossest blundering and mismanagement. It is difficult to dispel the doubt that we have not yet before us the entire account of the year, and are still in ignorance of the total cost of the war."

"We wish it, however, to be distinctly understood, that the Administrative Reform Association is no mere war organisation. The Association has abundant matters to deal with, which have no connexion with the war; and, whether there be war or peace, its work will be continued."

After complaining that we do not get men of sufficient faculty and experience to fill our public offices, and that "the right men are not in the right places," the address points out the want of a clear definition of the functions, powers, and organisation, of the different departments—mentioning more especially the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, the Treasury, the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, and the Home Secretaryship. In all these divisions of the public service, there is so chaotic and ill-arranged a mass of duties—so much confusion of details—so utter an absence of any precise definition of the amount of individual responsibility—such constant clashing of one department with another, owing to absolute ignorance of the mutual relations of the component parts—and so great an amount of uncertainty as to how far particular functions are held "under Act of Parliament, how far under notions of royal prerogative, or how far under mere prescriptive abuse of power and traditions of office"—that the Association has determined to devote itself in the first instance to the collection of information.

"To get at this information, wherever it exists, and to place it before the public in the plainest words, is, with the help of the country, one of the first things the Association are determined to have done, cost what it may. There must be an end put to every mystery of office: how the administration of the country is carried on, must be made plain to the most ordinary capacity. To this end, Acts of Parliament must be searched, and returns obtained. The Association are resolved to have a complete analysis of our official system, a thorough clearing up of the question of personal responsibility. This will of necessity, be a work of time and expense; the Committee, however, are perfectly satisfied that the required means will be forthcoming, that subscriptions to the object will be general throughout the country, that a failing purse will never compel them to hold their hand. They have already entered upon this portion of their labour, with the most experienced and energetic help, and will shortly be able to place some valuable information, in a convenient form, in the hands of the members of the Association. A knowledge of the actual state of the official system once attained, the next step will be to bring every department into a thoroughly business condition. The nation can afford to pension, even upon full pay, any amount of incapacity; but it cannot afford to retain incapacity."

To the foregoing observations, the Association wisely adds a few words to the constituencies themselves, imploring them to use their trust with honesty and independence, to shake off the influence of the clubs and their agents, and to put an end to election corruption, so that the best men may be returned to Parliament.

"With these objects before them, the Association invite every constituency in the kingdom to make themselves acquainted with the opinions of their representatives upon Administrative Reform—to call upon them to support every question in Parliament bearing upon the subject—to hold meetings—to organise local committees—to enrol members—to collect funds—to put themselves in immediate communication with the Committee of London—to be ready for an election—ready with worthy candidates, an honest committee, and a thorough determination to have done with the abuses of elections."

The document is signed (by order of the committee) by Samuel Morley, Chairman; William Tite, Deputy-Chairman; and J. J. Travers, Treasurer.

THE HOLY WEDGE.

LIMERICK Town Council met on Thursday, last week—Ascension Day—only to adjourn; and we are to suppose that henceforward that Town Council will conform itself to the annual custom of the House of Lords. In observing the Roman Catholic festivals, the peers only preserve an ancient custom; while the custom is an innovation in Limerick; and it is an innovation that may have rather serious inconveniences. Its object is easily understood. Hitherto Town Council business, as well as every other business, has gone on in the city as usual; but on Thursday last one of the aldermen observing that it was a holiday of strict obligation in the Roman Catholic Church, moved an adjournment, as a deference to the Church which he thought the Town Council "ought" to render. Another member of the Council put the alderman's sincerity to a speedy test: he asked whether the alderman's place of business was closed on that day? The alderman confessed that it was not. Other members of the Council, one of whom at least belonged to the Catholic Church, endeavoured to resist the pharisaical movement; and perhaps if every voter had been called upon to state his own conduct as distinctly as the alderman who made the motion, common consistency would have rendered the opposition successful. Numbers, however, are frequently self-supporting, and fourteen members of the Council stood by each other in voting the adjournment, against eight that resisted it.

Now the empire will not stand still because Limerick Town Council omits its meeting on an annual Thursday; but we are not to suppose that the movement will stop at that success. The same movement will be made in other Irish towns, and the piancy of the fourteen at Limerick will be held up as an example to shame or terrify Roman Catholics in other towns. Perhaps, also, the Romanists will not stop at Ascension day. Besides a saint for every day in the calendar, with a reserve of nineteen per day more, and several at the end of the enumeration, for all kinds of Saints and Holy Virgins that might be brought forward in future, the Roman Catholics recognise some fifty distinct days of solemn fast and festival; and if the example of Limerick be improved, the Romanist sect may dictate the suspension of temporal business on as many days in the year. It is not for Protestant interests that we fear, but we do sympathise with our Roman Catholic fellow countrymen in being compelled to submit to this dictation by a Foreign Ecclesiastical Government. Sectarian rule is always vexatious, even to the intelligent member of the sect that dominates; but sectarian rule by a foreign administration, and that administration distinguished for its hostility to enlightenment, is a double triumph that must sink deep into the bosom of many a sincere man whom hereditary family custom restrains from leaving the communion of his forefathers.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

STATE OF PUBLIC FEELING IN FRANCE.

(From Private Correspondence.)

Paris, May 21.

..... No one who observes the state of public affairs with consistent attention can fail to be struck with the significant turn they are taking. There are evident symptoms here of the awakening of opinion, an awakening caused by the conviction, right or wrong, but generally entertained, that we are already at "the beginning of the end." *Ce Monsieur* is committing incessant mistakes and *mala-dresses*; in a word, he succeeds in nothing, a rather serious matter for a man whose single *raison d'être* is success.

This Exposition, from which so much was ex-

pected, is, up to this time, a solemn and ridiculous *fiasco*. Nothing is ready, and nothing will be complete before the end of June. The exterior of the building is in the vilest taste, and the interior resembles a court-yard of one of the old Messageries when the diligences are being loaded. And then a confusion of which you can form no idea! Country cousins have been arriving for the last fortnight, and living at a great expense for no purpose. They return home discontented, and spread discontent in their neighbourhoods. The Parisians, whose business has been slack for some time, were looking forward to a harvest from the 1st of May, but now it looks as if the foreigners would not arrive before August, so that they, too, are irritated and disappointed. Then there is the threatening prospect of failing crops. The rye crops are ruined; the wheat looks ill enough, and all the vines in the Bordeaux country are diseased. Here we have the prospect of a dearth, a financial crisis of the most formidable character, added to the more and more inextricable complications of the war. You know I am not prone to illusions, but I very seriously begin to think that, saving some unforeseen event, we shall pass through a crisis before the year is out.

The removal of Canrobert from the command of the army has had the worst effect here. Canrobert is not an object of regard, but the abrupt harshness of the letter of the Minister of War reads like an outrage to the whole army. Pelissier is said to be a man of more capacity than Canrobert, but up to this time he has only displayed it in *smoking* poor defenceless Arabs, and the Russians are not customers to be got rid of by quite so summary a process. Pelissier is little liked, it is said; he is excessively harsh, and *le plus mauvais coucheur de l'armée*.

..... The affair of the pistol shot has produced a deep sensation, and it is still talked of. Perhaps you may have heard that the man's name was neither Pianori nor Liverani, but a certain Count Alveroni. This, however, is but an *on dit*. What is certain is that his firmness was unshaken to the last. There was not a single moment of failing nerve, or of unusual excitement. Repeatedly he was offered his life if he would make revelations, but he constantly refused. Before the trial, the President Paratrieu Lafosse, went to interrogate him. "Do you feel no regret," he said to the prisoner, "for having committed the attempt?"—"Pardon, M. le Président, I regret having missed."

After the sentence he was transferred to the prison of La Roquette, situated close to the place of execution. He was placed in a cell on the ground floor, looking on the street, so that all night he could hear the hammering of the men who were setting up the scaffold. But this had no power to move him. At four in the morning, the Avocat-Général came into his cell, and, taking out his watch, said, "You have only one hour to live: name your accomplices, and you will be pardoned." The prisoner replied, "I am ready. I have nothing to say."—"But have you no desire to live?"—"Pardon, I am a young man; I should be glad to live; but I would not live dishonoured. I have nothing to say." At a quarter to five, the executioner came to take him. A black veil was thrown over his head. When he reached the foot of the scaffold, he threw back the veil by a brusque movement of the head, and shouted, with a very firm voice, "*Vive la République!*" On the scaffold he raised the same cry, adding, "*A bas le traître du Deux Décembre.*" Then the executioner seized him and bound him to the *planche*; but even when his head was in the *lunette* he cried once more, for the last time, "*Vive la République!*" with so loud a voice that it could have been heard at a great distance. Although it was not five o'clock, and the time of the execution had been kept as secret as possible, there were 2000 persons present. An *employé* of the Minister of Justice, who officially assisted at the execution, said to the governor of the prison afterwards, "If there are ten such individuals in Europe, we are done for."

I give you these details, which you may consider authentic, because the newspapers have been unable to say a word about it, and were even forbidden to publish any account beyond the paragraph supplied directly by the Minister of the Interior.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

M. GRASSOT, the well-known comedian of the Palais Royal Theatre, was recently sitting in a café. After waiting for some time in vain to be served, he called a waiter who was passing, and, in a too audible voice, said: "*C'est donc ici comme en Crimée, on ne peut rien prendre.*" These words were no sooner out of his mouth than his shoulder was lightly tapped by a gentleman who had been sitting unobserved, but observant behind him. "*Suivez-moi,*" said this mysterious individual to the surprised M. Grassot. To this highly operative injunction M. Grassot demurred; but on the police agent, for such it was, producing his card, there was nothing to be done but to follow the representative of law and order to the Préfecture, where the incautious M. Grassot was duly locked up, and only released after very urgent reclamations from the director of the theatre.

On the 4th of June, all the members but one of the late Danish Ministry are to be tried by the High Court of Justice. The accused are seven in number, including the President of the Council, the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of War, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Marine, the Minister of Finance, and the Minister of Justice. They are generally accused of having expended public money without consulting the Diet and of soliciting and obtaining the royal sanction to such an unconstitutional expenditure. The High Court of Justice is composed of sixteen judges, of which eight are members of the Second Chamber, and the other eight are members of the Supreme Tribunal: both are elected. The real motive for this solemn accusation is the suspected sympathy of the late Cabinet for Russia, and their consequent apprehension of the Western Powers.

Rumours have recently been circulating in Paris, to the effect that serious dissensions exist in the French cabinet. M. de Persigny, it is said, now that he has once more gained a place in the counsels of Napoleon, is endeavouring to inaugurate a policy more unequivocally Bonapartist than any that has yet been seen. This policy, it is whispered, is by no means favourable to the continuance of the war, but provides for its conclusion by accepting the terms proposed by Russia—a consummation which, it is thought, would be popular among the masses. A "grand industrial campaign," with a view to the creation of cheapness and plenty, is to follow; and the people are thus to be attached to the Napoleonic dynasty. Such, in brief, are the speculations now or lately floating about the *cafés* of Paris, according to the report of the *Daily News* correspondent, who adds that, though scarcely probable, they are not, in his opinion, to be wholly disregarded. He adds that a writer in the *Indépendance Belge*, who signs "Y," and who is supposed to be under the inspiration of M. Drouyn de Lhuys "insinuates that the proposition for peace supported by M. Drouyn de Lhuys was rejected by the Emperor merely on account of certain formal objections and under temporary circumstances, but that it by no means follows from the dismissal of that minister that an equally moderate (in other words an equally disgraceful) proposition may not yet be accepted. Further on, M. 'Y.' broaches the following theory, which is evidently suggested by no friend to England:—The principal difficulty in the way of peace, he would have it believed, lies in the 'chivalrous sentiments and exquisite delicacy' of Napoleon III., which make him hesitate to press England to concur in a settlement desirable both for himself and France, out of consideration for the poor figure which the badly-organised and scanty English army has hitherto cut before Sebastopol. If the war drags on a little longer, it will be only to afford England an opportunity to withdraw decently from the contest after some feat of arms which may in some degree disguise the fact of her being but a second-rate power."

The Paris correspondent of the *Times* says:—"The malady under which it has been for some time said that General Canrobert is suffering is inflammation of the eyes. But this is not, perhaps, the only or the real cause of his retirement, as such a malady ought equally to disqualify him for the command of a *corps d'armée*. The fact is, that General Canrobert has been found unequal to his position; the Emperor, who appointed him to succeed Marshal St. Arnaud, has for some time past perceived his mistake, and the rumour of ill-health which has prevailed for some weeks is believed to have been circulated expressly to prepare the public for his removal." The same writer adds that as General Pelissier, the new commander-in-chief, is a rough soldier bred up in the school of African warfare (it will be recollected that he is the chief hero of the infamous massacre in the caves of Dahra), he will be "careless about practising those courtesies which made Canrobert stand so well with Lord Raglan; and some, who pretend to be well acquainted with General Pelissier, would not be surprised if the English Government found it necessary before long to recal our commander. The appointment of Pelissier is understood as an indication that something more than usually vigorous is intended."

The Russian Government has concluded a telegraph treaty with the Prussian Government, in the name of the Austro-German Telegraph Union, which came into force yesterday. Stations have been opened at St. Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw, Kieff, Cronstadt, Gatchina, and a number of places of less import. The second enactment in the statutes provides that no private despatches containing political subjects shall in any case be received. Thus, while information can be instantaneously conveyed to St. Petersburg and Cronstadt by the Russian scouts in Brussels and Elsinore, no political news of what is going on at St. Petersburg can reach us by the telegraph any more than by the post.—*Times*.

THE CHOLERA IN CONSTANTINOPLE.—After nearly seven months of rain and cold, the summer has dawned upon us (says the *Times* Constantinople correspondent) with a promise of warm and sunny days, unbroken by the chills which sweep down from the Russian steppes, and the fogs which gather round the headlands of the Black Sea. In this spot, which, from its position, has an exceptional climate, there is no spring; for the winter lasts, with temporary interruptions, until the end of April, and then the sudden heats crack the sodden ground, and cover the hillsides with a vegetation as

rapid as that of the tropics. But, though the summer has begun gloriously, and the heavens are without a cloud, yet pestilence stalks among us, and darkens the joy of the people more than a wintry sky. The cholera, which has lurked all the winter in the lanes of Pera and among the villages which stud the sides of the ravines which run down into the Bosphorus, has now (May 7th) come forth to attack high and low. A few days since the deaths were about one hundred and fifty a day on the Frank side of the Golden Horn. Happily, within the last two days, the disease has somewhat abated in this quarter. It has steadily directed its course along the main street, until it has reached the low-lying purlieus of Galata, where, while I write, its ravages are chiefly felt. The funerals that pass on their way to the great burial-ground indicate that the victims belong to a lower class than those of the past week. Then the death-psalms were chanted by richly-clad choristers; bishops and arch-priests, in all the pomp of their antique vestments, passed the door hourly, preceding the decorated coffins of wealthy victims. Sometimes a procession of little girls, clad in white, each bearing a taper, proclaimed that one of the conventual schools had lost a young pupil; sometimes the French uniforms which crowded round the bier showed that the pestilence had been busy in the camp or the hospitals of our allies. As will be observed by the returns from Scutari, the British hospitals are absolutely free from the sickness, the deaths not numbering more than from four to six a day.

A very curious affair, says the *Sentinel* of Namur, is about to occupy public attention in Belgium. In the siege of Bouvignes, in 1455, the Duke de Brabant made prisoner a nobleman named Legrain, but instead of taking his life, as he was entitled to do, the Duke consented to spare it on condition of receiving all his estates and property. Legrain made over all he possessed, but stipulated that at the end of four centuries it should return to his family. The Duke made no objection. The four centuries expire in July next, and already a great many persons, representing themselves to be descendants of Legrain, are preparing to claim the property. It is foreseen that the claims will give rise to numerous lawsuits.

The resignation of Redschid Pacha is attributed to his interference with the French project of cutting a ship canal through the Isthmus of Darien, no less than to the recal of Mehemet Ali. M. Lesseps lately obtained from the Egyptian Pacha a concession for the above-mentioned object; and, when this concession was brought before the notice of the Sultan to obtain his sanction, the English and French ambassadors disagreed upon the matter. Redschid Pacha, therefore, under the signature of Kiamil Pacha (whom he induced to put his name to the letter), wrote to the Egyptian viceroy, requesting him not to press the concession, as any rupture between France and England at the present time would be unfortunate. This interference came to the knowledge of M. Benedetti, who upbraided Redschid Pacha, and finally rendered it necessary for him to resign. Such, at least, is the story now current in Constantinople. Kiamil Pacha, who held the office of President of the Council of State, has since resigned.

The Convents Suppression Bill has been finally voted in the Sardinian Senate by secret ballot. The votes were—53 for, 42 against. The result was received with great applause in the galleries.

The last accounts from Archangel mention that the Dwina commenced thawing in the middle of April. Since the commencement of this century, the river has never but twice before freed itself so early from its icy fetters.

The Spanish Cortes have voted the seventh basis of the Constitution. The English Government approves of the conduct of Lord Howden in the affair of Seville. The appearance of a Carlist band in the province of Avila is considered as insignificant.

Some inquiries into the anarchical condition of the Austrian army in the Danubian Principalities have been made by M. Doria, attaché to the Prussian embassy at Constantinople, who was sent into Moldavia for the purpose. From his report (which is dated from the Principalities, April 22,) it appears that the Austrian soldiers, consisting chiefly of Croats, have been in the habit of conducting themselves with a brutal ferocity which has acknowledged no law but that of its own pleasure. Robbery, murder, savage assaults, violation of women, and perpetual intimidation, are proved to have been committed by these desperate soldiery, who seem to enjoy perfect immunity from punishment. One of their most audacious feats—an attempt upon the treasury of the local government—was thus related to M. Doria:—"An Austrian soldier had obtained entrance burglariously into the apartment where the money and valuable papers were deposited, and was apprehended there by the Moldavian sentinel, who handed him over to his superior officer. The following morning, an Austrian corporal came and demanded his liberation. The soldier in which he had been detected. The demand was refused. Later in the same day, an Austrian officer, with a guard of twenty men, arrived, and demanded again the liberation of the prisoner, which demand was again refused. The Austrians on this made use of their arms, seriously wounded the Moldavian sentinel in the

head, and carried off the prisoner. The Moldavian soldier is still in the hospital, suffering from the consequences of his wound. To my inquiry as to when this occurred, the Governor answered that the papers connected with the matter were in his chancellerie; in their absence, he could not give me the exact date, but he believed it was the middle of November. No satisfaction or atonement had been given, nor had the soldiers been punished, the Austrians affirming that a Moldavian has no right to arrest an Austrian." The Austrian Government, ashamed of this state of things, has been making a few feeble attempts to put a stop to it, and a slight improvement has taken place; but the Principalities are still in a very wretched and dangerous condition. The Croats are so ill disciplined, that their officers are afraid to reprimand them.

The statement, which furnished a little temporary excitement last week, of the resignation of Count Nesselrode and the appointment, as his successor, of Prince Yermoloff, is totally unfounded.

A letter from Bucharest of the 9th gives some details as to the facts which have induced General Coronini, the officer in command of the Austrian forces, to proclaim martial law in the Principalities. It says:—"The numerous arrests which have taken place here during the past month appear to have been caused by the discovery of a vast conspiracy organised by some Hungarian emigrants, in concert with a number of revolutionists. It is said that all this has been done at the instigation of Russia, with a view to excite a movement against the order of things established since the return of the hospodar into Wallachia; it is said also that attempts have been made to lead away from their duty the Austrian troops of occupation. All the interrogatories undergone by the persons arrested have been perfectly secret, and the persons set at liberty have been warned not to speak of what has occurred. In consequence, scarcely anything has transpired abroad. But owing to what has come to light, Count Coronini has published an order of the day declaring martial law established."

