

London High Street, 7 Wellington Street, Strand.

The Leader.

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

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News of the Week.

IN the alternations with which the electric telegraph mocks itself, the last turn of the Turkish affair is interpreted to be "pacific." The Russian Government has issued a circular note to the diplomatic representatives and agents of that Power, intended as an explanation of its actual position, but intended also, we observe by the internal evidence, to serve as a counterpoise to the appeal which the Sultan has lately made, somewhat in the same form, only less extensively. The Russian note is meant also as a reply to the statements of journals and public speakers on the subject of Russia and her intentions. The purport of this note is to explain, that Russia seeks no new authority in Turkey, but only requires that the custody of the Holy Shrines should be reserved chiefly to the Greek clergy, as it has been from old times; with this addition, that as the orders issued by the Porte, in performance of its promise to the Emperor, were not immediately obeyed in Syria, the Turkish Government should now give him some formal undertaking to fulfil its words in future; that act being required as a "reparation for the past and a guarantee for the future." The Emperor alleges that he cannot trust the bad faith of the Turk, and that some solace is due to his outraged dignity and his injured importance. It will be observed that there is nothing new in this explanation, nor in the hint it conveys that Russia might have taken advantage of the European Governments in 1848 if she had pleased, and that she may "break the knot" if she be not permitted "to untie it peaceably." The hint fails for its untruth: it has been observed that Russia could only have taken advantage of 1848 by putting herself at the head of the revolution; unless she was prepared to see the revolution overwhelm her Government as well as those of western Europe. And as to the threat of "breaking the knot," we have dealt with that in a separate paper. The strength of Russia consists wholly and solely in the forbearance of the western Governments, which abstain from using against the Absolutist powers the explosive elements that are to be found within the dominions of all tyrants.

The mode in which this note has been received by foreign Governments is not yet stated. Some writers profess to see in it a valuable overture towards more pacific negotiations. But in London it has not been so regarded; and there is no intimation that the counter preparations of France and Great Britain have been suspended. On the

contrary, the latest accounts from the Levant represent our marine forces joining those of the French in Besika Bay, while the Russian fleet was advancing from the sea of Azof. The fleet of that power in the Black Sea, we need not remind the reader, is of no very formidable kind. The army was ready to invade the principalities, and is now reported to have been detained by the floods, to which the valley of the Lower Danube is subjected at this season of the year.

The actual feeling of the Greek population in Turkey is not easily ascertained. We still have reports of symptoms favourable to Russia, but we suspect they are limited to particular places—the direct result of Russian agency. Greece probably might take that opportunity of endeavouring to extend her territory; but indeed the possible combinations that might take place in such a war cannot be calculated, especially in their minor ramifications. It is to be remarked, as a circumstance which we at least cannot regret, that Greece already has upon her hands a pretty little quarrel with the United States, about an injury to a citizen of that Republic, which does not permit its sons to be ill-treated with impunity. The policy of America in the East is distinct enough, and if she should exercise any influence or action in that quarter, we may be sure that she will be on the right side.

The latest reports from the Union lead us to expect a renewal of warlike activity on the Mexican boundary. A portion of that frontier was accidentally left in a doubtful state by the joint commissioners, and now there is a cross claim on either side, and it is said that General Pierce has determined to sustain it on the side of the Union. Our readers are well aware that there is a party in the capital of Mexico, not inconsiderable in numbers or influence, anxious to annex the Republic to the Union. It is the opposite party which has recalled Santa Anna, who is supposed to be sustained from Spain, that he may defend what is considered an outpost of Cuba. But a defensive war conducted by Santa Anna on behalf of Spain against the United States can have no other effect than to provoke a more determined action in the Union—to raise, indeed, a war which must result in the most sweeping measure of annexation that has yet been witnessed.

The exchange of civilities between our Government and that of America is not a less pleasing circumstance to us than the activity displayed in getting out land and sea forces in a state of preparation for active service. The influence of England in the approaching contest of Europe,

be it a peaceful contest of negotiations with physical force in the background, or a direct conflict of the physical kind, will depend upon the amount of strength that she can bring to the field; and her ability in promoting a sound settlement will of course depend upon the amount of her influence, and the boldness of her statesmanship. At such a time, bold alliances with bold and free countries will be the safest.

Parliament is already contracting the summery desire to finish the session, and we now see the usual symptoms that precede the close, in the reports of the papers extending probably over only two or three columns, although at the termination we learn that the Commons had sat till a very late hour. The time had been occupied in going through forms and discussing details, without that steady and elaborate debating which invites the reporters. In this way, several of the minor Government measures—those which form part of the Budget—have been pushed forward; and Mr. Gladstone is allowed to modify them almost at his pleasure. When he announces that probably he will not press the augmentation of the duty on trade licences, it is received as a boon spontaneously offered, rather than one to be expected from any action in the Opposition. When he announces that the repeal of the soap duties will not take effect before next year, the statement is received without the idea of resistance—almost without objections. The country is very prosperous just at present; the want of money is evident, not from any lavishness in the Government, or from any disastrous state of affairs, but from the increasing amount of public business, and from financial operations, which are well understood to be for the advantage of the public, and from the necessity of being prepared against emergencies in the unsettled state of the Continent. Thus, Mr. Gladstone is allowed to take what taxes he wants.

The Income-tax Bill has passed the second reading in the House of Lords, and the Committee in the same House, with a few words of criticism, but not the slightest hint at modification. The only success that the Opposition can boast is that of having spared ornamental timber from the Succession-tax. The country gentlemen are faithful to the hamadryads of their patrimonial estates, and thus the nymphs are among the few classes that now escape some form of the Income-tax.

The most copious debating has taken place on the subject of the Bill for renewing the Government of India; but here again the Opposition showed their incompetency to conduct the public

affairs of the party out of office. The object of the Indian Reformers has been to gain a couple of years' delay, adopting a Continuance Bill as a merely provisional measure. In that course they have been consistent. Their main ground is, that something like public opinion on the subject in India and England has been very recently evinced; and that to give that public opinion full justice, it is necessary to take a little more time. Mr. John Bright, Mr. Blackett, and Mr. Danby Seymour, with other leaders of the Reform Society, have sustained that course in the House of Commons.

The Earl of Derby and his party take their stand simply in opposition to the Government. Lord Derby's son, Lord Stanley, constituted a kind of medium by which the two parties might act. He had volunteered an amendment, proposing delay, which, of course, was to unite the Reform Society and the Derby Oppositionists. The Earl of Derby summoned a meeting at his own house on Wednesday, to prepare for the struggle. The meeting, however, is said to have been much smaller than others that have preceded it in the same mansion this session, and not to have been unanimous. While Lord Stanley was speaking, his own party was represented by half a dozen Members on half-deserted benches. The most respectable of the Derby-Disraeli party, such as Mr. Herries, distinctly separated themselves from the support of the amendment; and whatever success may have attended the efforts of the comparatively young party of Indian Reformers, the attempt of the Stanley section was a decided failure. The debate last night brought to the Government the distinguished support of Mr. Macaulay, and the adhesion of Lord Jocelyn—an indication of what may be expected from the independent Members.

There needs some more powerful influence to bring together these scattered elements of strength on the side of reform, and an excellent suggestion for the purpose is made by a contemporary specially devoted to Indian affairs—the *London Mail*. Reviewing the separated materials—the Reform Society, the off-lying parties, the diverse interests, the Native or Anglo-Indian Associations—the *Mail* suggests that these, still left independently working in their several spheres, might be united in their main action by an "Indian Reform League."

Looking, in effect, upon the Church as a State machine—a kind of superior police establishment—a large nest with snug places in it for a good round number of the spiritual police, some at clerk's wages—the Marquis of Blandford presents his bill on episcopal and capitular property, and its principle commands the hearty assent of Lord John Russell. But he made a wise reservation of opinion as to the details. We must make the same, not only as to details, but principle. There are two ways of looking at the principle, too. Does the Church sanction that principle? Are they aware to what depths of Erastianism this principle leads? If the State may manage the property of the Church, why may not the State absorb the property of the Church? If Parliament may take Church property to endow curates, may it not take Church property to endow schools? Admit the right of the sweeping Parliamentary control, and where will you stop? Parliament, too, is about to be reformed. We express no opinion; we only point to consequences. If the lay and low members of the Church consent to this principle, to those consequences they must submit.

The proceedings of the Election Committees are more amusing in their results than in their progress, which has been rather tedious. The two Members for Liverpool are unseated on the extent rather than the degree of the bribery. The Berwick Committee has reported the facts of the compromise between Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Forster, but whitewashing the rivals of any culpable intention on their own parts; and before the Dur-

ham Committee Mr. Coppock and Mr. Browne have explained, in the most distinct manner, how they managed to fire off petitions, and withdraw them, in concert, so that the election of some Members has been very much like a game of bowls between the two chief agents.

The strike at Stockport continues, and has extended itself to some of the neighbouring districts. The masters still hold out, on the ground that the state of their business does not permit them to make the advance required by the men, and one master is said to have given proofs to the satisfaction of his hands. If that is true, why do not the others follow his example? If they cannot raise wages, it is probable that they can contract time at any rate. If the cotton trade of some particular places is in an exceptional state, the men ought to be made to understand it. Until they do, they are quite right to persevere in their demands. On the whole, however, trade is very prosperous, and the rise continues even in places where we had supposed it to have ceased: for example, we have a report from Cornwall which announces the fact that the agricultural labourers are receiving even so much as 12s. a week;—just the sum, if we remember rightly, which was earned by labourers on the estate managed by Mr. Felix Loyd, about three years ago. So much can benevolent and intelligent managers do to anticipate the blessings of prosperity.

THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT.

THE INDIA BILL: OPPOSITION.

THE Opposition have commenced their campaign against the Government scheme. Lord STANLEY has moved the following amendment:—

"That, in the opinion of this House, further information is necessary to enable Parliament to legislate with advantage for the permanent government of India; and that, at this late period of the session, it is inexpedient to proceed with a measure which, while it disturbs existing arrangements, cannot be considered as a final settlement."

He introduced the amendment in a speech of two hours and a-half.

It is not expedient to legislate at the close of a protracted session. The House have sat since November, and it is not desirable that the session should last until the close of August. That would allow but six weeks for the discussion of this bill. In past years great questions had taken more time: the Reform Bill took six months, the repeal of the Corn Laws five months, and the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill from February to the close of the session. In 1833, this very question of India was discussed with deliberate delay. The committee was appointed in 1831, three years before the expiration of the charter (fourteen months earlier in proportion than the nomination of the committee that was appointed in the beginning of last year). It closed its sittings in 1832. The House took a year to consider the report; and the India Bill, introduced in the middle of the session of 1833, was passed the same year. Going back to 1783, the measure then carried was considered for eight months. Besides these precedents, we should delay in deference to public opinion in India; for it would be wilfully giving up a great advantage not to obtain the valuable suggestions of the 6000 or 7000 civil and military servants who had passed many years in India. It has been said that the East India Company are on their trial. But what the Government propose to do is this—having received a portion of the evidence, they interrupt the proceedings, and calls upon them now, without further investigation, to bring in their verdict. The arguments for immediate legislation are not strong. Lord Dalhousie's opinion might have been in answer to a leading question; he might simply have said: "If you have a measure ready, the sooner you legislate the better." Lord Ellenborough has stated that the present measure would produce rather than allay agitation. Against delay it has been said, that because we cannot get accurate information on the whole question, we are to dispense with information altogether; that argument is ridiculous. It is also said that there will be agitation in India. Did that mean insurrection or disturbance? If so, it is a baseless apprehension. There is not a single instance of disturbance in India while the Legislature at home was discussing a question of this kind. There is no reason for such a disturbance, considering the immense military force in India, the unwarlike habits of the people, and the want of military system and of general sympathy among the different native races. It has been urged, that if we do not legislate immediately we shall weaken British authority in India; but the Government bill itself bears

the impress of provisional legislation. And as regards actual administration, the result of suspending legislation would give increased responsibility to persons working under the Government, and increased activity in setting their house in order. Some may object to the amendment, that some legislation is necessary; but its supporters, of course, assume the passing of a Continuance Act for a limited period of time.

The Government measure contains a variety of details—some unobjectionable,—such as the addition of legislative councillors, and the appointment of a law commission. Regarding the non-renewal of the charter, it would have been better if the Government took a fixed period, and said, "That is our Indian Constitution, and good or bad, it shall have a fair trial in India." The patronage by the Company has been censured; but the men are better than the system which places a large amount of patronage in private hands, and gives the Directors an inadequate amount of remuneration. Consequently, the patronage is not exercised entirely for the public benefit—in fact, the system implies that the Directors have a large discretion in the distribution of that patronage for private purposes. The Government bill does not much reform this; for while formerly each Director had in his gift fourteen appointments (civil and military), he would under the new bill have thirteen annually. In the disposal of civil patronage the bill introduces a principle unknown here—the Chinese principle; namely, unlimited intellectual competition for all offices. The new system is an improvement; but there will be practical difficulties in carrying it out. And we are running some risks of overrunning India with over-educated mediocrity. It would be advisable to give some part of the patronage to the educational establishments of the country, and some to the Government for distribution among the sons of civil and military servants. Respecting the home government, double government may or may not be necessary; but one thing is necessary, that the required Legislative Council should be independent of the Government of the day. But the six Government nominees would be absolutely under the influence of the Minister of the day. A bye-law against canvassing for Directorships is proposed; but it only prevents canvassing by proprietors, and it will be entirely nugatory.

Many things in India require examination—the continual warlike efforts at territorial aggrandizement, the unsatisfactory state of the finances, the want of good roads and other public works, and the condition of the judicial administration.

Mr. ROBERT LOWE complained that if the House followed Lord Stanley they would be bandied backwards and forwards—first, from the main subject of debate to the propriety of debating it, and then from the propriety of debating it back to the main subject. Lord Stanley also diverged into collateral subjects beside the question at issue. Then, the amendment objects to permanent legislation without more inquiry; but Sir Charles Wood's Bill is provisional not permanent. Lord Stanley said that India was tranquil, while, in fact, from one end to another it is in a state of commotion. Thus commenting on the points of Lord Stanley's speech, and considering in detail the Government plan, Mr. Lowe spoke for some time in its praise, and with especial eulogy of the opening of the Civil Service to the public competition of men of merit.

Mr. PHINN objected to the present system in India, where the cold shade of a Company was interposed between the subjects of the Crown and the monarch of this great empire. The Government Bill is a half measure. It continues the most repulsive of all forms of government—the government of a plutocracy. The results of that government have been disastrous, as the diminution of the revenue, the delays of judicature, and the want of public works, the denial of justice to the princes of India, and the denial of employment to the people, fully prove.

Sir ROBERT INGLIS objected both to the Bill and to Lord Stanley's amendment. The Bill provokes agitation, gives too much power to the Crown, alters that system which Sir Charles Wood praised, and which had done real good. The natives under British rule are industrious, contented, and happy. Mr. H. BAILEY advocated delay. Mr. HERRIES strongly condemned the amendment; advocated instant legislation; and said he would vote for the second reading of the Bill in the hope of amending it in committee.

Mr. HUME supported Lord Stanley's amendment, and condemned the bill for its degradation of the Directors, and its non-provision of employment for the natives.

While Mr. Hume was speaking the House was crowded in every part; and Mr. Hume's rising was greeted with impatient cries for "Macaulay," whose intention of speaking was rumoured during the day.

When Mr. Hume sat down, Mr. MACAULAY rose, and commenced his speech with the words—

"I shall vote for the second reading of the bill."

The bill for India ought to make alterations, yet not be final: such a bill is the Government Bill. Many parts of this bill, considered by some important, are really unimportant. The change in the home government is not the most important point connected with India; but from most men India-house politics hide Indian politics. People who know nothing about ryotwar or zemindar, know how to ask again and again for Director's votes, for writerships, and cadetships. The double government at home has been censured; but you must have a double government, for English Ministers have gone out, and will "go out" on questions unconnected with India. You must give the Minister at the Board of Control a permanent body to advise him. Thus, you must always have divided responsibility, whether your Council is nominated by the Crown, or elected by the Directors. You cannot have a better council than the present. But, in truth, India must be governed in India, not here: while the extent of ocean and continent exists between Calcutta and London, it must be so. There are six weeks between the places. Instructions delayed so long cannot be applicable when they arrive. The business of the home government is rather to judge what is past, than to give positive instructions for the future. Such is the case at present. All the important steps of Indian government were taken in India; almost all were disapproved of. But the Directors said, "you have done wrong; but what is done is done, though it should be undone." In the education of the natives—in the abolition of the transit duties—in giving liberty of printing, in establishing a uniform coinage, the Indian authorities acted without instructions from home, and were reprimanded for their acts; yet the acts were unaltered.

The most important point of all is the character and spirit of the civil service of India. Six incompetent directors would cause less evil than one incompetent collector. A collector is the depository of great power. He has often a district as large as a province of Ireland—with a million of human beings for population. In all that district there is not a single but in which the difference between a bad and a good collector will not be felt. You may read the character of the collector in the garb of the people, in the appearance of the houses. If they have a bad, or incapable, or haughty collector in a district, the country looks desolate. The private ornaments of the women, in which the peasantry lay up their wealth, and which they greatly prize, are taken to market; they are sold. Many even overcome the fondness which the natives have for the village wherein they are born, and they rush to emigration. They emigrate by thousands, the villages are left desolate, jungle encroaches upon the ground, and wild beasts make it their retreat. But then you have a change from a bad collector to a good collector; and mark the result. The folds are cleared, the jungle removed, the tigers destroyed; you immediately witness the houses rising again, and the village population coming back. Therefore we should raise the character of the civil service, and destroy the pernicious system of patronage that has prevailed and will prevail without some alteration. "Every steamer that comes from the Red Sea will bring some adventurer, who will be the bearer of some letter from some powerful quarter, all pressing for employment; and thus on these persons, so recommended, the Governor-General will have it in his power to distribute residences, seats at the revenue board, places of four, five, and six thousand a year. Men like these, without the least knowledge of the character of the natives, without any more acquaintance with the language than is sufficient to call for another bottle of pale ale, or to tell the servant to pull the punkah faster, will be sent to great situations at Gwalior, at Katmandoo, or to be the ruler of Mysore, which is not inferior to Scotland in extent, and the whole population of which will be made subject to his absolute power. In what way will you check them? Will you, the House of Commons, check them? Have you been so wonderfully, so completely successful in extirpating nepotism and jobbing at your own door? Have you removed such abuses even in Whitehall and Somerset House that you feel confident you can establish that purity in countries the very situation of which you do not know, the very names of which you cannot pronounce? (Cheers.) This is what you are called on to undertake. I believe firmly this House, instead of preserving India from that taint, will very soon be tainted. I believe before very long when a son or brother, for example, of some active member of this House is sent to Calcutta, carrying with him some strong letter of recommendation, that letter will merely be a bill of exchange drawn on the revenues of India, for value received in parliamentary support in this House."

To prevent these things, the Civil Service must be "close." It should consist entirely of picked men, of superior men, taken from the youth of England. It is proposed now to establish competition for offices; let us give it a fair trial. Lord Stanley's approval of that principle might have been expected from a young man of his spirit, ability, and recent experience of academical competition; but Lord Ellenborough's objection too is surprising. He seems to think that a man distinguished in academical competition, must be a pedant and unfit for the contests of active life. "But take the Oxford calendar, look at the first class men, and compare them with an equal number of third class men, and see who obtains the success in future life. But our whole history is full of such instances, since the beginning of parliamentary government. From Montague and St. John to Canning and Peel—and I need not stop there to Lord Derby and my right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer—(Cheers)—and has it not always been the case that men who had been first in the competition at school, stand first in the competition of future life. Look at the first men in India itself. Was not Warren Hastings the first

man at Westminster, and Melcalfe the ablest civil servant in India the first at Eton? The most brilliant and remarkable man at Eton, the best man in the aristocracy sent to India, Lord Wellesley, was also most distinguished at Oxford." Even Lord Ellenborough himself won a prize at Cambridge for a poem of very Horatian spirit and versification. The most eminent judges of the land have won the highest honours in College. It cannot have been accident that these men kept the start which they began in life. Then are we justified in refusing to India the advantage of such a test?

"I am aware many very able and judicious men, who are strongly of opinion, as strongly as myself, that it is important there should be an intellectual test for the admission of candidates to the Indian service, are yet of opinion that this ought to be managed, not by competition, but by having an examination of a high standard, and rejecting every one who cannot reach it. All my experience and observation leads me to believe this is a complete mistake. I have known that when a public servant is under the painful necessity of pronouncing a young man, on his examination, unfit for the public service, the young man declares that he will exert himself—that there is nothing he will not do to give satisfaction; the father comes with tears in his eyes; the mother writes most pathetic and heart-breaking letters; and I have seen men often yield to solicitations of the kind. Under the system of competition, a parent cannot say 'the other boy beat my son, but please say my son beat the other boy'; and in that way the system of competition keeps the standard high, while the other system tends constantly to bring it lower and lower."

You want superior men for India. There is not one of the 800 whom you appoint to whom may not be entrusted the happiness of millions of human beings. Look, for instance, at the judicial service. That is the weak point of Indian administration. All the evidence that we have before us shows that, though there are undoubtedly many able men in the judicial department, yet that in general to that department all the men who are deficient in ability and in energy have been sent. I do not blame the Indian Government for having taken this course, for, shocking as it may sound in the ears of Englishmen to say that the collection of taxes is of more importance than the administration of justice, yet, practically, the happiness of India depends far more on the abilities of a collector than on the abilities of a judge. What is the remedy for all this? Surely not, as has been proposed by one honourable gentleman, to strengthen the judicial department at the expense of the revenue department. Surely not, as was proposed by another honourable member, to pour out upon India scores of barristers from the back rows of the Queen's Bench. The real remedy is to raise the general standard of the service, and to take such measures as that it shall be in the highest degree improbable that any man who is really incapable—who is decidedly below par—should find his way into the service at all. One word more. It seems to me that this plan will afford the very best means that can be imagined for effecting an object of which much has been said, which I have frequently desired—I mean the admission of the natives of India to a share in the higher orders of the civil service. (Cheers.) Legally they are eligible for these offices; practically none have been admitted. It is my belief that there is not at the present moment in India one individual whom it would have been a kindness to the native population to place in the civil service. I can conceive nothing more important to the people of India than to put natives, properly qualified, into the civil service; but what becomes of the advantage, if the native, because he is a native, is to be looked down upon by all his European colleagues? But of all things I can conceive nothing more injudicious than what is suggested by the hon. member for Montrose, that before we have admitted any natives to the civil service at all, before a native has acted even as an assistant-collector or an assistant-judge, we should take some native and make him a member of the council. Under the system now proposed by the Government, it will depend on the natives themselves, and on them alone, at what time they shall enter into the civil service. As soon as any young native of distinguished parts shall, by the cultivation of English literature, have enabled himself to become victorious in the competition with European candidates, he will then, in the most honourable manner, as a matter of right, and not as an eleemosynary donation, obtain access to the civil service. (Cheers.) Then it will be impossible for his European fellows to look down upon him; he will enter on the service on equal terms with them, in the best and most honourable manner; and in this way, and this way alone, can the object be attained in a manner perfectly satisfactory. Lord Ellenborough has expressed the opinion that by encouraging the natives to the study of the arts and the literature of Europe, we are preparing the way for the utter destruction of our rule in India. This is rather a singular inconsistency. How is it that the noble lord should think so slightly of classical education when given to Europeans, and should anticipate such different effects from it when given to Hindoos? He says that classical education given to an Englishman makes him a twaddler, and unfit for active life; but give it to the Hindoos, and such is its stimulating effect, that the power of Great Britain in that country, backed by an army of 200,000 men, will crumble into dust before their rising energies. I really cannot explain how it is that knowledge, which is power in one race, should be absolute impotence in another. I can only say for myself, that I entirely concur in the opinion that we ought not to seek to secure or prolong our dominion by attempting to exclude the natives of that country from a share in its government, or by attempting to discourage them from entering into competition with Europeans for the prizes of literature and knowledge. And I never will consent to keep them ignorant in order to keep them manageable, or to govern them in ignorance in order to govern them long. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. BLACKETT declared himself opposed to a double

government, as a despotism without its power and energy, and as having all the feebleness and vacillation of the representative system, without the redeeming spirit of popular government. The changes proposed in this obnoxious system were ineffective, for one reason, among others, that they imposed no check upon the Board of Control, and did not provide for the position of India being brought periodically before Parliament.

Lord JOCELYN supported the second reading of the bill, because he was in favour of immediate legislation. He hoped, however, that its objectionable qualities would be remedied in committee.

Mr. OTWAY supported the amendment, on the ground that the claims of India had not been sufficiently investigated, and that the bill was altogether inefficient to meet the evils already ascertained, which he described in vigorous and indignant terms.

Mr. ADDERLEY gave his support to the amendment, and suggested that some words might be added with advantage, by which a continuance bill might be included in its objects.

Mr. MANGLES broke a silence which he said he had preserved for twelve years, and placed the House in possession of his views upon the subject of India. These were, in effect, that he approved of a double government, and of the existing system generally, as modified by the bill, to which he gave his cordial support.

On the motion of Mr. F. VILLIERS, the debate was then adjourned.

INSPECTION OF NUNNERIES.

The bill "for the recovery of personal liberty in certain cases," was discussed on Wednesday at a morning sitting.

The second reading of the bill was moved by Sir ROBERT INGLIS, who guarded himself against saying a single word of acrimony on the subject of the Catholic Church, confining himself merely to saying that abuses might possibly exist in religious establishments which might call for the intervention of the law. Among the 3000 inhabitants of religious houses, there might be many who pine to return to the world they have renounced—not for its sins, and vanities, and allurements, but for those kindly domestic affections blighted in their confinement. A writ of *habeas corpus* did not meet those cases, for that required the personal assurance that the particular individual required to be released was unwarrantably retained in confinement, or the statement that the party applying for the writ believed that the party confined was confined against their will. But communication to obtain this knowledge was, in the case of nuns, physically impossible. Under the proposed bill, a writ would be issued, the nun would be brought before a judge, and would be asked whether she remained in the convent of her own free will. If she replied in the affirmative, she would be allowed to return at once; but if only one in one hundred wished to be released, there were grounds for the interference of the law. The removal of nuns from one convent to another was also an evil to be prevented.

The Opposition to the bill took the shape of an amendment put forward by the Liberal-Conservative party, as an evasion of the question at issue. It was in the form of an amendment referring the bill and the consideration of its necessity to a select committee. Mr. PHINN moved this amendment, in a speech expressing much objection to the animus of the proposed bill. "It begins," said he, "with a false recital, and terminates with a provision which must be considered destructive of the first principle of the English law,—namely, that 'every man's house is his castle.'" The writ of *habeas corpus* was not surrounded with the difficulties stated by Sir Robert Inglis; the writ could be issued on the court being informed by the person in confinement, or—mark the words—by "any person on his behalf"—that he or she was improperly detained. Why, if this were not the case, Government might plunge a man into a dungeon and detain him there against his will, because none of his friends could communicate with him. The institution of the Sisters of Mercy at Devonport was, in fact, much more obnoxious to the public than any Roman Catholic establishment, and this bill was a dexterous move to divert attention from the treachery within the Church. It was not likely that nuns in a convent would keep among them an unwilling inmate—a continual sore to them—a disagreeable member of a limited community. Then arose the question—was it desirable that some restriction should be imposed on the acquirement of property by the inmates of such establishments? He was inclined to say that when they had a person taking the conventual vow at an early age, and when that vow involved the transfer of the property of such person to the institution, the House was entitled to ask that some such protection should be cast round such a person on entering a convent as was cast round

married women when they had to alienate property to their husbands, under the act for taking the acknowledgment of deeds by married women. But the present bill was unconstitutional. It gave power to the commissioners ("having reasonable ground to suppose that any female is detained in any house against her will") to enter the house forcibly, and examine all the inmates separately or otherwise.