NEW AGGRANDISEMENT OF RUSSIA.—According to letters from St. Petersburg of the 11th, Russia has profited by the troubles of the Chinese Empire to effect an easy extension of her frontiers in Southern Siberia. Means have been found to induce four Mongol Khans, long subject to China, to ask that their lands may be annexed to the Russian Empire. The Mongolians in question are miserable tribes, without agriculture, arts, or even towns, and well understand that they cannot hope to maintain a position of independence. Of course this request could not be refused, and the Khanates, late the possessions of China, are now annexed to the Czar's dominions.—*Daily News*.

THE ERUPTION OF MOUNT VESUVIUS.—Much of the land belonging to the village of St. Jovio has been already destroyed. Should the eruption continue, the course of the lava will lead it over the railway into the sea. It is to be hoped, however, that it will not reach so far. The summit of the mountain is so riddled, and the surface is presumed to be so thin, that it is feared it may fall at any time; and no person is allowed to advance beyond the Observatory. Indeed, it would be madness to attempt it. The spectacle which the mountain presents at night is remarkably grand. Its sides are covered with the fiery fluid, which one may imagine to be blood oozing out from the wounded giant.—*Morning Post*.

A RUSSIAN-GERMAN CHEVALIER D'INDUSTRIE.

At the Middlesex Sessions, on Monday, an amusing case of roguery came before the notice of the jury. Henri Scherr Thoss, described in the calendar as a gentleman of superior education, was indicted for obtaining, by false and fraudulent pretences, from James Baker Pyne, a picture of the value of sixty guineas, with intent to defraud. He was further charged with obtaining, in like manner and with like intent, two dressing-cases, value 46*l.*, from Thomas Charles Hanniford; one dressing-case, value 40*l.*, from Francis Kennedy; one ditto, from William Gregg; and a gold watch and gold chain, value 40*l.*, the property of John Mitchell and another, from James Murray, their servant.

Mr. Parry appeared for the prosecution; Mr. Ribton for the prisoner. The case stood for trial at the last session, but was postponed until the present in consequence of the prisoner claiming his right to be tried by a half foreign jury. A mixed jury was accordingly now empanelled to try him.

It appeared from the evidence given in support of the prosecution, that the prisoner, who was stated to be a nephew of General Rudiger, commander of the Russian Imperial Guard, had for some time been an accomplished swindler, and, notwithstanding that the indictment contained five charges against him, a number of persons were present ready, if required, to substantiate others. The evidence as to each charge was nearly identical, and showed that he had carried on his plunder on a rather cunningly-devised plan. About the end of March, he went to the shop of Mr. Pyne, picture-dealer, of Maddox-street, and asked to be furnished with the names of some of the most eminent miniature painters of the day. Mr. Pyne mentioned the name of Sir W. Ross and one or two others, but he could not give their

addresses; and the prisoner, one of whose representations was that he was concerned for a foreign family of distinction who were coming to England and would require the services of a first-rate artist, requested that he would procure the information he required, and transmit it to him at the Prussian Embassy, in Carlton-house-terrace, at the same time giving him his card—"Count Thoss, Prussian Embassy." Mr. Pyne did so; and, a day or two after, the prisoner again made his appearance at the shop. As he produced the identical letter and envelope which he (Mr. Pyne) had sent to the Prussian Embassy, addressed to him, Mr. Pyne of course never suspected that the "Count" was not connected with the embassy. In a conversation that took place, the prisoner said he had waited on Sir W. Ross, whose terms (two hundred guineas) were too high, and that he had agreed with Mr. Thorburn to paint his portrait for eighty guineas. On the afternoon of Good Friday, the "Count" drove up to Mr. Pyne's private residence at Camden-town in a brougham, and said he wanted to purchase one of his pictures, and at his request Mr. Pyne got into the brougham, and proceeded to his shop in Maddox-street, where the prisoner selected two pictures of the value of 40*l.*, promising to pay for them in a month. He said he must have the pictures there and then, as he wanted to present them to a friend on that day, which was his birthday; but on the succeeding day, he returned the two pictures, and selected one instead, of the value of 60*l.*, which Mr. Pyne parted with in the full belief that the person he was dealing with was a real Count, and really belonged to the Prussian Embassy. The only person called from the embassy to disprove the prisoner's representation was the under-butler to Count Bernstorff, the Ambassador, and he stated that the prisoner was in no way connected with the embassy, but he had been in the habit of calling there some months ago to see Count Euckel, who was then one of the officials, but had since gone abroad, and letters addressed to him as "Count Thoss" had been received there, and the prisoner had called for them. By this means he got possession of the letters which he induced his victims to write to him on the pretence of seeking information about miniature painters, and which he afterwards used to show that he belonged to the embassy or he could not have received them. He resorted to this trick in each of the five cases now charged against him. In Mr. Hanniford's case, he got from that gentleman's shop two dressing-cases, one of which he said he was going to give to a lady residing in Langham-place, to whom he was about to be married; and the other to a friend of his at the Turkish Embassy. On the 12th of April, the prisoner was detained at a pawnbroker's in offering a dressing-case in pledge, in consequence of information which had been given by the police, and he was taken into custody. He then gave his address at the Star and Garter, Richmond, but he was not known there at all, and he was traced as lodging at 2, Northumberland-street, Strand, and it was stated that he had been living at a private hotel in Liverpool-street, King's-cross. In his possession were found a number of letters. Among them was one from Mr. Benjamin Bond Cabbell, in answer to an appeal for pecuniary aid, declining to do what was asked, and one to the same effect from the Secretary to the Duke of Devonshire; another was in his own handwriting, and related to an application for permission to dedicate a musical composition of his own to the Duchess of Sutherland. A passport signed by Count Bernstorff, and made out in the name of Count Thoss, was also found upon him. It was available for fourteen days from the 3rd of April, and was for Belgium and Silesia. At his lodgings in Northumberland-street, he was known by the name of Ernest.

The prisoner was found guilty, and sentenced to be kept in penal servitude for four years.

Mr. Parry, the counsel for the prosecution, said, there was not the least question that the prisoner was one of the greatest swindlers the metropolis had ever seen. In January, 1854, he was discharged from Coldbath-fields House of Correction, after serving twelve months for an offence committed by fictitious cheques.

In the course of the case an allusion was made to the prisoner's title of Count, upon which Mr. Ribton, the prisoner's counsel, said: "Well, we all know what these German Counts are."—The Assistant-Judge: "Oh, yes; discounts."

NAVAL AND MILITARY NEWS.

REPORTED DANGEROUS CURRENT IN THE BLACK SEA.—A despatch has been received by the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, through the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from Mr. Neale, her Majesty's consul at Varna, enclosing the copy of a despatch addressed by him to Sir Edmund Lyons, respecting the existence of a dangerous current which prevails northward of Kalakria. It appears that vessels navigating from Odessa or the mouths of the Danube, to Varna, or the Bosphorus, or from the Crimea to Varna, have been frequently drawn upon the shoals at Shabla. No less, indeed, than six vessels have been wrecked during the last month between Shabla and Mangolia, all bound from Kamiesch to Varna. In December, 1852, thirteen vessels of different nations went on shore within a week. Mr. Neale states that he has found a general belief prevail among seafaring men with whom he has conversed

on the subject, that these numerous disasters are owing to a strong current which sets in to the westward and north-westward.

SEIZURE OF A BRIG BY PIRATES.—The *Lively*, Napier, from Hartlepool to Malta, with coals, was abandoned on the 2nd of May, in lat. 36 N., long 3 W., off Cape Tresforas. A large boat, with a black flag hoisted, manned by some sixty to seventy Moors, and pulling fourteen oars on each side, had been seen within half of a mile of the vessel. For half an hour, the pirate gave chase to the boat containing the crew; but, not being able to come up with her, they pulled towards the brig, which they boarded, hoisted the black flag, and stood in for the shore. Ultimately, the crew were picked up by the *Empress*, Saulley, from London to Constantinople, and landed at Malta on the 9th May. A French schooner was lost in the same manner, on the same day, and only about ten miles from the *Lively*. The owner of the latter vessel recommends all shipmasters bound up the Mediterranean to keep as far north as possible, and to give the coast a wide berth.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE CRIMEAN MEDALS.—The exigencies of our paper prevented us last week from giving as full an account of this interesting ceremony as we could have wished. We therefore now add a few extra particulars from a daily contemporary.—Each officer and man was provided with a card, upon which were inscribed his name, regiment, and service, which, on his arrival at the foot of the dais, he handed to General Wetherall, who read it aloud to her Majesty, and Lord Panmure, the Minister for War, handed the medal. It is almost needless to add that the Queen's part was performed with perfect dignity, condescension, and, better than either, sympathy. For every soldier and sailor her Majesty had a gracious smile; but for those who, in their halting gait or pallid countenances, bore evidence that their laurels had been purchased with severe wounds, the Queen had, in addition, words of kind inquiry and solicitude. Under the kindly influence of her Majesty's manner, the soldiers forgot the stiffness of military etiquette, took off their hats with a reckless fervour that would have horrified Sir George Brown, and required a considerable amount of gentle pressure to induce them to "move on" out of the witchery of the Royal presence. The people beyond the barriers, although they could not hear what was going on, instinctively felt it, and cheered again and again. As for the sailors, they "bobbed" terrifically, and rolled and lurched away from the platform in the depth of their emotion, as their gallant vessels might be supposed to do when a "staggering breeze" fills the topsails. At the conclusion of the ceremonial, the whole of the decorated soldiers and sailors were marched off to the Riding-house at Pimlico, where, by her Majesty's orders, a plentiful dinner of roast beef, plum pudding, and stout, had been prepared for their entertainment.

THE SHIP JOHN.—Upwards of one hundred and eight of the bodies of those who perished in the *John* have been recovered at St. Keverne, and have been buried. The greater part of these were taken up by dredging. The whole of the passengers saved have now returned to their respective homes. An extraordinary and melancholy circumstance in connexion with this disaster is related. A respectable man of Southmolton, in the north of Devon, named Pincombe, with his wife and six children, were passengers in the *John*, and all of them perished. It appears that Mr. Pincombe would have gone out in another ship, but, while corresponding with the owner for the purpose of getting the passage-money reduced by 1*l*, the berths were all taken, and he was obliged to wait for the *John*.

STRANDING OF AN EMIGRANT VESSEL.—Last Saturday morning, between 12 and 1 o'clock, one of the Black Ball line of packets, named the *Fortune*, on her passage from Liverpool to Australia, was driven into Dundrum Bay, with 290 passengers on board. The passengers, who are composed chiefly of mechanics, were in bed at the time the vessel struck; and such was the confusion, immediately after the alarm was given, that two of the emigrants lost their lives. The remainder of the passengers were safely landed. The *Fortune*, it appears, left Liverpool on Wednesday, on her way for Sydney, Australia. She is a fine-looking three-masted vessel, and was driven in not far from the place where the *Great Britain* was stranded in 1846. A messenger was despatched to Belfast, to Lloyd's agent there, who arrived in Dundrum about 4 o'clock on Saturday evening. The night was murky, and it blew a stiff breeze during the whole of Friday night.

OUR CIVILISATION.

SUICIDE.—An inquest was held on Monday on the body of John Dewdney, aged 69, a whitesmith, lately in the employ of Mr. Pearce, of Tottenham Court-road, after whose death the old man, who had an excellent character for sobriety and industry, was reduced to so miserable a state of want, that he was forced to sell his clothes. At length he applied for assistance to Mr. Birchmore, the relieving officer, who accused him of being a lazy fellow, and told him to go and put his head under a cart-wheel. This preyed very much upon his mind, and he would weep bitterly whenever he mentioned it. He also told his landlady and others that "that job would do for him." Shortly afterwards, he hung himself. He had had

a recommendation from one of the guardians; but three loaves and two shillings were all he had ever received. These facts were established by several witnesses; but Mr. Birchmore denied them, and said that all the witnesses had perjured themselves. The assistant-overseer, however, confirmed the statements; and the coroner, in summing-up, spoke severely of the conduct of the relieving officer. The jury then returned a verdict that the deceased committed suicide by hanging while in a state of temporary insanity, adding thereto their unanimous opinion that the uncalled-for harsh expressions made use of by Mr. Birchmore, and the inadequate relief given, combined with his unfortunate circumstances, caused John Dewdney to commit suicide.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE NEEDLE-WORKERS.—At Worship-street, on Saturday, Elizabeth Gibbs, a careworn and emaciated young woman, was placed at the bar, charged with having unlawfully disposed of seven pairs of military trousers, the property of William Bull, an outfitter, in Collingwood-street, Bethnal-green. In answer to the charge, the prisoner, who was painfully affected, assured the magistrate that, notwithstanding the severe privations to which she had been subjected for a long time past, she had hitherto borne an irreproachable character, but that dire distress had induced her to pledge the trousers. The work on which she was employed was of such a laborious description, in consequence of the extreme coarseness of the material, that she was unable to complete more than three pairs of trousers per day, and the remuneration allowed her was only at the rate of 2*d*. a pair, which would fully account for the destitution to which she had been reduced. Two pawnbrokers were in attendance, who produced the articles in question, which had been pledged in separate portions by the prisoner; and both of them expressed their readiness to deliver up the property, and to forego any indemnification for the amount they had advanced upon it. The magistrate, therefore, ordered the woman to be discharged, expressing at the same time his commiseration of her wretched life. This decision was audibly approved of by all present; and the prisoner, who gratefully acknowledged the leniency with which she had been treated, left the court in tears.—The murderous work and murderous pay of these poor creatures involuntarily recel to our memory the too true conceit in poor Hood's "Song of the Shirt"—

"Sowing at once with a double thread
A shroud as well as a shirt."

A LENIENT RUFFIAN.—Timothy Sullivan was on Monday charged at Worship-street with an assault. The complainant, a middle-aged woman named Stack, who held an infant in her arms, had her face swollen, and both her eyes bruised, declined, upon being placed in the witness-box, to give evidence, saying she had exasperated the prisoner, and declaring that he had only struck her once. The magistrate reminded her that both her eyes were black; and, on asking her how that could have been done with one blow, she declared, with manifest untruth, that her own brother had so injured her, and protested that she had no wish whatever to punish the prisoner. A constable who captured the prisoner stated that on the road to the station he exclaimed that the injuries the woman received she richly deserved, and added that if he were troubled with her any longer, he would break her jaw. The complainant declared to him that the prisoner had come home intoxicated, and, without even uttering a word, had struck and kicked her brutally, but that the woman then said nothing, as she now did, about her brother having assaulted her. When called upon for his defence the prisoner, with the coolest indifference, said,—"She got drunk, and aggravated me; but I only hit her once on the face,—that's all." This considerate and forbearing gentleman, however, was sent to prison for four months, with hard labour.

THE ALLEGED INCENDIARY FIRE AT MESSRS. SCOTT RUSSELL'S.—Layton Edward Hopper was on Wednesday discharged, the case not being sufficiently strong against him.

THE EPSOM RACES.

The grand equine festival of the Spring—the "May meeting" not for religious, but for sporting and pleasure-seeking purposes—has again come and gone; and thousands have been found, for a few days, to forget their calamities in the Crimea, to brush the fate of Ministries and the struggles of parties out of mind during a brief space, and to enjoy "the fun" as it was enjoyed in the halcyon days of peace. Again the railways have carried down their little armies of betting-men and idlers; again "the road" has presented its old features of struggling, fighting, galloping, French-horn blowing, with "gents" and gentlemen emulating one another in feats of chariotceering; again have individuals of the male species "taken the veil" for the nonce—and for the dust and glare; again have the horses flashed along the course, like comets subjected to human mastery; again have thousands of pounds changed hands in the twinkling of an eye and the running of four legs; again might we see the losers mourning, the gainers triumphing, the indifferent and unconcerned laughing; again have the thimble-riggers performed their feats of logerdemain; and again has "the Derby" given place

to the more sober, composed, and aristocratic glories of Goodwood and Ascot.

Wednesday was a remarkable day; so remarkable that the *Times* has thought it necessary to commemorate in a leading article the event which made it conspicuous. We read therein—

"The Derby day turned out a memorable one in the *Faith* of Epsom. We do not shrink from recording the fact in columns usually dedicated to more important subjects, for one might be permitted to accept the event as an omen. A horse—Wild Dayrell is the excellent creature's name—the property of a gentleman not upon the turf, trained by his own groom, not by a professional trainer, and ridden by a jockey not a professional jockey; has actually been declared Senior Wrangler in the great Horse Tripos."

Without entering into the moral application to statesmanship which the Thunderer goes on to make, we will append from another column of the same paper a more particular account of

THE RACE.

"After taking their preparatory canter along the straight, the horses returned to the paddock, and were in due time called to the post by Mr. Hibburt, the starter. The din of tongues in the betting enclosure was gradually hushed, and a feverish anxiety everywhere prevailed.

"Flatterer jumped off with the lead, but had scarcely proceeded a hundred yards when Lord of the Isles went to the front, with Lord Alfred, Strood, Flatterer, Wild Dayrell, Kingstown, Cave Adullam, and Little Brownie, clustering up; Dirk Hatteraick, Rylstone, and Courtenay lying off. At the milepost Kingstown obtained the lead, Wild Dayrell going on second, Lord of the Isles third, Lord Alfred fourth, and the Flatterer next. These positions were held to the distance, where Lord Alfred dropped back to the beaten horses, and in the next moment Wild Dayrell deprived Kingstown of the lead, and galloped home an easy winner by a length, the second beating the third by a head; had fourth. Corobus and Courtenay were the next two. The others quite beaten off."

The attendance was large; but not so large as on some previous occasions. The war, after all, had probably some effect. Until after the great race, the weather was cold and the sky cloudy; but, towards evening, the sun broke out, and the country looked cheerful.

THURSDAY.

The Epsom Four-year-old Stakes of 50 sovs. each, h. ft.; won by Marc Antony.

The Two-year-old Stakes 10 sovs. each, with 50 added; won by Sugarcane.

The Grand Stand Plate of 100 sovs., added to a Handicap Sweepstakes of 5 sovs. each; won by Veteran.

Her Majesty's Plate of 100 guineas, for mares; won by Ellermire.

The Selling Stakes of 5 sovs. each, with 30 added, for 2-yr-olds and upwards; walked over by Allington.

The Cobham Plate of 50 sovs. (Handicap) for all ages; won by Duke of Lancaster.

FRIDAY.

The Oaks, won by the Marchioness.

Members' Plate, won by Radulphus.

Railway Plate, won by Rosaline.

Foal Stakes, won by Escape.

Foreign Visitors' Plate, won by Professor Airey.

Derby and Oaks Stakes, won by Novice.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE COURT.—Her Majesty and the Royal Family have removed for a week or two to the Isle of Wight.

EARTHQUAKE IN NEW ZEALAND.—Accounts have been received from New Zealand to the 22nd of January, which state that the shock of an earthquake had been experienced at New Plymouth.

A RAILWAY ACCIDENT of a serious character occurred at the Dudley Railway Station on Monday. At the point in question, it appears that there is only one line of rails for the up and down trains arriving from Worcester and Birmingham, and, in consequence of some failure in the signals, two trains coming in opposite directions ran into each other, and inflicted serious injury upon no fewer than twenty passengers. No one, however, was killed, although one passenger was dangerously injured.

SUICIDE OF A REPORTER.—Joseph O'Leary, aged about sixty, who, it appeared, was a police reporter for the *Morning Chronicle* and *Morning Herald*, and had formerly been employed as a Parliamentary reporter, committed suicide on Monday evening in the river Lea, near Limehouse-cut. He had filled his pocket with stones, to make his weight the greater. One of the witnesses stated that he had been a hard drinker for many years.

AUSTRALIA.—The trial of the diggers taken prisoners at Ballarat commenced on the 22nd of February; but, verdicts of acquittal having been returned in two cases, the Attorney-General declared he had no confidence in the jury, and refused to proceed with the trial of the other prisoners that session.

DROWNED IN A TUB.—An inquest has been held at Whitby, on the body of Thomas Lund, a journeyman

currier, who fell into a scouring-tub during an epileptic fit. The water in the tub was ten inches deep, and the tub fifteen inches high.

CULTIVATION OF DARTMOOR.—Great improvements have recently been effected on many parts of Dartmoor, and a large quantity of waste land has been reclaimed. Twenty acres of grass-land were let the other day for 54l. 10s. until next November. In 1846, the same land let for only 3l. 10s.

THE REFORMATORY SCHOOL MOVEMENT has extended into Yorkshire. In the North and East Ridings an association has been organised for the reform of juvenile offenders; and the magistrates of the West Riding have unanimously passed a resolution in favour of the same object.

A NEW METHOD OF ROBBERY has been brought to light by a recent police-case. The thieves engage the attention of ladies in the streets by asking them the way to certain places; and while the victims are good-naturedly doing their best to indicate the desired route, their pockets are delicately lightened.

MURDER AND SUICIDE IN THE ISLE OF MAN.—A Mr. Thomas Christian, living in the Isle of Man, attempted, a few Sundays ago, to stab his wife. The woman, together with her children, escaped, and fled for protection into the house of a neighbouring farmer named Knowles, who had recently come to the island from Liverpool. Mrs. Knowles went to her rescue, and succeeded in taking the knife from the maniac, who had been thrown down by his servant man; but, on endeavouring to regain her house, she found that Mrs. Christian, in her terror, had bolted the door. She was then exposed to the full fury of Christian, who, having broken away from his man, seized a pair of cart "hames," followed her into a corner, and struck her several blows on the head, returning for a second attack after he had concluded the first. The servant escaped over a hedge; and the murderer then went to his own barn, where, after an ineffectual attempt to cut his throat, he hung himself. Mrs. Knowles was taken into a neighbour's house, where she immediately expired. Christian, for some time before the tragedy, had been in low spirits; and the verdict of "insanity" returned by the jury at the inquest seems to have had more applicability in it than is usual in such cases.

THE MANCHESTER TOWN HALL had a narrow escape from destruction by fire about four o'clock on Monday morning. The ceiling over the clerks' offices in the Borough Treasurer's department was discovered to be on fire; but the flames were soon got under, and the damage was but slight.

A ROBBERY OF BULLION, to a large amount, has been committed between London and Paris, evidently by persons who were acquainted with the extent and the mode of the consignments. The gold in bars and American coins amounted to between 13,000l. and 14,000l. The valuable property had been deposited in three boxes, which were separately consigned to Paris from the bullion-brokers, Thomas, Bult, and Spielman, and were taken in the mail-train of the South-Eastern Railway, which set off from London at half-past eight o'clock on the evening of Tuesday, the 15th inst., to Folkestone, whence they were to be taken, *via* Boulogne and the Northern Railway of France, to Paris. It was found that the three boxes which were, when delivered in London, hooped and sealed, had been reopened and plundered, and then rehooped and resealed. It is rather remarkable that the depredators left in one of the boxes between 6,000l. and 7,000l. worth of gold; but it is conjectured that this was done because they had not materials at command to supply what might have been the deficiency in weight. They had filled up that box with sporting shot Nos. 4 and 7, and the other two boxes were supplied with a quantity of shot sufficient to represent in weight the amount of gold abstracted. It is supposed that so well-planned a scheme could not have been executed in the rapid passage by railway from London to Folkestone. However that may be, upon the arrival of the boxes at Paris, it was found that other hoops, nails, and seals had been substituted for those used by the three houses in London to which the property had been consigned. The French as well as the English police are engaged in the investigation.

NEWSVENDORS' BENEVOLENT INSTITUTION.—A meeting of this institution was held on Monday evening at the Freemason's Tavern. Mr. Dickens, the President, was in the chair, and made one of his admirable speeches, combining sound sense with humour. Having commented on the admirable way in which newsvendors manage their affairs, and contrasted the order and harmony of their proceedings with the way in which matters are conducted in "other places," Mr. Dickens observed—"From the excellent way in which this society is conducted, I have every hope of its success; but, if my friend, Mr. Wyld, were appointed to carry on the distribution of newspapers, simply because his great-great-grandmother had been appointed, I should have very little hope indeed. (Laughter.) Again, if I received papers two or three years old, with all sorts of publications which I do not want, and if the newsvendors' staff could do no more than stand on their heads, or 'over' all the street-posts upon their beat, instead of distributing papers, while some juvenile junior held their oilskin 'portfolio,' I should have also very little hope."

Postscript.

LEADER OFFICE, Saturday, May 26.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE.

EARL GREY brought forward his motion for an address to the Crown, thanking her Majesty for having laid the Protocols of the Vienna Conference before the House, to inform her Majesty that the House deeply deplores the failure of the attempt to put an end to the calamities of the war by negotiations; to express the opinion of the House that the proposals of Russia were such as to afford a fair prospect of concluding a peace by which all the original objects of the war might have been gained, and by which England and her allies might have obtained all the advantages which can reasonably be demanded from Russia. He commenced by expressing his regret at being compelled to bring forward a motion which would meet with so much opposition, and be withdrawn; but still it was one thing to have the power and another to exercise it when the circumstances were not considered favourable by the Government. He then proceeded to recapitulate the objects and principles for the enforcement of which we had engaged in war, and contended that those principles had not only been realised, but much exceeded in the concessions already made by Russia. With regard to the propositions of the Vienna Conference, he said that he preferred the proposals made by Russia, remarking that the demand to limit her fleet was insulting to an independent power; and in reply to the assertion that Russian faith could not be relied on, he said that the objection would be equally applicable, and the observance of the treaty equally uncertain, whatever were the terms in which it was concluded. He inquired what were the expectations that could induce the country to protract the war, urging that all practical objects were now secured, and nothing remained but some vague and uncertain advantages, contended for under the impulse of an unjustifiable animosity against Russia. Tracing the rise and progress of the conflict from the beginning, he argued that the English government and ambassador at Constantinople might have avoided the outbreak of war, or topped hostilities at various opportunities; and he brought against them, for their omissions in other respects, heavy charges of negligence, partiality, and recklessness.

The Earl of CLARENDON replied to Lord GREY, stigmatising him as the advocate of Russia, and entered into a general defence of the course of the Government.

The debate ranged through Lords MALMESBURY and LYTTLETON, the Duke of NEWCASTLE, the Bishop of OXFORD, and the Earl of DERBY, the only supporter of Lord GREY being Lord LYTTLETON, and partially the Bishop of OXFORD, and at the close of the discussion Earl Grey withdrew his motion.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MR. PHINN'S SEAT FOR BATH.

A discussion arose, originating with Sir W. JOLLIFFE, as to whether a new writ should be issued for Bath, in consequence of Mr. Phinn's having accepted the office of second Secretary to the Admiralty, and it was stated that that was not office under the Crown which vacated his seat, but that he had applied for the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, and would retire from Parliament, and above all that he would not vote in the division of last night.

THE CONFERENCES AT VIENNA.

In answer to Mr. ROEBUCK as to whether the Conferences at Vienna had again been sitting,

Lord PALMERSTON said that the Conferences could not sit again till our Minister at Vienna had received authority to attend them.

Mr. M. GIBSON said he understood that Lord Westmoreland had power to confer at Vienna, and he asked whether that power had been withdrawn?

Lord PALMERSTON said the power had not, especially from his own friends in the Government; but so great was his horror of the evils of the war, which had already cost the lives of half a million of men and fifty millions of property, that he could not shrink from the duty of showing that an opportunity had been thrown away for arresting the continuance of these evils. He contended that it was an ill-advised step to reject the recent proposals of Russia, which held out a fair opening for such further negotiation as would have led to the conclusion of peace.

THE PROSECUTION OF THE WAR.

The adjourned debate on Mr. Disraeli's motion was renewed by Mr. WHITESIDE, who said he found ample cause for supporting the resolutions in the speeches made against them by Mr. Gladstone and Lord John Russell. He contended that those speeches showed the inconsistency of opinion and uncertainty of conduct of the government. From

the details of the Vienna Conference he drew proof of the unskilfulness of the plenipotentiary and the incapacity of the government. He taunted Mr. Gladstone with having assumed the lead of the Peace party, and with being willing to risk everything upon a treaty with Russia, who never kept the faith of treaties, which he showed by several historical references; and concluded a most fervid and eloquent speech by denouncing the pacific speech of Mr. Gladstone, which he enforced with the language of a glowing address to the Crown moved by a Chancellor of the Exchequer a hundred years ago, which language he urged should now be adopted by the House of Commons, if they wished to have the support of the people in carrying on a just and necessary war for the supremacy of England and advance of the liberties of the world.

Mr. LOWE at length argued, that neither the motion of Mr. Disraeli nor the amendment of Sir F. Baring were fitted to obtain the opinion of the House on the real question, which was, whether Russia, having rejected to negotiate on the basis of the limitation of her preponderance in the Black Sea, which meant the limitation of her naval power in that sea, there was any further room for negotiating at all, and it was with the view of raising that question that he had moved his amendment.

Mr. CAYLEY expressed his dissatisfaction with Mr. Disraeli's motion, and his approval of Lord John Russell's speech, which put an end to the notion of a division in the Cabinet; and he stated his earnest hope that the war would be carried on with vigour.

Mr. ROUNDELL PALMER, as an advocate of peace, repudiated the notion that those with whom he acted wished to humiliate the country; but he deprecated the desire of going on with the war merely for the purpose of military triumphs. He urged that no war was justifiable except for defensive purposes. The object which it was said we were contending for, namely, the integrity of Turkey, would not be secured by fighting, but only by a renovation of the internal system of that empire by the education of the Turks into civilisation and independence.

Lord STANLEY in a speech of much power criticised the conduct of the war, and expressed his determination to support Mr. DISRAELI's resolution, he was followed by

Mr. LAYARD, who went at great length into the whole question of the war, embracing almost every topic connected with it, and showed that the only gainers in the matter had been Austria and Russia. He earnestly prayed the Government to uphold the Crown and glory of England, and declared the people not to be sick of the war, but sick of those who mismanaged it and the affairs of the country generally.

Lord PALMERSTON, in a speech of much earnestness, vindicated the course of the Government.

Mr. DISRAELI replied, and the House divided, when there appeared—

For Mr. Disraeli's motion 219
Against it 319

Majority..... 100

A discussion then arose as to whether Sir F. Baring's and Mr. Lowe's amendment should be put, which ended in the consideration of the amendments being adjourned.

The House adjourned at a quarter-past three.

A NEW CAMPAIGN.

A Paris correspondent of a contemporary writes:—

"I have reason to believe that the French Government is about, either officially or semi-officially, to contradict the report that the recal of the expedition to Kertch proceeded upon a misunderstanding of a telegraphic despatch. According to information, which I have no doubt is in the main correct, a new plan of campaign, suggested by General Pelissier and approved by the Emperor, renders the immediate occupation of Kertch comparatively unimportant. It is probable that at this very moment the allied armies are carrying into effect against the Russians a manœuvre similar to that which they attempted against us at Inkerman. A general attack upon their positions on the Tchernaya river will doubtless be reported by telegraph within a very few days. The following is a closely approximative estimate of the allied forces now in the Crimea; 120,000 French, 30,000 English, 15,000 Sardinians, 35,000 Turks, and 10,000 Egyptians—in all 210,000 men. It is considered that 80,000 men will abundantly suffice to hold the trenches before Sebastopol, and the remaining 130,000, besides reinforcements, are likely to be employed during the summer to scour the Crimea. The latest Government accounts state that the amount of the Russian force in the Peninsula is much less than has been supposed."

The Times of yesterday, in its second edition, published the following despatch, dated

"Vienna, Friday morning.

"A Conference will be held to-morrow, without the Russian Plenipotentiaries; and another on Monday, at which those Plenipotentiaries will probably be present."

Berlin, Thursday, May 24.

Advices from St. Petersburg to the 19th state that all the fortified harbours in the Bay of Finland had been declared in a state of siege.
Seven prizes taken by the English arrived at Elsinore on the 22nd.

Berlin, May 24.

The *Gazette Prussienne* says that the new conditions proposed through the mediation of Austria are:—

A special treaty determining the number of ships, Russian and Turkish, that shall be permitted to navigate the Black Sea.

France and England to have the right to maintain two ships of war each in the Bosphorus.

The Porte to communicate to the Allied Powers any treaty concluded with Russia.

Advices from Bayonne of the 23rd state that a Carlist conspiracy had been discovered at Saragossa.

On the 22nd, an ex-Carlist chief, who had entered the Queen's service after the Convention of Bergara, deserted with sixty men of the garrison.

Troops of the line and militia had gone in pursuit. Navarre and the Basque provinces are tranquil.

THE BALTIC.

Letters from the Baltic state the official information had reached the British Consul at Elsinore that the Russian government had given orders to sink all their men-of-war at Cronstadt, except eight sail of the line. Small-pox was raging very badly on board the Duke of Wellington and the Arrogant.

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NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The pressure of parliamentary matter compels us to omit several articles this week.
R. A. B.—Received.

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.
Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.
We cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

The
Leader.

SATURDAY, MAY 26, 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 CONFIDENCE DEBATES.

IF CROMWELL were alive amongst us now he would cry, not "Take away that bauble," the mace, but "Take away that rubbish," the House. Imagine the people's representatives at a time when we have a great war on our hands, when we do not know our friends from our foes, and when there is a growing disgust among all classes at our rulers and our institutions; imagine the elected Members of the People's House debating, not what they shall do, but what they shall say.

Mr. LAYARD had stood forward as a people's man; he had a resolution "on the state of the nation," and he gave way to Mr. DISRAELI. Accusing Ministers of "ambiguous language and uncertain conduct," the "Genius of the Epoch" set all the paltry factions gabbling in a squabble over half a dozen motions of resolutions studiously ambiguous, in order to some course of conduct still more studiously uncertain. No man dares lay down the expression of his real conviction. GLADSTONE is totally against all war as "anti-Christian,"

but he has not the heart to challenge the House to affirm his resolution or reject it. The pure Whigs dread the war lest it rouse the nationalities—but they dare not go in the teeth of the people. DISRAELI would close with Russia to-morrow, if by so doing he could put down the people, put out PALMERSTON, and be the NESSELRODE of England. But DERBY will not stand that inroad on "the families," and GRANBY sympathises with GLADSTONE—only DERBY will not speak out his mind. What can they say that is "ambiguous and uncertain"—that is the grand thing which the factions compete to discover each for itself?

But the fault is not all with "The Parliament." Paltry as the House of Commons is, there is no power or class in the country less paltry. Our public men forget the English people. Class division cramps our "popular" members more than the Peers. A member holds that he "loses caste" by appealing direct to the people. The people doubt themselves—repine that the House possesses power, and "petition" for their "rights;" forgetting that, as the civil law justly judges, there is no such thing as "right" without independent self-asserted power. So PALMERSTON guesses what the people think, ROEBUCK reports them, LOWE formulates the report in a resolution; but not one communes directly with the people, not one enters the House backed by the people, not one deserves from the Commons of England more power than some in the same House do from the EMPEROR OF FRANCE—or from the CZAR. NERO fiddled—but the fiddling at all events was music: there is neither rhythm nor melody in the resolutions or speeches of the honourable House. The House, however, is what the people lets it be; and if there are any men there who ought to know better and blush for their own impotence, they, too, share the disgrace of voluntary humiliation through cowardice.

You may think that you look down on Ministers: are you above them? You may despise "the ambiguous language and uncertain conduct" of PALMERSTON: good; take his measure, then, and easily excel—speak as stoutly and do more. That is what men of the English Commonwealth ought to do, and there is a way to do it. Unluckily we cannot say that it can be done without men.

THE STATE OF FEELING IN THE
COUNTRY.

If the governing classes suffer themselves to fall into contempt through their mis-government of this country, it will not be entirely their own fault. They have many excuses—they are more ignorant than wilful—there is no desire to oppress. The class of NEWCASTLES, claiming to do what they like with their own; of BUCKINGHAMS, ambitious to be lords of the soil in theatrical pageantry if not in reality, has passed by with the last generation. Lords and squires would do well if they could. On the average, they have not more faculties than other men, but they are not worse. They have rather the "commendable ambition," which Lord JOHN RUSSELL patronisingly ascribed to the Duke of NEWCASTLE, than any wish to be bad. The difficulty is that they do not know how to gratify their ambition; and this is partly the result of accident, partly the fault of the people to be governed. No people can be well governed that is not prepared to vindicate its own importance; because the governors can have no respect for a tame people, no pride in ruling a tame people, and no assistance from the resolutely-asserted wishes

of the people. The immense magnitude of the population—a population not herding in tame submission like Hindoos, and not divided into "states" like Americans—creates a physical obstruction to a mutual knowledge on the part of the different provinces and classes. "Self-government" is absolutely impossible in so large a community;—autocratic government we have not; but we do have *hap-hazard government*, and official routine had become nearly independent of public opinion. Go amongst the governing classes, and you are astounded at the ignorance that they display of the governed: they have as little acquaintance with the people as the people has of them. They form the most erroneous conceptions. You will hear opinions confidently expressed that the shopkeeping classes, sunk in the desire for gain, are absolutely indifferent on the subject of the war, and anxious only for peace because it is good for trade. You will hear them say that the working-classes are "tranquil," and therefore "satisfied;" that the professional classes have no objects except to gain such height in their profession as will bring them within the range of official employment. The governing classes judge the people by those straggling adventurers who come within their range, just as foreigners judge the English by the hybrids of Brussels or Boulogne. "He has no heart for the war," say the vulgar of Lord PALMERSTON, "he is only desirous of patching up an ignominious peace." "The shopocracy," says some associate of Lord PALMERSTON, "is perfectly indifferent to the honour and glory of England, and is only impatient for us to patch up an inglorious peace."

Now it so happens that we know something of the facts in *both* cases, and we believe that the present crisis has had the effect of calling forth something more like an English spirit than we have witnessed for a quarter of a century at least. From the sycophants, who represent the middle as well as the working-classes, to the governors, we have that deliberate lying which is only possible with voluntary ignorance. If some HAROUN AL-RASCHID of Downing-street would go upon his travels in omnibus or coffee-shop in the great towns of the factory districts, or the agricultural centres, he would find one feeling and one feeling alone. It was well expressed the other night by Mr. ROEBUCK: people suspect that Government intends to compromise the war, feel excessively indignant at the idea of such treachery, and are anxious for an energetic advance of the British flag. It is the talk of omnibuses, go they to Brompton or Bayswater, to Bethnal Green or Brixton.

It is the same throughout the provinces. We have had occasion to know their sentiments in detail. Let us take specimens. Birmingham has spoken out for itself, manfully and early, on the subject of the war; Newcastle had been before it; Sheffield accompanying. Here Ministers are universally denounced because they are not believed to be in earnest when they talk of upholding national honour. In Manchester, no doubt, the state of politics is thrown into great confusion by the position of the Borough Members. Mr. MILNER GIBSON and Mr. JOHN BRIGHT possess claims upon the Anti-Corn-Law party which are not to be forgotten. They are associated with the traditional sacrifices of that party, and the respect for them cannot be cancelled by the differences of the day. There are many people in Manchester who wholly dissent from the Quakerism of Mr. BRIGHT or the economism of Mr. GIBSON, but who would hesitate to come forward and pass a vote of censure on those Members because they like them on

other grounds. Many would strain a point to support the Borough Members. Some are perplexed between a Government whose language seems to be equivocal, Tories who are no better, and Peace men, who are supposed to say frankly what Government means covertly. Hence it is difficult to extract a positive expression of feeling from Manchester at this moment. There would be one mode of doing it: let the Borough Members call a meeting to affirm a resolution against the war, and in favour of accepting the terms of Russia, and the motion would be scouted by an overwhelming majority. The Manchester party dare not call a public meeting in their own metropolis.