This was arming the Government with a weapon which might be used with potent effect against the liberties of every individual in this country. The parties to be made the subject of this bill were not to have the protection which attached in such cases to a statement made on oath before a judge. Any gabbling old woman—any person who detailed the merest gossip of the village—might make a statement to this political officer that there was reason to believe that a woman was confined in a convent against her will. Let the House fancy such a bill in operation when the recent "No Popery" cry was raised throughout the country. Why, every nunnery in the land would have been ransacked, and feelings of rancour, animosity, and hostility to the Government would have been excited among the people which it would have taken years and years to allay.

Some steps might be taken to secure that nuns should not alienate their property under undue influence.

All vows should be forbidden under the age of twenty-one; secondly, there should be some restriction with respect to the alienation of property by a person in a convent; thirdly, a provision should be made by which anybody taking the vows might name two persons of her own family, or her own connexions, who should be allowed access to her at proper and stated periods, under penalties for any improper use they might make of such a right.

Mr. PHINN then quoted what the Bishop of Rochester had said fifty-three years ago on a similar bill:—

"Now, my lords," said the right reverend prelate, "if any ten or twenty, or a larger number of these ladies, should choose to take a large house where they may live together as they have been used to do all their lives, and lead their lives according to their old habits—getting up in the morning and retiring at night at stated hours; dining upon fish on some days of the week, upon eggs on others—I profess I can discover no crime, no harm, no danger in all this; and I cannot imagine why we should be anxious to prevent it. My lords, I say it would be great cruelty to attempt to prevent it; for these women could find no comfort in any society but their own, nor in any other way of life. They cannot mix with the lower order of the people; they are ladies well born (many of them, indeed, of high extraction), and of cultivated minds, and yet they are not prepared to mix in the polite circles. Enamoured by long habit of the quiet and solitude of their cells, absorbed in the pleasure of what they call the interior life, these women would have no relish for the exterior life of fashionable ladies. My lords, it would be a martyrdom to these retired, sober women, to be compelled to lay aside the cowl and simple habit of their order, to besmear their cheeks with vermilion, and plaster their throats with litharge, to clap upon their heads an ugly lump of manufactured hair, in shape and colour as different as possible from the natural covering; and then, with elbows bare to the shoulder, to sally forth to the pleasures of the midnight rout, to distribute the cards at loo, or, soaring to sublimer joys, to rattle the dice-box at the games of hazard. Exquisite, ravishing as these delights must be confessed to be, these stupid women, my lords, have not that taste. My lords, being put to my shifts, as I mentioned at the beginning, to discover what the friends of this bill would say for it, I have hearkened very much to the *pro* and *con* about it out in company. One thing I have heard urged in favour of the bill is this, that the Roman Catholics very much dislike it; they dislike it—*ergo*, it must be a most delectable bill! A very pleasant argument, my lords. Nothing could be more opposed to the general interests of Christianity—nothing more opposite to the interests of the Protestant religion—than any measure that might conduce, as the passing of this act would conduce, to a revival of the rancour between Protestants and Roman Catholics, which I flatter myself is dying away, if we can but persuade ourselves to let what is well alone."

Mr. PHINN added, in conclusion: "And I am ready to bear my earnest tribute of admiration for the simplicity and innocency of life of ladies in conventual establishments, and for the works of education, charity, and mercy by which they have always been distinguished; and I am convinced, if any improper restrictions had been imposed on their liberty, that the fathers and brothers of those ladies would have been the foremost to come forward and denounce it, and to do their utmost to subvert and destroy the whole system."

Mr. ISAAC BUTT supported Mr. PHINN in a spirited speech. "If you wish to deal with nunneries," said he, "deal with them openly; and do not, because you wish to repress Roman-catholic convents—do not establish a Protestant inquisition."

He might be told that vows were taken by persons in those establishments that left them no longer the liberty of acting as free agents. If that was an evil, neither the writ of habeas corpus, nor this bill, could remedy it; because he knew there had been instances in which fathers themselves had applied for writs of habeas corpus to bring up their daughters; and when—those writs having been granted—those daughters were brought before the judge, they stated their wish to return to the custody from whence they had come. The judge in such a case had no alternative but to accede to that wish. When, therefore,

under such a bill as this they had violated the sanctity of houses under the powers of a writ of habeas corpus, and a lady who was brought from the convent of her community told the judge she was willing to return thither—their legislation was but a mockery, while such a useless ceremony only insulted her feelings.

Mr. FAGAN (as an Irish Roman Catholic member) stated the rules and conditions of conventual life. There was a standing rule in conventual establishments that a discontented nun might be dismissed, and Dr. Ullathorne, who was more intimately acquainted with the subject than any other man, in an admirable pamphlet just published by him, had stated that in all his experience he had never known of but one case of dismissal of a discontented nun, and that was in a case where all the other nuns, as well as the whole establishment, were actually dependent upon the fortune which the dismissed lady brought with her into the convent. But a discontented nun was scarcely possible, admission was so guarded. The postulant for admission should, after going through her noviciate, be balloted for by the nuns, and one-third of the votes would exclude her.

Mr. NAPIER approved of the reference of the bill to a select committee, and mentioned several cases in which nuns had been unduly influenced to dispose of their property.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL spoke directly against the bill. Referring to the provision of visitation he said:—

"I ask, where is the safety of our houses after such a provision? I speak not now of convents, or of detention in convents; but, I say, what oppression may be exercised if a commissioner named by the Lord Chancellor—and we know not what Lord Chancellor we may have, is to be empowered, and even required, to break into any house in which he has—not on any affidavit, not on the testimony of any witnesses examined on oath—but on what in his own mind he considers reasonable ground to suppose that a female is detained against her will. I have no doubt that, putting aside altogether this question of convents, there are at the present moment, and indeed at all times in this country, some houses—private houses—where there may be persons who, others might say, were detained against their will. But at no time has the Legislature thought fit to set aside that general rule of law, that sacred part of the constitution which protects the private houses of Englishmen, and which is embodied in the common phrase that every Englishman's house is his castle. To endeavour to provide, as is proposed by this bill, for these chance or accidental cases, would be, by way of endeavouring to secure the liberty of the subject, to set up a tyranny. I, therefore, could have no hesitation in voting against the second reading of this bill. I believe that during my time cases of abuses, both in prisons and elsewhere, have been discovered; but I cannot tax my memory with the recollection of any case where the alleged or proved cause of a person's being detained against his will, was the insufficiency of the Habeas Corpus Act for the protection of the liberty of the subject. I am, therefore, still for remaining under the protection of that act. It was framed by the wisdom and skill of one of the greatest men who ever took part in the administration of the law, or in the legislation of this country, and it was assented to by the Parliament of Charles II., in order to the protection of the liberty of the subject. No doubt in subsequent times amendments have been made in some small particulars, but the great provisions of that act have remained to posterity, and every writer on this subject has done justice both to the skill of the person who framed it, and the patriotism of the Parliament who enacted it."

Referring to the vows taken by persons in convents, Lord John said:—

"The honourable and learned member says that these vows are against civil liberty, and his argument goes, in fact, in favour of a provision by law the reverse of that which is contained in the Roman Catholic Relief Act—namely, that in future these conventual establishments and the taking of vows should be forbidden by the law of this country. I have frequently conversed on this subject with Lord Chancellor Cottenham, and have asked him what was the law in this country, and he always affirmed that, when a person was of full age there was no law which would prevent him binding himself to give his labour for three, five, or even for thirty or forty years."

But Mr. PHINN has introduced a second proposition:—

"He has raised the question of the propriety of having a select committee to consider whether any regulations are necessary for the prevention of the exercise of undue influence in procuring the alienation of property. Now, I beg to submit, that that is a totally different question from the one which is raised by this bill, and that it is one which is complicated with various other questions in regard to the general policy of the law with respect to the disposition of property, and to the liberty left to every person in the disposition of that property. It is a very fitting question for the consideration of this House; and if the Government or any individual member of this House thinks the present state of the law deficient, it would be quite open to them to propose any amendment of that law; but in that amendment let them deal with this case of convents along with other property in this country. I do not see that this case should be provided for differently from others. If undue influence is anywhere exercised over individuals in the disposal of their property, let all the cases be treated alike, according to the best law you can make upon the subject."

He said, in conclusion:—

"I shall vote for taking the question, as the words now stand—for or against the second reading of this bill. I

think it would be both fair and wise for the House to take that question simply as a question in itself. And if we come to the second reading of this bill—if the question is proposed in that plain manner to the House, whether this bill shall or shall not be read a second time—I shall cheerfully vote that it shall be postponed to this day six months; considering, as I do, that this bill, intending and pretending to suit the particular case of nuns in Roman-catholic convents, is not founded on any proved circumstances; that it begins with a preamble which is not justified by fact, and goes on to provide enactments which I believe, so far from being favourable to civil liberty, are hostile to civil liberty; and that while it is hostile to the civil liberty of the whole community, Protestants as well as Catholics—to persons, in short, of every religious community—it would be in its effects most offensive to the Roman-catholic community; that while it is not sufficient to remedy any existing evil, it would tend to exasperate the feelings of those who are in these houses, and who have devoted themselves to a religious life from motives of religion and piety. (Cheers.)

Mr. GEORGE HENRY MOORE made an epigrammatic speech against the bill.

The very title of the bill was a prevarication. Its first reading had been obtained by pettifoggery fraud; and it had been set forth, argued, and agitated for with an amount of insincerity and dishonest seeming which the measureless hypocrisy of this pharisee of nations could alone have supplied. It was extraordinary that, while on other questions the English were the most scrupulously truthful people in the world, they appeared on the single subject of religion to be wholly reckless as to the truth or falsehood of their assertions. Nothing could be lower than the standard of morality of religious journalism; nor did men care what they said of each other in social life upon religious matters. England was just now in one of those bursts of Protestant insanity which had periodically marked her history from the time of the Reformation, and which closely resembled the fits of phrenzy to which naturalists stated that the grave and sagacious elephant was subject. What was the case for this bill? Although English witnesses had not scrupled to commit perjury against their Catholic fellow-subjects, nor English juries to protect the perjurers; although English clergymen had not scrupled to circulate libels, nor English bishops to promote them for it; although out of doors the whole people were leagued against the honour of defenceless women, still no case had been made out which would suffice, in legal parlance, to hang a cat; nor had the opponents of these institutions succeeded in producing a bill which was not discreditable to the reputation of the honourable gentleman who drew it, and inconsistent with the clearest principles of constitutional law. The case of the opponents of this bill was, that a whole people, all whose sons were brave, and all whose daughters were virtuous, regarded this solicitude for their welfare as hypocrisy, and the professed protection as little less than persecution.

Mr. WARNER supported the bill. Mr. HENCHY opposed it. Mr. ROUNDELL PALMER condemned the bill as inquisitorial, but supported the amendment, arguing for the necessity of inquiry. Mr. T. CHAMBERS replied, resting his case not upon facts, in a narrow sense—not on a single instance picked up here, and a single instance picked up there, to which argument there was the plain answer that they were only single instances and exceptions to the general rule—but he rested it upon the general result of all the literature of the Church which established convents, and upon all codes, canons, ordinances, and decrees of councils, emperors, legislators, and statesmen who had been living in the land where convents were established. But he had no objection to inquiry, and was willing to accept the amendment. Sir GEORGE GREY said, he should vote against the bill and against the amendment. Sir JOHN PAKINGTON, "speaking for a vast number of gentlemen on his side of the House," said he should vote against the bill for the purpose of voting for the amendment.

The House grew impatient as six o'clock approached, and all the speakers in the latter end of the debate were interrupted by loud cries of "Divide." At a quarter before six o'clock the House divided on the question that the bill be read a second time, when there appeared, Ayes, 178; Noes, 207. Majority against the second reading, 29. Before the House could divide on the amendment the clock struck six, and that being the fixed hour of adjournment on Wednesday, the House adjourned.—The consideration of the amendment is therefore indefinitely postponed.

SUCCESSION DUTY.

The Opposition have continued this week to contest the Succession Bill point by point. Sir FITZROY KELLY pointed out that a man living but five years after his succession to property, would pay as much as a man living twenty years, and that therefore, in justice, the tax should be made an annual tax—not one payable in the first five years. Mr. GLADSTONE replied: "The inequalities of life may be a good or a bad arrangement, but it does not depend upon the House to settle that matter." As to the proposal, it would break up the present scheme of legacy and probate duties, impose on those who have already paid them this new commutation, and in its extension to personality, be nothing but an added property-tax. This reply disposed of the objection, which was not supported by the Opposition generally.

Some conversation arose as to the succession tax upon "ornamental" timber. Some members objected to the imposition, and complained of the difficulty of deciding what was ornamental timber. Sir JOHN TROLLOPE moved the omission of the latter part of the clause, with the view of excluding "growing" timber from the operation of the tax. Mr. GLADSTONE insisted that timber was now a merchantable commodity, and a certain source of income on many estates. Several Liberal members intimated their objections to the proposed manner of taxing timber, and advised the withdrawal of the clause. But Mr. Gladstone pressed the clause; even where timber was not merchantable, it was a sign of wealth, of luxury, of grandeur, and therefore should be taxed. But to meet the objections that had been made, the SOLICITOR-GENERAL suggested an alteration of the clause, to the effect that the tax should be levied only on the money actually received on the sale of timber and trees. The Opposition would not accede to this suggestion, and divided on Sir John Trollope's amendment. There appeared for the amendment, 153; against it, 150. Majority against the Government, 3.

A desultory discussion then arose, the only point of interest being a statement by Mr. COBDEN on the general question of taxing ornamental timber.

Why was ornamental timber kept, but for the purpose of luxury and enjoyment? Did not the possession of a park add as much to the dignity and importance of the owner as the possession of a mansion? And if honourable gentlemen advocated the remission in the case of ornamental timber, why not in the case of pictures and the plateaux on their sideboards? He would lay down this proposition, that anything which could be brought into the Encumbered Estates Court and sold, was fairly liable to taxation under this bill. He might be told that ornamental timber was not an article of merchandize. Why was it kept and not cut for sale, but because the proprietor preferred to enjoy the ornament and luxury rather than convert it to purposes of utility by selling it? It argued great wealth for any one to be able to keep so large an amount for luxury and enjoyment. It was unwise to raise discussion on this topic, and by fastening on the miserable article of timber, to revive the whole question of protection to the landed interest and agitation between town and country.

The further consideration of the question is postponed.

INCOME-TAX.

The Income-tax Bill is now being passed through the Lords. Lord ABERDEEN explained the details of the bill, and the bearings of the late financial alterations. In referring to Mr. Gladstone, he spoke of his renewal of an income-tax which made no difference between precarious and permanent incomes, as "a signal triumph of reasoning over strong convictions."

The Earl of DERBY made some remarks, not to oppose a tax he believed necessary, but to state objections to some statements made by Lord Aberdeen. The success of the Income-tax he would attribute to the imposition of a further tax upon real property, rather than to the arguments of Mr. Gladstone, whose great ability and powers of debate he admitted. As to the future, if Ministers adhere to the system of reducing taxation as our expenditure is reduced, they will not have one shilling to enable them to dispense with the Income-tax. But that tax was inevitable; neither Lord Aberdeen nor himself would live to see the end of it.

Lord BROUGHAM admitted the unjust inequalities of the tax, but it had been found impossible to adjust them. Lord Melbourne had said of this tax, "I am aware of the hardship and pressure it brings upon every class, and in my view that is its great recommendation, for no property escapes, and every one is compelled to pay it." There were only three taxes worse than this tax: a tax on the food of the people, a tax on the knowledge of the people, and a tax on law proceedings. Still, the state of the finances of the country rendered it necessary.

Lord CLANRICARDE, believing the tax would be permanent, characterised it as a dangerous source of revenue, and objected to its extension to Ireland.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE re-asserted that it was the present intention of the Government to have the tax cease in 1860. For the tax was objectionable as a permanent source of revenue, being a tax not only on the pockets, but on the feelings of the people. But should war come, this tax would be "a giant," ready to be appropriated to the national defence and national honour.

CHURCH PROPERTY.

The Marquis of BLANDFORD has obtained leave to bring in a bill for the better management of episcopal and capitular property. He referred to ancient and to recent legislation on the subject, to show that the House by custom and by right was competent to legislate on church matters. From the year 1818, a variety of acts had been passed relating to the building of

churches, the sub-division of parishes, non-residence and plurality, and the obtainment in various ways of funds to supply the spiritual wants of the country. The present state of the Church calls for remedial legislation. There are many Church endowments which do not exceed 13l. a year, and in others there was no endowment at all.

The result was that the clergyman was drawn away from the discharge of his proper duties to attend to pew-renters from other parishes. In other cases, owing to the formation of railways, the wealthy residents had left the district, and the minister was left without the assistance of those who had wealth to bestow upon the support of his church. In many instances, the churches had fallen into decay for want of timely repairs. Great difficulties had also arisen from the existing laws relating to church rates which were collected for the mother church over the whole district. One incumbent wrote that he was the curate of a district with such a scattered population that a horse was necessary to enable him to visit every portion of it. He lived two miles from the nearest place where he could purchase the necessaries of life, and his salary was 36l. a year. The rector, it was true, allowed him 55l. a year extra, but he was not bound to do so. Another incumbent wrote that his church yielded 120l. a year, out of which he was responsible for the whole of the expenses of divine worship. He complained too that he was not allowed to take surplice fees. Another laboured for some time in a district, but he was obliged to gradually sink 500l. of his own property, and then he gave it up. There was so much difficulty in finding men for these small livings, that the patrons were obliged to appoint the first applicant; whether fit or not, in order to prevent lapses. There were no fewer than 4000 benefices whose income did not amount to 150l. per annum, and there were many incumbents of long standing and laborious lives whose income did not exceed 90l. a year, and who were obliged to take pupils, to write for periodicals, to engage themselves as lecturers in neighbouring parishes, or to become the agents of religious societies in order to procure food and raiment for themselves and families.

Regarding the want of churches, there were 580 places with populations exceeding 3000, where new churches are required.

The ways and means of meeting these wants were then stated. The total value of the church leases (episcopal and capitular) was 961,697l. But by the enfranchisement of leases the Church parts with one half its property yearly: thus, 480,000l. would be available. Adding to this sums from other sources, there would be a total of 700,775l. a year. The total charge on this fund for the dignitaries of the church would be 363,750l. a year, leaving a surplus of 337,026l. (This surplus was likely to be increased to 445,968l. by the gradual increase of church leasehold property.) His proposal then was to transfer the entire management of the episcopal and capitular property into the hands of the Estates Commissioners, and to invest them with legal control over the property, for the purposes of management only, making them the lawful receivers of the rents and profits, with some exceptions. Estates might be assigned to each see, sufficient to yield its annual income, and a separate account will be kept of the property of each corporation. The fee of the property will rest with the bishops and chapters, but the commissioners will act as their agents, and give each a fixed income. The commissioners will then apply the surplus to the endowment with 150l. a year each of 1670 churches in England—namely, 877 already erected under the Church Building Acts, 233 churches in the "Peel" districts, and 560 new churches in districts now unprovided—besides applying 100,467l. in furtherance of the aid given in 1836 in the augmentation of benefices.

General approval of the object of the bill was expressed in the conversation which ensued. Lord JOHN RUSSELL agreed to its introduction, and deferred consideration of it to another opportunity. Mr. HUME expressed his great satisfaction with it, but thought one half of the capitular revenue should be applied, as of old, to education. Other minor members expressed their approval, and leave was given to bring in the bill.

JAMAICA.—Lord JOHN RUSSELL intimated, with regard to the present contention between the Legislature and the Governor of Jamaica, that "a plan affecting the financial power of the House of Assembly" would be carried out as a remedy for the misunderstanding. He will make a statement in a week or ten days.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.—This prelate has defended himself in the Lords against charges of malversation and covetousness made in the *Times*. He attributed the increase in the revenue of his sees to the varied results naturally arising from small farms, to his own better management of the property, to the profits from which he had a right. He stated, in conclusion, that he had not saved a single shilling from his episcopal revenues.

THE MONSIEUR CORRESPONDENCE.—Lord CARDIGAN commented upon these letters, and also upon the non-prosecution of Irish priests. A conversation ensued, which was merely a repetition of the statements already made in Parliament on the question.

GREECE AND TURKEY: DISPUTES.—Respecting the disputes between Greece and Turkey and the reported arbitration of the British Government, Lord JOHN RUSSELL said: "There has been no arbitration on the subject. The Turkish Government having expressed an intention to send a force to occupy certain villages which they alleged belonged to Turkey, the Greek Government disputed this claim, and intimated their intention to send a force, and, in fact, did despatch a force, to the frontier, to resist the attempt of the Turkish Government, and to prevent them from taking possession of the villages. The representative of the English Government, in conjunction

with the representatives of other powers at Constantinople, suggested that no further steps should be taken until the question should be considered. The question has been considered by the representatives of Great Britain, France, and Russia, and they have come to the opinion that, according to the settlement of the boundary in 1832, those villages belong to Turkey. That opinion was intimated to the Greek Government, and I am not aware that any further steps were taken."

TRADE LICENSES.—In stating the position of the financial measures now before the House, Mr. GLADSTONE intimated the intentions of the Government regarding the licenses. He said: "Upon an examination of the circumstances attending the probable operation of the scale that was originally proposed, it was soon obvious that great inconvenience, and even in particular cases what might be called oppression, would be caused by putting it in force. I therefore made it my business to consider how that scale could be revised, and in what shape it could be put so as to operate in a manner free from those objections. But the effect of that was materially to reduce the proceeds of any such scale, and in some degree to raise the question whether, supposing we were in a position to dispense with the money we expected to derive from it, it would be desirable to stir the subject at all now, or whether it would not be more expedient on the whole to let the matter stand over until it could be considered in connexion with that which is the great and capital item in our licensing system, the publicans' licenses, and all the family of licenses that belong to that class. The way in which the matter now stands is this. It is impossible, until I know the decision of the house with regard to several questions that are pending, and with regard to which notices have been given by honourable gentlemen, which would affect the Exchequer, that I should give any absolute pledge on the subject of licenses. The Government have not, therefore, come to any absolute decision on that subject; but I think I may venture to say that, provided that no other inroad is made on the funds available for the public service, it may be in our power to dispense altogether from making any proposal with regard to licenses, and that in that case no proposal will be made."

EXCISE DUTIES ON SPIRITS.—This bill has passed. In the last stage the Irish members divided against it, but were defeated by a majority of 121 to 41.

THE QUEEN AND THE ARMY.

THE troops at Chobham were marshalled before the Queen and 100,000 of the people on Tuesday.

From an early hour the Common showed stirring signs of preparation. Excursionists trooped in by the Chertsey road; ladies on horseback, and gentlemen attendants, rustic pedestrians of all sorts and conditions, jaunting vehicles from London or the railway-station, hack cabs of every rank, and "jolly" drivers rejoicing in easy extortion. These sprinkled themselves about the camp, and were admitted readily within the lines. There around their tents were the men in diverse attitudes and occupations: some making the usual camp *toilette* in the pools at the rear of the tent—the not very clear water serving as a mirror; the tall fellows of the foot guards standing, like "trooper George," with well-carried height and expanded breast, chatting with steady jocularly, or chanting in lusty chorus some favourite song. Here a party busily polished cuirasses; here a belated private hurriedly pipeclayed his belt. Officers in full uniform dashed across the field and through the lines of the camp; the crowds thickened around the headquarters and the flag-staff; and the men turned out for the daily parade, each regiment in front of its quarters. The day was clouded in the morning, but before eleven, the sky cleared up, and lighted the spectacle of white tents, faced by scarlet "walls" of steady men, relieved by the dark rifle-uniform, or chequered by the garb of the Highlanders and the accoutrements of the light horse. The private carriages as they arrived were ranged in a long semi-circle overlooking the field, and the crowds of people on foot occupied every rising ground—marking, in black masses or scattered specks, the rising points of the ground. At eleven, the hum of expectation ran along the crowd. The Life Guards turned out in an avenue of horsemen, the Grenadiers formed in front of the Pavilion, the Royal Standard fluttered up the flagstaff, the sharp rattle of musketry echoed along the line, the deeper roll of the Artillery succeeded—and from the encampment ridge all eyes were turned to the opposite point, where the road from Portmell leads into the centre of the Common. In a few minutes, the Queen, in a blue habit and plumed hat, riding a black charger, rode up at full gallop; the guns thundered again, and the people still more loudly cheered. Her Majesty was dressed in a style suitable and handsome: a closely-fitting basque jacket, and riding-habit of dark blue cloth, a black low hat, with a plume of white-red feathers flowing along the brim, completed her attire. On her breast glittered a gold *aiguillette*, and a brilliant star and garter. Close by the Queen was the King of Hanover, sitting erect, and close over his eyes the tall bearskin of the Hanoverian Guards; and on the other side, was Field Marshal Prince Albert, on a bay charger. The Countess of Desart, on a "bonnie gray," attended on the Queen, and next came the Dukes of Saxo Coburg and Mecklenburgh-Strolitz, their white uniforms and silver helmets glis-

tening in the sun. This brilliant party passed along the line of arrayed soldiers, long drawn out—the saluting and lively motion of presented arms, and the successive music of many bands announcing their procession. The Queen, it was noticed, “saluted each regiment with military precision.” Having thus moved along the long and horseshoe line of the encampment, the royal party turned the camp and took up a position commanding a view of the “review ground.” Before the Queen lay a broad and shallow valley. To the right, was Flutter’s-hill—its top crowned with immense dark masses of spectators—sloping gently down to the valley. At the foot of the slopes the ground was uneven and marshy, cut up in ditches, and broken by turf walls. To the left of the valley rose a high and somewhat abrupt knoll—(behind this, on a lower site, stretched the encampment, now deserted); under the brow of this knoll, the attacking portion of the combatants ranged themselves in long array—the three brigades forming three continuous open columns. The Guards were on the left, the second Brigade next it, the first Brigade on the right of that again, the Cavalry and Horse Artillery still further on. But where was the enemy? From Flutter’s-hill, the opposite ridge, rashly advanced 100 Sappers, 100 Welsh Fusiliers, some Cavalry farriers, and a few guns. Leaving the black crowd of spectators as a kind of reserve on the heights, they advanced into the hollows of the marshy ground, and “there they might be seen, squatted in ditches or ensconced behind turf walls, apparently crouching, like so many partridges, from the observation of the Guards, whose lofty bear-skin caps might just be distinguished in front of them.” Flutter’s-hill and the neighbourhood of it were now covered with multitudes of people, who watched with all anxiety for the moment when hostilities were to commence. For a time nothing was to be seen but single aides-de-camp galloping desperately from point to point beneath, and far off in the distance the cavalry stealing eastward to turn the left wing of the enemy. But suddenly the scene changed. The skirmishers of the 42nd led the attack, descending from the heights, and opened a fire upon the men who occupied the enclosure in the hollow. Their rapid and scattered firing was checked by the unexpected appearance of a party of the enemy, who rose up from the marshy ground, where their recumbent position had been unobserved by the spectators. These poured in a sharp fire on the skirmishers, who fell back firing and retiring. The Highland regiments then formed into squares, deployed into line, and advanced. This movement was really a very beautiful sight. The steadiness of the onward progress, and the precision of the Highland volleys were the subjects of general admiration. Availing themselves of every shelter, and, where exposed, rushing forward until they secured cover, the Highlanders had hard struggle. The small party of “the enemy” continued its resistance, and then the Foot Artillery, taking up a position on a height on the right flank of the infantry, opened a fire on the marsh, and speedily dislodged the little band. (This small corps, which represented what might be called the active spirit of the enemy, so as to give vitality to the battle, consisted of the men off duty of the 23rd Welsh Fusiliers, a party of the Royal Sappers and Miners, and some few cavalry, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Vicars, R.E. With this little party, who had forty rounds of ammunition served out to them, the supposed line of the enemy was prominently marked, and sufficient point given, to evidence the utility and reason of the vigorous charges made by the Guards and Highland regiments.) The Guards joined in this attack. On reaching the ground the cavalry had formed in close columns of squadrons, the Carabineers and 13th Light Dragoons in front, and the 1st Life Guards and the Lancers in the rear, having the Horse Artillery acting in concert with them. The cavalry dismounted, and waited, upon the extreme right of the line, the arrival of the infantry. The first movement of the cavalry, after the skirmishers of the Foot Guards were thrown out, was to remount and deploy into line and advance, *en échelon* of squadrons, from the right, and then, by a well-executed movement, form a line on the leading *échelon*. The Carabineers and the Light Dragoons again advanced in line, covered by their skirmishers, and supported by the Life Guards and Lancers. The skirmishers were called in, the 6th and 13th made a magnificent charge, and retired in columns of troops from the right of regiments, and re-formed line in rear of the Guards and Lancers. (On the occasion of one of these beautifully-executed evolutions, the Duke of Cambridge galloped up, and exclaimed in a loud voice of approbation, “Very well done, Carabineers.”) The Foot Guards having gone through several brilliant movements, and taken up a position behind one of the hills, out of reach of the supposed enemy’s guns, a splendid line was at length

formed. The whole of the cavalry advanced in two lines, the Life Guards and the Lancers charged with splendid effect, the “support” halting during the charge. The charging regiments then retired, in columns of troops from both flanks, leaving the “support” a clear front to charge again, which they did in brilliant style, notwithstanding the rough character of the ground. The whole of the cavalry then retired, covered by the skirmishers of the 6th and 13th, who kept up a rapid fire from their carbines during the retreat. The cavalry halted, supported by the artillery, called in their skirmishers, and changed front from half left on the Carabineers. The whole of the infantry brigades were now in line, ready for a decisive movement. The enemy, numbering nearly one hundred men, had still retained possession of their ground, and the gallant band of the 23rd Fusiliers still, as at Albuera, “stood triumphant on the fatal hill.” Below them, however, might be seen the gathering storm which was to sweep before them not merely the brave military defenders of this valuable position, but the hundreds of peaceful visitors who had lulled themselves into a state of blissful security, and who crowded the slopes of this little eminence. The infantry skirmishers advanced, the brigade of Guards fired a deafening volley, and rushed forward in column to the foot of the devoted hill, supported by other regiments, and with measured tread and rapid step commenced the ascent. At length, what with the cavalry manoeuvring on the extreme right, to turn its position, and the artillery, on the heights in the rear, covering the attack, and the three brigades pushing forward with the most headlong vehemence, the foe was driven back to Flutter’s-hill, on the brow of which it stood, apparently resolved to make one last despairing effort. A threatened charge of cavalry induced it to form square, but the danger passed away or the square got smashed by a flank fire from the Horse Artillery. The crowds of people who had collected on Flutter’s-hill now found themselves, to their great dismay, in the thick of the fight. The close fire of blank cartridge they stood tolerably well. When they saw the Grenadiers, the Coldstreams, and the Fusiliers—old familiar friends—coming at their position with fixed bayonets and at a charge, they felt uncomfortable, but did not give way much. The 73rd and 42nd, however, put them completely to the rout. Nothing could possibly be finer than the advance of the brigade of Guards in two lines, supported on the right flank by a heavy battalion in square. Their halt, and the delivery of their volley, were something terrific; and this latter, followed by their charge up the opposite hill, with another simultaneous charge suddenly by the Carabineers and 17th Lancers on the right flank, at once routed the assembled multitude. The brave Fusiliers, the useful Sappers, and the indispensable farriers, retired before the advancing masses, unable any longer to bear the unequal fight, and the hundreds of camp followers fled in a most precipitate and tumultuous manner. It was a complete and an amusing rout, and her Majesty and Prince Albert laughed heartily at the scene. But now, to render the rout, if possible, more complete, the field-batteries opened fire from several parts of the ground, the cavalry took ground further to the right, and in the flank of the enemy, wheeled into line, and charged towards the hill in a dashing style. The victorious infantry formed on the top of the hill, and the colours of the Guards floated triumphantly on its summit. The field was fought and won.