Let us see the sentiments of the press. In Manchester there are four newspapers: the *Guardian*, a Ministerialist; the *Courier*, a Tory; the *Advertiser*, which it would be difficult to classify; and the *Examiner*, over which Mr. BRIGHT is popularly supposed to exercise an influence. The *Examiner* is the only paper opposed to the war. What is the case in Leeds? The statistics of the journals perfectly confirm our knowledge of the place. Here there are three journals: the *Mercury*, widely extended and influential, is strongly opposed to the course taken by the Peace party; the *Times*, with a large circulation, and the *Intelligencer*, the Tory journal, are exactly on the same side. Now, in the North of England the newspapers are at once the dependents and the dictators of public opinion. With very exceptional cases, they cannot hope to maintain their existence, unless in the main they reflect the opinions of their readers. Having established themselves in repute for doing so, they become recognised as the indicators of local opinion, and readily preserve the function of pointing out the direction that local opinion is taking, even of corroborating that direction.

Let us look to a totally different quarter—say Lincoln, the centre of an agricultural country. Here our letters give us exactly the same sentiments; the local press reflects the same general opinion, and from the eccentric Colonel SIBTHORP to the most modest shopkeeper, there is the same English feeling, that the war ought to be prosecuted as Englishmen would wage it, with a doubt whether Government is equal to the business.

If Government is misunderstood by the body of the people, the body of the people is grievously misunderstood by Government; but it is the severance of class which keeps up this ignorance, and it is kept up by the manners and customs of the natives. In this country men stick to their own circles. Those of independent means run an established round between the Houses of Parliament, certain drawing-rooms, and certain boxes at the Opera, and certain routes and fashionable towns on the Continent. They see the same faces, and tell each other the same opinions, and think they "know England;" when they only know the inhabitants of the *Court Guide*. The defect is common to every class, and arises from the same vicious foible—shyness. Even statesmen, who "go abroad amongst the people," meet them only in committee-rooms, or in public meetings; look at them—or "inspect" them, as the royal phrase runs—under some formal aspect, and return as wise as they came. It is under cover of this ignorance that revolutions are bred, which burst forth before the governing class know that they are rising. The only chance that the governing class will take the proper steps to prevent that revolution from rising in disgust at the feebleness of our Government, would lie in their overcoming this shyness and this ignorance. We are half inclined to think that adversity has made them begin their lesson.

THE DUTY OF THE OPPOSITION IN FRANCE.

THERE are symptoms of an inevitable catastrophe which render the duty of the Opposition in France an urgent question. Omens gather round the Empire. Prescient rumours fill the air of French society. DROUYN DE L'HUYS, so often paraded as the one respectable man, has departed: the BILLAULTS seem to be growing uneasy. Nothing succeeds with a man whose sole justification is success. The peace which was to be synonymous with the Empire has been sacrificed, and Sebastopol is not taken. The Temple of Concord is opened in the midst of disastrous war: it is opened with pomp and expectation, and, so far, is a total failure. The grand equivocation of repression and socialism which succeeded as a cry breaks down when erected into a principle of government, and leaves nothing but dissatisfaction and contempt. The men of the *coup d'état*—ST. ARNAUD, DE LOURMEL, BOUAT, ESPINASSE, CANROBERT—are falling, stricken by death or by disgrace. It needs not the hand of another PIANORI to render it necessary to provide for the future.

Had LOUIS NAPOLEON been an honest man, he might have reconciled order with liberty, and won pure honours by founding on an enduring basis the peace and happiness of France. The situation was grave indeed, but without imminent peril. The infamous expedition to Rome, unwisely resented by a call to arms among a party who did not know the strength of their moral position, led to an untoward outbreak. Yet 1852, it is now known, would have passed without extraordinary excitement. The men of all parties who owned morality would have accepted a strong republican government. The fears which served as an excuse for the usurpation were excited by the man who was to profit by them; while, at the same time, the army was debauched in the same interest. Truly great ambition would have saved the country; but truly great ambition does not find its home in the breast of a LOUIS NAPOLEON, or its minister in a MORNAY or a FOULD.

The usurpation, so applauded by all who hate liberty and duty, has aggravated in a fearful ratio the dangers of the crisis which it cannot long postpone. All the elements of disorder and division which threatened a constitutional government, but which under a constitutional government would have found vent in constitutional ways, will reappear at the break-up of the ice, exasperated by suppression and proscription, intensified by secret agitation, and rendered more unreasonable by the want of free discussion. Liberty, when revived, will inherit accumulated difficulties and perils. There will be a fearful outbreak of public and private vengeance against the fallen tyrants: proscription, exile, bereavement, insults suffered at the hands of triumphant mountebanks, turn the blood of the sufferers to flame. The clergy, steeped in perfidy and servility, and whose treasonable designs against the principles of social justice established in 1789 are no longer even masked, have also a terrible score to pay. The public debt is increasing at a rate which tends to bankruptcy. The army is regarded as a horde of prætorians, divorced from the sympathies and interests of the nation. All these difficulties must be grappled with, the magistracy reconstructed, and the suffrage purified, under the fire of a press rendered more violent by suppression and unused to the responsibilities of freedom.

The situation will be formidable; but it must one day be met. Ignoble despotism cannot endure in France, unless the soul of France becomes utterly lost to honour: and

as yet those who are the soul of France have not abandoned honour, faith in morality, or the hope of freedom. Heroism and self-devotion are needed to surmount the peril; but to have surmounted it will be the noblest of moral victories and the surest pledge of tranquillity for the future.

The preparation for the struggle must begin now. It cannot be carried on publicly, but it must be carried on privately, in each circle, in each family, in each heart, not by intriguing in salons, but by learning and preaching political duty. Those terrible chimeras which threaten the material interests of the country, and drive the proprietor and merchant to clasp the knees of military despotism for protection, must be silently combated. The personal ambition which has been the bane of freedom everywhere, and above all in France, must be subdued in the breasts which it has hitherto driven to mutual destruction and the common ruin. The word must be passed through society, that the restoration of liberty, though it may bring with it some high acts of justice, is not to be a reign of violence and blood.

The enemies of French liberty without are usurpation and Jesuitism. Its enemies within are Socialism, Terrorism, and intrigue—Socialism, innocent when it was an aspiration, a poem, and a dream, but as an element of political collision, as a violent "attempt abruptly to accelerate the secular evolution of society,"* justly hateful, not to wealth only, but to all who live by the work of their own hands—Terrorism, which is nothing but the mad lust of revolutionary dictatorship and demagogical tyranny—intrigue, which rendered the political chiefs of France contemptible in the eyes of the people, and reconciled material interests to any executive which was not to be the sport of parliamentary factions. Evidently it is by a general effort of morality and self-devotion that these perils must be overcome. One other passion there is as fatal to the liberty of France as to the tranquillity of her neighbours—the appetite for military glory to be sated by trampling on the honour and happiness of other nations. But of this we believe Frenchmen are almost cured. Scourged by Napoleonism, they no longer worship the idol of the Place Vendôme.

We have been led to speak on this subject not only by the apparent imminence of a crisis, but by the want of preparation of the right kind. We hear of Legitimist, Orleanist, Fusionist combinations, which, when the time comes, will only double and treble the confusion. We hear of plans and projects among the proscribed, which, in the hour of action, must inevitably thwart and wreck each other. We do not hear of that which alone is needed—a general determination to work out the salvation of France, and to bury all personal differences and self-interests in the performance of a great national duty. We speak with the deepest sympathy for those who have lost all in the cause of liberty and honour. And we speak, with anxiety indeed, but by no means without hope. Something at least has been learned from adversity. May the lesson prove fruitful, and may France, for her own sake and that of all nations, pass at last in safety the stormy gulf which separates the reign of tradition from that of truth, the reign of dynasties and aristocracies from that of capacity and justice.

WHAT ARE THE TORIES?

WE have received a letter from a correspondent, who is angry with us for warning Liberals against taking up with the Tories, and thinks that in so doing, we depart

* Mr. F. O. Ward, "Letters on Social Reform." 1849.

from our usual independence. We can assure our correspondent that we regard the question between Whigs and Tories with perfect independence, as many and recent articles will show, though we should think it foolish and unpractical to regard it with indifference. We look to something beyond both parties, but at present it is our fate to have to choose between them. Our correspondent and other Liberals who have fallen into the same trap, do not think their independence compromised by making a very decided choice, and openly playing the game of the Tories.

Our correspondent will have it there is no such thing as Toryism in the present day. We will not quarrel with him about a name, though it happens that the present leaders of the party have always boasted the name of Tory in contradistinction to that of Conservative, which they think implies too popular and reasonable a course. Be they Tories or Conservatives, Lord DERBY's party are the party who "stem democracy," who, on all questions of political justice, liberality, and toleration, vote on the illiberal, intolerant, and exclusionist side—who hate and profess to hate all that liberals desire—and whose practice has never yet on any one occasion deviated from their professions. Surely to go and invent a new character for this party, and to clothe them with it merely by your own imagination, is not only to fall into a trap but to bait it for yourself.

It is true that some Tories seem to have found out that the old objects are not to be compassed quite in the old ways, and that it is absolutely necessary to varnish over the unbeloved form of the ancient serpent with a compound which seems to be made up of Jacobitism, Judaism, and Puseyism. Nay, more, we believe that by the help of their French patron's example they have found out the great fact that the cause of absolutism or oligarchy may be served by appealing to the present ignorance of the peasantry and operatives against the intelligence of the middle classes, and that for this noble purpose they are even inclined to try universal suffrage, which, when it was supposed to be the height of liberalism, they so cordially reviled. This move, as well as some other aspects in our present situation, offers a sinister parallel to that which has been going on in France, and it ought to put every man of sense upon his guard.

We quite acknowledge the paramount duty of carrying on the war with vigour till a decisive victory is obtained, though we do not feel very enthusiastic about the ill-defined objects of the struggle. But what reason is there to believe that the Derbyites would carry on the war with more vigour than the Whigs? Some of the most respectable and influential of them, such as Sir W. HEATHCOTE, do not want to carry on the war at all. Only a few weeks ago, Mr. DISRAELI himself was palpably angling for the support of the extreme partisans of Peace. There is nothing in the party, as a whole, that should induce us to put them at the head of the nation in this struggle; and, as we said the other day, there is nothing in its leaders. They are both men who have been chosen for their post by the very poor test of rhetoric, and not only rhetoric, but that most unmanly and paltry kind of rhetoric—the rhetoric of vituperation. They are the very incarnation of party trickery and intrigue, and the very motion by which they try to ride into power is an equivocation which even sympathising critics are compelled to expose. If you want a heart that can really feel the present dangers of the country, and a mind that will earnestly struggle with them, you will not gain much by exchanging even a PALMERSTON for a DERBY or a DISRAELI.

As to Administrative Reform, a pure administration must depend, in the long run, on the prevalence of right principles of government, and therefore it is suicidal to sink questions of principle, and cry out for nothing but "material improvements." However, Lord ELLENBOROUGH at once gives you his notions, as a Tory, of Administrative Reform—rotten boroughs and promotion by the merit of your ancestors, that is his way of getting the right men into the right places—the famous operation which it was said all the Peeresses came to see. And, accordingly, no sooner is Mr. PHIN, who has risen by his own merits, and is not member for a rotten borough, appointed to an office in the Admiralty, than Lord ELLENBOROUGH attacks the appointment on the ground that a civilian is out of place at the Admiralty, alluding incidentally to his own experience of the Admiralty as a civilian. We all know how the right men were put into the right places in Lord DERBY's Cabinet: how, regardless of all party and family considerations, Lord LONSDALE was placed at the head of education, Lord MALMESBURY at the Foreign Office, the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND at the Admiralty, Sir JOHN PAKINGTON at the Colonies, and the bitterest tongue in England at the Exchequer. This is what Mr. DISRAELI calls the Government of a "free aristocracy," being himself, we suppose, a free aristocrat. But the revelations of the Dockyard Committee ought to be a sufficient answer to those who would go to the Derbyites for Administrative Reform. There we had a rule of promotion by merit which Whigs had enforced, actually set aside by a Derbyite official for the direct purpose of corruption—this corruption justified to the honest sailors who protested against it by the names of the two Whig chiefs, and defended by Mr. DISRAELI before the Committee as necessary for the purpose of keeping the legislature in harmony with the executive—that is, of bribing members of the House of Commons. The use of Government vessels for electioneering cruises, and the payment of election dinners out of the public money, were comparatively trifling breaches of public duty.

But what real reform can there be without purity of election? And when was purity of election more grossly and systematically outraged than by the Derbyites in the case of the present Parliament? Every species of corruption, by money, by intimidation, by club influence, by hypocritical appeals to fanaticism, by hustings lying of every kind, was used to prevent a fair representation of the intelligence of the people. No infamy was spared to produce a *Parliamentum indoctum* of squires and Carlton clubists, devoid of troublesome intellect in which Lord DERBY and Mr. DISRAELI might dominate at will. Members of the Government itself were found mixed up with the lowest agents of bribery. Any improvements which proceed from such a party as this, must be "material" with a vengeance.

As to the superior organisation which is put forward by our correspondent as the great claim of the Derbyites to office, we have touched on the point before. The grand source of disorganisation in parties is independent intellect; and the Tories are completely defalcated of independent intellect by their rupture with their leaders on the question of Free Trade. Men who have class interests to serve, and are inaccessible to reason, are sure to stick together: and if organisation of this kind is to be a claim to public confidence, the most unmitigated bigotry and dishonesty will always be rewarded with the great offices of State.

No practical good whatever would result

from placing the Government in the hands of the Derbyites. The only consequence would be to make England, not an ally of the French people, but a Satrapy of the French Empire—to increase the despondency of the Liberal party throughout Europe, and to entrust the liberties of our country to the keeping of the men who made haste to placard themselves as the sycophants of the Libericide of France. Surely the course, which we pointed to some time ago, of reconstructing the Liberal party, and forcing the Whigs by direct and manly remonstrance to open the Government to some men of the people, ought at least to be tried before our enemies are called in to punish the shortcomings of our friends.

There is one more remark which we must reluctantly make on our correspondent's letter. Its tone is one of the many symptoms of a growing indifference to political principle and disregard of political morality even among respectable men—of a tendency to take up with the most infamous politicians if they will serve the purpose of the hour, to condone political crime and applaud successful roguery and intrigue, to cast away those who have served you well directly you have used them, to hope more from ambition and cupidity than from consistency and honour. The country in which these tendencies have once prevailed is unworthy and unable to be free.

THE CHARTISTS, OLD AND NEW.

WE perceive symptoms among the working-classes of a return to political agitation. "Chartism," as a combining principle, is defunct; but its old materials may be developed into new forms, and may yet lead the lower ranks of the people far on their way in search of practical justice. It is capable of modifications which may represent a powerful mass of opinion, and enlist no less powerful sympathies. But if ever it was necessary for all classes of the nation to survey and renounce their errors it is now. Each class has had its delusions, and has suffered the penalties of them; greatest of all have been the blunders which reduced the Chartist body from a powerful, but unrecognised estate to a shadow, which dispersed it, rendered it obnoxious, and broke up a growing party into a number of impotent factions. If they would not repeat these blunders, the working-classes must study their own history, and profit by the explanation of their failures. Mr. GAMMAGE—one of themselves—has compiled an honest and intelligent account of the Chartist agitation from its beginning to its close, and this narrative should set the unrepresented classes on their guard. It is a deplorable story, in many respects, but chiefly in that it exhibits "the people" taught by paltry agitators to be violent, to be suspicious, to be jealous, to doubt their friends, and to bring discredit on their principles by a rash, theatrical, and violent mode of asserting them. In substance the history is that of a vast crowd organised to follow despicable leaders, and led by them into folly, into peril, into failure. The only moral being that the working-classes must seek for new advocates, and conduct their movement upon new principles.

From the first, the men who put themselves forward as their representatives gave proofs of radical political incapacity. In their egotism they could not combine for a common purpose. In their violence they terrified instead of conciliating the middle-classes. Refusing to amalgamate themselves, they separated their party from all others in the realm by the frenzy and bitterness of their demonstrations.

The Chartist body had not long been in the

field before dissensions exhausted part of its energy. The COBBETT school of Democrats began virulently to attack the O'CONNOR section, and dealt not in reasonings, but in accusations of treachery. And this gave the cue to every future Chartist fracas. When the Charter had been promulgated as a watchword of union, the men who agreed upon its principles were irreconcilably divided upon the means of giving effect to them. It was not enough that they harmonised in politics; they quarrelled over the methods of agitation; and from this point of departure engaged rancorously in mutual opposition.

An accusation of treachery, we have said, gave the cue to the long series of Chartist recrimination. Suspicion and jealousy, the imputation of mean motives, and the discovery of invidious selfishness, form characteristics of those men who confused and misled the working-classes. O'CONNOR could not see ABRAM DUNCAN for the first time at a public meeting without pointing him out as a traitor, with the words, "Beware of that man—for he is not to be trusted." This suspicion of individuals struck at parties as well, and incited such persons as O'CONNOR and O'BRIEN to stigmatise the Free-trade movement as a hollow and selfish agitation. HARNEY was rebuked for assuming ridiculous badges, and he retorted by insinuations of treason. Some members of the "Convention" resigned when the language of that body was too violent for their opinions, and "treachery" was the impeachment hurled after them. Thus the Chartist ranks were gradually thinned, until Chartism was occupied more by its own embroilments than by the advancement of its political position.

Exasperated against the Whigs, the Chartists permanently injured their cause by supporting the Tories, though a minority resisted this improvident act of revenge, and, by their secession, again split the party asunder. A rival association was created, and had scarcely commenced its action, when disputes—not debates—arose, "upon a question of policy." Because some of the members offered a plan of agitation which was not generally approved, others fell back upon the cheap resources of calumny, and denounced them as in treacherous collusion with the middle-classes. Next, a proposal was started to preach Chartism from the pulpit in England as it had already been successfully preached in Scotland. This, again, was abused, and scouted as a malevolent innovation—though it is fair to state that the Chartist majority was then directed, deluded, and intoxicated by FEARGUS O'CONNOR. The popularity of FEARGUS O'CONNOR, however, proved to demonstration that Chartism was impracticable.

An endeavour was made in 1842, by JOSEPH STURGE, to combine the working with the middle-classes, and Conferences were assembled to arrange the preliminaries of that which might have been a favourable union. BRONTERRE O'BRIEN, on this occasion, took part with the pacificators; but he was accused of an attempt to sell his party. The movement failed, and then arose a battle of mutual abuse; of coarse and savage satires, of vindications, of inuendos, of ferocious repartees, above which the invariable cry of treason sounded as fiercely as ever. In one quarter democracy fell into a "nest" of democratic "hornets;" in another, "a tool" of the middle-classes was detected; in another, a "renegade" was hissed—elsewhere a quarrel took place as to whether a speaker should stand a few steps higher or lower at a public meeting. One fraternal agitator required his quondam associate to kneel to him; and the entire strife was traceable, not to crimes or desertions on either

side, but to intolerance, produced by egotism, by ignorance, by want of moral culture, of moral courage, and of faith in that political justice, which these noisy spouters were assembled to obtain.

The most conspicuous men of the Chartist body seem to have treated every dissent from their opinions as a personal offence. They did not argue—they accused; they did not persuade—they suspected; they did not debate—they bickered and bandied insulting expletives, until Chartism was frittered away to absurdity and insignificance. "JOHNNY CAMPBELL is O'BRIEN-ising—he must be stopped"—such was the spirit of the agitators who talked of concord, of equality, peace and goodwill among men. The mass of people, swayed by their passions, but not sharing their selfishness, were unhappily confounded with them, and punished for their offences.

Nothing, to all appearance, could persuade the Chartists of their error. When an alliance with the middle-classes was proposed, at the end of 1842, the jealousy and bigotry of the half-taught speakers produced, as we have said, a riot at the Conference, and a conspiracy was denounced, which was probably as unreal as the democratic plots to destroy "society" in France, and JULIAN HARNEY, one of the most melodramatic of the old Chartist body, described one of his fellow-delegates as a "hell-fiend." O'CONNOR plainly enough implied that his colleagues had the reputation of rogues, and COOPER was followed on his provincial tour by epithets from political sympathisers, too gross and abominable to be printed. It is "with loathing and disgust" that Mr. GAMMAGE, an advocate of Chartism, concludes his record of squabbles and taunts between its leaders. And it is with such feelings that we hope the majority of the working-classes will now look back upon their career. They have still to achieve their political position. But they have been kept from it, not by the power of the upper orders alone, but by the trickery, egotism, and mutual distrust of their own bawling incendiaries, who have tried, by turns, to seduce them into anarchy and disorder; to deliver them bound hand and foot into the Tory camp; to create a perpetual breach between them and the middle-classes, the first-born of English freedom, and the natural balance of the State.

It has been seen that the Chartist leaders, through their personal jealousies, incapacitated themselves from forming a party. We shall proceed to show that the conduct of the majority was so mad and so blind, that it justified repugnance as well as alarm.

"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.]

"Our facetious contemporary" might illustrate the division of last night by a drawing of the Premier as clown, being pulled down the tide by a team of geese, for his lordship is the buffoon to the last, and makes not the least effort to disguise the character of the cattle attached to his car. In the course of his argument on Monday evening, summing up some logic, he exclaimed, "Well, here we are, then;" and one can fancy how triumphantly jaunty he will be in his place next Monday week, twirling his venerable head at the Opposition, putting his flexible tongue in his illustrious cheek, and doing the whole "Here we are" process to which he is accustoming those members who never cross the bridge to Astley's. No doubt we have to reflect in the Whitsun holidays that he has had a great victory over all his competitors—Lord Ellenborough, Lord Grey, Lord Derby, Mr. Disraeli. Mr. Gladstone has made a false step, and Lord John has been awfully shown

up—having, indeed, assisted in the exhibition; and these are the only five men with pretensions inconvenient to a Premier who knows very well that though he has got the heroic business to do, he is but a very low comedy man, and that the court is finding out that the court jester is an abolished institution. But the humiliation of Lord Derby is the most complete. De Clare, Ellenborough, and Disraeli have alike broken down this Epsom week, and the betting in the party is all astray. It is true that the House of Commons has not voted that it has confidence in Lord Palmerston: but it has voted "that though we have no confidence whatever in Lord Palmerston, we have a good deal less confidence in Lord Derby"—a very logical vote, and highly practical in the eyes of M.P.'s with objections to dissolution. The country is, of course, disgusted: but if the country selects and sustains such a wretched assembly as this House of Commons, why object to a government which accurately represents the House—its want of object, want of earnestness, want of intellect? There was some hope of a Mountain in the House—an administrative Reform party, but here, on the first trial, the administrative Reformers, acting on the old principle of Radical incoherency that you must keep the Whigs in that the Tories may be kept out, plump for the old Lords—plump with passionate eagerness to show that they are not to be taken in by the Tories. It would seem as if the administrative Reformers, having had private communications with Lord Palmerston, calculate on being taken in by the Whigs. There is Mr. Phinn has got a good permanent place: and we are bound to be delighted, for what are we all demanding but that our merits should not be overlooked? So intensely are administrative reformers for the right man that they would not altogether insist on the right place. The wrong place will do very well.

Mr. Disraeli's errors, amounting together to a failure, were great on Thursday. To begin with, he seems to have made the move with the reckless impatience for prominence of a fussy member, as if merely for the sake of the fuss, without counting the consequences to his party or to the country. He may have consulted Lord Derby and one or two more, but the bulk of his party were taken by surprise by his notice, and the bulk of his party, restless about him, discontented and disgusted, are not put into good-humour by being thus insultingly led. Sir William Heathcote's amendment, Lord Granby's speech, Mr. Ker Seymour's speech, showed at once that Mr. Disraeli was being guilty of individuality, in this matter, and the absence of the prestige of party power damaged his oration. The oration was a mistake. It was a criticism on secondary points, and of annihilated personages like Lord John: and the want felt now, from all our statesmen, is not of debatey finessing, but of straightforward definitions of the conditions of peace and the character of the war. Mr. Disraeli's resolution condemned the ambiguous language of Lord Palmerston; but Mr. Disraeli's speech sets no example of clear statement. Mr. Disraeli had come down to show that he was a clever fellow, and did show that, but he disappointed those, and they were the whole of the thinking part of his audience, who asked from Mr. Disraeli, at the moment he was bidding for leadership, to declare where he would lead us to. Then the style and manner of his speech were bad. He spoke for nearly three hours, to a grand audience, crammed House, distinguished strangers, including the clever corps diplomatique, and crowds of peers; and yet, during the greater part of the time he treated this Assembly with contempt by a button-holding style of conversational tediousness,—talking with conceited slowness, the most sprawling sentences, which were damnably iterated until it is no exaggeration to say he—bored. He leaned sideways against the table, and he loitered with his subject like a man reposing against a ship's bulwarks in a smooth summer sea on a long voyage. He was lazily clever, and got out his sneers at Lord John and Lord Palmerston sleepily—so that when he fell back tranquilly into his place and then strolled out to drink his seltzer water, the brilliant House was glad of it, for though they had conscientiously sat through the lymphatic

elaboration of that idle orator, and were rather rewarded for the patience by a good quarter of an hour's set of sentences towards the end, yet the buttonheld sensation had been horribly protracted. And what had he effected? He had made Lord John ridiculous: but that is sheer waste of time. Why Mr. Disraeli is for ever affecting the profoundest respect for Lord John, and always talking the profoundest contempt for Lord John, nobody knows; and one watched Mr. Disraeli's vicious sneers, and analysed the rage gleaming in Lord John's rat-like countenance with a bewilderment that did not in the least promote the business in hand. Lord John was in a great passion: he would speak to no one, not the abjectest Whig about, as he passed through the lobby (when Mr. Disraeli was at seltzer-water) to go into the library, and arrange his reply; his reply arranged, he got back with gloomy savageness to have it out; he could not sit through Mr. Gladstone's speech calmly—he thought Mr. Gladstone had perorated when Mr. Gladstone had not half done, and was on his legs to burst out when he saw his blunder, was order-ordered and laughed back. All these were unusual symptoms in this most apathetic of mean men: and denoted the fearful perturbation of the small nature. When he was up, there was no mistake about it; he would not pronounce one word right—not one: he held his chin as high up as it would go; he kept his arms laced, in the school-girl way, behind his back; and he gave his historic snort—a loud Haw!—between all his sentences; for it is Lord John's manner, when having finished one sentence, and not having settled the next, to make that imbecile exhortation to keep attention awake, and it is told that a young reporter once took notes of these snorts, Lord John's speech accordingly looking in type like a long continued oration by Job's war-horse. But though savage he could not be effective. He had simply to say that Mr. Disraeli had degraded a great question by being personal, as if you were not to make individuals responsible for being old simpletons while pretending to statesmanship; and his best hit was to make the most of Tory discontent with Mr. Disraeli by suggesting with diabolical emphasis that the move would not increase the respectability or the glory of the party. As to his defence of himself, it is absurd. He did incite the nation to war: he did talk of material guarantees: he did try at Vienna to effect a paper peace; and he is only carrying on war to reduce the number of Russia's ships in the Black Sea. The picture, as painted by himself, is the portrait of a man of fussy intellect and feeble character; incapable of comprehending the position; unequal to guiding the position. The House has a weakness for Lord John; but they cannot stand him now. When he rose, at least two hundred members left their places to go out and talk over Mr. Gladstone: the buzz was so disdainfully loud that it took the Speaker at least three minutes to get a hearing for the "leading man of the age." When he sat down, after his lumbering inanities about the Tory party, I think that the two hundred members who had got back after the lobby chat laughed at him. I am not sure, for at the moment I was listening to a lady in the cage overhead who had just come in from a party, and who was asking "who that dreadfully dirty little man was that was speaking?" As the dreadfully dirty little man's female relatives, members of the 32, are always plentiful in the cage on the nights when he feels obliged to say something as to the "possession auf Aangland," there no doubt ensued a row—happily ironed in the break-up of the House.

The speech of Thursday was Mr. Gladstone's. Like all his elaborate efforts, it was finished in construction (though spoiled by too much deference to the slip-slop, loose style of Parliament), brilliant, eloquent, masterly,—and delightful to listen to, if merely as an elocutionary performance. It was a speech which you felt, as you heard it poured out from that master mind, would modify public opinion, affect our passing history, be the text of a controversy; and the earnest man as usual met the earnest audience:—at times he still House, though at that hour crowded with festive costume, though looking grandly theatrical under the blaze of brilliant light, was as reverential in its tone as a cathedral congregation. A great orator had encountered the happy conjunction of a great theme and a great audience: and that splendid speech, a state paper which is the first of the many contributed on the subject to define to Europe the exact position, and the complete argument, was a triumph such as few men ever have, and no man often. It was a speech that places the speaker among the recognised orators—alongside Chatham and Burke and Brougham. But, alas! it produced feelings of pain among the many who have of late years looked to Mr. Gladstone as the latest Parliamentary leader of our time. For, in making that impression as an orator, he was destroying himself as a statesman. Mr. Gladstone has been giving himself up to logic, and is losing the State. The man who will not consent occasionally,

or even continuously, for the sake of power, to go with the majority, however wrong—to go with them in order to prevent them being more wrong—is very noble, very Christian, but he is not a statesman, and his business is not among politicians,—his business is in the closet, the press, books. When Mr. Gladstone, years ago, was arguing that Puseyism was logically good Anglicanism—when Mr. Gladstone was rendering Sir Robert Peel uncomfortable by the development of his doubts as to the consistency of the Maynooth Grant—when Mr. Gladstone was doing other things of that kind, the country was not vexed with the delicate bloom of his conscience—we calculated that it would wear off, and leave a serviceable surface, in good time. In the Railway Board, in the Colonial Office, at the Exchequer, in letters to Lord Aberdeen about a tortured Italian patriot, Mr. Gladstone seemed to indicate that he had set himself to the actual work of practical government, and that that massive understanding had ceased to perplex itself with scholastic refinements on plain matters.

But he is apparently relapsing into the delicate mental disease produced by an excess of logical faculty. His error in leaving the Palmerston Government because Palmerston assented to the Sebastopol Committee, arose from his exquisite conscientiousness and his preternaturally-pellucid logic; but the gravity of the mistake in getting again into the background has since been observed, and Mr. Gladstone on Thursday proved as clearly as he proved anything that he ought to be agitating his views on the war in the Cabinet, and not in the House of Commons. In his declaration now, that the war has become sinful because it is carried on for purposes not originally specified when we went to war, he strikes his countrymen with the conviction that he is admirably logical, but that he has imperfect notions of the science of governing-men. Mr. Gladstone is quite right, perhaps, that the war is not only sinful and illogical, but absurd. But Lord Palmerston is the better statesman in not confessing illogicality and in humouring the humorous British people. Mr. Gladstone, then, by that one speech, passes away from among our practical leaders and takes up his position next to Mr. Bright, below Mr. W. J. Fox, not far from Mr. Lawrence Heyworth,—as a crotcheteer. Let us trust that he and Mr. Bright will reappear in the stations which their characters and intellects, alike first-rate, would command in peaceful circumstances; and in the mean while their experience will suggest to them that though it is a fine thing to have the confidence and the affection of the pure-minded and logical Christian community, yet that community is not sufficiently large to obtain power even for the powerful:—and that it is the duty of the powerful, therefore, not to thrust away power. Mankind, particularly English mankind, are very easily governed; and the best men ought not to give up Government to the worst.

Lord Palmerston last night suggested that Mr. Gladstone ought never to have sat in his (Lord P.'s) Government; and Lord Malmesbury, in the House of Lords, said, amid the cheering of the few Peers present, that it was a good thing for England that the Peelites will now be regarded as combinations of the Jesuit and the Quaker. But Lord Palmerston's Government missed the Peelites in this debate. Lord Palmerston was, on the whole, more melancholy, feeble, and futile than his Colonial Minister. It was late when he had to speak, and he had not got more than two hours' doze all night: and he was ludicrously interrupted by Black Rod, and found that the wretched joke on that interruption did not take, and altogether was upset by the laughing at Sir Augustus Clifford and himself. His speech was a concoction of formalities and commonplaces, badly delivered, impatiently endured. He only said one good thing—that he would do the will of the people—that any Minister now must do the will of the people—which, perhaps, is an appeal to pressure from without to put down some of his Cabinet and all the Court: but for that sagacious saying, in which he virtually undertakes a great war, free from negotiations, if England will stand by him, he got no credit. So that Mr. Disraeli's reply—done in Mr. Disraeli's old Peelite style, with a refreshing renewal of swift strength, with that audacious swagger and gladiatorial gesticulation which are not vulgar, but delightful, in Mr. Disraeli—was very effective; and the government, which has no better men to put forward than those two oldest old lords, got into its safe division decidedly damaged. Mr. Layard was effective against them, but not so effective as he would have been if he had taken more pains and elaborated his excellent points; he was effective from his full knowledge; and that that ample knowledge would give him parliamentary position if he would but condescend to work for it like other men who take time, he must see in the circumstance that all through his speech the generous-sounding cheers were given from the Tory benches—from the very men with whose class he is

at war. Mr. Roundell Palmer was really eloquent in elaboration of Mr. Gladstone's view: but then Lord John and Lord Palmerston slumbered through his speech, and the House was dining, so that we must regret Mr. Palmer spoke at all. Mr. Lowe had a still smaller audience, but he deserved a full house, which he will yet have, for his robust common sense and elegant plain speaking. Mr. White-side had a distinct parliamentary success:—that is a fact, not an opinion—men of all sides were loud and hearty in their declaration that he had at last justified the reputation with which he had entered the House. Lord Stanley was a failure, not for his speech, which I have no doubt was sound and excellent and pointed, but because he was only heard by the benches immediately in face of him. Lord Stanley is a man of first-rate powers, a born governor; but he cannot speak, and never will be a speaker,—and, therefore, he ought to take to Mr. Carlyle's cant that oratory is a mischievous delusion, suited only to a barbaric period, and so on.

Poor Lord Grey suffered, last night, from the greater attraction at the other House. He had only half a dozen Peers to talk to, not more than the same number of Bishops, and Lord Redesdale seems so effectually to have frightened away the ladies, that the sex was represented by no more than Countess Grey (of course) and two or three daughters of very rural Deans. Nevertheless, Lord Grey, honest crotcheteer, had his say from five to eight, and proved every one in the wrong to his entire satisfaction. He brought up the cleverest of the Bishops, the only clever Duke, and one Minister—but you can scarcely call the talk a debate. Yet the Lords had their revenge on the public inattention to them by sending in that awful Black Rod (whose little ebony stick looks like a note of exclamation on the Constitution) to flutter the Commons into consternation, and to make their leader look more ridiculous than he ever looked before.

The miscellaneous Parliamentary incidents of this week are not numerous. Sir James Graham in attempting to put Mr. Layard down, put himself down: and on Monday had to do what has so often been required of him—to confess that he was a huge blunderer in consequence of being so colossally crafty. That large old gentleman did not look noble in apologising that evening, and must have noticed that the respectful but cold House did not believe a word of his explanations! But it was as well, even at the expense of Sir James Graham being found out in a meanness, to have the question settled who killed Cock Robin; and Mr. Layard, if he be patient, and take such advice as has been offered in these columns, and as Mr. Disraeli gave him very kindly on Thursday, will have a quiet time of it now. A more promising Peelite than Sir James is Mr. Gordon, Lord Aberdeen's son, who made a maiden speech on Tuesday on the Ballot—speaking with vigour and heartiness, and with due affectation of modesty required by elderly idiots from clever young men—and indicating that the young Whigs do not enjoy a monopoly of liberal principles. That painfully elderly Whig, Lord Seymour, illustrated, on the same night, what Whig principles amount to. Speaking in the full confidence that as a nation of snobs we like to be despised, he said that the borough constituencies wanted the ballot because they were rogues: and he argued that they were rogues, because, he said, they are of the small shopkeeping class; and even tradesmen—all tradesmen being in the habit of adulterating goods, and generally defrauding the public—are scoundrels. Thus, argues the lord, if you canaille adulterate your goods, why should we not adulterate the Government, and get our share of fraud in that fashion—an argument that the English people ought to look into, hanging Lord Seymour if it be unsound—or themselves, if it be well founded. Meanwhile, Lord Seymour's malignant candour allows of a pleasant peep into the mind (so to speak) of the aristocratic animal; and considering the pot-and-kettle controversy going on between Lords and people, one begins to feel elate with one's own, one's native land. Mr. Henry Berkeley made his great annual joke, a proposal of the Ballot, with his usual irresistible comicality;—model moral man as he is, he is bent on purifying our public life, Sir; and as long as it's quite sure not to be carried, he will keep the ballot motion before our eyes, and give us pleasant speeches, in which, confident in his pocket borough, he ably denounces the undue influence of the aristocracy. Not many of the detrital sons of peers are able to amuse us; but when an Honourable, of some capacity, lives to middle age, he is very effective in bringing his knowledge of the world to bear upon political affectations. *Avant d'être homme politique, il faut être homme blasé*; and having passed forty years in making the most of his advantages in rendering private life pleasant, Mr. Henry Berkeley is sublime in undertaking to provide a machinery which he guarantees to make us all publicly honest.

Saturday Morning.

"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*.

PLATO somewhere (in the *Timæus*, if we recollect aright) says that God alternately governs and forsakes the world; in the period of government all goes right, but left to itself the perturbations of the world rise into anarchy, which once more necessitates the divine interference. One does not expect to meet in a Christian philosopher this sombre idea of the divine government, yet we meet with it in Sir ISAAC NEWTON, implicitly, if not explicitly. His theory of the perturbations which affect the planets, causing them to deviate from the perfect ellipse of their orbit round the sun, and which would in time, he thought, become so great as to demand the intervention of the Creator, is PLATO's theory considered astronomically.

There is something piquant in this juxtaposition, but even more piquant is that advanced by M. BABINET in the new number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, where, in an article on *Astronomie Cosmogonique* well worth reading, he shows us LAPLACE occupying himself with these very perturbations, so alarming to the mind of NEWTON, and proving them to be essentially periodic and counteractive, making the planetary path deviate in one direction, and then, by compensation, deviate in another, so as at length to restore the balance. "Strange!" exclaims M. BABINET, "a mind essentially religious throws doubt on the wisdom and prescience of the Deity, and a sceptic answers him by proving the world to be subject to laws so wise that the stability of the system runs no risk."

In comparing the services of these two great geometers, NEWTON and LAPLACE, we are led to reflect on the large part played by the Age in every great discovery which confers immortality on genius. The same intellectual greatness will not produce the same effect if it appear a few years earlier or a few years later. The Age must furnish the *à propos*. Genius coming at a certain juncture and confluence of ideas, produces a result which the blind adoration of mankind attributes solely to Genius—when the stupid envy of mankind does not take the other side of the question, and attribute it solely to the Age. Thus there was profound truth in the *boutade* of LAGRANGE, "that NEWTON was very lucky to have a world to explain;" for it is certain that had NEWTON lived in the time of LAPLACE he would have been reduced to the arduous, but less glorious, occupation of explaining the perturbations, instead of explaining a world. Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that whatever *à propos* the Age may furnish, the presence of Genius is necessary for that *à propos* to be seized. JONES will do nothing in the most splendid confluence of ideas struggling for birth.