Then the troops defiled before the Queen. The cavalry, after the last charge, formed into masses of columns of squadrons, passed round at the back of the ridge, of which the contested hill formed a part, and shortly after cuirass and helmet and lance and fluttering pennons appeared coming over the ridge, and columns of infantry occupied the slopes and other portions of the hills, preparatory to their defiling before her Majesty. The bands of the cavalry regiments came down from the hills, near to the foot of the slope where the Queen’s tent was placed, and her Majesty advanced some distance down the hill, in order to be nearer to the troops as they passed. The sight of the infantry sweeping in open columns over the side of the hills was most striking and picturesque, and her Majesty expressed herself highly delighted with the grand spectacle afforded. As each regiment defiled, its band moved to the right and took up a position opposite the royal tent. The Horse and Foot Artillery followed, and then came the brigade of Guards, the drums and fifes playing the “British Grenadiers.” The scene at this moment was remarkably picturesque. The cavalry extended its glittering files as far as the eye could reach. The Guards were immediately in front, with the 93rd Highlanders following in their rear. The valley was occupied by the 95th and 38th regiments, while the other corps might be seen at different points emerging from the gorge separating the two hills on the left of the

royal tent. The rear was formed by the Rifle Brigade. The appearance of the troops excited altogether universal admiration. There were some that pointed with pride to the Queen’s company of Grenadiers, in which not a man was under the height of 6ft. 2in. Others regarded with wonder the stalwart forms, broad shoulders, and sturdy limbs of the Highlanders. There were those, too, who remarked with satisfaction the medals which graced the breast of many an old campaigner in the 95th. Each regiment had its friends, and the whole was certainly a display of which the nation might well be proud. There is no country in the world from whose army, however large, 9,000 men could be brought together that, either in height, size, strength, vigour, health, or appearance, would bear comparison, or anything like comparison, with the men who passed before Queen Victoria on Tuesday, on Chobham-common. The 42nd passed with their pipers playing “Bonnie Laddie—Highland Laddie,” and the Rifles with their Jager chorus. This procession was by far the finest feature of the day’s proceedings, and must have struck every one who witnessed it as a really splendid sight, the presence of the Sovereign and of so many thousands of her subjects enhancing the influence which well-disciplined and effective troops, representing the flower of the British army, naturally exercise over the mind. This closed the review.

The weather was fine, and the crowd of people from London immense; fourteen thousand tickets for Chertsey having been taken at the Waterloo station. There was a large number of ladies on the ground, whose equestrian feats would have astonished some of their fair sisters, especially if they had seen them flying in advance of or joining in a charge of cavalry. We understand that not a single accident occurred to any of the cavalry regiments, horses or men. Several of the infantry, however, were injured by the discharge of their arms. The total forces on the field were—officers, 387; men, 7,469; horses, 1,757; guns, four 9-pounders, twelve 6-pounders, six 12-pounders, and two 24-pounders.

The Queen has since notified her perfect approbation of the movements executed during the day. On Thursday, some manoeuvres took place, exercising the infantry in resistance to cavalry. Some minor details of the experiment are noticeable. Each soldier gets 1½lb. of bread, and ¾lb. of meat daily. The soldiers complain of the smallness of the tents; the same tent which an officer has to himself is given to fifteen privates. The visitors to Chobham grumble at the badness of the road from Chertsey to the camp.

Prince Albert visited the camp yesterday.

THE BRITISH FLEET.

THERE was a stirring scene at Malta on the morning of the 8th. On the evening before, her Majesty’s steamship *Caradoc*, the arrival of which from Marseilles had been anxiously expected for some days previously, was telegraphed, and shortly after she entered the port. All was immediately in a state of activity, officers of every rank hastening to convey orders or messages according to their instructions, and before long the anticipated signal was made, “Fleet, prepare for sea.” No time was lost, and by ten o’clock every steamer had its steam up, and the *Arethusa* frigate was taken in tow by the *Tiger*, and got out. In the meantime the wind, which was fair, blew with some violence into the harbour, and it was impossible in the darkness of the night to incur the risk of towing out the ships. At six the following morning, the *Caradoc*, which had been employed in coaling during the night, got under weigh for the Levant with important despatches for Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and before she was well out of the harbour the ships were all ready for sea. By eight o’clock all had left their moorings; and before eleven o’clock every vessel, all of which had shaped their course for the Levant, was out of sight from the signal tower. In endeavouring to get out on the previous evening, the *Britannia* had carried away her flying jib-boom, which was the only accident. Captain Graham, of the *Rodney*, beat out in beautiful style. He thought it a discredit not to be able to find his way out without the aid of a “smoker,” and refused to be taken in tow. The fleet arrived in Besika Bay in five days. On Sunday last Rear Admiral Houston Stewart arrived in Malta by the French steamer *Mentor*, from Marseilles, and shortly after hoisted his flag on board the *Niger* steam-frigate, and received the salute due to his rank. Admiral Stewart relieves Rear-Admiral Harvey as superintendent of the Malta dockyard.

Admiral Corry’s squadron entered Portsmouth on Tuesday. There is now assembled at that port the most powerful fleet of steamers of war the world can produce, among them nine sail of the line (sailers and steamers), and eight first-class frigates, as the following enumeration of their character will show:—

Name.	Guns.	Horse-power.	Class.
Duke of Wellington	131	780	Screw three-decker.
Neptune	120	—	Sailing three-decker.
Agamemnon	91	600	Screw two-decker.
Prince Regent	90	—	Sailing two-decker.
London	90	—	Sailing two-decker.
Imperieuse	60	360	Screw frigate.
Blenheim	60	450	Screw two-decker.
Ajax	60	450	Screw two-decker.
Hogue	60	450	Screw two-decker.
Edinburgh	58	450	Screw two-decker.
Arrogant	47	360	Screw frigate.
Amphion	34	300	Screw frigate.
Sidon	22	560	Paddle frigate.
Highflyer	21	250	Screw frigate.
Odin	16	560	Paddle frigate.
Encounter	14	360	Screw corvette.
Vesuvius	6	280	Paddle sloop.
Banshee	2	350	Paddle express boat.

In the French ports a fleet is being fitted, destined, it is said, to act in union with Admiral Corry's squadron.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER LXXVIII.

Paris, Thursday Evening, June 23, 1853.

ALL business is at a stand still in Paris, and generally throughout France, in consequence of the prevailing uncertainty about the chances of war or peace. Many people begin to murmur and talk bitterly about this state of things, as if they had just found out that it is not always an advantage to leave the destinies of millions of men at the mercy of the arbitrary caprices of a single irresponsible fellow-creature. For the last fortnight there have been more and fiercer diatribes current among the bourgeoisie against the inconveniences of despotism and the monarchical system in general, than even the well-abused "republic" encountered in three years! Just now there seems to be a sudden and startling revulsion of opinion; and the more the crisis is protracted, and the solution delayed, the more republican will the middle and trading classes become again. Yet if public opinion is uneasy and disturbed, it is tranquillity itself compared with the fever and fret of our poor Government. It is in the great resolutions of great crises that great men are recognised. In the present difficulty, if Bonaparte were half the man the creatures of his faction represent him to be, would he have shown this pitiable hesitation?—would he have adopted within three days three contradictory resolutions, such as I am about to relate? Last week he had arrived at the sound and satisfactory conclusion that, let the Russians be once suffered to occupy the Danubian provinces, it would be next to impossible to drive them out again; and that to permit such an aggression would be to give them up, without a blow, a considerable aggrandisement of territory. Full of this conviction, which is merely one of absolute justice, as will appear in the results, and proud of the alliance newly contracted with the British Government, he wrote last week (it is understood) to your Cabinet, setting forth his opinions on the point in question, and inviting the English Government to make a *casus belli* of the Russian occupation of the provinces. But your Cabinet, it seems, doubtful and divided on the question, returned an evasive answer: without positively refusing it, abstained from making any sort of pledge or promise in response to the proposals. It is now a week since this reply of your Government was transmitted to Bonaparte. The Emperor, disgusted at hesitation and delay, where he expected unreserved co-operation, resolved at once to make a *coup de tête*: he determined to make an *appeal to the nation*, and actually drew up a formidable note, treating the entry of the Russians into Moldavia and Wallachia as a *casus belli*. This note was on the point of being sent to the *Moniteur*, when the Emperor suddenly took it into his head to read it to the Council of Ministers. He *did* read it; and if a thunderbolt had fallen on the council table it could hardly have created greater consternation. Some Ministers, I believe, almost screamed with alarm. Fould all but threw himself at the Emperor's feet, and dragging himself along on his knees, *à la Juive*, he conjured his imperial master, he supplicated him, he besieged him with prayers and entreaties that the note might not be published. The majority of the Ministers joined him in his fervent appeals. But Persigny and Ducos, on the other hand, insisted on the necessity of the note: then Bonaparte dismissed his Council, saying in his usual way, that he would consider the matter (*qu'il s'aviserait*). Now, the chief object of this note was by such a solemn and public declaration to give heart to the English Cabinet, and induce them, too, to pronounce in favour of the same policy. So he sent for Lord Cowley and read him the note. But Lord Cowley assured him, frankly and decidedly, that the policy of the English Government was for the present moment *expectant*: that it would not commit itself prematurely; that if he

(Bonaparte) published that note, he would immediately find himself abandoned by the English Cabinet. A few hours after a note of the Prussian Government was remitted to Bonaparte: a note ambiguously worded; but which, under the semblance of neutrality, expressed clearly enough the intention of Prussia *not* to consider the occupation of the Provinces a *casus belli*. This was a knock down blow for Bonaparte. He instantly tore up his famous note, which was already in type and in proof; and betook himself to the plains of Satory to play at soldiering and generaling. But this is not all. On the next day (Tuesday) he received intelligence of another repulse. On the fifth of this month, elated by his recent alliance with England, and dreaming himself already the manager of Europe, he thought to strike a master-stroke of diplomacy, and to send a special Envoy to St. Petersburg to propose to the Czar Nicholas a European congress to settle amicably (*à l'amiable*) the question of the Eastern Church. The Russian Emperor, however, gave this proposal just the sort of reception that Bonaparte with a little keener perception of his own position might have easily anticipated. "What does this clown want with me?" was the brusque reply of Nicholas. "Go and tell him that I don't want to have any business with him, and that he and his congress may be — blessed!"* Then turning sharply round to the courtiers: "Did you ever hear of such impudence? This mountebank (*paillasse*) of Paris offers me a congress! This gentleman who wants to persuade the shopkeepers of the Rue St. Denis that he is received into the European concert. He will have to wait a very long time before I give him that satisfaction." It was on Tuesday last that this polite answer reached the ears of our poor Bonaparte—since that day he is completely unhinged (*démonté*); he has almost lost his head, and has been consigning to all sorts of hot places all the Kings and Emperors and Sultans of this upper earth. Meanwhile the vessel of the State has been "put about." We are all for peace at the Tuileries; all for peace in the bureaux of the *Pays* and the *Constitutionnel*—all for peace on the Bourse. In the last named den it is even rumoured that the combined fleets have already been recalled. Government journals, officials, bankers, shopkeepers, everybody seems to have swallowed the Russian occupation of the Danubian Provinces. *Qu'est ce que cela nous fait?* that sacramental formula of the universal scepticism, is in the mouth of all these *braves gens*. "Is it nothing to you," men of intelligence may say, "to become Cossacks within twenty years or so? Possibly you may not object to the operation, but we are very far from desiring it." After this specimen of the politeness of the monarchists of every country, there remains but one hope for civilization—it is the universal triumph of the Republican party, and the cauterization of the gangrened corruptions of Monarchical Governments.

There is no positive news from Turkey since my last. It is not yet known whether or not the Russians crossed the Pruth on the 14th inst., as a telegraphic despatch from Vienna announced. It is only known that the Russians had thrown two bridges over the Pruth, at Lkuleni and Leowa, and one over the Danube at Tultovha. Moreover, four gun-boats had entered the Pruth to cover with their guns the passage of the troops, and four others were stationed on the Lower Danube. It is now said, that the rising of the waters has caused a serious overflow of these two rivers, and that the passage was rendered impassable for a fortnight at least. Turkey has addressed to the representatives of the Powers a Memorandum, or Hatti Scherif, conceding and according to all the Christians of every Church full and entire independence, civil and religious. This concession, which generalizes the particular demand of Russia, is considered by all a masterly stroke of policy. Indeed, the Turkish Government shows itself in all respects fully determined. On learning the Austrian offers of mediation, it declared boldly, that it would not accept the isolated mediation of that power, but only that of the four great Powers, signers of the treaty of 1841.

In home affairs there are a few scraps of news worth sending you. In the first place, the arrests have gone on, to an extent quite alarming. It is reckoned that nearly 2000 persons, including men of all parties, have been recently arrested. Names belonging to the highest classes are mentioned in the list. It was even rumoured that M. Berryer and the Archbishop of Paris had incurred the rigour of the police. Probably this startling rumour is owing to a mere confusion of names. A man named *Larchevêque*, and another named *Berryer*, were comprised in the list of arrests in circulation; hence the rumour. The whole

* "Qu'est ce que me veut ce Magot? allez lui dire que je ne veux pas avoir affaire à lui, et que je me f— de lui et de son congrès!"

affair is, after all, nothing but an excess of zeal on the part of the police. I related last week how the shouts of five *gamins*, in the Avenue de St. Cloud, had been magnified into a plot. That absurd business came at last to the ears of Bonaparte, who had the Minister of Police, M. de Maupas, summoned before the Council of Ministers, and there interrogated and required to furnish facts and proofs of the alleged plot. M. de Maupas had nothing to produce, but he had to bear the brunt of the reproaches of his colleagues, who accused him of having alarmed everybody, and created a sensation disastrous to the Government. Thereupon Bonaparte, disgusted at this shameful abuse of power, declared that he abolished the Ministry of Police. The decree to that effect appeared in yesterday's *Moniteur*, and was received by all Paris with the greatest satisfaction. The affair is considered an important victory over the despotic regime which oppresses us. We may hope that the 2000 people arrested will soon be set at liberty.

I don't know whether we are about to enter upon a more mild and temperate epoch; at all events the transportations continue. This is what we read in a journal of Rennes:—"Since the first week in this month, a rather large number of prisoners for transportation have passed through this town on their way to Brest, to be shipped for Cayenne." What do you say to these revelations?

Then, again, M. Lélut, a member of the Institute, has recently protested publicly in the *Journal des Débats* against the regime pursued at Cayenne. The government of that penitentiary colony had made a report, by which it appeared that out of 2146 prisoners there were 237 sick, and just twice that number of convalescents, making altogether about 700 sick and convalescent. M. Lélut, member of the Institute and of the Corps Législatif, publicly declares that in France, among the poorest classes, and among persons of middle age, the proportion of sick persons was only 2 per cent.; that in the prisons that proportion was scarcely doubled, even including the convalescents, while at Guyana, according to the Government report itself, the proportion was not less than 33 per cent.; and as, following the observations of the same report, the convalescents were continually subject to fatal relapse, "the result was that Guyana instead of being a penitentiary, threatened to become a mortuary colony." Certainly M. Lélut deserves to be congratulated on so courageous a protest against this infamous system of transportation.

Let me wind up my present letter with a piquant anecdote. My hero is a senator. He wanted to engage a handsome suite of apartments in the *Quartier de la Madeleine*. The landlord insisted on a six months lease. "But I may die before my term has expired." "In that case you will naturally cease to occupy the apartments." "But I may no longer be a senator; it may all go as it came (*tout ceci peut s'en aller comme c'est venu*), and I shall be *Gros-Jean* as I was before." "Quite possible," coolly rejoined the landlord; "suppose, then, we make a special clause of that hypothesis." So great is the confidence of the very creatures of the Government in the stability of their own regime.

Meanwhile, however, Bonaparte is playing the General. For a long time he was content to play at soldiering—that is to say, to pass the troops in review: never till now did he venture to command in person the manœuvres. It is only since last week he has taken this new step. Nothing is now wanting to complete the burlesque of the great Emperor. Yesterday (Wednesday) he took it into his head to attack the Château of Versailles from the Park: the attack was made by torch-light: need I say, that the Château allowed itself to be taken? The *gamins* of Versailles have improvised a *chanson*, after their manner, in honour of this exploit. They sing as he passes by—

"Malbrook s'en va-t-en guerre,"
—"Mais il ne part jamais."

S.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

The Ministry of General Police having been suppressed, M. de Maupas has been appointed ambassador to Naples, where his recent functions will peculiarly endear him to the King, in the place of M. Adolphe Barrot removed to Brussels. M. His de Butenval, late Minister to Belgium, is named Prefect of the Seine, conjointly with M. Hausmann.

The Duc de Padoue (M. Arrighi), M. Berger, ex-Prefect of the Seine; M. Prosper Merimee, the distinguished orator, and the Marquis de Lavalette (ex-ambassador to Turkey, and the prime cause of all the mischief of the Eastern question), are named senators.

A direction of General Safety is established, to be under the Minister of the Interior. M. Collet Meygret, Prefect of the Aube, is appointed to this post, which includes the supervision of the general and special police, and of the press. The Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, which had been absorbed in the Ministry of the Interior, is re-established, and now absorbs the Ministry of Public Works,

which, as a separate department, is suppressed. M. Magne, late Minister of Public Works, retains his department in its new combination.

A statute, emanating from the instruction of the Emperor, determines the position and the obligations of the members of the imperial family, substituting in some respects the authority of the Emperor for the prescriptions of the Code Napoleon. The effect is to place the members of the imperial family under the absolute control of the Emperor.

M. Bermudes de Castro, the Spanish Minister of France, has resigned. This resignation is believed to be on account of the Minister's refusal to sanction an unconstitutional railway concession without the consent of the Cortes.

Perhaps the most important item of news not referring to the Eastern question is the announcement, that the Federal Government is likely to recall the Swiss troops in the service of the King of Naples. This would be a very serious matter for the King, who has no native troops on which he can rely.

The official *Gazette* of Naples records a miracle. An image of the Virgin has emitted flames from her bosom.

M. Garibaldi, the Papal Nuncio at Paris, who died last week of a stroke of apoplexy, was buried with great pomp at Notre Dame on Tuesday last.

The armaments of Turkey and of Russia are pushed with great vigour. The Egyptian naval contingent has reached Constantinople, and is to be disposed along the entrance of the Black Sea, to support the land defences. A contingent of four thousand men has been sent by the Bey of Tripoli.

The British fleet arrived in Besika Bay on the 13th instant, having left Malta very early on the morning of the 9th. The French fleet sailed from Salamis Bay on the 11th, and intelligence of its arrival in Besika Bay has reached the French Government. Besika Bay lies between the site of ancient Troy and the Island of Tenedos. The ships "water" from the Scamander. The first Castle of the Dardanelles is little more than seven miles distant.

The Baron de Bruck, Austrian Internuncio to Constantinople, touched at Corfu in the *Custoza* steamer, on the 9th inst., en route to his post.

An Austrian Archduke is expected at Constantinople in a frigate. A firman has been granted the frigate to pass the Dardanelles.

It is reported that Prince Menschikoff has been appointed governor of the Crimea.

At Odessa and Bucharest there do not appear to exist any lively apprehensions of war, notwithstanding the formidable preparations.

The Greek populations incline to Turkey, and Persia is not less favourable to the Sultan. Russia has recently sustained severe losses in the Caucasus. Two rifle regiments are being organized in Turkey for service on the Balkan, on the plan of the French Chasseurs de Vincennes.

On the 12th inst., the Emperor Nicholas reviewed the Baltic Fleet at Cronstadt. Cronstadt was founded by Peter the Great. It is twenty miles from Petersburg.

On the 7th inst., the expected Imperial Firman was issued at Constantinople guaranteeing complete immunities rights, and privileges to all the subjects of the Sultan, not Mahometans.

A telegraphic despatch from Constantinople dated the 16th inst. is to this effect:—The ultimatum of Russia has been finally rejected by the Porte.

The crisis of the Eastern question holds the whole continent of Europe in suspense. All other topics of political interest in Europe are for the present in abeyance.

The circular of Count Nesselrode, noticed more particularly in our department of Public Affairs, appeared in the *Journal* of St. Petersburg, of the 11th inst., when the Russian Government must have learned the order to the combined fleets to proceed to Besika Bay. The signature of M. de Nesselrode is noticeable, as that veteran statesman is thought to represent the German party as opposed to the Muscovite party, in Russian politics; and it had been surmised that his opposition to the more violent and aggressive policy represented by Prince Menschikoff, had alienated him from the recent councils of the Emperor. M. Emile de Girardin considers this circular as at least a striking homage to the public opinion of Europe; and he argues that where there is so evident a disposition to defer to that public opinion, and to submit the Russian claims to discussion, there cannot be any serious determination to appeal to arms. Notwithstanding the difficulty of believing in the possibility of war, we cannot altogether adopt the rather optimistic conclusions of *La Presse*. The circular note in question is addressed by the Russian Government to all its diplomatic agents abroad, to be communicated by them to the several governments to which they are accredited. "It passes in review," says the *Morning Chronicle*, (the first journal in Europe to publish the note,) "all the incidents of the question, and endeavours to demonstrate that the protectorate claimed by the Czar over the Greeks in the East cannot be contested, either in principle or in fact. The note then declares that the want of sincerity displayed in this question by the Turkish Government, which had accorded to Russia and France respectively contradictory firmans in favour of the Greeks and Latins, obliges the Russian Government to demand guarantees for the future. It demanded at first to have these guarantees inserted in a formal convention between Russia and the Porte; but afterwards, from a spirit of conciliation, it successively reduced its demand to the *Sened*; finally, to an engagement taken by the Porte, in the shape of a note addressed by the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia. This note, the Russian Government declares, contains the extreme limits of its concessions, and if within the delay of eight days the Porte does not accept purely and simply that proposition, which has already been the subject of the last communication of Prince Menschikoff to Reschid Pacha, and on the first refusal of which it determined the departure of that envoy, Russia will be

obliged to take the necessary measures to cut the knot which it would have been her earnest desire to loose peacefully; but it throws upon the Porte, and those who have encouraged it to resist the demands of Russia, the responsibility of all the fatal consequences which that resistance may engender for the peace of the world."

Two Russian agents have arrived in Jassy (Moldavia), and have taken up their quarters in the house of the Russian Consul. The greatest excitement prevails throughout the country.

THE POLITICAL TESTAMENT OF PETER THE GREAT.

TEXT of the scheme for the subjugation of Europe left by Peter the Great to his successors on the throne of Russia, and deposited in the archives of the Palace of Peterhoff, near St. Petersburg:—

In the name of the most holy and indivisible Trinity, we, Peter, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c., to all our descendants and successors to the throne and government of the Russian nation.

The great God of whom we hold our existence and our crown having constantly enlightened and supported us with his Divine aid, &c.

[Here Peter the Great lays down that according to his views, which he believes to be those of Providence, he regards the Russian nation as destined in future time to the subjugation of all Europe.

He founds this conviction on the opinion that most of the other nations of Europe have already lapsed or are rapidly lapsing into decadence, and consequently will fall an easy conquest to a young and new race in the plenitude of its vigour and energy. The Czar, indeed, considers these periodical renovations of the East and West by the North as the clear design of Providence, as instanced in the conquest of Rome by the Goths. He compares that migration of the northern races to the overflows of the Nile, which at certain epochs renews with its fertilizing inundations the impoverished soil of Egypt. In like manner, he says, Russia, which he found a rivulet and will leave a river, will become under his successors a vast sea, destined to fertilise impoverished Europe: a sea which no dykes attempted to be raised by enfeebled hands will contain, if his descendants know how to regulate its course. Accordingly, he commends to their earnest attention and constant meditation this table of instructions, as Moses commended the Tables of the Law to the Israelites.]

The following is a succinct summary, comprising the tenour of these instructions:—

I. To maintain the Russian nation without intermission on a war footing; a nation of soldiers hardened by discipline, and ever ready for active service; to give the army only just repose enough; to refresh the finances of the state and to reorganize the troops; to seize the best opportunities for attack, and so to make peace ancillary to war and war to peace, in the interest of the aggrandizement and increasing prosperity of Russia.

II. To invite into the Russian service by all possible inducements, from among the most cultivated nations of Europe, the ablest captains during war, and men of science and learning in time of peace: so as to make Russia gain the advantages peculiar to other nations without losing any of her own.