Besides the article just referred to, the *Revue* contains one of singular interest and importance, by General DAUMAS, on *Le Cheval de Guerre*. Our readers may know, perhaps, that the general has written a work of great value, and of pleasant reading, on the Arabian horses, *Les Chevaux du Sahara*, in which he proposed the adoption of the Arabian horse for cavalry. In this work he argued that although the Arabs, for various reasons, prize the mare above the stallion, yet for purposes of breeding the stallion is more valuable. A discussion arose between the general and the *Inspecteur des Haras*, who had traversed Asia to collect materials for a decision, and who came to the conclusion that the mare was more valuable than the stallion, it being from the mother, not the father, that the preponderance of influence is derived. This question—so important to cattle breeders—which has been agitated ever since ARISTOTLE, the question, namely, whether the father or the mother has the most decided influence on the offspring, is among the most complex problems of the physiology of generation, and consequently carries the largest burden of nonsense of any question debated among physiologists. We cannot congratulate either of the disputants in the present instance upon having mastered even the *a, b, c* of the matter. Both treat it empirically, and without reference to the known laws of generation. But although the paper by General DAUMAS is absolutely worthless in a scientific point of view, it deserves to be read for its very great interest, both as the elucidation of a practical question respecting cavalry horses, and above all as containing a remarkable letter from ABD-EL-KADER, showing him to be a thinking and a lettered man, no less than a great chieftain.

The great Arab chief first declares that the stallion has greater influence than the mare: "The experience of centuries has established," he says, "that the essential parts of the organisation, such as the bones, the tendons, the nerves, and the veins, are always derived from the stallion. The mare may give the colour and some resemblance to her structure, but the principal qualities are due to the stallion." We must content ourselves with the assertion that decisive experiments in the breeding of animals confirm the prevision of physiologists in contradicting this notion. Mother and father participate in the product; not equally, but indefinitely. Our limits restrict us to the bare assertion, which would require a volume to demonstrate. Although therefore, as a question of breeding, we can only award to the stallion such superiority as his relative superiority of vigour may give him (for if the mare have the superiority of vigour, owing to her race, health, or age, she will be the more preponderant in the offspring), we quite under-

stand the preference of the Arabs for the mare, a preference which makes them sell stallions but never mares, unless under the extremities of compulsion. This preference ABD-EL-KADER has admirably explained. Not only is the mare valuable as a producer both of stallions and mares, but she is, according to the Emir, more enduring; she better supports hunger, thirst, and the fierce radiance of eastern suns. Like the serpent, her force seems to increase with increase of heat. On the other hand, the stallion has his superiority in certain qualities. He is more rapid, strong, and brave. He has not the serious defect of suddenly stopping during the fight, as the mare will if she spies a stallion. He does not fall when wounded, so soon as the mare. "I have seen a mare whose leg was fractured by a ball, drop at once to the ground, unable to vanquish her agony. I have seen a stallion whose broken leg was held only by the skin, yet he continued on three legs till he had carried his master from the field, and then he fell." ABD-EL-KADER adds that when stallions have proved their great qualities it is almost impossible to procure them, so fabulous are the prices asked. They are only sold to great personages, or extremely rich merchants, who pay for them in thirty or forty instalments, sometimes even by an annuity to the seller and his descendants.

These indications will suffice to pique the reader's curiosity. He will find ABD-EL-KADER's letter remarkable for its masterly style, and its evidence of literary culture; so that it will interest the reader who is indifferent to the question of horses, Arabian or English. The same *Revue* contains an article by GUSTAVE PLANCHE on the young poets of France, especially on a new manifesto by M. DU CAMP, who, imitating the celebrated preface to *Cromwell*, with which VICTOR HUGO raised his standard of revolt, attacks all the past, and heralds the "poetry of the present." We have not any knowledge of M. DU CAMP's writings, nor are we disposed to take GUSTAVE PLANCHE as an arbiter; so that what truth there may lie embedded in the exaggeration of this new Romantic School we cannot even conjecture. It is, however, always suspicious when a poet writes theoretical prefaces. From WORDSWORTH to VICTOR HUGO, such prefaces have been mistakes—mistakes rescued from contempt by the genius or the talent of the poet, and by some grains of truth mixed with the error, but utterly inefficacious in making systematic poetry relished by the public.

Let us, however, assure our friends in France, that in frankly condemning the profuse indulgence of a certain school of modern French writers in magisterial nonsense and flippant exaggeration, we are not ungrateful to the many excellent writers France has produced, and to the eminent ability Frenchmen display in every department. Especially is this eminence seen in the *ordonnance* of their scientific writings, and in the grace of their fugitive literature. No one can write such treatises, no one can produce such tales. We write excellent novels, but the tale belongs to France. A very pleasant illustration of this excellence is seen in M. EDMOND ABOUT's tale, originally published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and now reprinted in the *Bibliothèque des Chemins de Fer*, wherein a simple story is narrated with an attaching charm and a pervading elegance rare enough even in France. No one should grudge a couple of francs for so delightful a story of Italian life as this *Tolla*; and our lady readers in want of a new novel, may with confidence ask for *Tolla*, not only because it is interesting and unexceptionable, but because the moral tone is thoroughly healthy.

BAILEY'S PHILOSOPHY OF THE MIND.

Letters on the Philosophy of the Human Mind. By Samuel Bailey. First Series. Longman and Co.

ANY work by the admirable author of the *Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions* must command at once the interest of all philosophical readers; the union of patient thought with clear exposition, which characterises his writings, has made those writings popular even in England, where little attention is given to metaphysical speculation. The work before us is the first of a series of letters on the methods of investigating and speaking of the facts of consciousness—on the abuse of figurative language in philosophy, and the consequent injury to speculation—on the classification of mental phenomena—and on the various theories of perception, with other collateral matters.

Amusing as well as instructive are the examples of the abuse of figurative language, which Mr. Bailey brings forward, not out of any idle desire to ridicule excellent writers, but out of a laudable desire to put the student on his guard respecting the fallacies which lurk in this loose kind of language. The danger of talking of "our senses informing us," and of "our reason procuring our assent," or of "the mind furnishing the understanding with ideas," is not the simple danger of expressing ourselves with vagueness, it is the danger of strengthening and propagating that tendency to personify the faculties, and, having personified them, to believe in their separate independent existence, which has created so much confusion in philosophy. We are not content with senses and sensations, but must place an Entity behind them, looking on, receiving their reports; we are not content with feeling, we must place behind it an Entity which feels that we feel. In this train of speculation a friend of ours conceives that he has made a discovery of an ultimate beyond the ultimate of the Ego—a something lying deeper than the Consciousness to which philosophers refer as the basis of all thought. He argues that philosophers do not penetrate deep enough when they say that behind the Senses there is the Ego; for what is behind the Ego? He answers: The Negol! As the Non Ego requires an Ego for its existence and correlate, so also the Ego demands a Nego. Which luminous speculation our friend is not prepared to illustrate in two volumes stout octavo.

Besides warning us against a too acquiescent use of metaphors, Mr. Bailey suggests an excellent canon, when treating of imaginary mental transactions:

Nine-tenths of the speculations of transcendental philosophers, as far as they have come under my observation, appear to be made up of absolutely imaginary events.

To make the subject plain, it may be needful to remind you that all the events and facts in the world may be arranged under two heads—mental facts, and physical facts.

In the philosophy of the human mind we have to deal with both, because changes in our physical frame are not only indispensable for the perception of external objects, but are continually producing other variations in the state of our minds; and such variations of intellect or emotion again affect the body, as is obvious in the case of voluntary actions. When a man, for example, is in a low, sluggish condition of thought and feeling, the application of a stimulating substance to his stomach will enliven both: while, on the other hand, the sudden announcement of calamity may deprive that organ for the moment of its usual vigour, at the same time that it excites the powers of utterance to extraordinary exertion. And so in innumerable other instances. Indeed, there is every reason to conclude that no mental state arises without having been preceded by a physical change in the body, and without itself in turn producing such a change.

Whether, nevertheless, this is true or not, one thing is plain, that mental facts and physical facts, even when there is the clearest dependence of one on the other, are distinct as objects of knowledge.

Mental facts can be gathered only from consciousness, or, more correctly, are states and events of consciousness; and physical facts, being states and events of matter, can be gathered only from external observation.

Among the examples here is one:

When I read in the pages of Kant, or of his expositors, that "all our cognition begins from the senses, proceeds thence to the understanding, and finishes in reason," I examine whether I am conscious of the two latter events, which are clearly not of a physical character, and I do not find that I am conscious of such an event or operation as knowledge proceeding from the senses to the understanding, or of the subsequent operation of its finishing in reason.

Described as they are in the passage quoted, such processes appear to be wholly fictitious. What I am conscious of is, that I perceive external objects, which is itself as much an act of the understanding, that is, of an intelligent being, as anything can be, and of itself constitutes knowledge; that I afterwards think, or may think, upon such objects; and that I frequently draw conclusions regarding them.

And the following example, referring to a passage in Cousin, may be added:

"It is reason," he says, "which perceives both itself and the sensibility which envelops it, and the will which it obliges without constraining."

Now here we have divers imaginary facts. If the reason which hovers about M. Cousin (for the faculty being, as he affirms, impersonal, cannot belong to him or reside within him) really perceives itself, I can only say in my own case that I am not conscious of in any way cognisant of a separate entity called reason, making itself the object of its own observation; nor am I conscious of, or even able to understand, such a phenomenon as sensibility enveloping reason; and I am as little conscious that reason performs the difficult, if not impossible, task of obliging without constraining another power named the will. As they are stated by M. Cousin, all these are the imaginary transactions of imaginary entities, and vanish the moment you try to substitute operations for faculties. Had the sentence here quoted proceeded from an English pen, it would have been at once stigmatised as jargon; nor can I pass a more favourable judgment on such phrases as—"I myself am the instrument with which I know everything;" "c'est moi qui suis l'instrument avec lequel je connais toute chose."

When, again, he speaks of the will being "the centre of consciousness, and reason its light," I am incapable of finding any state of mind in myself answering to these plausible expressions.

We cannot enter upon the proposed classification Mr. Bailey gives in these *Letters*,—it would carry us beyond our limits; but content ourselves with referring the reader to it, as very superior to those adopted in other works known to us.

In the *Letters* on the various theories of perception, there is much suggestive criticism, and a dexterous disentanglement of the subject from verbal ambiguities. His own position is that which may be called a scientific vindication of the Common Sense school. He says we perceive external objects; we know them; we know them to be external, and there's an end of the matter. Better knowledge we cannot have. Now, while agreeing with Mr. Bailey in his main positions, both as regards Perception and Idealism, we are not certain that we thoroughly understand his criticism directed against Kant, and others who are not Kantites, respecting our knowledge of things *per se*. Indeed, his language occasionally seems to imply that he himself has not rightly grasped the difficulty he professes to meet.

It is worth while to advert more particularly to the proposition often reiterated by Kant, that we cannot know things in themselves—a proposition extensively accepted by modern philosophers.

This is, in my view, a perfectly unmeaning assertion. We cannot form the slightest conception of knowing external things, except as we do know them, *i. e.* through the organs of sense. Do you demur at this? Then be so good as to tell me the precise signification of knowing things in themselves; give me a specimen of that sort of knowledge we have not; and point out how you have gained so curious a piece of transcendental information.

No one manifestly is entitled to deny that our knowledge is of things in themselves, unless he not only possesses the sort of knowledge which he denies to others, and has found on comparison that we—the rest of the human race—have only a knowledge of things as they are *not* in themselves, but actually produces it for our examination. Till that is done, assertions about knowing things in themselves must be regarded as utterly without meaning.

This seems to us altogether untenable. A man is not bound to know the things he professes he does *not* know and cannot know, or else to relinquish his avowal of ignorance. Mr. Bailey insists that the perception of external objects is a primary fact of consciousness. Granted; but a primary fact of consciousness is not a primary fact of objective existence—and Mr. Bailey's argument requires that whatever is true of the subjective should be true of the objective, and true not relatively but absolutely, not partially but wholly. A simple illustration will suffice to clear our argument from ambiguity. A man receives a blow in the dark. The subjective element in this transaction is a sensation of pain, which sensation corresponds truly enough with

the external cause of that sensation, considered solely as a pain-producing cause. But this cause, this *objective* element, which is known only *through* pain, exists independently of the man. He knows it must exist; he knows it is something external; he knows it is not the pain; but he does not know what it is. Mr. Bailey will not contend that the stricken man knows the object because he perceives the pain; nor that he is bound to know what the object is before he can say he knows it *not*. Yet this is man's position with regard to external objects. We only know them through our sensations, and our sensations are only modifications of ourselves, produced by certain actions of things on us;—the *whole nature of the objects* does not affect us, only *certain aspects* affect us. Thus, recurring to the illustration just used, the man struck in the dark perceives the pain, but knows little of the cause. In daylight he, seeing the cause to be a black wand, has increased perception, and knows *more* of the cause; but unless he can examine that wand and so extend his perceptions, he remains ignorant of whether it is wood, whalebone, or gutta-percha. With every increase of the avenues through which knowledge may reach him, he knows more and more of the properties the thing has of affecting him; but he gets no nearer to a knowledge of the thing *in itself*. To know more he must be more.

Lest, however, the reader should object to a prolonged metaphysical discussion where only a brief indication of the contents of a new work was anticipated, we break off, referring all who are curious to Mr. Bailey's volume, and expressing an urgent desire that Mr. Bailey will speedily give us a second series of such Letters.

WIDOW BURNING.

Widow Burning: a Narrative. By Henry Jeffreys Bushby, of the Inner Temple, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, late of the Hon. East India Company's Civil Service. Longmans.

Mr. H. J. Bushby has reprinted from the *Quarterly Review* an article on Widow Burning in India, with a Postscript. We learn from him the interesting and instructive fact that Hindooism is in a fair way to be overthrown, not by the preaching of Claphamite missionaries, but by the publication, going on through the liberality of the East India Company, under the auspices of Professor Müller and Wilson, of the original and authoritative documents of the religion, the Vedas, which have been overlaid with a mass of Brahminical superstitions and corruptions. There is no authority in the Vedas for Suttee; on the contrary, there is a precept that when a man dies, his widow "shall go up into his house," which, by a rather awkward corruption of the text, has been read "shall go up into the fire." The discovery of this want of authority has forwarded the cause of the abolitionists more than the arguments of morality or political influence. But not only do the Vedas say nothing about Widow Burning, they say nothing about the greatest gods and goddesses of modern Hindostan! They say nothing about castes, metempsychosis, the incarnation of Vishnu, or the triune mystery itself! Mr. Bushby may well look forward to the bewilderment of the devotee. But, unfortunately, a superstition which has once taken a complete hold of a people, and become part of their moral nature, will stand a good deal of criticism directed against its source. We recommend the Brahmins, thus endangered, the theory of church authority and development.

Peahaps it would be only justice to mention that Mr. Bushby has been under considerable obligations to Colonel Tod's admirable work on Rajpootana, the text-book from which so many volumes have been derived—without acknowledgment.

PAPERS OF LORD METCALFE.

Selections from the Papers of Lord Metcalfe. Edited by John William Kaye. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1855.

THE insecurity of our position in India is the continually recurring theme of Sir Charles Metcalfe's public and private correspondence. Our power is precarious because it "does not rest on actual strength, but on impression." The fidelity of the Native army can be depended upon only so long as success attends our arms. Every temporary reverse that has overtaken us, has proved the utter hollowness of our tenure. We are merely encamped in India, and the feeling of the population among whom we have pitched our tents is universally unfavourable. "All India is at all times looking out for our downfall. The people everywhere would rejoice, or fancy that they would rejoice at our destruction; and numbers are not wanting who would promote it by all means in their power. Our ruin, if it be ever commenced, will probably be rapid and sudden. . . . From the pinnacle to the abyss might be but one step." Again:—

Our situation in India has always been precarious. . . . We are still a handful of Europeans governing an immense empire without any firm hold in the country, having warlike and powerful enemies on all our frontiers, and the spirit of disaffection dormant, but rooted universally among our subjects. That insuperable separation which exists between us and our subjects renders it necessary to keep them in subjection by the presence of a military force, and impossible to repose confidence in their affection, or fidelity, for assistance in the defence of our territories.

And again:—

Our Government is not a national Government that can rely on the affections of its subjects for defence against foreign invasion. It is the curse of a government over a conquered country that it cannot trust the people. Our subjects are internal enemies, ready at least for change, if not ripe for insurrection; the best affected are passive votaries of fate. We can retain our dominion only by a large military establishment; and without a considerable force of British troops, the fidelity of our native army could not be relied on.

The slightest check is quickly magnified into a serious disaster, and the intelligence, spreading like wildfire, "immediately excites the hopes and speculations of the millions whom we hold in subjection." Thus, at the commencement of the first Burman war, when our troops sustained some reverses, it was currently reported and believed that the Commander-in-Chief had been killed in action, and that the Governor-General had committed suicide by swallowing pounded diamonds. On other occasions, such as the Nepaulese war and the first siege of Bhartpore, the ill-success of our

arms produced a general feeling of discouragement in the native soldiery, and destroyed their faith in our invincibility. Still more recently, the Afghan and Sikh campaigns seriously impaired our prestige, and inspired the masses with a wild hope that our downfall was at hand. The only real hold upon the fidelity of the sepoys is the regularity of their pay—assisted, no doubt, by the mutual jealousies of Hindoo and Mussulman, and a consciousness of the superiority of the British troops. It is therefore highly necessary that an imposing European force should be maintained in the country, but not too widely scattered over the vast surface. Sir Charles repeatedly insists upon this point, and the vast extension of territory since his time greatly enforces the argument. For it must be borne in mind that the British Empire in India is broken up into detached portions, and that independent states, of very doubtful good-will, are mixed up with the central portions of our dominions. A powerful and efficient army is Sir Charles's grand specific for the maintenance of our power; and he strongly advocates the expediency of increasing the number of European officers with native regiments. The expense is admitted to be great, but the necessity is a paramount consideration.

With respect to the comparative advantages of Queen's or Company's government, Sir Charles Metcalfe expresses himself in favour of the former, provided that it do not degenerate into "government by a parliamentary majority," for in that case "our tenure of the country would not be worth ten years' purchase." The Europeans settled in India would naturally prefer the former, because to the latter they "attach the notion of monopoly and exclusion, and consider themselves comparatively discountenanced and unfavoured." The invidious distinction between Queen's and Company's courts of justice would thus also be removed, and the complete amalgamation of the two military services would follow as a necessary consequence.

The idea of a Russian invasion is treated almost contemptuously, unless that power had first succeeded in becoming master of all Central Asia. And even then we could bring overwhelming masses to guard the passes through the mountains of Afghanistan, and to line the banks of the Indus. Our real danger is from within, though even that might be greatly reduced by the gradual annexation and absorption of the independent states, whose very existence is a standing monument of the incapacity and irresolution of the magnates of the India House. Until one only colour be spread over the map of Hindostan, our dominion will continue unstable and precarious.

But time and space would fail us were we to attempt to notice all the different points connected with the civil and military government of India, which are treated of in these "selections." Much less can we pretend to pass in review the many interesting documents illustrative of Lord Metcalfe's administrative policy in Jamaica and Canada. Too much praise cannot be given to Mr. Kaye for the judgment he has displayed in selecting the pearls of great price from among so much that was truly valuable. There is not a single letter, or minute,—not even the protest against Sir George Barlow's "fundamental principles," though written at the early age of twenty-one—that is not impressed with a strong, healthy virility, with sterling good sense, and with the straightforward honesty of a true English gentleman. There may lack the indications of an original or a brilliant genius, but there is abundant proof of practical ability of no ordinary character, of the most persevering industry, and of the most scrupulous rectitude. It is impossible to rise from the perusal of Sir Charles's Indian papers without a deep feeling of regret that the absurd and interested prejudices of the Home Government should have deprived that country of a ruler who thoroughly understood its wants and requirements. But ministerial patronage, and all-powerful precedent, demanded that a Governor-General should be sent out from Europe, whose chief and only recommendation should be an entire ignorance of the peculiar duties he was suddenly called upon to discharge. As it was in the beginning, so is it now—but shall it ever be?

The Arts.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY EXHIBITION.

It is unfortunate for the Academy, considering the badness of the exhibition which the members have got up this year, that Mr. WARD has not helped them with one of his admirably dramatic pictures from English or French history. Engaged, we believe, on works of importance which require extra time and consideration for their production, he only sends to the present exhibition a small full-length portrait of "General Hearsay, in the dress of the Irregular Native Cavalry, E.I.C.S."—a picturesque man in a picturesque uniform; and a most refreshingly-original picture to turn to, after looking at the yards on yards of conventional portrait-painting which encumber the walls of the Academy exhibition-room. Mr. WEBSTER has two pictures of boys and girls—"The Race," and "Spring,"—painted in his usual manner, works of decided merit as pleasant sketches of character, but marred by this artist's inveterate defects of feeble and timid execution. Mr. G. RICHMOND has deserted water-colour portrait-painting—in which he was without a rival—and has taken to oil, in which, to our thinking, he succeeds but badly. He exhibits a "whole length" of "The late Sir Robert Inglis;" and a "half length" of "The Bishop of New Zealand." Our deep attachment to the Establishment makes us protest against seeing a bishop painted—as Mr. RICHMOND has painted Doctor SELWYN—with his eyes and face bathed in cold perspiration. Mr. HORSLEY, in his "Scene from Don Quixote," has advanced as much in healthy choice of subject and in the art of composition, as Mr. COPE has retrograded in both those qualities. Mrs. WARD's bright little picture of "The Morning Lesson," is the most successful piece of painting which that lady has yet produced. It is in treatment bright and transparent, and meritoriously true to nature in effect. Mr. PHILLIP's "Collecting the Offering in a Scotch Kirk," we omitted to mention last week in the terms of approval which it deserves. In treatment it is rather hard and meagre; but in study of character, it possesses some rare and genuine merits. With this work our present remembrances of the good figure-pictures come to an end. As for the bad, is it after all worth while to take up time and space in condemning failures which condemn themselves? What useful purpose could it serve, for example, to point out the faults of that monstrous picture from Exodus (No. 540, "The Prayer for Victory")—in which the Patriarch MOSES, with arrowy fireworks blazing out of his brains, is held up in a very slippery state against an impossible lump of stone by two officious minor patriarchs, who would be doing excellent service to art if they would only let MOSES slip

out of the picture altogether. Is there any use in criticising such an absurdity as this, or other absurdities not much better?—None whatever. Let us get on to the Landscapes.

Looking at the landscape painters in general, it is impossible not to be struck by the want of ambition, and of any high conception of the real scope of their art which their works exhibit. The majority of the artists seem to go on year after year content with manufacturing studies of foliage and puddles, which require nothing but careful plodding and mechanical practice, and which suggest as little as possible to the mind of the spectator. If we want to look at pictures which really grapple with difficulties, and which aim at representing the more striking, vast, or exceptional aspects of Nature, we must look, with hardly more than one or two exceptions, to the elder of our landscape-painters, not to the younger, who have still reputations to make. Mr. LEAR's "Temple of Bassæ" deserves to be first signalled as a worthy effort in the right direction by an artist who is making his way to a high place in his profession. In this instance, at least, the landscape subject chosen is a grand one, and the treatment shows high purpose and real power. Mr. ZAHNER's "Landscape near Rome" (No. 299), and Mr. T. DANBY's "Poet's Hour," both also show real poetical feeling, and a fine appreciation of Nature in her noblest moods. Mr. ANTHONY is unfortunately not equal to himself this year. His picture of "Stratford" is weak in effect, and the left hand side of the sky, though well in intention, is most unfortunate in execution. However, Mr. ANTHONY has real feeling for the grand in nature, and, in his happier moments, great vigour and originality of execution. We hope to see him vindicate himself next year.

The pictures just referred to really comprise the only landscapes by the rising men which we can remember as worthy of criticism. We must refer to the elders of the profession, if we want to mention a few more genuinely-fine works. Mr. DANBY has one magnificent picture this year, "The Lake of Wallenstadt." The evening sky is exquisitely aerial and beautiful in its dim, solemn lustre; the still, deep water is marvellously true and fine in colour and execution; and the whole effect of the picture, from whatever distance it may be viewed, is grand and imaginative, without the smallest sacrifice of fidelity to nature. Mr. DANBY has a second work (No. 287), which we do not like so well. Mr. CRESWICK, besides the charming landscape (No. 440) to which we alluded in our opening article, has an admirable picture of "Morning at the Mouth of a River," in which he has caught the still, grey atmosphere and deep pervading calmness which precede sunrise with rare felicity. Mr. ROBERTS's fine view of "Rome," with the crimson of the sinking sun just touching the distant rooftops, is one of the best of his works—the painter has conquered immense difficulties with his usual mastery and success. Mr. STANFIELD's brilliant and elaborate picture of "St. Sebastian during the Siege in 1813," being most discreditably hung in the worst light that could be selected for it, we must content ourselves with warning our readers not to blame the picture, but the place the picture occupies, if they feel a little disappointed with Mr. STANFIELD this year. He has produced a really fine work: and the Hanging Committee have treated it in a manner which—considering Mr. STANFIELD's deservedly high position in his art—is simply audacious.

As for the Miniature Room, we have no space (and even if we had, no heart) to go into any particulars in relation to the hundreds of small portraits which it contains. Sir WILLIAM ROSS is still first, and Mr. THORBURN still second, while the miniatures of Mr. H. GRAY and Mr. WELLS occupy prominent places in the third rank. Favourite drawings and portraits our readers will discover for themselves. We have a parting word of advice to give them when they go down into the Sculpture Room. Whatever else they may overlook, let them by no means miss Mr. DURHAM's "Sleeping Child," Mr. MACDOWELL's "Bust of Lord Beaumont" (why has Mr. MACDOWELL no statue this year?), and Baron MAROCHETTI's beautiful female head, No. 1480. With these last "words to the wise," we take our leave of an exhibition which is, upon the whole, the worst we remember to have seen since the building in Trafalgar-square was first opened to the public.

THE AMATEUR MUSICAL SOCIETY.

THE last concert for the season took place at the Hanover-square Rooms on Monday evening, and was the best of the series both for the selection and the performance of the music. The room was crowded, and among the audience there was an unusual gathering of critics and connoisseurs, attracted, we believe, by the fame of a fair pianiste, who created some sensation at a former concert. On the present occasion this young lady, whose name—as it has appeared in other journals—we may be permitted to mention, Miss POLAND, exhibited a very high and pardonable ambition. In HUMMELL's long, and as we think not very interesting, *Septuor*, she played *from memory*, and with a quiet mastery, a self-possession, a finished delicacy, a precision, which may well have excited the surprise and admiration of the audience; especially of those who were able to estimate the difficulty of the piece, even played *with music*. In the case of an amateur performance, there is often the greatest difficulty in obtaining sufficient study of the concerted music; the performers are so apt to come too late, or to have engagements elsewhere, that it is almost impossible to obtain diligent and attentive rehearsal. The consequence is, that at the last moment unsteadiness and uncertainty are likely to prevail. The *Septuor*, however, went uncommonly well last Monday: each movement was listened to with evident delight, and warmly applauded, and not a little charm was imparted to the performance by the modest grace of the pianiste, a grace beyond the reach of art. Miss POLAND must have studied very earnestly and very devotedly to have been able to accomplish a feat which few but LISZT we believe would have attempted, and the success justified the ingenuous audacity of the attempt. In the second part of the concert, a four-part song, "The Sun of the Morning," composed by the pianiste of the *Septuor*, beautifully sung by Messrs. FOSTER, W. MILLAIS, COOPER, and TAYLOR, revealed an intimate acquaintance with the science of musical writing, as well as a refinement of feeling, a natural aptitude and a maturity of accomplishment not often met with out of the profession. The part song was heartily encored. Altogether, it was a most agreeable concert.

THE OPERAS.

MADAME GRIST reappeared on Monday evening in *La Favorita*. Her reception was gratifying, but not enthusiastic. In the last act, however, she took the house by storm, and made us all forgive the disappointment of hearing her again. Her last last appearances are to be ten only, after which she will positively retire to her Tuscan villa, which is so pleasantly alluded to in the bills. *Don Giovanni* is announced for next week. "Why," says the critic of the *Times*, "is the part of *Don Ottavio* taken from Signor TAMBERLIK? and why is Mademoiselle NEX, instead of Madame GRIST, to be the *Donna Anna*?" Echo answers, Why? and we say, Why, indeed?

Norma was produced at DRURY-LANE last evening, with a new *Pollio*, a new *Norma*, and a new *Oroveso*. The house was densely crowded. We shall have something to say of the performance next week.

THE LITERARY FUND ANNIVERSARY DINNER was held at the Freemasons' Tavern on Tuesday—the Bishop of Oxford in the chair. One of the toasts given by the Right Rev. Chairman was "The Church," coupling therewith the Archbishop of Dublin; and, in the speech with which he accompanied this pledge, he delivered himself of the observation that the Church had always been a fostering patron of literature, which, he said, had attained its largest developments under the influence of the "establishment." The Archbishop of Dublin, in reply—or rather in assent—wandered off into an expression of his deep anxiety to maintain the union of Church and State (which, indeed, the public are at all likely to doubt); and proceeded to defend his order from charges which no one at that meeting had brought against it. Sir Archibald Alison afterwards made a speech, and also a prophecy, which was that, if England and France remain united, they will conquer in the struggle that is now going on. After a few more of the like profundities, Mr. Baldwin, the treasurer, announced that the subscriptions in the course of the evening amounted to upwards of 800*l*.

THE MINISTRY AND ITS SUPPORTERS.—A meeting was held on Thursday afternoon at the official residence of Lord Palmerston. It was numerously attended by all sections of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, but, being a private meeting, reporters were excluded, and it is therefore impossible to give a detailed account of the speeches delivered on the occasion. It has transpired, however, that Lord Palmerston, in a speech of some length, vindicated the policy of his government, asserted the unanimity of his colleagues, and stoutly maintained their resolution to prosecute the war with vigour until terms should be obtained calculated to insure a safe and honourable peace. The precise nature of those terms his lordship claimed for the government the right of determining according to circumstances. The meeting was afterwards addressed by Messrs. Lowe, Layard, Bright, Cobden, Lord Robert Grosvenor, Sir James Graham, Mr. Laing, and other gentlemen, who generally concurred in censuring Mr. Disraeli's resolution, though considerable difference of opinion was expressed as to the amendment of Sir Francis Baring. The tone of the meeting, though by no means harmonious, was, perhaps, as favourable to the government as could be expected.

A MOB OF COURTIER.—A lady, writing under the fanciful title of "Verbena," has given, in a letter to the *Times*, a very lively account of her struggles in reaching the presence of her Majesty on the occasion of the birthday drawing-room. From this revelation, it would appear that no gallery staircase or pit passage on a "Boxing night" can present a more coarse or disorderly scene of crowding, pushing, and stirring, agreeably diversified by ruffled plumage and fainting ladies. If, as we think is but probable, they "manage these things better in France," the sooner we send over a commission to make inquiry the better. A reform of our army and navy administration, of our civil departments, and of our palace arrangements, seem to be all equally needed.

A SERIOUS JOURNAL.—The *Journal des Débats* and the *Presse* have been the victims of what the latter journal calls an "odious mystification." One evening this week the *Standard*, old-Tory organ of rabid Protestantism in theology, and of respectable profligacy in politics, contained a ponderous and unseemly burlesque of official despatches from Lord Raglan to the Minister of War. These despatches were solemnly copied by the *Correspondance Havas*, and communicated to the daily Parisian journals. The most salient joke consisted in describing Sir George Brown as a promising young officer, who was much pleased with the manner in which the men wore their schakos. There was likewise a facetious allusion to the kilts of the Highland regiments, which were expected to create a lively sensation among both Russians and Circassians. There was, of course, some attempt at a meteorological jest; and the field-marshal is made to plume himself on the satisfactory circumstance that the expedition had terminated without any loss of lives, not only on the part of the Allies, but also on that of the enemy. Surely, we need not point out the good taste, good feeling, and good sense of this elaborate jocosity. We heartily agree with our esteemed contemporary, the *Journal des Débats*, that "it would be superfluous to characterise such a proceeding on the part of a serious journal, it is enough to mention it." But let us disabuse our eminent French contemporary. Such a proceeding on the part of a serious journal would, indeed, be surprising. On the part of an after dinner old Tory and highly orthodox journal, it is natural enough. Young Tory organs have at least the decency to assign their Theodore Hookisms to special columns, so that we know when we are invited to be amused. Old Tory journals, whose creed comprises legitimacy and Louis Napoleonism, Toryism and the rights of labour, nationalities and despotism, religious liberty and Exeter Hall, cannot be safely classed among "serious journals." Old age ought to be serious, but "old port is apt to make even orthodox theology, and conservative politics ribald and ridiculous."

STATE OF TRADE.—The accounts from the manufacturing towns, during the week ending last Saturday, describe no material change, the excitement in the Liverpool cotton market not having yet had a corresponding influence at Manchester, while in the iron trade a dispo-

sition to improvement has been checked by a diminution of confidence consequent upon some additional failures. Towards the close of the week, however, at Manchester, there was an increased disposition on the part of buyers to give the terms demanded by the manufacturers. From Birmingham, it is mentioned that the suspension of Messrs. Davies, ironmasters of West Bromwich, for 200,000*l*., has been followed by that of Messrs. Toy and Son, tube-makers at the Soho works, for 60,000*l*.. In both cases it is hoped arrangements will be made to avoid bankruptcy. Several minor concerns have also stopped, and the degree of distrust thus occasioned has apparently been aggravated by futile attempts at concealment. Still, the demand for manufactured iron continues to be of a rather more favourable character. In the general occupations of the place there has been no recovery. At Nottingham, the hosiery and lace trades remain without alteration, the home demand being affected by the ungenial weather. From the woollen districts the reports are again, on the whole, satisfactory, although, as compared with the corresponding period of last year, the exports show a great falling off. In the Irish linen-markets, the transactions are limited, but the tone of business is healthy. In the general business of the port of London, during the week terminating on Saturday the 19th, there has been considerable activity. The total number of vessels reported inwards was 208, being 51 less than in the previous week; but this apparent difference is accounted for by the fact that Saturday being the Queen's birthday, no ships were reported at the Custom-house. The total number of vessels cleared outward was 120, being three more than in the previous week. The departures from the port of London for the Australian colonies during the past week have comprised only two vessels—one to Sydney, of 912 tons, and another to Adelaide, of 503 tons. Their capacity was 1415 tons. The rates of freight exhibit a slight tendency to improvement. The coal trade of South Wales is in a very flourishing state.—*Times*.

SEIZURE OF FIRE-ARMS FOR EXPORTATION.—A hogshhead of hardware, in which revolvers and pistols were concealed, was seized by the authorities at Hull on Wednesday week. It was at the Humber Dock, ready for shipment in the Hamburg steamer. The quantity was small.—*Hull Packet*.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.—In the week that ended last Saturday, the deaths of 1143 persons, namely, 620 males and 523 females were registered in London. The deaths returned last week are 55 in excess of the number obtained by calculation. Small-pox exhibits a sudden increase; the deaths from it, which were 15 and 28 in the two previous weeks, rose last week to 45. Of these, 18 were registered in the north districts, and 14 in the east districts. The Small-pox Hospital is situated in the former division, and in that institution 11 deaths occurred in six days. The disease appears to prevail in Shoreditch more than in any other part of London. On the south side of the river, it was fatal in three cases in the sub-district of St. John, Horselydown. Last week, the births of 820 boys and 836 girls, in all 1656 children, were registered in London. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1845-54, the average number was 1453.—*From the Registrar-General's Report*.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Tuesday, May 22.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.—HENRY HOLLAND, Liverpool, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.—ALFRED DIXON TOOVEY and JOSEPH WYATT, Aldermanbury, wholesale stationers—HARRIET TOWNSEND, Charles-street, Westminster, poulterer—HENRY THOMAS, Walsall, Staffordshire, saddler—ALFRED and FREDERIC CHEADLE, Stone, Staffordshire, drapers—HENRY THOMPSON, Ilkeston, Derbyshire, tailor—SAMUEL CLAY, Wakefield, millowner—THOMAS SEPTON, Prescott, Lancashire, licensed victualler—DAVID HUGHES, Beld, Morionethshire, draper—RICHARD HART, West Hartlepool, wine merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.—A. HEWITT, Glasgow, baker—Captain J. M'GREGOR DRUMMOND, Crieff—GRANT and Co., Banff, merchants—A. PEDEN, jun., Loudoun, Ayrshire, cabinetmaker.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

FOWLE.—March 5, at Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony, the wife of the Rev. W. H. Fowle, Colonial Chaplain: a daughter.

LAYARD.—May 20, at Stratford-green, Essex, the wife of the Rev. C. Clement Layard: a son.

EVANS.—On Easter-day, at Indore, in the Bengal Presidency, the wife of Captain Henry L. Evans, 17th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry: a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

BLANCHARD—CARMICHAEL.—March 15, at St. James's Church, Calcutta, by the Rev. R. B. Boswell, and at Durruntollah Church, by the Rev. J. M'Osbe, Sidney Laman Blanchard, Esq., to Helen Antoinette Marie, daughter of Dr. Hugh Carmichael, of Leitrim Co., and Dublin, Ireland.

ROBBARD—PENNY.—March 21, at St. Barnabas, Kensington, by the Rev. Edward Penny, William Robbard, Esq., of Santa Cruz, eldest son of Frederick Robbard, Esq., of Moscow, to Helen, only daughter of the late Charles Penny, Esq.

GULSTON—SAYER.—March 22, at St. Michael's, St. Alban's, by the Rev. Mr. Hutchinson, vicar, John Gulston, Esq., of Watford, to Mrs. Mary Ann Sayer, of St. Alban's, Herts.

DEATHS.

AYRE.—May 1, of cholera, on his passage from Constantinople to Balaklava, George Stevenson Ayre, youngest surviving son of the late Thomas Ayre, Esq., of Sunderland, Durham.

SNELLING.—May 12, Mrs. Jane Snelling, of 3, Church-row, Richmond, Surrey, for forty years confidential and faithful servant to the late Miss Charlotte Hair, of Hill-street, Richmond, aged sixty-four.

TINKLAR.—May 13, at the Chateau St. Croix, near Bruges, aged twenty-five, Henry Nicholson Tinklar, Lieut. R.M., eldest surviving son of Captain Tinklar, R.M., who died in command of Ascension Island.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, May 25, 1855.