III. To take part on all occasions in the domestic affairs and internal contentions of the rest of Europe, especially those of Germany, which being nearer, are of more immediate interest.

IV. To divide Poland, by stirring up perpetual disorders and jealousies in that country: to buy up the men in power: to influence and corrupt the Diets, so as to operate powerfully upon the elective successions to the throne: to get (Russian) partisans elected to the kingly office, to protect those nominees, to occupy the kingdom (in exercise of such protectorate) with Russian troops, and to continue the occupation till the time has arrived to remain there altogether. If the neighbouring powers oppose difficulties to this policy, to appease them for the moment by partitioning the country, till the time has come to retake whatever may have been given up.

V. To take as much of Sweden as can be got, and to study occasions for inviting attack (from Sweden) by way of pretext for its subjugation. To that end, to isolate Sweden from Denmark and Denmark from Sweden, and carefully stimulate their mutual rivalries.

VI. Always to select consorts for the Russian Princes of the blood from among the German Princesses, so as to multiply family alliances, draw near the reciprocal interests of the two nations, and by multiplying our sources of influence in Germany to unite her, of herself, to our cause.

VII. To seek, by preference, the commercial alliance of England, as being the power which has most want of us for her navy, and which may be the most useful towards the development of ours. To exchange our timber and other productions for her gold, and to establish between her merchants and sailors, and our own continuous relations, such as may train the latter to the pursuits of navigation and commerce.

VIII. To extend ourselves without ceasing towards the North, along the shores of the Baltic, as well as towards the South along the coast of the Black Sea.

IX. To approach as much as possible Constantinople and the Indies. Whoever shall rule there will be the real sovereign of the world. In pursuance of this plan, to stir up perpetual war, at one time, against the Turks, at another against Persia; to establish dockyards in the Black Sea; to take possession of that sea, step by step, as well as of the Baltic—a double point necessary to the success of this project; to hasten the decadence of Persia; to penetrate to the Persian Gulf; to re-establish, if possible, through Syria, the ancient commerce of the Levant, and to advance right on to the Indies, which are the entrepôt of the world. Once there, we can dispense with the gold of England.

X. To seek and cherish sedulously the Austrian alliance; to support overtly her ideas of the future sovereignty of Germany, and covertly to excite against her the jealousy of the Princely Houses. To endeavour to provoke appeals from either party to Russia for assistance, and to exercise over Austria a species of protection, preparatory to future domination.

XI. To interest the House of Austria in expelling the Turks from Europe, and to neutralize her jealousy at the conquest of Constantinople, either by getting up a war between her and the other old European States, or by giving her a portion of this conquest, which may be retaken from her on a later occasion.

XII. To labour systematically to rally around us all the disunited or schismatic Greeks scattered through Hungary and in the South of Poland; to make ourselves their centre, their support, and to establish beforehand a universal predominance by a sort of royalty

or sacerdotal supremacy; this will be to procure us so many friends in the midst of each of our enemies.

XIII. Sweden being dismembered, Persia subdued, Poland subjugated, Turkey conquered, our armies combined, the Black Sea and the Baltic guarded by our ships, we must then propose separately and in the deepest secrecy, first to the Court of Versailles, and afterwards to that of Vienna, to share with them the empire of the universe. If one of them accept—which cannot fail to be the case by flattering their ambition and their vanity—to use that one as an instrument for crushing the other; then to crush in its turn the survivor, bringing on a struggle of which the issue cannot be doubtful, when Russia shall be in absolute possession already of all the East, and a great part of Europe.

XIV. If—which is not probable—each of these two Powers refused the offer of Russia, it would be necessary to devise causes of quarrel between them, and so to make them mutually exhaust each other. Then seizing a decisive moment, Russia would pour her troops, concentrated in readiness, upon Germany, whilst two considerable fleets would at the same time sail—the one from the Sea of Azof, the other from the port of Archangel, thronged with Asiatic hordes, under convoy of armed squadrons from the Black Sea and the Baltic. Advancing thus by the Mediterranean and the ocean, they would inundate France on the one side and Germany on the other, and these two countries being subdued, the rest of Europe would pass easily and without a blow, under our yoke.

So may and must Europe be subdued!

This copy of the Testament of Peter the Great is borrowed from the *Memoirs of the Chevalier d'Eon*, published in 1836, and edited by M. Frédéric Gaillardet, on papers furnished by the family of the Chevalier, and authentic materials deposited in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Chevalier d'Eon, attached on two missions to the Chargé d'Affaires of the court of Versailles in Russia, was presented at the court of Elizabeth, on the first occasion as a woman, under the name of Mlle. Lia de Beaumont, and on the second, under the name of the Chevalier d'Eon, brother of Mlle. Lia de Beaumont. The young attaché was entrusted with the special mission of conquering the good graces of Elizabeth, and enjoined to avail himself of the influence acquired by his personal qualities, to persuade the Czarina to accede to the treaty of Versailles. The success of the young attaché was complete: he became the secret favourite of Elizabeth. This intimacy of the Chevalier with the Empress enabled him to procure a copy of the testament of Peter the Great. The Chevalier d'Eon returned to France in 1767, charged by his imperial mistress to bring her accession to the treaty of Versailles. He lost no time in communicating the Testament of Peter the Great, first to the Abbé de Bernis, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and next to the King himself. But this gigantic scheme of European domination, conceived by Peter the First, appeared chimerical to the ministers of Louis XV. On this point we find the following remarks of the Chevalier himself, in the *Vie Politique du Chevalier d'Eon*, published in 1779, by Lafortelle:—

"This communication" (the testament of Peter I.) "was treated with levity by the cabinet of Versailles: they deemed the plans impossible, and the views chimerical. In vain did I, from my bed of suffering" (the Chevalier had broken a leg on his return from Russia) "draw up and despatch a secret memoir to the King, to M. le Maréchal de Belle-Isle, to M. l'Abbé de Bernis, to M. le Marquis de l'Hôpital, who had just been appointed ambassador to St. Petersburg, and to M. le Comte de Broglie, our ambassador in Poland, to declare to them that it was the secret intention of the court of Russia, at the death, now imminent, of Augustus III., to overrun Poland with troops, so as to obtain absolute control of the election of the succeeding king, and to seize a part of the Polish territory, in conformity with the scheme of Peter the Great. All my overtures were considered undeserving of serious attention, no doubt because they emanated from a young man. But in 1778 were experienced the disastrous effects of that prejudice against my youthfulness."

ELECTION EXPOSURES.

A COMMITTEE has been investigating the history of the Durham petitions. Atherton and Granger (Liberals) were returned for Durham last election, Lord Adolphus Vane being defeated. Mr. Granger died, and then the Tory agents petitioned against Mr. Atherton alone. But they proposed to Mr. Atherton to withdraw the petition if he and his party would allow Lord Adolphus to have the vacant seat. Mr. Coppock, the Liberal agent, entertained this proposition, and seeing the Tories were anxious to have the writ issued at once, he, to strengthen his position in dealing with them, presented to the House "a petition," (thus stopping the issue of the writ.) In this petition he prayed against Mr. Granger's return, and that the seat be given to Lord Adolphus Vane (!) such prayer being necessary as an obstruction to the issue of the writ. The negotiation proceeded, and Mr. Coppock withdrew his pretended petition, with the understanding that the Tory petition against Mr. Atherton should also be withdrawn. Mr. Atherton deposed that he left all the business in Mr. Coppock's hands.

The nomination for Durham took place on Thursday. Sir Charles Douglas is the Liberal candidate, and Mr. Mowbray, the Conservative candidate.

At Taunton, the generosity of some friends of Sir John Ramsden took a handsome and pleasant form. Joseph Pitman met Charles Webber, and conversed with him in a friendly way. "Would you like an excursion?" he said; "to Plymouth? To London? To Bath?" "No, thank you," said Webber. "You haven't money to go," suddenly thought Pitman. "Take my purse: five or seven pounds: as you please." This kindness overpowered Webber, and on two days

before the polling day, he left Taunton for Bath. But on the polling day Webber suddenly returned, darting to Taunton by an early train, and back again, after having polled for Badcock, (not Ramsden.) (Pitman, however, represents the whole story as "a lie.") Even postboys were treated with kindness. Mr. Jack Daw, an attorney's clerk, calls on Davis, postboy at Giles's Hotel, and showing his pockets full of money, orders a carriage and pair "for a drive." He then affectionately insisted on having Davis as his postilion, and paid him 1s. 6d. a mile for his driving. Davis had a vote; but after all this kindness, he did not vote as Mr. Jack Daw wished. Sir John Ramsden has however been declared duly elected, these practices not being traced to him or his agents.

Mr. Forbes Mackenzie and Mr. Charles Turner have been unseated for Liverpool. The election is declared void, and they, by their agents, guilty of bribery and treating. The Committee do not recommend the suspension of the writ. The proceedings of this Committee were very protracted: 102 witnesses were examined, and the expense to the parties on both sides is estimated at 15,000l.

Mr. Churchward, sub-editor of the *Morning Herald*, was examined before the Plymouth Committee, on Wednesday, regarding his promises of Government situations to Tory voters at Plymouth. He admitted the fact of several applications, and of his examination of candidates. "If Mr. Thomas had said, 'So and so has promised Mr. Mare, will you use your influence to get him a situation?' I should have done so if the party was respectable." He kept up a correspondence with Mr. Grant, the private secretary of Mr. Stafford, for the object of getting the Plymouth vacancies.

ELECTIONS.

CAPTAIN VERNON, a Conservative Free-trader, has been returned for Chatham, by a majority of 610 to 597; Admiral Stirling, Ministerialist, being the unsuccessful candidate. This result is a rare one at Chatham; the Ministerialist candidate being almost invariably successful.

Mr. Bagshaw (Liberal) has been returned for Harwich by a majority of 140 to 115 over Sir William Frazer, the Conservative candidate.

The seats, vacated at Liverpool by the dispossession of Messrs. Turner and Mackenzie, are again sought by two Conservative candidates—the Hon. Henry Thomas Liddell, eldest son of Lord Ravensworth, and Mr. Thomas Berry Horsfall (late member for Derby, but unseated for the use of "horsenails" in his election agency.) On the Liberal side, Mr. Robertson Gladstone (brother to the Chancellor of the Exchequer) is mentioned as a candidate. He would obtain much Conservative support—and a compromise, by which one Liberal and one Conservative would come in, is not improbable.

Mr. W. S. Lindsay, the great ship-owner, is a candidate for Tynemouth. He is likely to succeed—no opposition having as yet appeared. The Duke of Northumberland had influence in the town, but he has lost much of it of late, owing to his opposition to a dock and railway promoted by the people of the town.

INDIAN NEWS.

THE Burmese Court has got thirty days to consider the final terms proposed by the Governor-General. If they are rejected, a fleet of steamers is to proceed at once to Ava. The negotiations still proceed: two Roman Catholic priests—one, a French Jesuit, and the other, a Portuguese missionary—aiding the Burmese Commissioners in the management of the affair. There is some controversy as to the proper limits of Pegu—it is doubted whether Prome is in Pegu; but our Commissioners naturally object to give up a post that has cost us some trouble and expense in securing.

The insurrection at Pegu is at an end. On the recapture of Beling, Paug-tha, one of the rebel leaders, took to the jungles, but a native chief cut off his head, and sent it in salt to the British Commissioner as a friendly gift. From other parts of India there is not much news. Along the north-west frontier everything is quiet. The Nizam has ceded (in liquidation of his debt to us) Berar, the richest cotton district in India.

At Bombay, the affair of the dismissed Judges is still discussed. Mr. Grant had left for England to lay his case before Parliament. Mr. Le Geyt, whose dismissal was, formally, a removal to Poona, but who, it was thought, would never have been allowed to administer the law again, has obtained leave to assume the appointment, and is now really Judge of Poona—the continental capital of the western presidency. It is said in Bombay, that if Mr. Le Geyt is unfit to preside in the Sudder Court, where he was checked by fellow judges and public opinion, he is more unfit for the Poona bench, where none of those checks exist. Memorials in favour of both the dismissed judges have

been numerous signed in Bombay both by Europeans and natives.

The Governor-General is at Calcutta. The Governor of Bombay is "on the hills." Sir Frederick Currie and Sir Joseph Thackwell have left India for good; the latter has served in India for twenty years. The Bombay Native Association have sent home another petition, on the renewal of the Charter, praying for delay of legislation, and inquiry in India.

AMERICAN NOTES.

A NEW war with Mexico is not improbable. The supposed organ of the Cabinet—the *Washington Union*—declares, that "unless the seizure of the Mesilla Valley by a Mexican force is disavowed, the United States cannot hesitate how to act."

English capitalists have invested largely of late in American securities. Of these the most secure are the United States Debt, and the Stocks of large municipal Corporations.

The Southern Convention, to meet at Memphis, not alone aims at making southern commerce independent of New York, but also independent of Liverpool. Aroused by the hostility of the late Anti-Slavery agitation here, it seeks, in revenge, "to set up in Havre, or some other port in France, a dépôt for cotton, to which English merchants would be compelled to go, whether they willed it or not, to get their supplies for Manchester."

Lord Ellesmere arrived at New York on the 10th. He and his colleagues are not alone to inspect the Exhibition, but also to examine the industrial resources of the United States.

Santa Anna has suppressed 40 newspapers, and put down smoking in the theatres! The army has been reorganized; and the National Guards formed into an active Militia. The whole army consists of 91,000 men.

Jamaica is without a revenue, the feud between the Council and the Assembly being still active. No business is done in the Assembly; it simply adjourns from day to day.

MANCHESTER OPINION ON INDIA.

MANCHESTER has added its voice to the pronouncements on the India Bill. A meeting "respectable but not numerous," assembled there on Monday evening to consider and discuss the Government Bill. Mr. H. Ashworth spoke as one of authority on the subject of cotton in India.

"Sir James Hogg had recommended Manchester skill, intelligence, and capital, to be applied to India. But on what sort of security? Mr. Dickenson, a writer upon India, in a most excellent publication which had recently come out, stated, 'It is supposed in England that Europeans may now freely settle in any parts of the interior of India for purposes of business. Nothing can be more contrary to the fact. Europeans can only settle in the cotton districts by permission of the Government, on a short lease, and under liability of being turned out of the country at once by a Government officer, and of having their property confiscated, without any judicial appeal being allowed.' If gentlemen liked their security they might invest. As to the cultivation of cotton being a question of price, Mr. Davies, a collector of Guzerat, estimated the cost of growth of Indian cotton at 1½d. per pound at the place of growth; and the cost of freight from India to this country, on the average of last year, was 14-32d. per pound, or not quite ½d.; that made 2d. per pound. There must be something more to make it a question of price, and it was that about the same expense had to be incurred in transport from the place of growth to the place of shipment. Would the Manchester people consent to embark their money where the mode of transit was to be conducted by bullocks? If Manchester spirit must go to India railways must go."

Mr. Bright followed in a speech of some length, reiterating many of his old facts and arguments. After setting forth the bad condition of India, he said:—

"Then came the question, Who was to blame? Was it Leadenhall-street, or was it Cannon-row? Some men said that Leadenhall-street was, after all, a very reputable place, and Cannon-row (the Board of Control) was to blame. Well, it was of no consequence to us which was to blame. The two were there; the two Governments, by some kind of hocus pocus, managed the government of India; and he believed the two together, were they good or bad singly, formed about the worst Government that human ingenuity could possibly contrive. But it was very odd, if Cannon-row had been doing all the mischief for twenty years, why Leadenhall-street never protested. The pith of the question lay in this—should there be a double government for India or not? He must say he thought the bill which had been introduced was an especial mark or demonstration of that stage of decrepitude which appeared entirely to have overtaken the Whig party. The present Government was formed about one-half of Whigs, and the other half of what were called, for want of a better name, Peelites. He supposed they acted somewhat in this way,—that when there was anything in the Peelite department, the Peelites had their own way about it; and when there was anything in the Whig department, the Whig section had its own way about it. Mr. Gladstone, in the Peelite department, was permitted to have his fling in the budget; and now Sir

Charles Wood, in the Whig department, was permitted to have his fling in the India Bill.

He intimated, in conclusion, his intention of supporting Lord Stanley's amendment, and attacked the *Daily News* for its dissent from that view. The following resolutions were passed:—

"That this meeting unhesitatingly avows its extreme dissatisfaction with the results of the past government of British India, and its deliberate conviction that the gross neglect of the material advancement of the people of that country, which has been exhibited during the currency of the last charter, is to be attributed to the irresponsible system under which the affairs of India have been directed. That this meeting cannot discover in the bill which Her Majesty's Ministers have brought before Parliament even a latent hope that their project for the future government of India will provide any sufficient remedy for the glaring omissions of the past, inasmuch as the system is not reformed in any essential degree, and no security can be found in it for an active development of agricultural resources, or that an adequate portion of the revenue shall be applied to the much-needed internal amelioration of the country, instead of being, as heretofore, wholly lavished on territorial aggrandizement."

A petition to Parliament, founded on these resolutions, was then ordered, and the meeting separated. The principal persons composing the demonstration are the leading Members of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce.

W A G E S.

THE Stockport "turn out" is the greatest of the day. Twenty thousand weavers have struck work. They expect support from the weavers and connected operatives in the district, and a kind of tax of fivepence per loom has been partially levied, as yet without much effect. At Blackburn there is a similar strike, and the entire number out of employment in the district is computed at thirty-five thousand. The contest promises to be bitter and protracted. Some of the masters have yielded, but the majority maintain a firm attitude. At Manchester the employers evince a better spirit. "One manufacturer, on hearing the other day that his weavers were holding meetings, sent for them immediately to a conference. A reply was returned suggesting a deputation. 'Deputation!' exclaimed the employer, 'I want no deputation, to risk a misapprehension or misrepresentation of what I say; let the whole of them come.' They all came, and the result was, that hearing from him the exact position of his bargains and his profits, they were so convinced that loss and ruin would ensue on the enforcement of their demand, that they returned to work without further argument." At Blackburn and Darwen the loomers (workmen who supply warps to weavers) have struck, and the weavers support them. At Bradford the stonemasons demand 28s. instead of 26s. a week. At Cheltenham the journeymen painters ask 4s. a day, in consideration of their want of work during winter. The Stirlingshire nailors, the painters and glaziers of Southampton, and the carpenters of London, are contemplating a movement. The operative glass-makers of Manchester are still unsuccessful. The Devonshire shoemakers continue the "strike" with some likelihood of success; and the dispute at Llynfi works (Wales) is unsettled. In the latter place the men protest against being paid in tickets for meal, and three thousand of them are about to leave.

The operatives have succeeded at Dowlas and Bezfores (Wales) in obtaining an advance of 5 per cent.; a further increase of 10 per cent. has been promised. In the Manchester district the men have succeeded almost universally in obtaining the "short time" they have demanded; and in Birmingham the movement for a half-holding is winning general success. The shoemakers of Birmingham are the only discontented operatives in that town at present. In the north of Ireland business in the linen-trade is restricted by the want of hands, and weavers cannot be had even at an advance of 15 per cent. on former wages. In the cotton trade—especially in the sewing and embroidery trade—employment has been greatly increased. At Manchester the dispute between the police and the municipal authorities is likely to be settled. The South Shields policemen are likely to obtain the increase they have demanded, from 18s. to 20s. a week.

A GAVAZZI RIOT IN QUEBEC.

QUEBEC is a city full of Roman Catholics—many of them Irish Roman Catholics. Father Gavazzi, the Italian preacher against the Church of Rome, came to Quebec and delivered one of his usual sermons in a Wesleyan Church. As he made some allusion to the intolerance and despotism of the Irish priesthood, a man in the crowd called out "That's a lie!" others chorused, "Put him out!" and a scene of disorder commenced which it is no easy matter to describe. Showers of stones were thrown from outside, breaking the windows, and scattering terror and injury among the audience. A band of ruffians rushed into the church, without molestation from the police. The foremost

made for the pulpit where Gavazzi stood, and one fellow mounted the stairs. He was instantly seized by the Italian and thrown over the reading desk. Disengaging himself from his robe, the padre then grasped the pulpit chair, and with it felled three or four others who endeavoured to scale his stronghold. "It was a memorable sight to witness the coolness and undaunted bravery with which the Italian defended himself singly against his assailants." The conflict would, however, have been but brief, had not a sergeant of artillery, named Lawson, and Gavazzi's secretary, forced their way through the crowd to the assistance of the preacher. For a space of twenty minutes these three held some sixty wild Irishmen at bay. Enraged at the failure of their efforts, a reinforcement of several hundred of the rioters were sent for, and quickly made their way to the scene of action. Paoli, the secretary, first fell. Gavazzi—who had continued to deal terrible blows with his stool, as the wretches assailed him, shouting, "Let us murder him in the church!"—was seized by the legs, and thrown from the pulpit into the crowd below. Gavazzi himself says, in telling the story:—

"This was to have been the hour of my death, and could have been. The falling with such violence might have sufficed to crush my skull; but God was there to protect his poor, but confident servant. I fell on a floor of enemies' heads and shoulders, and it was afterwards said that as I was of iron disposition, I weighed also as iron itself; but I sustained no wound from my fall. The crowd then dispersing, I found myself stretched out on the ground, with a legion of savages over me, overjoyed at being able to slay me. I then received a kick on my chin, which has produced a slight wound, and a contusion on the jaw; as the great crowd prevented the use of sticks, they endeavoured to supply it with their feet. I perceived that nothing but a gigantic effort could save me, and I employed it accordingly. I rose in spite of them, and by blows opened a passage to the staircase which leads to the subterranean place where the Sunday schools are, and having met assassins on the stairs, I overcame them. The last, who from his size impeded my passage as it were a barricade, and threatened me with his large stick, calling me by the vilest names, I very coolly rolled down the stairs, and jumping over him reached the entry of the Sunday school. Fortunately the school was dark; having examined it in the morning I became acquainted with its structure. I took the left path, among an innumerable quantity of benches, while the savages, who were still pursuing me, were obliged to delay before they could reach the door."

Gavazzi thus escaped, but unimpressed with the danger of assault, or the evil of disturbance, he proceeded in a few days to Montreal, where he also delivered an anti-Catholic lecture. Here also a riot took place. The reporter of the *Montreal Herald* thus describes the scene around the church:

"At about a quarter to eight o'clock, a band of ruffians we learn—for, although in sight, we were at too great a distance to see more than that a general *mêlée* had taken place—attacked and overpowered the police (Captain Ermatinger receiving a severe wound on the head), and proceeded to force their way into the church, from which a body of fifteen or twenty repulsed them, several shots from guns and pistols being fired from both sides. The assaulting party were effectually routed; two or three of their number were left dead or severely wounded on the ground, but were shortly afterwards removed in cars by their friends. Soon after this occurrence, a company of the 26th Cameronians marched from Craig-street, and were drawn up between the engine-house and that street. All seemed perfectly quiet, and remained so until about a quarter-past eight o'clock, at about which time the lecture was concluded, and the audience inside the church had begun to leave for home. At this time the troops were marched across Craig-street, and took their position in two lines, across Radayonde-street—one line nearly opposite Zion Church, and the other some hundred paces nearer Craig-street. A good deal of hooting and noise prevailed at this time, and on the McGill-street side of Craig-street, some disturbances with the lowest line of troops occurred, and two or three shots were fired; in other respects all seemed peaceable. We were, at this time, at the corner of St. James-street and McGill-street, and had a clear and distinct view of the troops, and of the people in their immediate vicinity. There we saw no violence on the part of the mob—nothing, indeed, but the people hurrying from the church—when, to our utter astonishment, we heard and saw the troops fire two distinct running volleys among the apparently, to us, peaceable citizens. Thinking it high time to attend to our own safety, we beat a rapid retreat from this apparent scene of wanton and uncalled for slaughter."

The riots have caused much painful sensation in the two cities.

THE TEMPTER AND THE THIEF.

"LEAD not into temptation," is a maxim as well as a prayer. The following scene in the Thames Police-court illustrates its necessity. Sarah Clements, a poor woman, aged thirty-seven, of 3, Catherine-street, Limehouse-fields, was charged with stealing a pair of men's shoes.

James Thomas, a shopkeeper in Limehouse-causeway, stated that a quantity of boots and shoes were exposed for sale outside his shop, on Monday evening, and while he was behind the counter he saw the prisoner handling the shoes in a manner which excited his suspicion. He went out, and noticed that a pair of shoes had been partially unfastened. He allowed them to remain as they were, and followed the prisoner a short distance, and then returned to his shop. He was serving a customer when he noticed

the prisoner meddling with the shoes again, and on going outside missed a pair. He charged the prisoner with stealing them, and she denied it; and he then opened her shawl and saw the shoes concealed beneath it. He took them from her, and gave her into custody.

The prisoner, a wretched-looking creature, begged for mercy, and said it was her first offence, and that she had three children to maintain.

Mr. Yardley said, the exposure of goods outside tradesmen's houses and shops was a temptation to do wrong, and he thought the conduct of the prosecutor was both selfish and heartless. The prosecutor appeared to have been angling for a thief, for he saw the woman meddling with the string which fastened the shoes, and after suspecting her allowed them to remain as they were until the woman stole them.

Mr. Thomas: I gave her an opportunity of going away.

Mr. Yardley: And you gave her an opportunity to steal the shoes. Why did you not give her a caution when you suspected she was going to do wrong? It would have been more charitable and more Christian-like to have done so.

Mr. Thomas: I have done so several times with others, and have since been robbed of boots and shoes exposed for sale outside the shop.

Mr. Yardley: Then why do you continue to tempt people to steal? You had much better have stopped her at first. The prevention of crime is much better than the detection of crime. It is the duty of every good citizen to prevent crime as much as possible.

Mr. Thomas said, he had no wish to press the charge, as the poor woman was tempted by poverty and the cries of three children for food.

Mr. Yardley said, he should give effect to the wishes of the prosecutor by allowing the prisoner to go at large, and he hoped she would not repeat the offence. At the same time he could not help repeating that it was a bad practice to expose goods for sale outside houses and shops. It was also a very selfish practice and a moral wrong.

Mr. Thomas said, he was quite aware it was an evil, but his neighbours would do it, and he could not do business without it.

Mr. Yardley said, it was perfectly shocking to hear a respectable tradesman, or one who wished to be considered a respectable tradesman, coming forward, admitting that he was doing a great moral wrong, and justifying it because others did it. If the shopkeeper's argument were to be carried out, it would justify every wrong, every bad act, every crime. Mr. Thomas was not justified in committing a great moral wrong because others did it. He was surprised to hear such a thing.

Mr. Thomas: I can't help exposing my goods outside my shop; others do it.

Mr. Yardley: You can help it, Sir. Don't talk such nonsense. The woman is discharged.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE Queen has been as active as ever this week; nay, she has made it a week distinguished above many others in her reign. She has appeared at the head of her army in the camp at Chobham. Beside this, her Majesty has given a grand concert, and held a Drawing-room.

It is somewhat curious that Prince Albert and the Duke of Saxe Coburg Gotha visited, on Saturday, the famous scene where popular justice did its best to mark the Austrian brigand, Haynau—Barclay and Perkins's Brewery.

Lord Eglinton received the Order of the Thistle at a Chapter held at Buckingham Palace, on Saturday.

The Queen is to visit Hull. The preparations for her reception are to cost the people 3000*l.*, dispensed by the town council.

A curiously-composed "dinner-party" met at Sir William Molesworth's, on Saturday. There were the Bishop of Oxford; the French Ambassador, and Mr. Delane (reputed editor of the *Times*), Mr. Cobden, M.P., and the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir James Graham, the Duke of Newcastle, and others of the Ministerialist party.

Mr. Maurice O'Connell (eldest son of Daniel O'Connell) died suddenly of apoplexy on the morning of Saturday last. He had represented Tralee for the last twenty years. His younger brother, Mr. Daniel O'Connell, is likely to obtain the place without any difficulty.