CONSOLS have been very firm all the week. The public will invest in realities let the Bears sell to any extent. What with the very pretty quarrel now being fought out in the House of Commons and the glaring contradictions of all of our public men, one would have imagined that the funds would have given way; but as no dissolution seems practicable, and members either give themselves up to faction, or else run in the "Palmerston" groove, careless of their country, there seems no hope that way. Meanwhile, Canrobert's dismissal—you may call it resignation—and Pelissier's assuming the command, we may expect to hear of the allied armies taking the field. One hard-won victory after another, and the capture of Baktschi-serai and Simpheropol, with the Russian magazines, would give a great temporary fillip to the funds. Even should Sebastopol fall, would it end the war?—unless diplomatic treachery, against which we are never safe, sells us to the Czar. Turkish scrip has been slightly weaker during the last two days, but has been well maintained. East India and Canada railway shares are greatly in demand. In our own heavy share market prices have been well maintained, although no great amount of business has been done. The "Derby" was a "dies non" owing to the thinning of the markets, except Consols, where was plenty of work. In mines all is stagnant, and no hope of improvement. Wallers and Peninsulas continue to be inquired after. United Mexican are dull. Markets maintain a firm aspect.

At four o'clock Consols close at 91½, 91½; Turkish 6 per cent. at 77½, 78.

Caledonians, 63, 63½; Eastern Counties, 11½, 11½; Great Northern, 91½, 92½; ditto, 77, 78; ditto, B stock, 125, 127; Great Western, 67, 67½; Lancaster and Carlisle, 71, 75; Leeds, 79, 79½; Brighton, 100, 101; Birmingham, 100½, 100½; South Western, 82½, 83½; Midland, 71½, 71½; Berwick, 74, 75; South Eastern, 60½, 61½; Oxford and Worcester, 25, 30; South Devon, 12½, 13½; Antwerp, 7½, 7½; Bombay and Baroda, ½, ½ pm.; Eastern of France, 34½, 35 ex div.; East Indian, 4½, 5½ pm.; ditto Extension, 3½, 3½ pm.; Grand Trunk of Canada, 6½, 5½ dis.; Luxembourg, 2½, 2½; Great Western of Canada, 21½, 21½; Paris and Lyons, 26, 26½ pm.; Paris and Orleans, 47, 49; Paris and Rouen, 41, 43; Rouen and Havre, 22, 23; West Flanders, 3½, 4; Western of France, 7, 7½ pm.; Agua Frias, ½, ½; Brazilian Imperial, 2½, 3½; Cocas, 2½, 3; St. John del Rey, 31, 33; Carson's Creek, ½, ½; Linares, 6½, 7½; Pontigibaud, 14½, 15½; Peninsular, ½, ½ pm.; Santiago de Cuba, 5½, 6; United Mexican, 6, 6½; Waller Gold, ½, ½; Australasian Bank, 82, 84; Oriental Bank, 40, 42; Union of Australia, 71, 73; London Chartered Bank of Australia, 21, 22; Australian Agricultural, 32, 34; Canada Bonds, 11½, 11½; Crystal Palace, 3½, 3½; ditto Preference, ½, ½ pm.; General Screw, 14, 15; North British Australasian, ½, 1; Scottish Investment, 1½, 2; South Australian Land, 38½, 39½.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday Evening, May 25, 1855.

THE weather has undergone a very favourable change, and the trade is not active. Holders, however, are firm, and will submit to no reduction in prices. There has been a fair supply of Barley, but the advance which took place on Monday, is well maintained, and prices are fully 1*s*. over those of last week.

There was a free sale of Oats last Wednesday, at rather under Monday's rates; to-day the demand is less active, and prices have declined 6*d*. Beans and Peas firm without alteration in value.

There are few arrivals off the coast. Saidi Wheat arrived and on passage held for 52*s*., a fine cargo of mixed Wheat has been sold at 51*s*. 3*d*. Beheira 48*s*. to 50*s*. Two or three cargoes of Saidi Beans have been sold at 30*s*. 6*d*. cost, freight and insurance to the Continent, from whence there is some demand. A cargo of Mazagan Maize on passage from Marseilles has been sold at 50*s*. cost, freight, and insurance.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Frid.
Bank Stock.....			200½			200½
3 per Cent. Red.	89	89½	89½	90½	89½	90½
3 per Cent. Con. An.	90½	90½	90½	90½	90½	91½
Consols for Account	90½	90½	90½	90½	90½	91½
3½ per Cent. An.					76	
New 2½ per Cents.....			4½	3 15-16	4½	3½
Long Ans. 1860.....					232	
India Stock.....	220	220	231	18	21	
Ditto Bonds, £1000						18
Ditto, under £1000	18				15	12
Ex. Bills, £1000.....	8	7	9	7	15	12
Ditto, £500.....	8		12	10	15	12
Ditto, Small.....	8		15	15	15	12

FOREIGN FUNDS.

LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY EVENING.)

Brazilian Bonds	54½	Russian Bonds, 5 per Cents., 1822.....	
Buenos Ayres 6 per Cents.		Russian 4½ per Cents.....	
Chilian 3 per Cents.....		Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def. 37½	
Danish 5 per Cents.....		Spanish Committee Cert. of Coup. not fun.	
Ecuador Bonds.....		Venezuela 4½ per Cents.	20
Mexican 3 per Cents.		Belgian 4½ per Cents.	91½
Mexican 3 per Ct. for Acc. May 31.....	22	Dutch 2½ per Cents.....	63½
Portuguese 4 per Cents.		Dutch 4 per Cent. Certifi	92½
Portuguese 3 p. Cents.			

ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA, COVENT GARDEN.

MR. BENEDICT'S GRAND CONCERT.

Under the immediate Patronage of
Her Most Gracious Majesty THE QUEEN,
His Royal Highness Prince Albert,
Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent,
Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester,
Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge.
Mr. BENEDICT begs respectfully to announce that his
ANNUAL GRAND MORNING CONCERT
Will take place on FRIDAY, June 15th, 1855, at the
ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA, COVENT GARDEN.
To begin at half-past one o'clock precisely; and to terminate
at five o'clock.

Mr. BENEDICT has the greatest satisfaction in being
able to announce that Madame GRISI has most kindly
offered her invaluable services.

Principal Vocal Performers:

Madame Grisi—Madlle. Didée—Madlle. Marai—Madame
Viardot—Madlle. Jenny Ney—Madlle. Bosio.
Signor Tamberlik—Signor Gardoni—Signor Luchesi—
Mons. Zelger—Signor Polonini—Signor Tagliafico—Signor
Tamburini—Herr Formes—Signor Graziani—Signor La-
blache, and Signor Mario.
Also, Madame Clara Novello, Miss Dolby, and Signor
Belletti.

Principal Instrumental Performers:

Pianoforte, Mons. Aschir (Pianist to the Empress of the
French), who will play a New Concertante for Two Piano-
fortes and Four Performers, with Mr. Lindsay Sloper, Mr.
Benedict, and Herr Pauer: Violin, Herr Ernst. Contra-
basso, Signor Bottesini, who will perform a New Con-
certante with Clarinet, Signor Belletti.

The Concert will be supported by the Band and Chorus of
that great lyrical establishment. Conductor, Mr. BENE-
DICT.

Prices of Admission:

Stalls, 17. 1s.; Grand Tier Boxes, 57. 5s.; Pit Tier Boxes,
37. 3s.; First Tier Boxes, 47. 4s.; Second Tier Boxes, 27. 2s.;
Third Tier Boxes, 17. 1s.; Pit, 5s. Amphitheatre Stalls, 5s.;
Amphitheatre, 2s. 6d.

Applications for Boxes, Stalls, and Places, to be made at the
Box-office of the Theatre, the principal Librarians and
Music Publishers, or of Mr. Benedict, 2, Manchester-square.

ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA, COVENT GARDEN.

Signor TAMBURINI.

THE Directors of the Royal Italian Opera
have the honour to announce that they have entered
into an Engagement with that distinguished and favourite
Artiste, Signor TAMBURINI, who will make his First
Appearance in England these Three years on THURSDAY
next, May 31st, in his most popular character of DON
GIOVANNI.

ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA, COVENT GARDEN.

EXTRA NIGHT—DON GIOVANNI.

BOSIO, MARAI, JENNY NEY, MARIO, LABLACHE,
and TAMBURINI.

On THURSDAY NEXT, May 31st, a Grand Extra Night
will take place, on which occasion will be performed (for the
first time this season) Mozart's celebrated Opera,
DON GIOVANNI.

With the following powerful Cast:—

Donna Anna Madlle. JENNY NEY,
Elvira Madlle. MARIA,
Zerlina Madlle. BOSIO,
Don Gio anni Signor TAMBURINI,
(His First Appearance these Three Years.)
Leporell Signor LABLACHE,
Masetto Signor POLONINI,
Il Commendatore Signor TAGLIAFICO.

AND

Don Ottavio Signor MARIO
(His First Appearance in that Character these Three Years.)
Conductor Mr. COSTA.

THE MINUET in the First Act will be Danced by M. DESPLACES and Madlle. CERITO.

Commence at Eight. Boxes, Stalls, and Pit Tickets to be
had at the Box-office of the Theatre, and of the principal
Musicians and Librarians.

ROYAL OLYMPIC THEATRE.

Lessee and Manager, Mr. ALFRED WIGAN.

Monday, and during the week, will be performed the New
and Original Comedy, called

STILL WATERS RUN DEEP;

In which Messrs. A. Wigan, Emery, G. Vining, and Miss
Maskell will appear.—Mrs. Sternhold (first time), Mrs.
Alfred Wigan.

To conclude with

THE FIRST NIGHT.

Achille Talma Despard, Mr. A. Wigan; Rose, Miss Julia
St. George.

JOHN B. GOUGH will deliver TWO ORA-
TIONS in EXETER HALL as follows:—WHIT-
MONDAY, May 28, and THURSDAY, May 31. Doors open
each Evening at Seven; Chair taken at Eight o'clock.

Tickets to the Royal Galleries, 2s. 6d. each; Front Seats
and Platform, 1s. each; Back Seats, 6d. each. To be had at
337, Strand, or at the door of the Hall.

UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE (formed

June 1, 1853), for the Total and Immediate Legisla-
tive Suppression of the Traffic in all Intoxicating Beverages.
—A PUBLIC MEETING of the Members and friends of
the Alliance will be held in EXETER HALL on WEDNES-
DAY EVENING, May 30, 1855, at Six o'clock. The Meet-
ing will be addressed by the Right Hon. the Earl of Har-
rington, K.O.B.; Alderman Sir R. W. Carden, J.P.; Law-
rence Heyworth, Esq., M.P.; Samuel Bowly, Esq., Gloucester;
Richard Hilditch, Esq., Barrister-at-Law; Samuel
Pope, Esq., Honorary Secretary, and several Noblemen and
distinguished supporters of the movement. Sir WALTER
O. TREVELLYAN, Bart., the President of the Alliance, will
preside.

Tickets of admission (free) may be obtained at the Offices
of the Alliance, 41, John Dalton-street, Manchester; at W.
Tweedie's, 337, Strand; or at 60, Bishopsgate-street Within.

SOCIETY OF PAINTERS IN WATER COLOURS.

THE FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL EXHIBI-
TION IS NOW OPEN at their Gallery, 5, PALL MALL
EAST (close to Trafalgar-square).
Admittance, 1s.; Catalogue, 6d.
JOSEPH J. JENKINS, Secretary.

GALLERY OF GERMAN ARTISTS. The
THIRD ANNUAL EXHIBITION of the WORKS
of MODERN GERMAN ARTISTS in London, is NOW
OPEN, daily, from Ten till Six. Admission, 1s. Catalogues, 6d.
Gallery, 168, New Bond-street, next door to the Clarendon.

PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION.—An Ex-
hibition of the finest English, French, and Italian
Photographs is now open at the Photographic Institution,
168, New Bond-street. Open from 10 to 5. Admission, with
catalogue, 1s.

MONTH'S LECTURES on ANCIENT and
MODERN SCULPTURE.—The FIRST of these
LECTURES, in compliance with the express desire of the
subscribers, is POSTPONED till Wednesday, May the 30th.
Tickets to be had at Messrs. P. and D. Colnaghi's, Pall-mall
East.

FITCH & SON'S CELEBRATED BREAKFAST BACON, AND FIRST-CLASS PROVISIONS.

"The City is the emporium for all good things; and the
emporium for rich and delicious bacon is FITCH & SONS,
66, Bishopsgate-street."—Vide *United Service Gazette*,
March 31st.

This celebrated Bacon has now been fifteen years before
the public, and still retains its deserved pre-eminence. It
is sold by the side, half-side, and separate pieces.

The half-side of 30lbs. 9d. per lb.
The Middle-piece, 12lbs. 9d. "

THE FINEST DESCRIPTIONS OF CHEESE,
Stilton, Cheshire, Parmesan, Somerset, North Wiltshire,
and others.

HAMS—namely, the far-famed and still unrivalled York-
shire, together with Somerset, Westphalia, and Brunswick.
OX TONGUES CURED UPON THE PREMISES, both
pickled and smoked.

Wiltshire Chaps and Chines, Anglo-German Sausages.

FITCH & SON'S HOUSEHOLD PROVISIONS.

	s.	d.
Fine rich Cheshire Cheese, by single Cheese... Per lb.	0	8
Good Sound ditto, ditto.....	0	7 1/2
Ditto Serviceable ditto, ditto.....	0	7
Fine New Salt Butter by Half Firkins.....	1	0
Very good ditto, ditto.....	10d.	0 11
Fine Small Hams.....	0	8 1/2

A remittance is requested from correspondents unknown to
the firm. Deliveries free to all the London Railway
Termini, daily, and the suburbs twice a week. A priced List
of the parts of a side of their celebrated Bacon free upon
application.

FITCH AND SON,
Provision Merchants and Importers,
No. 66, BISHOPSGATE WITHIN, LONDON.
Established 1784.

A CLEAR COMPLEXION.

GODFREY'S EXTRACT OF ELDER
FLOWERS is strongly recommended for softening,
improving, beautifying, and preserving the skin, and giving
it a blooming and charming appearance, being at once a most
fragrant perfume and delightful cosmetic. It will completely
remove tan, sunburn, redness, &c., and by its balsamic and
healing qualities render the skin soft, pliable, and free from
dryness, scurf, &c., clear it from every humour, pimple, or
eruption; and, by continuing its use only a short time, the
skin will become and continue soft and smooth, and the
complexion perfectly clear and beautiful. In the process of
shaving it is invaluable, as it annihilates every pimple, and
all roughness, and will afford great comfort if applied to the
face during the prevalence of cold easterly winds.

Sold in Bottles, price 2s. 9d., with Directions for using it
by all Medicine Vendors and Perfumers.

AMERICAN SANSAPARILLA.

OLD DR. JACOB TOWNSEND'S AMERICAN
SANSAPARILLA. This is, of all known remedies, the most
pure, safe, active, and efficacious in the purification of the
blood of all morbid matter, of bile, urea, acids, scrofulous
substances, humours of all kinds, which produce rashes,
eruptions, salt rheum, erysipelas, scald head, sore eyes and
ears, sore throat and ulcers, and sores on any part of the
body. It is unsurpassed in its action upon the liver, the
lungs, and the stomach, removing any cause of disease from
those organs, and expelling all humours from the system.
By cleansing the blood, it for ever prevents pustules, scabs,
pimples and every variety of sores on the face and breast.
It is a great tonic, and imparts strength and vigour to the
debilitated and weak, gives rest and refreshing sleep to the
nervous and restless invalid. It is a great female medicine,
and will cure more complaints peculiar to the sex than any
other remedy in the world. Warehouse, 373, Strand, ad-
joining Exeter-Hall: POMEROY, ANDREWS and CO.,
Sole Proprietors. Half-pints, 2s. 6d.; pints, 4s.; small quarts,
4s. 6d.; quarts, 7s. 6d.; mammoth, 11s.

BEAUTIFUL HAIR, WHISKERS, and

MOUSTACHIOS, are invariably produced in 2 or 3
weeks, by COUPELLE'S CELEBRATED CRINUTRIAL,
the almost marvellous powers of which in the production and
restoration of hair, strengthening weak hair, checking grey-
ness, rendering the hair luxuriant, curly and glossy, must be
soon to be believed. Dr. Uro says: "It is the only prepara-
tion he can recommend for the nursery, as forming the basis
of a good head of hair." 2s. per package, at 68, Cornhill; 14,
Edgware-road; 154, Sloane-street; Wimpoll, 78, High-street,
Birmingham; Ralmer and Co., Leith Walk, Edinburgh;
and Micklethale, York; Whitaker, Sheffield; Haigh, 110,
Briggate, Leeds; Jones, 5, Paradise-street, Liverpool;
Ferris and Co., Bristol; Westmacott, Manchester; Housleigh,
Plymouth; Evans and Co., Exeter; Campbell, Glasgow;
and through all Chemists; or sent post free for 24 penny
stamps, by Rosalie Coupelle, 60, Castle-street, Newmar-
street, Oxford-street, London.

THE "APPS" BREWERY, LITTLEHAM, BIDEFORD, NORTH DEVON.

"APPS" ALE—"APPS" PALE ALE.

The peculiar excellence of these Ales (independently of
being, as says the *Lancet* in July, 1854, "clear, sparkling,
and well brewed") is derived from the presence in the
"APPS SPRING" from which they are brewed of the finest
Saline and Tonic matter in singular combination.

The well-known Chemist, Herapath, in a letter to the
Rev. J. L. Harding (owner of the "APPS" Estate), writes as
follows:—

"Bristol, 1853:

"Sir,—I take it for granted you have received my report,
in which I have stated your SPRING to be a good brewing
water; with Tonic and other properties, &c., &c."

"WILLIAM HERAPATH, F.C.S."

The same great authority bears evidence to the purity
and excellence of the Ale:—

"Bristol, 1853.

"To the Proprietor of the 'Apps' Brewery.
"Sir,—I have examined and analysed four specimens of
your Beer of various strengths; I find them clear, sound,
and well brewed, &c., &c. I have no doubt your Beers will
become popular."

"WILLIAM HERAPATH, F.C.S."

The celebrated Dr. Uro expresses great satisfaction, and
says:—

"Having submitted to chemical examination a sample of
the 'APPS ALE,' I find it to be clear, sound, and well fer-
mented, most grateful to the taste, and supplying a whole-
some and invigorating beverage."

"London, 1855." "ANDREW URB, M.D., F.R.S."

Many other Medical Men in London have strongly recom-
mended these Ales, on account of their purity and freedom
from adulteration.

Dr. Bright writes:—

"I have examined a sample of the 'APPS ALE,' and can
with great confidence recommend it as a most wholesome
and nutritious beverage."

"London, 1855." "JAMES BRIGHT, M.D."

For particulars, apply to W. D. BRAGINTON, Esq.,
Bideford.

Accounts collected Monthly.

ADNAM'S Improved Patent Groats and Barley.

THE ONLY EXISTING PATENT.

And Strongly recommended by the Medical Profession.

TO INVALIDS, MOTHERS, AND FAMI-
LIES.—The important object so desirable to be ob-
tained has at length been secured to the Public by J. and
J. C. ADNAM, PATENTEES, who, after much time and atten-
tion, have succeeded by their Improved Process in pro-
ducing preparations of the purest and finest quality ever
manufactured from the Oat and Barley.

To enumerate the many advantages derived by the Public
from the use of the Improved Patent Groats is not the in-
tention of the Patentees; suffice it to say that, by the pro-
cess of manufacture, the acidity and unpleasant flavour so
generally complained of in other preparations is totally
obviated, and very superior Gruel speedily made therefrom.
It is particularly recommended to those of consumptive
constitutions, Ladies, and Children; and the healthy and
strong will find it an excellent Luncheon or Supper.

The Barley being prepared by a similar process is as pure
as can be manufactured, and will be found to produce a
light and nourishing Food for Infants and the Aged; and
to contain all the necessary properties for making a delicious
pudding. It has also the distinguished character for making
very superior Barley Water, and will be found a most excel-
lent ingredient for thickening Soups, &c.

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