Lord Naas has suffered an unnecessary addition of discredit. It was stated that Lord Naas had told Mr. Edmund O'Flaherty of his having made an offer of office to Mr. Keogh; this Lord Naas directly denied, although reminded of the time and place of the conversation. Mr. O'Flaherty now reiterates his account of the conversation, and brings Mr. Martin of Ross to confirm it.

Mr. T. D'Eyncourt, member for Lambeth in the last Parliament, has got a handsome vase, worth 400 guineas, as a testimonial from his late constituents. Mr. D'Eyncourt is an old reformer, and celebrated in his political career for his many election contests, having won nine victories, and suffered but one defeat, namely, at the last election for Lambeth.

M. de Billé, Danish Minister at this Court, died suddenly on Saturday morning from disease of the heart.

"Waterloo day" was celebrated in quite a novel way this year. The choir of German vocalists, now in London, visited the new Crystal Palace, and a friendly party of distinguished men were invited to meet them. After inspecting the palace, the vocalists tried their united voices in an impromptu concert, to the great delight of the workmen, who ceased the clatter of their thousand hammers to listen to their swelling song. Mr. Gladstone and his wife, Robert Chambers and his family, Mdlle. Rachel and M. Regnier, and the Duke of Leinster, were among the company, and joined in the luncheon which the directors prepared for the party.

One hundred Derbyites met at Lord Derby's on Wednesday. They agreed to support Lord Stanley's amendment. The *Globe* says:—"Mr. Disraeli appeared among the invited, but it was quite manifest that he neither sought nor received the confidence of Lord Derby and his friends, and that he has been in some degree supplanted by Sir John Pakington, as leader of the Commons."

The Roman Catholic section of the National Education Board in Ireland have obtained a triumph. The *Evening Mail* "records with shame" that the warfare waged against Archbishop Whately's *Evidences of Christianity* has been successful. The work, in fact, is "rejected, expunged," by an overwhelming majority of ten to one, from the list of books used in the National Schools. It further transpires that "the Presbyterian Commissioners fought under the scarlet banner of Archbishop Cullen," and that the task of conducting the opposition fell exclusively upon the shoulders of Mr. Blackburne, the ex-chancellor of Ireland, Archbishop Whately being absent on a tour of visitations, and Mr. Baron Greene being again unable to attend the meeting of the board owing to the pressure of his judicial duties.

The Court of Proprietors (East India Company) have considered the Government measure. All the company of the proprietors praised the government of the directors, and attributed all the evils of India to the interference of the Board of Control. Mr. Ayrton mildly dissented, and advised that the proprietors should take up an independent position, and not volunteer to defend the directors. Mr. Sullivan also condemned the directors for not having protested against the interventions of the Board of Control, and for not having publicity in all their proceedings. Sir Charles Wood's bill was universally condemned as improper, and, in connexion with his speech, as highly illogical; for if the Company's rule had been successful, why abridge their power? Mr. Sullivan also advised an enlarged constituency and an independent Indian council.

A "scene" took place in the lobby of the House of Commons, on Monday evening. There were several noblemen and gentlemen congregated in the little office of the Telegraph Company; and, among them, Lord de Mauley dictated a message to the Duke de Brabant, at Brussels. The Duke was waiting at the other end of the wire, and returned a courteous reply. The message was pretty long (being eleven lines in the daily papers), but its transmission and the receipt of the answer did not occupy more than five minutes. Then Lord Howard de Walden (Brussels) asked Lord Cadogan (London) was he soon coming to Brussels, and Lord Cadogan said, "yes"—the whole question and answer not occupying thirty-eight seconds. Lord Howard de Walden sent a short message to his wife; and Sir James Carmichael (at Brussels) cut short the conversation by advising his English friends not to let their luncheon get cold. Upon the hint, the directors lunched. Shortly 200 continental cities will be admitted to the international conversation, and talk with the antipodes will be possible, if Mr. Brett's wire across the Mediterranean, Africa, Egypt, the East Indies, to Australia, be carried on as proposed.

A college for the education of negroes is to be established at Bermuda. At a meeting of its promoters, the Rev. Hampden Gurney said that "while the college invited those of dark shade, it did not exclude the white; thus a struggle with respect to caste might arise; but when he saw how in the West Indies brown men sat on the bench, he saw that this prejudice was not insuperable." Judge Haliburton expressed his opinion that the institution would be a benefit to the black race; but he would have preferred "not quite so fine a name as college, as that pre-supposed its being devoted to gentlemen."

A meeting took place, in the Town-hall, Oldham, the Mayor in the chair, on Monday, June 13th, to petition parliament in favour of the opening of the Crystal Palace. The object of the meeting was diverted from its purpose by the conduct of the Mayor and a number of persons sent to the meeting to break it. In consequence, says the *Manchester Guardian*, of what the promoters of the former meeting, held on Monday evening, considered to be the unfair decision of the Mayor, they engaged the Working-Man's Hall, and issued placards, calling a meeting to be held on the Wednesday evening, at eight o'clock. Mr. Henry Robberds was called to the chair. Mr. Quarumby moved a resolution in favour of abolishing all laws causing such institutions as the Crystal Palace to be closed on Sundays. Mr. Knott seconded the resolution. Mr. Chester opposed. Mr. Davies, one of the deputation, said it had been reported that the Crystal Palace Company, being rich, had sent them out with the view to profit, but that statement was not true. The Crystal Palace Company had refused to take any step in order to agitate the public mind. It was the working men of London who had sent Mr. Pridaux and himself to enlist their sympathies; and surely they would extend them to their brethren. He was frequently and loudly cheered. Mr. Horsfall, of Royton, from the gallery, said it was charged that an inn was to be built at the very gates of the Crystal Palace. He would ask if there was a church in the country which had not its public-house at every gate; and if the Crystal Palace were closed on that ground, they must on the same ground close all the churches. The resolution being put, a forest of hands was held up in its favour, and the chairman said thirty or forty was held up against it.

The improvement of the dwellings of the poor in London seems somewhat checked, if we take the condition of the Metropolitan Association as a test. Some of its rooms remain unlet—why they cannot say—and their enemies accuse them of confusion in their accounts. They have declared a dividend of one-and-a-half per cent.

A large building in Endell-street, Long-acre, has been fitted up with baths and wash-houses for the poor. It contains one hundred private baths, two large plunging baths, and a washing department where fifty women can wash and iron at the same time (and, we presume, talk during the operation.)

The Ballast Board having invited tenders for the construction of a new graving dock, it was responded to by

nine persons. In due course it was announced that Mr. Dargan's tender, amounting to 60,154*l.* was approved of and accepted. This has occasioned much astonishment, especially to those who sent in tenders upwards of 14,000*l.* under Mr. Dargan. The board state, in their advertisement, that they are not bound to accept the lowest tender. The Messrs. Moore, and the Messrs. Williams, two firms well known for the magnitude of the public works they have executed, were amongst the tenderers, and it appears that the Messrs. Moore sent in a tender 14,000*l.*, and the Messrs. Williams, of Talbot-street, a tender 10,000*l.* less than Mr. Dargan's. Messrs. Williams are known to have executed most of the many public works in the kingdom, and why their tender should have been slighted appears at the present moment a mystery.

Mr. James Hannay's lectures are continuing with the conditional *éclat* to have been expected. His second essay was read on Wednesday to a sufficiently numerous audience, intellectual and admiring, the more that the subject was not familiar, and that the treatise was pleasant literary gossip about Erasmus, and those two Scotch wits of the Reformation,—Sir David Lindsay and Buchanan. The lecturer has a graceful unaffected manner; and it is a great merit, the management of the manner, so as to call no attention away from matter, particularly when as in this case, the matter is really good—not, perhaps, profound, but piquant and personal, and admirably illustrated by *nots* and anecdotes. These lectures will make a capital book.

Photography, as an infant art, can receive much aid from organization. The new Institutions, and the evening meetings which have lately collected professors and amateurs of the art, have already done much good. Mr. De La Motte's *soirée* in Bond-street, on Thursday night, was pleasant and profitable, and excited much interest. Several beautiful specimens, representing microscopic objects were exhibited, and the general display was most satisfactory.

A message from Liverpool to New York and back again now takes but twenty days.

Australian news is to the 23rd of March. In New South Wales some restrictive legislation has disgusted the diggers, and many have left for Victoria, where the increased richness of the gold fields is an additional temptation. Melbourne is embarrassed by the immense increase of population, and the difficulty of getting houses or tents for the population is still very severe. There seems an entire want of vigorous administration in Melbourne, and a general immorality among the people. The female immigration is still comparatively scant, and the obstacles to the education of children are such that the rising generation are growing up without instruction.

The *Valette*, new paddle-wheel steamer, for the Peninsular and Oriental Company, will have an average speed of sixteen-and-a-half miles an hour.

A new port has been made on the Mersey. From the coal and salt districts of Lancashire runs a new railway to Garston, heretofore a quiet little village on the Lancashire side of the Mersey. A fine large dock, over six acres in extent, has been built, and all the conveniences for the storage and shipment of coal have been constructed in first rate style.

The new propeller, the boomerang, has been again tried at Portsmouth, and has given satisfaction. Its average speed was 9.125 knots an hour. It saves one-eighth of the coal used in common screw steamers, and has much less vibration.

London consumed last year over 3½ million tons of coal.

Cigars, tobacco, and snuff, to the extent of 28½ million of pounds, were consumed last year in England. They paid duty to the amount of 4,560,741*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

Hood's "Song of the Shirt" will be inapplicable in a few years. The new American sewing-machine—a box two feet square—is said to work well. "The right hand of the worker turns a small wheel, which puts in operation two needles, one an upright needle, the other a sort of semicircular one; and on a strong tabular surface, at the left hand extremity of which these two needles work—the upright above and the circular under—the cloth is laid with the left hand, and propelled between the needles as the machine proceeds with its stitching, till the two bobbins which supply the thread to the double needle machinery be wound off. The machine can stitch in circles, or zig-zag, or any other way that may be desired, and may be driven at the rate of 500 stitches per minute, by the foot at nearly twice that rate. The work is strong close sewing, beautifully regular, and such as would require a very firm and well-practised hand to equal."

The following bit of advice about Indian postage is given in the *Bengal Hurkaru*:—"A secret worth knowing! How to avail yourself of the cheap book postage in India. If you send a half-pound book from Calcutta to Lahore by 'dawk banghy,' under the most liberal Indian rules it will cost you in the conveyance thirteen annas. If money is a greater object with you than time, as it sometimes is with thrifty people in the matter of literature, send your book to a friend in England, Scotland, or Ireland, at the charge of four annas, and let him redirect it to Lahore, whither it will go for four annas more. Thus the book is carried some 12,000 miles for eight annas, and you save five annas by the process."

The late Earl Bridgewater left estates worth 60,000*l.* a year to Lord Alford, on condition that Lord Alford should attain the dignity of Marquis or Duke of Bridgewater. Lord Alford died without attaining the honour, and the next in remainder now claims the estates. The case has been decided already for the claimant, but an appeal is pending.

Mr. Nelson, a literary man, selected a library for Mr. Attwood, who in consideration of that and other literary services, promised Mr. Nelson a government appointment, to be obtained "through Peel." Mr. Attwood not having done so, Mr. Nelson sued him for 800*l.* Mr. Attwood, on

oath, denied point blank that he had promised patronage or contracted the debt. But the Jury believed the evidence of Mr. Nelson, and awarded him 350*l.*

The cost of manufacturing stupendous mountains and vast prairies was illustrated in the law courts this week. In Cremorne may be seen Mexico, with its vast prairies and antique temples; then comes Switzerland, with its lakes and mountains; afterwards California; and, lastly, Nineveh, the oldest and yet the most modern city in the world. These paintings occupy about forty feet, and cost forty shillings a foot. In another building Westminster Hall is exhibited, and there the visitor "may have the pleasure of looking into the Court of Common Pleas, and losing nothing by the visit." So spoke the advocate for the manufacturer, who not being paid for his work, sued the proprietors for the money. He was awarded 108*l.* 6*s.* for his construction of so much of the world.

Mrs. Richards is a widow lady, lived in 6, Alfred-terrace, Maiden-lane, and in the house her daughters kept a school. Mr. Rose purchased the house next door, and in making a drain under his own house, undermined Mrs. Richards' dwelling. The walls cracked, wavered, and sunk, much to the fright of the good lady and her daughters, who in alarm left the house. They have been awarded 25*l.* as damages.

How noblemen arrive at the truth is told by Lord Downshire. Susan McClelland came to him asking for charity, saying that she was the sister of a lady from whom the Marquis, some time before, had purchased pictures. "I asked her how her sister was, and she replied that she was dead. This strengthened my belief in her statement, for the sister was suffering from asthma, and at that time I made the remark that she was not long for this world." So the impostor got 10*l.* from his lordship, too gratified at the fulfilment of his prediction to remember that a dead sister is not as uncommon as a dead ass.

Fresh from the diggings, Frank Eglyn Frank landed in London, lately; he had realized two thousand pounds. Among his jollifications in town he went to the Victoria Theatre, on Monday night, having a hundred and nine sovereigns in his pockets. Afterwards he went to a public-house, and while there conversed about the diggings with a tall man, wearing a white hat. Suddenly the scene changes. Frank finds himself in the street, "recovering his senses;" his money is gone, and the white hat has disappeared. The police are making enquiries after the hat.

The new Westminster Bridge allows only twenty feet headway for the navigation (London Bridge allows twenty-nine; and Vauxhall, the lowest of the present bridges, allows twenty-six). This, it is said, will place a permanent obstacle to the navigation of the river Thames.

A blacksmith in Poplar had a quarrel with his wife, and in the fight broke his fiddle. This vexed him exceedingly, for he was about to raffle the "violin." While his wife was asleep that night he cut her throat, widely and deeply, and then cut his own, not so deeply. The wife died without a struggle, the man died on the evening of the next day.

A painful instance of the perversions of feeling resulting from imperfect education and unhealthy society, has shown itself at Burford, Oxon. Hannah Pratley gave birth to a child on Tuesday of last week. With reluctance she told her fellow-servants in the morning, and directed by her they found the child alive and struggling in a pail, but its stifled cry showed that it was suffering severely from cold. It had been exposed for two hours, and it died before the day was over. Henry Isles, a workman living in the house, seemed disturbed when he heard of the occurrence, and his wife questioned him on the subject. But he denied all knowledge. That evening, however, he hanged himself in the garret, and was cut down, yet warm, but dead. Hannah Pratley is in gaol, and the body of Henry Isles was buried at midnight in the parish churchyard, privately, without any religious burial service.

Close to the roadside, near his own house, an Irish gentleman was killed on last Friday, shot dead from behind a ditch. His name is Robinson, and he lived in Bantry, Wexford.

There were six murders in Liverpool during 1852. Of other serious offences there were 31, while the cases of bigamy were 3. 3211 drunk and incapable persons were arrested by the police. Passing over the offences of promoting profligacy and vice, numerous in Liverpool, we find that 30 persons were accused of deserting their families. Perhaps this want of domestic happiness may be accounted for in the following statistics. There are 1406 public-houses, and 918 beer-houses, while the coffee-houses number but 96, certainly a small proportion for a city so large as Liverpool. There are 33 houses in which stolen property is received. Of the persons taken into custody, 11,800 were males, and 7,217 females. The number of professional thieves in Liverpool is 384, 62 being females; the occasional thieves are 106, and the suspicious characters 90.

A woman of Staffordshire, named Sarah Barker, threw her infant down the shaft of an old coal-pit, eighty yards deep. She is to be tried for murder.

At a factory in Preston some men were taking down a partition-wall by undermining it. It fell on them, crushed one man to death, and grievously wounded two others.

Several shops and factories in the New-road have been destroyed by fire. The "work of destruction," the "devouring element," and the "sheets of flame," proceeded in the usual order. Finally the firemen, with an immense corps, quenched the fire.

On board H. M. S. *London*, in the recent cruise, a cable not having been properly secured, a strain took place, the ring-bolt was carried away, and the cable flew round with great force. It killed one of the lieutenants and six seamen, and wounded nine others.

A poor Scotswoman lost her way in a snow-storm. She sank exhausted by a burn-side, and could not get on. She made repeated efforts to crawl towards home, but was too weak and cold. Thus she lingered for eight days, having nothing to eat but a little bread. Yet she was saved—and is now recovering.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

THE public health is now in a more satisfactory state. The weekly deaths registered in London were at the beginning of April above 1300; in May they averaged more than 1100; in the week that ended last Saturday the number fell to 924. In the ten weeks corresponding to last week, of the years 1843-52 the average number was 896, which, if raised in proportion to increase of population, becomes 986. Hence it appears that the actual mortality of the week is less than the estimated amount by 62, a result more favourable than has been obtained during a long period.

Last week the births of 742 boys and 667 girls, in all 1409 children, were registered in London. In the corresponding weeks of the eight years 1845-52 the average number was 1348.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.798 in. The reading of the barometer increased from 29.59 in. at the beginning of the week to 29.04 in. by 9h. p.m. on the 15th; remained at this reading nearly till 9h. p.m. on the 17th; and decreased to 29.79 in. by the end of the week. The mean temperature was 58.3 deg., which is 1 deg. below the average of the same week in 38 years. The mean daily temperature was below the average on 4 days, above it about 2 deg. on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. On Monday, when the wind blew from the north-west, and 1.15 in. of rain fell, the mean temperature was 9.1 deg. below the average. The highest temperature occurred on Thursday, and was 74 deg.; the lowest was on Friday, 49.7 deg. The greatest difference between the dew point temperature and air temperature was 19.5, and occurred on Thursday; the difference fell to 0 deg. on Monday; the mean difference of the week was 7.1 deg. The wind blew from the north on the first three days, and afterwards from the south-west.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 17th of June, at 13, Cavendish-square, the Viscountess Mandeville: a son and heir.

On the 18th, at 10, Hyde-park-gate South, Kensington-gore, the wife of Gilbert Abbott & Beckett, Esq.: a daughter.

On the 18th, at 40, Russell-square, the wife of James Russell, Q.C.: a daughter.

On the 18th, at the residence of her uncle, Crawshaw Bailey, Esq., M.P., 16, New-street, Spring-gardens, Mrs. Henry Bailey: a son.

On the 19th, at Gaddesden-park, the wife of Captain Leopold Grimston Paget, Royal Horse Artillery: a son.

On the 21st, the wife of Thomas Platt, Esq., of Burton-crescent, and of Lincoln's-inn, barrister-at-law: a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 19th of May, at St. Mary's Chapel, Chatham, Miramichi, New Brunswick, James Charles Edward Carmichael, Esq., only son of the late John Edward Carmichael, Esq., and grandson of Charles Douglass Smith, Esq., of Dawlish, Devon, late Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island, to Eliza Jane, eldest daughter of John Williston, Esq., M.P., of the above place.

On the 14th of June, at Monkstown, near Dublin, John Trimmer, Esq., Assistant Commissary-General, to Phoebe Porter, only daughter of the late Captain Nenon Alexander Connor, formerly of H.M. Seventy-first Regiment, granddaughter of the late Edward Connor, Esq., of the War-office, Dublin Castle, and maternal granddaughter of the late Count Brunet-dit-Dauphinay.

On the 14th, at St. John's Church, Notting-hill, Augustus J. W. Northey, Esq., of Llangwathan, Pembrokeshire, Major 41st Regiment, eldest son of Colonel Northey, late Quartermaster-General, to Laura Sophia, only daughter of the late Joseph Price St. George, Esq., of Notting-hill-square.

On the 15th, at St. Paul's Church, Witherslack, Westmoreland, the Rev. William Leonard Williams, son of Archdeacon W. Williams, of Turanga, New Zealand, to Sarah, second daughter of John Bradshaw Wanklyn, Esq., of Halecat, Westmoreland.

On the 18th, at St. Pancras Church, A. Cleveland Wigan, Esq., to Rosamund Dorothea, second daughter of the late John Curtis, Esq., of Grays-inn.

On the 21st, at Exmouth, in the parish church of Littleham, the Rev. Sudlow Garratt, son of John Garratt, Esq., of Bishop's-court, Devon, and of Clevefont, near Cheltenham, to Anna Maria, third daughter of the late Venerable George Barnes D.D., Archdeacon of Barnstable.

On the 21st, at St. George's, Hanover-square, the Rev. Edmond John Morgan, of Poniky, in the county of Worcester, to Jemima, second daughter of the late Vice-Admiral Maling, of the Elms, Abberley, in the same county.

On the 21st, at St. George's Hanover-square, Fitz Patrick Henry Vernon, Esq., eldest son of the Right Hon. Robert Vernon Smith, M.P., to the Lady Albretha Elizabeth Wentworth Fitzwilliam, youngest daughter of Earl Fitzwilliam.

On the 21st, at St. John's Church, Notting-hill, Kensington, Henry Membury Wakley, Esq., of the Middle Temple, barrister-at-law, second son of Thomas Wakley, Esq., of Harefield-park, coroner for Middlesex, and lately M.P. for Finsbury, to Catherine Anne, second daughter of the late Francis Pinkney, Esq., of Whitehall, and Swansea, Glamorganshire.

On the 22nd, at Lewisham, Kent, John Hill Williams, Esq., of 12, Waterloo-place, Pall-mall, to Edwina Anna, daughter of Major-General Edward Nicolls, late of the Royal Marines.

On the 22nd inst., at Lewisham, Kent, by the Hon. and Rev. Henry Legge, John Hill Williams, Esq., of 12, Waterloo-place, Pall-mall, to Edwina Anna, daughter of Major-General Edward Nicolls, late of the Royal Marines.

DEATHS.

On the 15th of June, in Yorkshire, aged twenty-seven, Walter B. C. S. Wandesforde, youngest son of the Hon. Charles B. C. S. Wandesforde, of Kirklington-hall, Yorkshire, and Castle-comer, Ireland.

On the 17th, the Marquis of Huntly, in his ninety-second year. On the 17th, at Cheshunt, Mrs. Price, of 40, Upper Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, eldest daughter of the late Joseph Batho, Esq.

On the 17th, at Edinburgh, Miss Susan Maxwell, younger sister of the late Sir William Maxwell, of Monreith, Bart.

On the 20th, at the rectory, Witney, Oxfordshire, aged eighty-three, the Rev. Charles Jerram, rector of Witney, and late vicar of Chobham, and formerly minister of St. John's Chapel, London.

On the 20th, at 40, Eaton-square, Malcolm, the infant son of the Earl and Countess of Galloway.

On the 20th, Henry Weir, Esq., manager of the London and County Bank, Knightsbridge, aged fifty-two.

On the 21st, at Fortan Rectory, Staffordshire, the Rev. John Fenton Fletcher Boughey, second son of the late Sir John Fenton Boughey, Bart., of Aqualate, in the same county.

At Bournemouth, Hants, aged twenty-three, Mary, the second daughter of the late Sir David Erskine, Bart., of Cambo, N.B., and Pwlyrochon, Denbighshire.

The Leader

SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1853.

Public Affairs.

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

RUSSIA DEFINES HER OWN POSITION.

WITH the assurance that the Czar desires no territorial aggrandizement or new footing in Turkey, the Circular Note of Count Nesselrode, (whose re-appearance at this stage of the negotiations is worth remarking,) to the Russian ministers and diplomatic agents couples a confession singular in its unconscious candour, and its self-refutation. The whole of the note is intended to show, that the matter in dispute between the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan has been the custody of the Holy Places, and especially the key of the principal church of Bethlehem, which had been delivered to the Latin patriarch, and respecting which the Emperor professes the most lively solicitude. That street-door key, in fact, is professedly a key to the whole question, and that fact alone might serve as a comment on the trifling nature of the pretext for which the Czar Nicholas is about to disturb the peaceful relations of Europe.

The Emperor's own story is this. The rights of the Greek clergy in the East, existing "ab antiquo," had been violated by the transfer of that valuable key and some other privileges unappreciable to the frigid sense of British Protestantism, to the Latin patriarchs, who are under the protection of France. Complaints upon the subject were made in Constantinople, and the French Government, disavowing the gasconades of the over-zealous Lavalette, concurred in a restitution of the privileges which had been abridged, or withheld from the Greek clergy. The Sultan issued a firman, and it was conveyed to "the holy city" by "a Turkish commissary." The Russian Consul there insisted upon its formal promulgation and registration, but the Turkish commissary "audaciously declared that he had no knowledge of the act, and that no mention of it was in his instructions." On the score of these omissions by a Turkish subordinate, reported to St. Petersburg by a Russian subordinate, the Chancellor of the Emperor, speaking in the name of his master, does not hesitate to charge the Turkish Government with "tergiversation and duplicity." The whole affair was brought back to Constantinople, and it had been adjusted apparently to the satisfaction of the Emperor. On the strength of this temporary impediment to the action of the Turkish Government, however, the Emperor now insists upon "an authentic act," which must serve at the same time as "a reparation for the past, and a guarantee for the future."

Let us suppose for a moment, that the Emperor of the French had succeeded in obtaining some better terms for the Roman Catholics in England; that the new arrangements were temporarily impeded by a subordinate officer charged with their execution; that the whole matter was ultimately arranged to the satisfaction of the Emperor; and, that after that solution, he insisted upon Queen Victoria's placing herself under a bond to him, separately from the other powers of Europe: such a case would be exactly parallel to the present position of the Turkish affair; and we in England should all feel, not only that the demand was an insult to our Sovereign, but that compliance with it would surrender the independence of our State.

We may take the description of the new demand and its motives from Count Nesselrode's own words, used in the name of his Imperial master.

"The act is to be not only a guarantee for the future, but a reparation for the past"—a guarantee which the Emperor attaches so much importance, as it constituted the only reparation for the outrage offered to his dignity by the breach of faith on the part of the Ottoman Porte—especially after the circumstances which had rendered this yet more notorious."

Count Nesselrode claims as a precedent the example of immunities secured to Protestants in Catholic States under treaty at the time of the Reformation; but no such treaty made the contracting protector a party to the domestic execution within the dominions for which the immunity was granted. The Emperor claims, indeed, something more: he speaks as if such a precedent applied, *à fortiori*, to "a Mussulman empire whose Christian subjects have suffered, and suffer still, so often, not only in their immunities, but in their properties and in their existence;" as if a Mussulman were more bound than a Christian to submit his independence. Indeed, the Emperor claims "the right of surveillance and remonstrance" over Turkey; and thus placing Turkey in an inferior position, he takes the hesitation to execute his will within Turkish dominions as a personal insult to himself, and requires a bond as a reparation for the outrage offered to his dignity. The spirit of his proceeding is thus betrayed in the words of his own accredited servant.

The Note, indeed, is full of scarcely covert threats to other powers. The Chancellor reminds a certain Government, that during the disturbances of 1848-9, he might "have left the Governments alone to fight among themselves, or with their rebellious subjects, and," he continues, "profiting by the embarrassments of their position, we could have attained, without any difficulty, that point which persons persist in designating as the goal of our encroaching policy." He now insists upon the power and simple acceptance of his dictation. "Russia," he says, "has pressed against the extremest limits of moderation, and cannot yield another step, unless it be at the cost of her political importance." "We still desire to untie the knot (so dexterously fastened by the Ultimatum) in a peaceable manner; but it appears that we are to be compelled forcibly to break it." Thus if he be thwarted in his will, he will "break the knot," and the blood of Europe must be the salve to assuage the pain of his irritated "importance."

We have taken the Emperor at his word; we have supposed that he is sincere, and that nothing more is meant than appears upon the surface of his own document; and in that view we find him bullying a weaker power, taunting it with its inferiority, levelling insinuations at those "whose suspicions are incurable," and declaring that, his "importance" injured by a Turkish commissary, and the want of a key to the big door of an apocryphal sanctuary, shall assuage its rancours in a European war. Can anything more foolish or more wicked be avowed?

But we do not believe the Russian document. This plan of bullying to obtain a footing in advance, and then to surcease the bullying as a concession while the advance is retained, is an old trick of Russia; one that she has pursued in former times; one that has gained her step after step too distinctly traced on the map of Europe; one that she has been pursuing without hindrance of late years, and one that she is pursuing at this moment. For the suspicions of Europe are "incurable;" and if the "importance" of the Emperor is only to be soothed by a European war, we on the other hand must accept a war as the means of teaching his "importance" the lesson which it still needs.

RUSSIAN ATTEMPTS ON AMERICAN VIRTUE.

In the very restless community of the United States, if we may interpret outward proceedings from so great distance, two conspiracies appear to be going on, of rather a strange kind. One is, the movement of Russian agents to promote a feeling of hostility against Great Britain. We have heard the names of persons thus engaged, and one gentleman has already been publicly designated in the journals as the author of some articles that have appeared in the *Union* of Washington, endeavouring to represent the Czar as the object of admiration, and as a suitable alliance for the Republic of the West. Apart from any question of British interest, our American readers will trust us for regarding any such proposition with a feeling of revulsion on the score of American sympathies alone. The endeavour to represent that there is any similarity whatsoever between the institutions of Russia and those of the United States, could enter the head only of a dishonest intriguer, or of some crazy Abolitionist. We do not know whether the persons who have been named to

us are actually in the pay of Russia or not. It may be a matter of speculation; it is possible even that, with some strangely eccentric minds, it may be a matter of taste. But that the regularly appointed agents of Russia are spread over every quarter of the globe is a fact often asserted with confidence, and confirmed to our own knowledge by remarkable incidents. In no class of society, in no town, in no political party, can we be sure of not encountering some one serving the purposes of the autocrat.

The possibility of a retribution in kind, however, already appears. By her last act in the East, Russia has thrown off the mask which she has so long worn, and appears, not only as the head of the Absolutist party in Europe, but as the upholder of the doctrine that nations, with all their interests, material and moral, their integrity and their peace, are to be sacrificed to soothe the "dignity or importance" of one man. In these respects Russia is the exact opposite of the United States,—the very contrast; proud of all that America hates, hating all that America prizes. The conflict which is gradually coming on in Europe is one in which the vital principle of Russia will be contending with the vital principle of America; and looking to the expansion which the love of freedom has received in modern times, we cannot but anticipate that, with all the development of war and military organization, the tyrannical principle will lose, the American will triumph. No respectable number of the citizens in the United States, then, can be so far traitors to their country, or traitors to their own understanding, as to take side with that power which they are destined to despise and to conquer.

Russia is proud on account of her great means and magnitude; but there is such a possibility as that a State, especially one which hangs upon a single centre, may become too large for its own integrity. It is a mistake to imagine that the Russians are altogether so subservient to the one man; or that 50,000,000 of human beings do pray for the extension of *that life* with every rising and setting sun. It is true that the Russian officer in the uniform of authority is a tyrant wherever he goes, as the officers of a purely military and centralized government usually are, whether the country is Christian or Mussulman. But it is not possible to possess with a military police so vast a territory as that of Russia; and the one fact that the Russian can traverse the dominions of his Sovereign without a passport would suffice to prove that there is a degree of personal liberty in Russia far beyond that of many European countries. The Russian is becoming conscious of his own energies and importance in Europe, independently of his sovereign. He travels, and finds that he is as clever, as powerful bodily, as courageous, as apt at seizing ideas, as any other European. Siberia has been peopled by exiles; it is a country large in extent, varied in climate and character; but there is this peculiarity about it—that it is a true colony. The descendants of the exiles often lose their desire to return to their old Russia, and Siberia is beginning to have a consciousness of itself. Siberia is continually extending eastward, as America is extending westward; and the time is not altogether out of sight when the Anglo-Saxon colonist will meet the Russian. Small respect for Emperors is likely to be felt, when the piquets of those two democracies hold conversations on the mutual boundary! The opinion of freedom, indeed, has a power of expansion necessarily denied to the dogma of centralized authority; and instead of supposing that America is to go to Europe to play the condottiere in the army of the Tyrant on the banks of the Neva, we may expect that some day, the Anglo-Saxon and the Russian may go down, arm-in-arm, cross the eastern territory, to teach the old Russians how to manage their affairs in their own way. That is the true Russo-American alliance, which to our prophetic vision looms in the remoter future.

THREAT OF A NEW MEXICAN WAR.

The other conspiracy, conducted by we know not whom, appears to be one to disparage General Pierce; and the evidences of it we desecrate in the columns of a paper which at first affected to ignore that distinguished man, was then obliged to recognise him in the fulness of his popularity, and now professes to discover some popular mistrust. The professed cause of

this mistrust are as transparent, in the very statement, as we know them to be false in fact. We are told, says a writer in New York, the "own correspondent" of a morning paper, that "the people of the United States are reluctantly coming to the opinion that neither the President nor his Cabinet were fully qualified to undertake the administration of the affairs of the nation;" and then causes are given. The President, we are condescendingly informed, "had indeed been some time in public life, but he had never, by his official duties, been made familiar with international affairs. The sphere in which he had moved was altogether too narrow to prepare him for the serious engagements with which he is now obliged to grapple." Then "at no period of our history has any new Administration so long deferred the consideration of our foreign affairs." And the writer "does not believe that General Pierce, or his Cabinet, have yet settled upon any definitive policy or purpose, in respect to the important question that has just arisen," in regard to Mexico.

Now, the presumption based upon these premises is about the least proper to be rested upon them of any that could have been selected. That General Pierce has not yet made any statement of his views is a fact which, to most observers knowing his past career, would have indicated not a want of purpose, but distinctness of purpose and strong self-possession. It is only the man who is not quite sure of himself, or does not suffice to himself, that rushes into the ear of his neighbour with all his plans, and purposes, and little projects. The man who is sufficient to himself is content if he knows his own mind; and all who were acquainted with the past career of General Pierce, know that it has been remarkable for modest quiet, for efficiency in action, and for unfailing energy. As to his "sphere of action," it has always been expanding, and has never been too large for him to fill it. The man who attained to the position of a president of his state senate, at a very early age, and who, while still in the flower of youth, entered the senate of the United States, cannot have been a man with faculties suited only to a narrow sphere. The man who entered the army, as a volunteer, to handle a brown musket, and returned home as the General, to receive the thanks of Congress, cannot be a man with insufficiency of purpose or vigour. But General Pierce did not tell the friends of his youthful recreations that he intended to establish himself in the Senate of the Union; he did not proclaim, through the barrel of his musket, as a speaking trumpet, that he aimed at being General of the forces. The proclamation of his purpose has, in past times, been made by the achievement of his acts, and we may, at his years, expect that such a man is likely to persevere in that self-possessed manner.

But the very examples advanced of his public acts prove that he is not without decision. Even on this very question of Mexico, the same writer complains, indeed, that his choice of ambassadors has been too marked. He has chosen Mr. Soule as ambassador for Spain, "the most obnoxious man that could have been chosen to represent us at Madrid." He has chosen as Secretary of State, Mr. Marcy, who has the objectionable attribute in the eyes of the writer, that Santa Anna, who has subsequently returned to be Dictator in Mexico, hates Mr. Marcy, "as he hates the Americans, and as the Americans hate him." It appears to us, then, that Mr. Marcy and the American people must be in tune together; and that Mr. Marcy at least must be a man of decided feelings, which, indeed, we knew before. But do these selections indicate indisposition or inability? Quite the reverse. To us they indicate, if not settled purpose, settled principle.

Let us go back to General Pierce's position before he was called from the retirement of private life to be President. His last public act was to receive the thanks of his country for victorious services, after entering upon the career of a soldier only as a private citizen bound to perform his duty. But upon what occasion was it that Franklin Pierce took up arms? It was for the purpose of adding one more musket to the army which was destined to chastise Mexico, and to annex a new territory to the United States. Whom has he chosen as Secretary of State? Mr. Marcy, who, in dealing with the now Dictator of Mexico, is meeting that "old enemy," Santa Anna; Santa Anna being also the enemy

of that Herrera who heads the Annexation party in Mexico. Spain has had some wild dreams, not only of retaining Cuba, but of recovering Mexico. And whom does Franklin Pierce select to represent his Government in Madrid? Mr. Soule, reputed to have some connexion, as he has an undisguised sympathy, with the Order of the Lone Star, and noted for having proposed to place 5,000,000 of dollars at the command of General Pierce, in case of emergencies. The writer appears to differ from the policy that may be inferred from these facts, and his moral disapprobation appears to blind him to the real meaning or weight of the very facts he states.

Let us not be misunderstood, or contribute to any misinterpretation of President Pierce's position. It would be a very hasty, and, therefore, a very wrong conclusion, to presume that he has decreed the annexation of Mexico, or of Cuba. That any man in his position has the power of decreeing those conquests we believe. He could evoke the necessary strength from his own country; he could find more than enough of willingness in Mexico and Cuba to bring them into the Union. He could in the West defy any power of the East, and win glory by resisting any force that could be brought against him. These things we believe; but we also believe that the Government at Washington will be ruled strictly by the sense of justice inherent in the mind of man, by the broad principles of international law. The interests of the Union, the principles towards which she must incline, the propagation of her doctrines and her influence, are objects which must be elevated as standards to mark the goal for President Pierce; and that he will approach them by any unworthy means is as little to be inferred from his character as it is from his acts. It is only proper that European politicians should learn to estimate the qualities of a man who has been appointed to a post and a mission so conspicuous as those of the American President.

A CLEARING HOUSE FOR PARLIAMENTARY PECCADILLOES.

THE Durham Election Committee supplies us with a further insight into the manner in which the principle of the set-off has been worked by the gentlemen who create the House of Commons,—the Parliamentary Agents. Mr. Atherton, one of the unseated Members, Mr. Bentinck, a member of the committee, Mr. Coppock, of European celebrity, and Mr. Browne, the Conservative agent, have carried on something like a conversation before the reporters, which acquaints us with the whole matter; Mr. Coppock still being the man who holds the key of the position. When Mr. Atherton found that a petition was presented against his return, on charges of riot and premature closing of the poll, he reflected that such grounds affected both members,—Mr. Granger's return as well as his own; and he accordingly caused a petition to be presented against the deceased Member's return. He was told by Sir Alexander Cockburn that the petition would be of no effect if he did not pray for the seat; and to fulfil the necessity of prayer, he accordingly "prayed for the seat," which would naturally have fallen to Lord Adolphus Vane. Mr. Atherton's object was to stop the issue of the writ, which would have let in Lord Adolphus, and thus to make it worth the while of Lord Adolphus's friends to agree to withdraw both petitions. But Mr. Coppock, though admiring the *coup*, viewed it in a more professional manner. He had conversations with Mr. Browne and Mr. Bentinck, and other persons interested in these transactions, and he draws nice distinctions between a "bonâ fide" petition, and a petition "to secure a quiet return for Lord Adolphus Vane," or a third, "to place Mr. Atherton and Lord Adolphus on equal terms;" but then "the bonâ fide petition was presented to get rid of that bonâ fide petition which unseated Lord Adolphus Vane a few days ago." Thus, Members found an office in which seat could be set against seat, vacancy against vacancy, advantage against advantage, flaw against flaw; and by this process of setting one against the other, with comparatively little trouble and expense, one could arrive at the net result. It is the perfection of a clearing-house for the balance of parliamentary accounts.

But why should this convenience be limited to parliamentary petitions? We remember an advertisement of some eligible premises in Tottenham Court-road, which were suitable for a hair-dresser's, a confectioner's, an ironmonger's,

or an oyster dealer's, and a sort of postscript announced them to be "susceptible also of the chop line." Mr. Coppock's office appears to us to be susceptible of the "affair of honour" line. The Keogh affair is a sort of cross fire, to retaliate and counterbalance the "W. B.," the Admiralty, and other peccadilloes of the late administration. Now it would save a great deal of debating and bother, if two parties possessing such easily constructed cases against each other, could refer them, not to the House of Commons, but to Mr. Coppock; strike a balance, and bring only the net amount before the House. Mr. Keogh, it is asserted, preached Ribbandism, and physically trampled on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill; Mr. Augustus Stafford converted Admiralty patronage to election purposes, and made statements for which it would have been difficult to have produced the corresponding facts. Mr. Sadleir and Mr. Monsell accepted office under a Conservative-Liberal Administration,—a formidable offence; and "W. B." suborned voters at Derby by an alien agent. Clearly, instead of troubling the House of Commons about these matters, they might have been referred to Mr. Coppock, who should have cast up in a Dr. and Cr. account; and then only the balance that remained should have been brought forward in the House.

We perceive, indeed, a difficulty in this, arising from the absence of some counterpoise. There are Keogh, Sadleir, and Monsell, to be set down to the Conservative-Whig account. But then, there are W. B., A. S., Northumberland, Derby, and Heaven knows how many other culprits, on the other side, to say nothing of the comparative weight of the allegations against the late Ministry. We do not see how Browne and Coppock could have made a fair bargain. Nevertheless, the principle is a good one; and we are convinced that it would have redounded to the credit of both parties, if they had sunk all the peccadilloes that could be set off one against the other, at the same time that it would have relieved the House from some of its most discreditable debates.

USES OF THE CHOBHAM CAMPAIGN.

STRANGE mutation of opinion! The *furor* of June, in 1851, was the international Exposition, with a jubilee of Peace prophets: in this month of June, 1853, it is the Chobham Camp. Such a spectacle, indeed, has not aroused the old martial instincts of the British people since the war of giants, ending in the catastrophe of Waterloo. And, whatever the Gurneys and Cobdens may say, it is not merely the fine spectacle which draws the thousands to the breezy heath, white with the tents of a gallant and compact little army. It is a real sympathy with our gallant champions, the protectors of our honour, the guardians of our rights all over the world. It is a latent, half-conscious sense, that British honour, and British commerce, and British love of right, and the desire to keep that foremost place, so dearly and so laboriously won by our forefathers, which creates the interest in the scenes at Chobham. With Russia trying to turn our Eastern flank—even the City, even Manchester, cannot but feel that there may be yet need for the bayonet and the cannon.

Nor is the spectacle itself contemptible; far from it. A wide heath, undulating into hill and dell, dotted with white tents; soldiers roughing it under canvass; and now again marching forth in the stern array of battle, and simulating the dreadful shock of the field; the sturdy Highlander, the steady guardsman, the dashing lancer, the agile rifleman—all make up a scene which kindles memories that never die, and awakens those emotions without which England would not be England. And no matter whether you be republican or monarchist in creed and feeling—the sight of Queen Victoria reviewing her soldiers—and at such a moment—restores that belief in the manly stamina of the British people, which the maudlin preachments of the Peace party, and the noise they made, had made so many forget. The spirit of Cromwell is not yet extinguished by the spirit of Cobden. Peace with honour must triumph over peace at any price.

But valuable as this miniature encampment has proved in testing the slumbering spirit of the nation, that is not the only result of this experiment. It has a practical character, and supplies a much needed experience both to the soldier and the officer. Theoretically, the rawest recruit

goes through his exercise in brigade; but how many of our home-keeping regiments have been practised in more than the routine evolutions of a review? Few save those that have been in India have had any sustained practice in real rough field movements. To some, the idea of forming up promptly and at once, without waiting to "dress," must be a heartrending violation of etiquette and symmetry; but when they find the one commander disposing of large bodies of men with decision and order, even on broken ground, they will learn to appreciate the essentials; and will relish the skill which, however practised in tracing its military copies on the ruled paper of the parade, can in a time of real business dash off the living characters of war with a free hand on the roughest field. To go through drill with a theoretical eye to the brigade on the left or the right; to tell off the orthodox four paces; to dress up with an anxious eye to the cheek of your second man, are excellent niceties of practice; but when the boat has to scramble over the broken wave for life and death it is not time for "holiday feathering," and when a Napoleon or Suwarrow is near, or in presence, the vigorous movement of the masses is rather more important than the smooth dressing of the ranks.

We know that recruits sent raw to India have soon worked into harness, and helped to win a word of honour on the regimental colours; that regiments have gone from barrack to victory; but the greatest of generals—from a Pompeius to a Washington, a Napoleon or a Wellington—have known what is the terrible strain upon the faculties and anxieties of the commander who works with raw materials. If mistakes are inevitable on the first acquaintance with rough and ready service, it is quite as well to make them in presence of "the enemy" represented by farriers and the cockney spectators, rather than by an imperial Russian Guard, or a sweeping squadron of Don Cossacks.

The most perfect drill and barrack discipline can never supply opportunities for these exercises; but campaigns like the one at Chobham supply these deficiencies of the ordinary military curriculum in times of peace. Not much has yet been effected; but no doubt an experienced old campaigner like Lord Seaton will supply all deficiencies before the camp breaks up.

Some practical inconvenience has been felt by the troops in the crowding of spectators who take up positions which interfere with the evolutions. The officers are disposed, we learn from the general orders, to discourage the attendance of civilians. No doubt they may be impediments. But surely it would be shortsighted policy on the part of the War Office to disgust the people by making their visits unpleasant. Great benefits must follow from familiarizing the public with military sights; and the proper course for the camp authorities to adopt would be to point out spots whence lay spectators might observe the evolutions of the troops without practical obstruction. Surely a few simple regulations, a few patrols, a moderate supply of good temper and forbearance would easily obviate the difficulty. By a little judicious forethought Lord Seaton may satisfy all parties, and secure from the campaign all its advantages, not only military but political.

THE TESTAMENT OF THE CZARS.

In another part of our paper we have translated from our able and energetic French contemporary, *La Presse*, the text of a document purporting to be the Testament of the Russian Emperors; or, in other words, a scheme for the subjugation of Europe, drawn up by Peter the Great for the guidance of his august successors to the throne of the Czars. We do not pretend to decide in any degree upon the claims to authenticity which this singular quasi State-paper may be held to possess.

That a document of this nature, if not in this precise form, does exist in the state archives of the Russian Empire we have great reason to believe; it is quite possible that many apocryphal and hypothetical texts more or less approximative to the presumed original, may be in existence, without invalidating the fact that such an original does exist. No doubt it has often happened with respect to profane, we do not say to sacred history, that *ex post facto* prophecies have been conveniently inserted among posthumous MSS. documents, and endorsed by some curious and inven-

tive collector with the prophetic character not strictly belonging to them. In the present case, however, even were the explanation of its origin, which we find in *La Presse*, less definite than it is, the text of this Testament would, we think, justify us in soliciting a more serious attention to its contents than that "tetterimus" ambassador, the Chevalier d'Eon, appears to have been able to obtain from the debonair Ministers of Louis XV. There are three dates to be taken in connexion with this Testament, and which appear to us to stamp it with whatever significance it may be permitted to claim. So long ago as in 1779, the "Political Life of the Chevalier d'Eon" was published, from which the Chevalier's memorable complaint of the indifference with which his youthful revelations of Russian policy were received by the Ministers of Louis XV. is extracted. In 1836 the *Life of the Chevalier d'Eon*, founded on indisputable family documents and state-papers, appeared. In 1853, the latest Turkish question—in other words, the latest systematic aggression of Russia upon Turkey, brings the neglected revelations of the favourite of Elizabeth of Russia into startling apropos. The Chevalier lived himself to see a part of his Cassandra-like predictions of Russian policy fulfilled. From 1779 to 1836, we need not point out how relentlessly and inflexibly the policy of alternate fraud and force sketched in this document has been pursued by the successors of Peter the Great.

What is this menacing mission of Prince Menschikoff, in the spring of 1853, with all its still undeveloped consequences, but the realization of certain doctrines of the Imperial Testament? So that, leaving to *Notes and Queries* the dry statistical question of the genuineness and authenticity, we are, at least, entitled to conclude that if this Testament be not a reality, it deserves to be. If it be a fabrication, it "lies like truth!" Read by the light of Count Nesselrode's self-accusing excuses, we may say, that if it be "too good to be true," it is also too true to be altogether worthless.

THE GOVERNMENT BILL FOR INDIA.

(From a Correspondent.)

It may fairly be presumed that no plan for the future government of India, whether that of Sir Charles Wood or any other, has a chance of being discussed purely on its merits. The ground is not clear for abstract views or optimist devices. Party strife has possessed itself of Indian politics, as of all others; and not what is best, but what can be obtained, will be here, as elsewhere, the consideration to govern the result.

More than the ordinary looseness and inaccuracy of political discussion, manifest themselves in Indian debates, and as much so on the official side, as on the other. The President of the Board of Control made a speech, of the length now established for great ministerial expositions,—namely, five hours; but its material was singularly inappropriate to its object. His business was to show that the form of government now established for India is the best for the purpose, some matters requiring amendment alone excepted. To do this, he detailed the progress India has made in the twenty years' term of the present charter now just expiring, without, however, attempting to show that that progress is in any way a consequence of that form of government, and could have been, in any equal degree, a consequence of no other. The Bombay petitioners ascribe the advantages India has derived from its connexion with us, to "the British character," while they strongly object to the particular form and construction of the government; and, in the main, we think they are in the right. Whether, however, they are so or not, it is quite clear that Sir Charles Wood fell into the same mistake as his predecessor, Mr. Herries, when he adduced the advance of India to prove the excellence of the system, which chance, party compromises, and the occasional pressure of public opinion, have established for the government of India. Our Eastern Empire might have prospered much more, under any other system, or its prosperity may be in no way connected with the existing one, for anything he showed to the contrary.

His opponents, however, are not less inexact. The facts they allege are, in many cases, either inaccurately adduced, or, for want of fuller information, are made to support false inferences. Moreover, a state of things which had existed for ages, and which can be but slowly changed, is made to supply the materials of accusation against a government of yesterday, which could only take matters as they found them, and mend them as they might. We say a government of yesterday, for it may be doubted whether a calculation, founded on areas, populations, and dates of acquisition,

would give so much as fifty years for the average duration of our rule.

An independent reader, comparing, or, rather, contrasting the statements of the two parties, might well imagine that there was no truth in either. Making allowance, however, for the manner in which party deals with facts, we are ready to admit, that there is more of real truth of allegation on both sides, than would, at first sight, appear; but there is an enormous amount of misapplication of facts, and from this chiefly arises the appearance of contradiction. We have not space to follow out this remark. Our object is limited, at present, to showing that there is obscurity enough in Indian subjects, to prevent any such decisive action on the part of the independent portion of the political public, as shall greatly modify the resolves of the bureaucratic body. Sir Charles Wood and his colleagues will probably have matters pretty much their own way, through the timidity of ignorance which possesses most beside those in office, unless, indeed, party considerations, extrinsic to the bill itself, should prepare another fate for India.

If so, what is the bill, what are its probable results, and what are the improvements of which it is susceptible?

To open the civil and scientific branches of the Indian services to educational competition, while other parts of the same service are still left to be filled by simple nomination, is to deprive the whole system of an advantageous homogeneity. A small ruling caste amongst millions, we cannot afford to risk the establishment of more schisms where we have too many already. We are confined to the necessity of unity, by our having no general British public in India, as a fund from which to draw for the several ranks and qualifications of the service. We have now two services—the covenanted and the uncovenanted; in future we are to have three—the competitive, or talented; the nominated, or common; and the uncovenanted, or friendless.

Competitive examinations afford little real proof of fitness for any office, least of all for Indian. It is true that from the dullard little can be hoped for; but it is just as true that the mere bookworm is the very man to fail in the varied exigencies of Indian official life. Clive never spoke to the natives in their own language. Sir William Jones, profound linguist as he was, could never dispense with an interpreter in court. Some of the men who have done most for India must have failed under a scholastic examination. India, like every other field of active enterprise, wants Brindleys, Smeatons, and George Stephensons, quite as much as Willises, Moseleys, and De Morgans; and a test which emphatically excludes the former class will by no means afford compensation in the places it gives the latter.

The same breaking-up of the existing similarity of origin and unity of composition, is to take place in the nomination of the Court of Directors. It is hardly possible that the six directors to be nominated by the Crown should not affect a different standing from those who attain their seats through a canvass now largely stigmatized as degrading. Nor can it happen otherwise than that, in any difference which may arise, the Crown will support its own nominees. We may, henceforth, expect discussions sufficiently open, and perhaps acrimonious, where disagreements have been too well concealed under an outward official conformity, and where healthful publicity has been far too much feared and shunned.

If Ministers, in making appointments to the Direction look too exclusively to Indian qualifications, we may anticipate failures in that great liberalizing process which it is our function to conduct in India. An "Old Indian," who went out at eighteen and returns at sixty, is far more fully furnished with Indian than with English postulate for all his opinions; and it is very difficult to convince him that, exceptions excepted, India, and especially his own part of it, is not now what it ought ever to be. And yet, it is in the gradual progress from the Oriental and despotic towards the English and constitutional, that the value and stability of our rule in India reside. A *ci-devant* ruler of submissive myriads, fresh to the air and mien of England, may often be the man, not so much to see or take part in such a progress, as to dread and obstruct it. Indian great men, except of the rarer sort, need to have colleagues of a different kind, to draw their true practical value from them.

We pass over for the present some matters regarding India itself, to make some needful remarks on the two provisions in the new arrangement which seem to contain the germs of whatever organic good it may yield. The first of these is that which, as to time, avowedly leaves the Indian question open indefinitely. No period of twenty years is assigned to future sleep; and it will be the fault of the educated natives of India, and of their friends here, if all reasonable and needful reforms

be not gradually effected. The mere possibility of their resort to Parliament will do one-half the work, if only they show, that to do the other half they will, if pushed to it, really use that resort. But then they must show intelligence in their suggestions, as well as energy, efficiency, and trustworthiness in so much of public business as may fall into their hands. These not failing (and here is the chief risk), their future progress will be pretty much what they themselves may make it, by the quiet and gradual application of constitutional means.

That, however, on which we are most disposed to rely for the effecting of reforms, is the annual statement of the Indian Minister in Parliament, which, however, is only promised by the Minister and is not to be found in the Bill. But to be of sufficient value, this provision needs improvement. As proposed, it seems to be only the revival of a practice which was dropped for its inconvenience in official quarters. It needs to be rendered obligatory, and to have the weight derived from some practical consequence of its sufficient fulfilment; or else it may either be dropped again, or be rendered useless by some of the common devices of party.

On this as on many other Indian subjects, our own early constitutional progress indicates a principle applicable to the case. Our forefathers insisted on the redress of grievances, before they granted money; and they thus worked out the several steps of our own freedom. Let, then, some part of the Indian expenditure, say all the salaries payable in England, and those of the imperial representatives and nominees in India, be payable by the British Treasury, out of funds supplied to it by India, and on an appropriation bill to be annually passed by Parliament.

Two parties will probably soon feel the need of such a security. The people of India will require it, as a guarantee for sufficient attention to their interests, just as our ancestors needed it for theirs. So long as the Court of Directors was a body independent of the Crown, those interests had some sort of advocacy; and, however insufficient and imperfect it might be, its necessity and value were made apparent, by the fact that the measures most injurious to India, in late times, have been just those which the Ministers of the Crown had the power of imposing, either without the knowledge of the Directors, or against their expressed dissent. If this shield, however defective, be taken away, it will be absolutely necessary to interpose some other check to the power of the Ministry in Indian affairs, just to the same purpose, and for the same reasons, as in British and imperial affairs.

To justify such a modification of the proposed plan, it is not necessary to represent the Indian Minister as an ogre, ever on the watch to devour the happiness of the East. We have only to remember, that, notwithstanding all our advantages of being on the spot where the government is carried on, of the possession of established constitutional usages, of the exercise of well understood rights, and of identity of the personal interest of the Minister and his friends with that of the people at large, we have ever felt the necessity of constitutional safeguards for ourselves, against the errors and infirmities of power. Of those safeguards, one of the greatest, in its time, was that which we now propose to apply, under very similar circumstances, to the affairs of India; and, in those affairs, the absence of all our own special advantages of other kinds, renders the importance of this safeguard vastly greater than in our own case.

But the East India Directors, not nominated by the Crown, will probably need it, as much as the people of India. With one office entirely composed of Crown servants, and with one-third of nominated members in the other, it is obvious that the Minister will have a predominance, to which no strength of conviction, or energy of remonstrance, on the part of the twelve elected Directors, can supply any check. So long as Indian affairs could be confined to a distinct official system, separate from the general régime of the Empire, in which most things could be "made pleasant," without much sacrifice either of private feeling or public consideration, the supremacy of the Board of Control might be tempered to considerable effect, by the Court of Directors, or, at worst, endured with more or less of wincing. But when the imperial authorities shall have come so largely into Indian administration, as is now proposed, and the imperial nominees shall be able to carry everything before them, one of two things can hardly fail,—either the elected Directors will quietly sink to a rank confessedly and very much below that of their nominated colleagues, or they must seek still further admittance into the general system of imperial rule, by claiming the protection of Parliament; and that protection still rests, practically, on the old constitutional device of the Appropriation Act.

On the vexed question of the "double government,"

we offer, just now, but one remark. We cannot forbear to wonder that the ardent reformers who advocate the merging of the Court of Directors in a Government office, do not see that they are throwing away an opportunity of the highest value, for establishing a popular Indian constituency in England, through improvements in the constitution of the East India Company. It is not, however, the first case, by many, nor the only one now existing, in which the impetuous supporters or opponents of political forms or devices, which happen to have engaged their attention, or to have stood in their way, forget and damage the principles on which the less immediate but more real objects of their zeal essentially depend. But if the India Reformers neglect or avoid a popular basis in this country for the Indian government, in favour of unaided parliamentary responsibility, then are they doubly bound to make that responsibility real, and not to leave it, as experience shews it to have been in Indian affairs, as great "a sham" as ever the double government was represented to be.

This great subject will require an early return to it, with such fresh lights as the movements of parties may afford.

"A STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

"POOH—POOH! why should I give way? Want to go home early? Of course he does. So do I; and I'm twenty years older." Mr. Hume thus expressed himself at about six yesterday evening, in reply to the countless applications made to him to let Mr. Macaulay speak first. Mr. Hume had adjourned the debate from Thursday: and Mr. Hume had got the right to have the House first; and Mr. Hume is an obstinate man, who cannot perceive the advantage of following Mr. Macaulay in a grand debate. Mr. Canning said that Mr. Hume was "an extraordinary ordinary man;" and in no respect is his commonplace more marvellous than in the belief that public speaking is his forte. The House doesn't agree with him; and as his infelicitous firmness was bruited about he became very unpopular. Great crowds were down about the House awaiting Macaulay, and they Oh—oh'd, and cried, "Macaulay, Macaulay!" when Mr. Hume got up; but it was of no use—Mr. Hume floundered sedately and contentedly into *medias res*; and the House emptied spitefully, and did not return in great numbers, for there was no longer a certainty about the great member for Edinburgh, and at least it was hoped he would be mute till dinner was over. But he wouldn't; he waited patiently on Mr. Hume, and followed, in a not crowded but respectfully eager House, with a speech which was undoubtedly excellent from its point of view, but has disappointed the expectation of every one but Ministers. He delighted Ministers and dissatisfied everybody else. Broken down in health, uncontrollably nervous, and unable to sustain the pitch of his voice, we are hardly to look now for those vividly brilliant Macaulay orations, to hear which was a grand intellectual luxury; and certainly not, when the orator happens to be on the unpopular side, defending a bill, generally scouted, for no more precise reason, it is probable, than that he is the editor of it. Still it was a fine defence, abounding in suggestions, and rich in the resources of informing illustration: but it was not Macaulayish,—it was cold, tame, and rather business-like, and reminding of the old style, or of the style in which he spoke three weeks ago on Lord Hotham's Exclusion of Judges' Bill, only here and there, as in the hearty scholarly vindication of academical distinctions, and in the review-like assault on Lord Ellenborough. Cheered at such passages he was warmly and delightedly; but, for the most part, his speech did not tell, and the impression he produced was that he had missed the great occasion to stamp his name on Indian legislation out of mere personal considerations for the comfort of bureaucratic Whigs and the curry-powder classes. The great effect was frigidly talked about and cruelly criticised; and the conclusion to which observation led, was that Mr. Macaulay, for the first time in his life, had not made a hit where he had aimed. That event gave a dull tone to the evening; members went off dissatisfied to smoke; mild Mr. Blackett, who next went in to win, and did, (with the members of the Indian Reform Association); jaunty Lord Jocelyn (trying to get back among the Peelites and on the way to an Indian Presidency,—for which he prepares himself by copious blue books—that being his view of a statesman's education); objectless Mr. Otway (who was rotundly inconclusive); ardent Mr. Adderley (who thought that he had a good right to speak about India, seeing that the Cape is half-way); and mauling Mr. Mangles (who announced that he was breaking for the first time the silence of twelve years, and induced a regret at his precipitancy);—all spoke, in due succession of orderly dulness, to a thinner House than would be got on a great railway bill. It was

mortifying; but what was to be expected? Two of these gentlemen were showing, in elaborate essays, in which they solemnly dogmatized, that Parliament ought not to legislate, because Parliament was ignorant of the question; and the two others, the possible Indian President, and the actual Director, were arguing that Parliament was not ignorant, and proved their case by declaring that "the hon. gentlemen below the gangway" (meaning the Indian Reform Society's members) were in the crassest unconsciousness of what they had been talking about. The House could not find enjoyment in the dissertations of theorists or the simulations of "practical" men, who look on the 150,000,000 merely as men who are to be governed, or as men who are machines for the contribution of revenue; and by the time Mr. Mangles had compensated for his prolonged and commendable taciturnity by the most terrible reaction remembered by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, it was one in the morning, and the debate had to be adjourned—most of the potent personages having yet to declare themselves.

Likewise on Thursday, when it was known early that Macaulay would not speak till yesterday, and then the first thing, and when, consequently, all the other pretentious orators made up their minds, like discreet men, not to anticipate a person who was going to speak to posterity, and would therefore have it in his power to hand down those whom he attacked to eternal contempt, there were all the indications of the correctness of the theory advanced here some weeks ago—viz., that there is in England profound public indifference to Indian affairs, and that, but for the opportunity which they might offer for party devices, Ministers, whether with a good or a bad bill, would have *carte blanche* to deal with the dusky 150,000,000 just as the Yorkshire squire, Sir Charles, who is ruler over them, might happen to like. Last night there was at first a good House, because there were great speakers expected. On Thursday there were not 100 members present at any period of the debate, because second rate, or at least second class men, were to be competing for the Speaker's eye. The House, like the country, doesn't care what anybody thinks or has to say about India; the interest is merely in what certain men are going to do in a party emergency; and in June it is no doubt difficult to sustain the sense of sacred duty to the 150,000,000, who are, to us distant Saxons, an abstract race—an unknown quantity in a political sum. Besides, on Thursday, members hadn't made up their minds; and when a member hasn't made up his mind in a party crisis, he keeps out of the House, for he doesn't know whom to cheer, and he does know that Hayter, and Bateson, and Lord H. Lennox, never take their eyes from him, and he is then too uncomfortable to understand the arguments; so he waits about the lobby and the library, and hopes to see who is likely to win; when he comes to an abrupt and chivalrous conclusion about the 150,000,000. There was much to chat about both nights in the lobby and in the library, in the dining room and in the smoking room; and amid the variety of rumours and of prophecies, men had much anxiety to pump as much and say as little as possible; for in an era like this week, the great art of your member of Parliament is to shake his head, with the due vagueness, and not to commit himself, with the due emphasis. The perplexity was common to all parties. Steady Ministerialists were afraid of Ministers, and avoided Hayter; Radicals had to affect to believe they might follow Bright without offence to Russell; or, on the other hand, to seem to think that they would be betraying liberalism to vote with the Tories when they were right; and the latter class went about, saying solemnly, "I've never played the Tory game, and I never will:" that is so enlightened in independent members! And the Tories were on thorns, for they are at last perceiving that Mr. Disraeli is splitting them up into two camps, and they were not certain—the meeting at Lord Derby's not having been quite successful—whether they ought not to go into the country, and so get out of the dilemma in which they were placed between young Stanley and old Herries. Inglis is always nearer Russell than Disraeli now: his orthodoxy has been alarmed for some time; that terrible chapter in the Bentinck biography, which adjured Sir Robert Inglis to be grateful to the Jews because they effected the crucifixion! and his spiteful speech—the idea of being led by a young fellow of twenty-six—absurd!—did not make much impression. But Herries did: that is what was heard, for the old gentleman has a faculty for talking confidentially with the clerk at the table, and makes no exciting displays; and, no doubt, it was question, after that statesman's snub of the aspirant Stanley, whether the decorous Tories ought to ridicule on their party by voting on an Indian in the teeth of the man whom, when they were in power, they made President of the Board of

For everybody, however, there was a promise of safety, which made the *entremets* at that day's dinner less bitter than might have been expected. It was generally said that "Baring (or somebody equally safe) is going to do the right thing." Baring was hitting on the *juste milieu*, and was going to play the game played by Lord Palmerston for the Derbyites at the beginning of the session on the Villiers' tentative free-trade motion—that is, move an intermediate motion, which would save the honour, but destroy the bill, of the Ministry. And it is easy to see that with all Sir Charles' conscientious enthusiasm for his 150,000,000, he is just now scrupulously looking after himself. Jonah of the Coalition he thinks that Lord Stanley is beginning to look very like a whale.

The speeches on Thursday were worth a better House. Lord Stanley had an audience of about thirty; he spoke athwart the dinner hour—and his party is the dining out party—yet Lord Stanley spoke very well. Trained in the art of public speaking he knows how to make adroit use of the ample materials always available to one in his position. But his good speaking is confined to his matter and to his style. He labours under terrible disadvantages of manner. Some one said lately of him that he was a Demosthenes who kept the pebbles in his mouth, and that is a very good description of a very dreadful voice, to which, however, you get accustomed, so at least as to catch all the words, and it may, therefore, be practicable for him to get a House of Commons position, for when a man has always the same audience, the audience ceases to notice what at first are repulsive peculiarities. He cannot conquer this natural defect—a defect which would have kept most men to their libraries and country walks. But he has other defects, which do not indicate that Lord Derby is as good a trainer as he should be. Lord Stanley gesticulates with his head. Fancy Costa, having lost his baton and making use of his head, and you get an exact idea of Lord Stanley suiting the one action to every word. It's ridiculous, but the House gets used to that too; and tells Lord Stanley when it meets him in the lobby that he is a great orator; even, with the usual tendency of the world, to set father against son, contesting colloquially that he is the Pitt to the Chatham. The Fox on this occasion—on this India Bill—was Mr. Robert Lowe; and as he spoke, speculative strangers following him, continued the inquiry how far natural disadvantages can be overcome by orators. These were two successful public speakers, yet successful despite of remarkable physical drawbacks. Lord Stanley has a split palate, and Mr. Robert Lowe is all but blind; yet there these two men were—and very few noticing the peculiarity—the principal debaters on one of the greatest questions that could occupy—and intimidate away—a British Senate. Mr. Lowe was actually debating, answering point by point, an antagonist, whom he could see just as little as he could see the 150,000,000—quoting and making reference to papers, which he could only read with the assistance of a microscope, which appears brought down to him with his red box. It was an odd duel—a blind speaker replying to a speaker with a slit palate: but it was a very interesting one. Mr. Lowe crowded into one hour every argument expanded by Sir Charles Wood into five; and it is to Sir Charles' credit that he appreciated the speech, and wasn't a bit jealous—he chuckled, spluttered, and suggested, and pulled by the coat tails, gleefully—and, with his celebrated tact, always at the wrong time. So did the other Ministers enjoy the speech, which was a masterpiece of concise and compact reply; and so did the 40 or 50 who kept the three or four Ministers in countenance—the three or four Ministers trying not to look ashamed of the British Senate in the presence of the Hindoo magnates who were sitting in the gallery to see how the 150,000,000 fared. Mr. Phinn, who succeeded to Mr. Lowe, made a good speech too:—a practised barrister on the right side generally does. Mr. Phinn is always making good speeches now; and is always getting up to catch the Speaker's eye; and is being set down as a rising man. Good on Wednesday, he was good on Thursday, and would be good if he had to speak every night—happy and accurate mediocrities being felicitously equable. He is one of the few barristers returned at the last general election—Mr. Cairns is perhaps the only other—who is obtaining success in the House of Commons; and obviously it is obtained by adapting himself to the new arena, learning its ways, and calculating its partialities; and the kindest advice to the forensic failures, is to suggest that they should observe the difference between Mr. Phinn in court, and Mr. Phinn in the House; Mr. Phinn "showing cause," and Mr. Phinn "venturing to suggest to honourable gentlemen"—as on Thursday, in a page or two of Sallustian Latin!—a thing never attempted since Sir Volume Wood got on the congenial shelf, the bench. The third important speaker on Thursday, Mr. H. Baillie, Tory Ex-Secretary to his

Board of Control, was elaborate and no doubt excellent; but affection for the 150,000,000 did not induce much attention to this able and accomplished gentleman, perhaps tedious speaker. Who'll follow Baillie? was a general inquiry while he was talking—the usual sign that he was not making way; and the conclusion was, that the debate would be adjourned—for who would face a House of 30 or 40 listless men with a great speech, small speeches on so "vast" a subject being of course out of the question? But no; one was astonished to see the Tory Ex-President of the Board of Control following the Tory Ex-Secretary of the Board of Control. What bad taste, said every one; but it wasn't; it was quite correct: the Tory Ex-President of the Board of Control followed because he was going to reply to his Ex-Secretary. And he did, and was loudly and chucklingly cheered by Sir Charles Wood, and suavely smiled at by Lord John. After that, Mr. Disraeli must have felt his arrows blunted for impromptu taunts upon Ministerial confusion. An age of coalitions is clearly beginning to mean an age when everybody is to vote against everybody.

It is clear that the split among the Tories has extended to the House of Lords, where Lord Derby, magnificently mean on Mr. Keogh, and grandly malignant on Mr. Brewster, is last night—(the great Lords having thus had two nights debate on the Irish law officers)—suspiciously tame about the Budget; and where Lord Malmesbury's attitude by no means corresponds to the indignant British vigour of his morning organ. Lord Derby was very humble and public-dutiful about the Budget, and looked across the table at Lord Aberdeen almost confidently. Why? Because he was beaten so heavily about the Succession Duty Bill; because he finds the party broken up and breaking away from him; and because few or none of those remaining with him in the Lords will indulge his petty and petulant nature. Thus he has been constrained almost into a tribute of respect to Mr. Gladstone for the Budget generally; and the Income Tax Bill would have passed the Lords with acclamation, but for the speech of Lord Brougham, who retains some method in his errantry, and, if only from old habit, is logical, exhaustive, and eloquent, whenever he finds himself on his legs, which occasionally he does, and sometimes to his own surprise, for nothing now is systematic with him. As an illustration of the tone of a coalition, Lord Palmerston's answer to the pious deputation about the Nunneries Inspection Bill reads very curiously to an inquisitive public; and it would appear to be a general fact about this Government, that if, as Lord John suggests, and as Lord Aberdeen meekly last night repeated, they agree as to a course, it is a matter of no importance whether they approve of it or not. Lord Palmerston's individual opinion is in favour of visiting nuns, but Lord Palmerston keeps away from the division, and leaves his "leader" to tear the Bill to pieces. Lord Palmerston is plainly the "independent member" of the Cabinet. A member of the Government, Mr. Sadleir, a Lord of the Treasury, is standing for Sligo, and Lord Palmerston, Home Secretary, sends down a candidate of his own to oppose Mr. Sadleir. Politics must never be permitted to destroy private friendship. Lord Palmerston has an old patronly liking for Mr. Patrick Somers, and to return his old protégé, whose vote was often useful in many a foreign policy scrape, he throws all the weight of his Irish territorial influence into the scale for the suspect Somers, and against the austere Lord of the Treasury; in the contest, Treasury money being fought against Home Secretary's money. That is the freedom of action which only a Coalition could give; and a free people may be proud of such contrarieties. But Lord Palmerston was not the only one of the Ministers differing from Lord John about convents. Lord John, it will be noticed, did duty on Wednesday alone, and though several Ministers voted with him, many were absent. Under the pressure of the white-neck-cloth interest, which has got just now a periodical bigoted flush in the face, the House was very full on Wednesday; but it was a painful, and a humiliating, and a dull debate, on the old theme—the question whether the Pope was Antichrist, so frequently debated in our enlightened House of Commons: numbers of English gentlemen saying aye, sonorously; and the Irish gentlemen saying no, screechingly; and—the majority of practical men evading the point. The Irish Roman-catholic members insisted on being vulgarly indiscreet in defiance that were not called for; because—another proof of the increasing power of Mr. Disraeli—the professional Protestant party accepted the mild amendment, to refer the bill to a committee; while the Whigs, voting confusedly against this amendment, which they should not have done—for a committee would throw the bill out—were, under Lord John's guidance, for a direct negative. Mr. G. H. Moore's vehement denunciation of that fine nationalist, the British bigot, would have been very good—of its kind—in a debate

at the time of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill; but it was very *mal-apropos* on a day when Sir Robert Inglis, with a few more of the old school, was divided against by the masses of the country party, and when an Irish Protestant, Mr. Butt, who is young and impulsive, and thinks Mr. Disraeli will be Premier, seconded the Radical and heterodox Mr. Phinn. A few years ago, Mr. Chambers' silly bill would have been carried; and it tells marvellously of the ameliorating influence of Mr. Disraeli, that all the younger men of the Tories suppressed their gushing Protestantism—so conspicuous in society—and voted for common sense: the Irish Orangeman, of the Napier dismal breed, doing out of shame the same thing, though with fervid reluctance. But this new school of Tories only voted; there was no speaking from them, except on the part of Mr. Butt, who has an Irish and partly Roman-catholic constituency to please, rather than offend by his vote. Mr. Disraeli himself voted, which was a proof of earnestness; for he came down, and stayed down for that purpose—not sitting in the House—oh no; for it had been understood that Sir John Pakington (who tried to get named, but failed) was to speak, and Mr. Disraeli cannot stand that baronet—but walking uneasily and moodily about the lobby, waiting the bell, and wondering whether all the young Tories had been convinced by him that "Sybil" was an average specimen of the British nun. He might have turned the walk to account, on meeting Mr. Moore, a friend though a brigadier, if he had induced that gentleman to be less indignant in the cause of his creed and country, neither being in danger of suffering from the insult of the stupid minority, who accept Mr. Chambers as a statesman upon the best methods of promoting Christianity. The other Irish members—and they were too numerous—were just as violent and as indiscreet: fresh from burning letters and vivid resolutions of private and public meetings in Ireland, they talked in utter indifference and in criminal ignorance of the tone of the House, and offended the House accordingly. It was fine to hear the terrific roar (there was a full House waiting the imminent division) which saluted Mr. Connolly when, at half-past five, that gentleman, taking up a carpet bag of "documents," proposed to read to the House a history of the Conventual Establishments of Great Britain. The House did not want indignation: the clear and candid, and—after his recent bursts—unquestionably Protestant argument of Lord John Russell, had sufficed to give a view of the Roman-catholic side of the question.

The Irish members are getting very unpopular. The Day Sittings, commenced yesterday, were specially resorted to for them, that they might have a Parliament of their own from noon to four o'clock; and the English members, in their carelessness, not seeing that they thus admit a repeal of the Union, are rejoicing in a release from intolerable bores. They are, no doubt, as a body, a dreadful set of men; and it is because they are bores, as bores, and not because they are Irishmen and Roman Catholics, that they are detested. But, still, the grin is to the successful; and it would seem that, now, in a Ministerial difficulty, the Tenant Right section of the Irish members—the debris of the "Irish party"—may be enabled to make their own terms, and, as the price of their saving this Government, extort extensive concessions in the direction of the settlement of the "land question." Why should they miss this opportunity? It would be a proper revenge for the disgrace and the punishment of the day sittings: a punishment, because Irish members are not early risers, of which the malignant Government, now able to borrow tactics from that tame elephant, Mr. Keogh, is well aware. In other respects the events of the day present to them temptations to reprisals. How was it that Mr. Moore, on Wednesday, missed the retort on Protestantism provided by the Marquis of Blandford on Tuesday? A Marquis, and a Marquis of pious tendencies, in a weeping voice, and with a broken hearted look, and in a broken winded speech, had represented to the enlightened Senate that the Church of England was a colossal sham; and the indignant Roman Catholic gentlemen might have suggested to Mr. Chambers and his abettors, that while their religious house was in such disorder, the regulation of alien establishments might conveniently and decently be left to those concerned in them. That there might be Inspectors of the starvation of Curates as well as Inspectors of the polka-pinings of Nuns.

"A STRANGER."

Saturday Morning.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

E. NICHOLS.—Our correspondent forwards us particulars of a circular lately issued in Birmingham with a view to induce employers generally to close their establishments on Saturday morning. We are glad to see from testimonials printed that the system has been found as conducive to the interests of the masters as to the welfare of the men.

GEORGE BAILEY.—The length of the reported discussion between Mr. Comley and Mr. Lomas precludes a possibility of our printing it.

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*.

CONSIDERING our obligations to the Literature, Science, and Philosophy of the Greeks, it is only a common feeling of gratitude and reverential love which must ever make Greece more interesting to us than its absolute political significance may warrant. When, therefore, we announce that a powerful movement is being organized among the Greeks, in pursuit of a great object,—great even if chimerical,—the establishment of a free Greek empire, with Constantinople as its seat, we are assured, beforehand, of the sympathy of all lovers of Literature. The pamphlet which has just reached us from Athens—*Quelques mots sur la question d'Orient*—is only one among the many indications of the existence of such a movement. The feeling of Hellenic nationality, never extinguished, is unusually active just now; it has got its society, furnished with money, and all the machinery of propagande, and its object is to stop the encroachments of Russia, in the East, by the establishment of a powerful Hellenic State—*Christian*, but *Christian* according to the Oriental mode; that is to say, according to the only form which Christianity has been able to develop in the East.

The writer of this pamphlet declares, that in Greece there is a French party and an English party, but that a Russian party, properly so called, does not exist. He, moreover, calls to mind that the inhabitants of Greece form but a small portion of the Hellenic race. Epirus, Thessaly, the greater part of Macedonia and Thrace, and, above all, the City of Constantinople and its environs, all the islands of the Archipelago, Candia, Rhodes, Cyprus, are inhabited by Greeks and Mahometans, the latter everywhere in minority. In Asiatic Turkey, where the Mahometans are in majority, all the Christians belong to the Hellenic race. In the rest of the Ottoman Empire, the Greek element everywhere predominates.

Having pointed the existence of the requisite elements for a Greek empire, the writer proceeds to argue, and with great force, the reasons which render such a thing imperative, as the only efficient means of "balancing power" in the East, and resisting the influence of Russia. We may also mention *memoriter* that two English pamphlets have appeared on this subject, viz., *Russian Turkey; or, a Greek Empire the inevitable solution of the Eastern Question*, by G. D. P.;—and *The Eastern Question in relation to the Restoration of the Greek Empire*, by An Inquirer.

One of the most important books that have appeared for a long while, is the elaborate *Traité de Chimie Anatomique*, by Drs. CHARLES ROBIN and F. VERDEIL, in three large volumes, with an atlas. As the title implies, only the scientific reader can be expected to take much interest in such a work. We mention it for the sake of those whom it may directly concern, and also for the sake of calling attention to it as the most important application of COMTE'S general doctrines to a special science. The authors are disciples of COMTE, and their work is saturated with his influence.

The advertisement columns have already announced the forthcoming abridgment of *Comte's Positive Philosophy*, by Miss MARTINEAU, a work which will enable the general public to dispense with the labour of studying the original, for Miss MARTINEAU has "condensed and freely translated" the whole of the six bulky volumes which contain the *Philosophie Positive*, and all who know her admirable powers of popular exposition will be prepared for a work of the very highest interest.

Another, and altogether different book, is also in the press—*Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences*. The articles on COMTE which appeared in the *Leader* last year, form the basis of this work, which will appear in one volume of BOHN'S *Scientific Library*.

It is gratifying to record that a second edition of ALEXANDER SMITH'S *Poems* is to appear next week—gratifying, because the large and rapid sale of the first edition (two thousand copies) is proof—if proof were needed—that real poetry is no "drug," whatever the imitation may be. We have taken too great an interest in the success of this young poet, not to feel pleased that our predictions are realized.

VON BAER ON THE DEVELOPMENT HYPOTHESIS.

Scientific Memoirs, selected from the Transactions of Foreign Academies of Science, and from Foreign Journals. Natural History. Edited by Arthur Huxley and T. H. Huxley. Part III. Taylor and Francis.

WE have already directed the attention of scientific readers to this valuable quarterly publication, and now call their attention to a particular article on a subject of immense importance, and of very general interest—the Development Hypothesis. Mr. Huxley was wisely prompted when he began the translation of those passages from Von Baer's great work on Embryology—a work so often talked of and so little read!—In Parts II. and III. of the *Scientific Memoirs*, the reader will find the main reasons against the Development Hypothesis which Von Baer adduces in his *Entwickelungsgechichte der Thiere*, forming one of the most legitimate and powerful chains of argument which that topic has elicited on the adverse side. Holding, as we do, the Development Hypothesis, though neither in the form advocated by Lamarck, nor precisely in that of the *Vestiges*—we welcome this strong adversary, and claim for him a hearing.

Von Baer's arguments are irresistible against Lamarck's main positions of serial development, and the unlimited influence of external conditions. That the animal kingdom is uniserial,—that its progression is serial,—that each group, or type, forms a link in the chain,—must be given up. It was the first rude sketch of the true theory. True enough in its broad

outlines, it is found to be inaccurate when we descend to details. The conception of a series is, however, by no means necessary in the Development Hypothesis.

Again, with respect to the influence of external conditions, there is no doubt Lamarck and the early speculators on this subject, first awakening to a perception of the immense significance of the character played by the medium in which the organism developed itself, did very much exaggerate its importance, and forgot the indispensable union of the two factors—organism and medium—in their investigations of the one. Before their time, naturalists only directed attention to the organism, overlooking the medium; on the other hand, they overlooked the organism in attending to the medium. Von Baer himself does not, we think, keep at the true philosophic point of view in this respect, but he is enabled to triumph over the exaggerations of Lamarck. In asserting that the organism has a power of adapting itself to new conditions, and that this adaptation can only take place through a modification of structure, the Biologist announces a positive Law; the question, How far these modifications can be carried, and how rapidly? may remain for separate discussion. It is a question of limits.

While, therefore, we fully admit the validity of Von Baer's facts and many of his arguments, we must declare them powerful only against the upholders of uniserial development, powerless against the more modern conception of the Development Hypothesis. In the old unconditional thesis, viz., that the embryo of the higher animals passes through all the forms of the lower animals—or, to use the language of Geoffroy St. Hilaire and Serres, that embryology is a transitory zoology; and zoology a permanent embryology—we detect only the first broad sketch of the truth, which minuter investigation proves to be inaccurate. With Von Baer, and most modern embryologists, we join in rejecting this thesis, as a mere tentative effort to express the law. The fact that the embryo is, from the first, the specific embryo of a specific animal, and developed under specific conditions, is sufficient to show that it never can, under any circumstances, be another specific animal, but can only more or less resemble it.

In admitting this, however, we cut the ground from under Von Baer's feet. His arguments are cannonballs against the old Hypothesis; against the new they are paper pellets. It is absolutely necessary for his victory that the battle should be fought on the ground he has chosen, and he has chosen a sandbank. He argues against this Hypothesis: "It is a law of nature that the development of the individual essentially consists in passing through the permanent forms of lower animals." But this Hypothesis we reject, as contradictory to reason and to fact. We accept all he says against it.

"If the law we are engaged in investigating were correct, no conditions which are permanent only in the higher animals could be a transitory stage in the development of particular lower forms. But a great number of such conditions are demonstrable. We cannot indeed discover them in the course of human development, since we know no higher organization. But the Mammalia afford examples enough. In all the jaws are at first as short, as they are permanently in Man; the parietal ridge is developed very late in animals which are provided with it, while, on the other hand, it is wanting in the highest forms. Instances of this kind multiply the further we descend. We have already introduced Birds speaking, in order to insist upon a multitude of previously-known relations in which the embryo of the Bird agrees with the adult Mammal. We can bring forward still more. The brain of Birds in the earliest third of embryonic life is much more similar to the brain of Mammals than in the adult condition. The corpora quadrigemina have not descended, the olfactory bulb is hollow and thick, and there is even a kind of fornix present. The heel of the Bird develops itself from many cartilages into a single bone. The eyes of the Chick are at first placed nearer together than subsequently, and give it a humanized face. Young Lizards have a very large brain. The larva of the Frog has a true beak like Birds, and before it loses its tail, an intestine of a length such as is only to be found permanently in a few forms of Mammals. The Frog larva is at first tail-less, a condition that occurs only among the highest Mammals; even the adult Frog has an internal tail, for we must so designate its long caudal vertebra. The Myriapods, the Mites, and the Hydrachne have, when they creep out of the egg, only three pair of feet, like the perfect condition of Insects which undergo metamorphosis. Even if, contrary to my opinion, it be maintained that the Arachnida are more highly developed than the true Insects, yet every one will allow that insects with a metamorphosis are higher developments of the Myriapoda. Such cases as these should by no means occur, if the development of the higher animals consisted in passing through the forms of the lower ones."

We may accept this without pausing to question how far it affects the argument, because granting it we grant nothing we ever denied. The Development Hypothesis does not need the uniserial conception; it only needs these conceptions, viz., the law of organic modification in adaptation to circumstances; the law of the identity of the organic process; and the law of epigenesis. Consequently, it will accept Von Baer's facts, and cite in testimony of its own truth what he admits in the following:—

"Can, however, no law be discovered to regulate the development of the individual as the possessor of a special organic form? I believe there can, and I shall endeavour to educe it in the course of the following remarks. The embryos of Mammalia, of Birds, Lizards, and Snakes, probably also of Chelonia, are in their earliest states exceedingly like one another, both as a whole and in the mode of development of their parts; so much so, in fact, that we can often distinguish the embryos only by their size. In my possession are two little embryos in spirit, whose names I have omitted to attach, and at present I am quite unable to say to what class they belong. They may be Lizards, or small Birds, or very young Mammalia, so complete is the similarity in the mode of formation of the head and trunk in these animals. The extremities, however, are still absent in these embryos. But even if they existed in the earliest stage of their development, we should learn nothing; for the feet of Lizards and Mammals, the wings and feet of Birds, no less than the hands and feet of Man, all arise from the same fundamental form. The further, therefore, we recede in tracing the formation of the Vertebrata, the more similar we find the embryos in their totality and in their separate parts. At first those characters gradually present themselves which indicate the greater, and subsequently those which mark the smaller, divisions of the Vertebrata.

"Thus the more special type is developed from the more general. Every step in the development of the Chick testifies to this. In the beginning, when the dorsal folds have closed, it is a vertebrate animal, and nothing more. As it raises itself from the yolk, as the gill-plates coalesce and the allantois grows forth, it shows itself to be a vertebrate animal, which cannot live freely in water. Subsequently the two caeca grow forth, a distinction appears between the pairs of extremities, and the beak is developed; the lungs pass upwards; the rudiments of the air-sacs are recognisable, and there can be no doubt as to its being a Bird. While the ornithic characters become more and more marked, in consequence of the further development of the wings and air-sacs, of the coalescence of the tarsal cartilages, &c., the web of the feet disappears, and we recognise a land Bird. The beak, the feet, pass from the general into a special form; the crop is developed, the stomach has already divided into two cavities, and the scale of the nostrils appears. The Bird takes on the character of a Gallinaceous bird, and finally of a domestic fowl.

"It is an immediate consequence—in fact, it is merely a changed form of expression of what has been said above—that the more different two animal forms are, so much the further back must their development be traced, to find them similar."

Although the various portions of a plant are all modifications of the leaf, the farther they are removed from each other, the farther back must their origin be traced.

"The further back we trace development, so much the more agreement do we find among the most widely different animals, and thus we are led to the question,—Are not all animals essentially similar at the commencement of their development—have they not all a common primary form? We have just remarked, that a distinct germinal disc probably exists in all true ova; so far as we are acquainted with the development of germ-granules (*Keim-körner*), it seems to be wanting in them. They appear to be originally solid; however it may be, that on their first separation from their parent, they have an internal cavity like the central cavity of the yolk, which only escapes microscopic observation on account of the thickness of the often somewhat opaque wall. Supposing, however, they are at first solid, and eventually become hollow, as seemed to me to be the case with the germ-granules of the *Cercaria* and *Bucephali*, yet we perceive that the first act of their vital activity is to acquire a cavity, whereby they become thick-walled, hollow vesicles. The germ in the egg is also, according to Schol. II. c, to be regarded as a vesicle, which in the Bird's egg only gradually surrounds the yolk, but from the very first is completed as an investment by the vitellary membrane; in the Frog's egg it has the vesicular form before the type of the Vertebrata appears, and in the Mammalian from the very first it seems to surround the small mass of the yolk. Since, however, the germ is the rudimentary animal itself, it may be said, not without reason, that the simple vesicle is the common fundamental form from which all animals are developed, not only ideally, but actually and historically. The germ-granule passes into this primitive form of the independent animal immediately by his own power; the egg, however, only after its feminine nature has been destroyed by fecundation, (compare the Coroll. to Schol. I.) After this influence, the differentiation of germ and yolk, or of body and nutritive substance, arises. The excavation of the germ-granule is nothing else. In the egg, however, there is at first a solid nutritive matter (the yolk), and a fluid in the central cavity; yet the solid nutritive matter soon becomes fluid.

"We remarked above, that to find a correspondence between two animal forms, we must go back in development the further the more different these two forms are; and we deduce thence, as the law of individual development,—

"1. That the more general characters of a large group of animals appear earlier in their embryos than the more special characters.

"With this it agrees perfectly, that the vesicle should be the primitive form; for what can be a more general character of all animals than the contrast of an internal and an external surface?

"2. From the most general forms the less general are developed, and so on, until finally the most special arises.

"This has been rendered manifest above by examples from the Vertebrata, especially of Birds, and also from the Articulata. We bring it forward again here only to append, as its immediate consequences, the following propositions concerning the object of investigation:—

"3. Every embryo of a given animal form, instead of passing through the other forms, rather becomes separated from them.

"4. Fundamentally, therefore, the embryo of a higher form never resembles any other form, but only its embryo.

"It is only because the least developed forms of animals are but little removed from the embryonic condition, that they retain a certain similarity to the embryos of higher forms of animals.

"This resemblance, however, if our view be correct, is nowise the determining condition of the course of development of the higher animals, but only a consequence of the organization of the lower forms."

With the warning that Von Baer is fighting against an enemy no longer in the field, but who was in the field when Von Baer wrote, we call attention to Mr. Huxley's translation of these Fragments of Philosophical Zoology.

DE QUINCEY'S AUTOBIOGRAPHIC SKETCHES.

Selections Grave and Gay, from the Published and Unpublished Writings of Thomas de Quincey. Vol. I. Autobiographic Sketches. Groombridge and Sons.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

TURNING from general considerations of De Quincey as a writer to the more special subject of this the first volume of his republished writings, we have to note the singular want of art (or what comes to the same thing, want of intellectual volition) revealed in the perpetual digressions and footnotes, pertinent and impertinent, which break the continuity of the narrative, and break the continuity of feeling. It is sometimes as if an organist were to stop suddenly in the culminating passages of his melody to tell you an indifferent story of his tailor's family troubles; or as if a poet in the midst of a passionate burst, were to check the current of emotion by setting down some erudite gossip about the invention of printing.

"Sketches" these chapters are truly named; and as truly "autobiographic;" hence one abiding source of interest, for they tell us of a man remarkable among remarkable men, they familiarise us with a mind of rarest powers. De Quincey is as egotistical as Byron or Montaigne; unaffectedly so, delightfully so.

Among the things he tells us of himself there is one to which we would fain draw the earnest attention of young men, the more so as it gives personal emphasis to a counsel we have repeatedly iterated in these columns—the counsel, namely, of not wasting powers available elsewhere on Poetry, when no special gift exists. Whatever a man's taste for music, it is idle in him to cultivate the art of singing if he have no voice; but not more so than to cultivate the art of Poetry if he have not the special gift.

De Quincey is surely a man whose marvellous mastery of language, whose imagination and sensibility, whose poetical instincts and cultivated taste, might claim the position of poet with far more justice than thousands who claim it; yet although, like all men of letters, he began by writing verse, early in life he came to the just conclusion that poetry was not his vocation:—

"In fact, whatever estimate I might make of those intellectual gifts which I believed or which I knew myself to possess, I was inclined, even in those days, to doubt whether my natural vocation lay towards poetry. Well, indeed, I knew, and I know that—had I chosen to enlist amongst the *soi-disant* poets of the day—amongst those, I mean, who, by mere force of talent and mimetic skill, contrive to sustain the part of poet in a scenical sense, and with a scenical effect—I also could have won such laurels as are won by such merit; I also could have taken and sustained a place *taliter qualiter* amongst the poets of the time. Why not then? Simply because I knew that me, as them, would await the certain destiny in reversion of resigning that place in the next generation, to some younger candidate having equal or greater skill in appropriating the vague sentiments and old traditional language of passion spread through books, but having also the advantage of novelty, and of a closer adaptation to the prevailing taste of the day. Even at that early age I was keenly alive, if not so keenly as at this moment, to the fact—that by far the larger proportion of what is received in every age for poetry, and for a season usurps that consecrated name, is not the spontaneous overflow of real unaffected passion, deep, and at the same time original, and also forced into public manifestation of itself from the necessity which cleaves to all passion alike of seeking external sympathy: this it is not; but a counterfeit assumption of such passion, according to the more or less accurate skill of the writer in distinguishing the key of passion suited to the particular age; and a concurrent assumption of the language of passion according to his more or less skill in separating the spurious from the native and legitimate diction of genuine emotion. Rarely, indeed, are the reputed poets of any age men who groan, like prophets, under the burden of a message which they have to deliver, and must deliver, of a mission which they must discharge. Generally, nay, with much fewer exceptions, perhaps, than would be readily believed, they are merely simulators of the part they sustain; speaking not out of the abundance of their own hearts, but by skill and artifice assuming or personating emotions at second-hand; and the whole is a business of talent (sometimes even of great talent), but not of original power, of genius, or authentic inspiration."

The distinction between Genius and Talent, is one De Quincey has often indicated as one not simply of "degree" but of "kind" (we formerly endeavoured to reconcile the two opinions, by pointing out how differences of degree, when of certain magnitude, necessarily constitute differences of kind), and a note on this passage succinctly explains his position:—

"Talent and genius are in no one point allied to each other, except generically—that both express modes of intellectual power. But the kinds of power are not merely different, they are in polar opposition to each other. Talent is intellectual power of every kind, which acts and manifests itself by and through the will, and the active forces. Genius, as the verbal origin implies, is that much rarer species of intellectual power which is derived from the *genial* nature—from the spirit of suffering and enjoying—from the spirit of pleasure and pain, as organized more or less perfectly; and this is independent of the will. It is a function of the *passive* nature. Talent is conversant with the adaptation of means to ends. But genius is conversant only with ends. Talent has no sort of connexion, not the most remote or shadowy, with the moral nature or temperament—genius is steeped and saturated with this moral nature.

"This was written twenty years ago. Now (1853), when revising it, I am tempted to add three brief annotations:

"1st. It scandalises me that, in the occasional comments upon this distinction which have reached my eye, no attention should have been paid to the profound suggestions as to the radix of what is meant by *genius* latent in the word *genial*. For instance, in a recent work entitled *Poetics*, by Mr. Dallas, there is not the slightest notice taken of this subtle indication and leading towards the truth. Yet surely that is hardly philosophic. For could Mr. Dallas suppose that the idea involved in the word *genial* had no connexion, or none but an accidental one, with the idea involved in the word *genius*? It is clear that from the Roman conception (whencesoever emanating) of the natal *Genius*, as the secret and central representative of what is most characteristic and individual in the nature of every human being, are derived alike the notion of the *genial* and our modern notion of *genius* as contra-distinguished from *talent*.

"2nd. As another broad character of distinction between *genius* and *talent*, I would observe—that *genius* differentiates a man from all other men; whereas *talent* is the same in one man as in another: that is, where it exists at all, it is the mere echo and reflex of the same talent, as seen in thousands of other men, differing only by more and less, but not at all in quality. In *genius*, on the contrary, no two men were ever duplicates of each other.

"3rd. All talent, in whatsoever class, reveals itself as an effort—as a counteraction to an opposing difficulty or hindrance; whereas *genius* universally moves in headlong sympathy and concurrence with spontaneous power. Talent works unjovially by intense resistance to an antagonist force; whereas *genius* works under a rapture of necessity and spontaneity."

Talent is, so to speak, a Hand to do things with; Genius is an Eye; hence the impersonality of the one and the personality of the other. There are men of talent without genius—adroit, useful, able men; there are also men of genius without talent—bungling, inarticulate, neglected, wailing, unhappy victims, with inordinate ambition and little power. De Quincey is a man of genius who has many talents, but wanting the one faculty which would render them perfectly efficient—Pegasus without a curb rein, galloping aimlessly!

We find our notice becoming as desultory as the book itself. Be it so! And with no stronger link of connexion than the caprice of our own thoughts let us pass from this discussion of genius to an explanation of

THE SUPERSTITION OF SAILORS.

"All sailors, it is notorious, are superstitious; partly, I suppose, from looking out so much upon the wilderness of waves, empty of all human life; for mighty solitudes are generally fear-haunted and fear-peopled; such, for instance, as the solitudes of forests, where, in the absence of human forms and ordinary human sounds, are discerned forms more dusky and vague, not referred by the eye to any known type, and sounds imperfectly intelligible. And, therefore, are all German coal-burners, wood-cutters, &c., superstitious. Now the sea is often peopled, amidst its ravings, with what seem innumerable human voices—such voices, or as ominous, as what were heard by Kubla Khan—'ancestral voices prophesying war'; oftentimes laughter mixes, from a distance (seeming to come also from distant times, as well as distant places), with the uproar of waters; and doubtless shapes of fear, or shapes of beauty not less awful, are at times seen upon the waves by the diseased eye of the sailor, in other cases besides the somewhat rare one of calenture. This vast solitude of the sea being taken, therefore, as one condition of the superstitious fear found so commonly among sailors, a second may be the perilous insecurity of their own lives, or (if the lives of sailors, after all, by means of large immunities from danger in other shapes are not so insecure as is supposed, though, by the way, it is enough for this result that to themselves they seem so) yet at all events the insecurity of the ships in which they sail. In such a case, in the case of battle, and in others where the empire of chance seems absolute, there the temptation is greatest to dally with supernatural oracles and supernatural means of consulting them. Finally, the interruption habitually of all ordinary avenues to information about the fate of their dearest relatives; the consequent agitation which must often possess those who are re-entering upon home waters; and the sudden burst, upon stepping ashore, of heart-shaking news in long accumulated arrears—these are circumstances which dispose the mind to look out for relief towards signs and omens as one way of breaking the shock by dim anticipations. Rats leaving a vessel destined to sink, although the political application of it as a name of reproach is purely modern, must be ranked among the oldest of omens; and perhaps the most sober-minded of men might have leave to be moved with any augury of an ancient traditional order, such as had won faith for centuries, applied to a fate so interesting as that of the ship to which he was on the point of committing himself."

What writing! If your mood is for grand writing, open this volume at any page, or linger over this on

THE NATION OF LONDON.

"It was a most heavenly day in May of this year (1800), when I first beheld and first entered this mighty wilderness, the city—no! not the city, but the nation—of London. Often since then, at distances of two and three hundred miles or more from this colossal emporium of men, wealth, arts, and intellectual power, have I felt the sublime expression of her enormous magnitude in one simple form of ordinary occurrence, viz., in the vast droves of cattle, suppose upon the great north roads, all with their heads directed to London, and expounding the size of the attracting body, together with the force of its attractive power, by the never-ending succession of these droves, and the remoteness from the capital of the lines upon which they were moving. A suction so powerful, felt along radii so vast, and a consciousness, at the same time, that upon other radii still more vast, both by land and by sea, the same suction is operating, night and day, summer and winter, and hurrying for ever into one centre the infinite means needed for her infinite purposes, and the endless tributes to the skill or to the luxury of her endless population, crowds the imagination with a pomp to which there is nothing corresponding upon this planet, either amongst the things that have been, or the things that are. Or, if any exception there is, it must be sought in ancient Rome. We, upon this occasion, were in an open carriage, and, chiefly (as I imagine) to avoid the dust, we approached London by rural lanes, where any such could be found, or, at least, along by-roads, quiet and shady, collateral to the main roads. In that mode of approach, we missed some features of the sublimity belonging to any of the common approaches upon a main road; we missed the whirl and the uproar, the tumult and the agitation, which continually thicken and thicken throughout the last dozen miles before you reach the suburbs. Already, at three stages' distance (say, forty miles from London), upon some of the greatest roads, the dim presentiment of some vast capital reaches you obscurely, and like a misgiving. This blind sympathy with a mighty but unseen object, some vast magnetic range of Alps, in your neighbourhood, continues to increase, you know not how. Arrived at the last station for changing horses, Barnet, suppose, on one of the north roads, or Hounslow on the western, you no longer think (as in all other places) of naming the next stage; nobody says, on pulling up, 'Horses on to London'—that would sound ludicrous; one mighty idea broods over all minds, making it impossible to suppose any other destination. Launched upon this final stage, you soon begin to feel yourself entering the stream as it were of a Norwegian *maelstrom*; and the stream at length becomes the rush of a cataract. What is meant by the Latin word *trepidatio*? Not anything peculiarly connected with panic; it belongs as much to the hurrying to and fro of a coming battle, as of a coming flight; to a marriage festival as much as to a massacre; *agitation* is the nearest English word. This *trepidatio* increases both audibly and visibly at every half mile, pretty much as one may suppose the roar of Niagara and the thrilling of the ground to grow upon the senses in the last ten miles of approach, with the wind in its favour, until at length it would absorb and extinguish all other sounds whatsoever. Finally, for miles before you reach a suburb of London, such as Islington, for instance, a last great sign and augury of the immensity which belongs to the coming metropolis forces itself upon the dullest observer, in the growing sense of his own utter insignificance. Everywhere else in England, you yourself, horses, carriage, attendants (if you travel with any), are regarded with attention, perhaps even curiosity: at all events you are seen. But, after passing the final post-house on every avenue to London, for the latter ten or twelve miles, you become aware that you are no longer noticed: nobody sees you; nobody hears you; nobody regards you; you do not even regard yourself. In fact, how should you, at the moment of first ascertaining your own total unimportance in the sum of things—a poor shivering unit in the aggregate of human life? Now, for the first time, whatever manner of man you were, or seemed to be at starting, squire or 'squireen,' lord or lordling, and however related to that city, hamlet, or solitary house, from which yesterday or to-day you slipped your cable,—beyond disguise you find yourself but one wave in a total Atlantic, one plant (and a parasitical plant besides, needing alien props) in a forest of America.

"These are feelings which do not belong by preference to thoughtful people—far less to people merely sentimental. No man ever was left to himself for the first

time in the streets, as yet unknown, of London, but he must have been saddened and mortified, perhaps terrified, by the sense of desertion and utter loneliness which belong to his situation. No loneliness can be like that which weighs upon the heart in the centre of faces never-ending, without voice or utterance for him; eyes innumerable, that have 'no speculation' in their orbs which he can understand; and hurrying figures of men and women weaving to and fro, with no apparent purposes intelligible to a stranger, seeming like a mask of maniacs, or, oftentimes, like a pageant of phantoms. The great length of the streets in many quarters of London; the continual opening of transient glimpses into other vistas equally far-stretching, going off at right-angles to the one which you are traversing; and the murky atmosphere which, settling upon the remoter end of every long avenue, wraps its termination in gloom and uncertainty; all these are circumstances aiding that sense of vastness and illimitable proportions which for ever brood over the aspect of London in its interior."

For a poem, read this:—

A CHILD AWAITING HIS FATHER'S ARRIVAL FROM ABROAD.

"It was a summer evening of unusual solemnity. The servants, and four of us children, were gathered for hours, on the lawn before the house, listening for the sound of wheels. Sunset came—nine, ten, eleven o'clock, and nearly another hour had passed—without a warning sound; for Greenhay, being so solitary a house, formed a *terminus ad quem*, beyond which was nothing but a cluster of cottages, composing the little hamlet of Greenhill; so that any sound of wheels coming from the winding lane which then connected us with the Rusholme road, carried with it, of necessity, a warning summons to prepare for visitors at Greenhay. No such summons had yet reached us; it was nearly midnight; and, for the last time, it we determined that we should move in a body out of the grounds, on the chance of meeting the travelling party, if, at so late an hour, it could yet be expected to arrive. In fact, to our general surprise, we met it almost immediately, but, coming at so slow a pace, that the fall of the horses' feet was not audible until we were close upon them. I mention the case for the sake of the undying impressions which connected themselves with the circumstances. The first notice of the approach was the sudden emerging of horses' heads from the deep gloom of the shady lane; the next was the mass of white pillows against which the dying patient was reclining. The hearse-like pace at which the carriage moved recalled the overwhelming spectacle of that funeral which had so lately formed part in the most memorable event of my life. But these elements of awe, that might at any rate have struck forcibly upon the mind of a child, were for me, in my condition of morbid nervousness, raised into abiding grandeur by the antecedent experiences of that particular summer night. The listening for hours to the sounds from horses' hoofs upon distant roads, rising and falling, caught and lost, upon the gentle undulation of such fitful airs as might be stirring—the peculiar solemnity of the hours succeeding to sunset—the glory of the dying day—the gorgeousness which, by description, so well I knew of sunset in those West Indian islands from which my father was returning—the knowledge that he returned only to die—the almighty pomp in which this great idea of Death appalled itself to my young sorrowing heart—the corresponding pomp in which the antagonistic idea, not less mysterious, of life, rose, as if on wings, amidst tropic glories and floral pageantries, that seemed even more solemn and pathetic than the vapoury plumes and trophies of mortality—all this chorus of restless images, or of suggestive thoughts, gave to my father's return, which else had been fitted only to interpose one transitory red-letter day in the calendar of a child, the shadowy power of an ineffaceable agency among my dreams."

What strange dream-picturing power in those sentences!

Portfolia.

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

THE HAYTHORNE PAPERS.

No. VI.

THE VALUE OF EVIDENCE.



WITH Spirit-rappings and Table-movings still the rage, and with the belief in Spontaneous Combustion still unextinguished, it seems desirable that something should be said in justification of that general scepticism with which the philosophical meet the alleged wonders that periodically recur amongst us. Nothing less than a good sized octavo would be needed to contain all that might be written on the matter; and unfortunately such an octavo, when written, would be little read by those most requiring it. A brief hint or two, however, may find listeners amongst them.

"I tell you I saw it myself," is the so-thought conclusive assertion with which many a controversy is abruptly ended. Commonly those who make this assertion think that after it nothing remains to be urged; and they are astonished at the unreasonableness of those who still withhold their belief. Though they reject many tales of witchcraft, many ghost-stories whose marvels were testified to by eye-witnesses—though they have repeatedly seen stage-conjurors, of the Robin tribe, seem to do things which they do not believe were really done—though they have heard of the Automaton Chess-player, and the Invisible Girl, and have perhaps seen explanations of the modes in which the public were deluded by them—though in all these cases they know that the facts were other than the spectators supposed them to be—yet they cannot imagine that their own perceptions have been vitiated by the same influences that vitiated the perceptions of others. Or, to put the thing more charitably and perhaps more truly, they forget for the time being that such vitiations are constantly occurring.

To observe correctly, though popularly thought very easy, every man of science knows to be extremely difficult. Our faculties are liable to report falsely from two opposite causes—the presence of hypothesis, and the absence of hypothesis. To the dangers arising from one or other of these, every observation we make is necessarily exposed; and between the two it

is scarcely possible to see any fact *quite* truly. A few illustrations of the extreme distortions arising from the one cause and the extreme inaccuracy consequent upon the other, will justify this seeming paradox.

Nearly every one is familiar with the myth prevalent on our sea-coasts, respecting the Barnacle Goose. The popular belief was, and indeed is still in some places, that the fruit of trees whose branches hang into the sea becomes changed into certain shell-covered creatures, called barnacles, which are found incrusting these submerged branches; and further that these barnacles are in process of time transformed into the birds known as barnacle geese. This belief was not confined to the vulgar; it was a received doctrine amongst naturalists. Nor was it with them simply an adopted rumour. It was based on observations that were recorded and approved by the highest scientific authorities, and published with their countenance. In a paper contained in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Sir Robert Moray, describing these barnacles, says: "In every shell that I opened I found a perfect sea-fowl; the little bill like that of a goose, the eyes marked, the head, neck, breast, wings, tail, and feet formed, the feathers everywhere perfectly shaped and blackish coloured, and the feet like those of other water-fowl, to the best of my remembrance." This myth respecting the barnacle goose has been exploded for some century and a half. To a modern zoologist who examines one of these cirripedes as the barnacles are called, it seems scarcely credible that it could ever have been thought a chick; and what Sir Robert Moray could have taken for "head, neck, breast, wings, tail, feet, and feathers," he cannot imagine. Under the influence of a pre-conception, here is a man of education describing as "a perfect sea-fowl" what is now seen to be a modified crustacean—a creature belonging to a remote part of the animal kingdom.

A still more remarkable instance of perverted observation is presented in an old book entitled *Metamorphosis Naturalis*, &c., published at Middleburgh in 1662. This work, in which is attempted for the first time a detailed description of insect-transformation, contains numerous illustrative plates, in which are represented the various stages of evolution—larva, pupa, and imago. Those who have even but a smattering of Entomology will recollect that the chrysalises of all our common butterflies exhibit at the anterior end a number of pointed projections, producing an irregular outline. Have they ever observed in this outline a resemblance to a man's face? For myself, I can say that though in early days I kept brood after brood of butterfly larvæ through all their changes, I never perceived any such likeness, nor can I see it now. Nevertheless, in the plates of this *Metamorphosis Naturalis*, each of these chrysalises has its projections so modified as to produce a burlesque human head—the respective species having distinctive profiles given them. Whether the author was a believer in metempsychosis, and thought he saw in the chrysalis a disguised humanity, or whether, swayed by the false analogy which Butler makes so much of, between the change from chrysalis to butterfly and that from mortality to immortality, he considered the chrysalis as typical of man—I cannot say. Here, however, is the fact—that influenced by some pre-conception or other, he has shown the forms to be quite different from what they are. It is not that he simply thinks this resemblance exists—it is not that he merely says he can see it—but his pre-conception so possesses him as to swerve his pencil, and make him produce representations laughably unlike the realities.

These, which are extreme cases of distorted observation, differ only in degree from the distorted observations of daily life; and so strong is the distorting influence, that even the coolest man of science cannot escape its effects. Every microscopist knows that if they have conflicting theories respecting its nature, two observers shall look through the same instrument at the same object, and give quite different descriptions of its appearance.

From the dangers of hypothesis let us now turn to the dangers of no hypothesis. Little recognised as is the fact, it is nevertheless true that we cannot make the commonest observations correctly without beforehand having some notion of what we are to observe. You are asked to listen to a faint sound, and you find that without a pre-conception of the *kind* of sound you are to listen for, you cannot hear it. Provided that it is not strong, an unusual flavour in your food may pass quite unperceived unless some one draws attention to it, when you taste it distinctly. After knowing him for years, you shall suddenly discover that your friend's nose is slightly awry, and wonder that you never remarked it before. Still more striking becomes this inability when the facts to be observed are complex. Of a hundred people who listen to the dying vibrations of a church bell, almost all will fail to perceive the harmonics, and will assert the sound to be a simple one. Scarcely any one who has not been taught to draw, sees, when in the street, that all the horizontal lines in the walls, windows, shutters, roofs, seem to converge to one point in the distance; a fact which, after a few lessons in perspective, becomes visible enough.

Perhaps I cannot more clearly illustrate this necessity for hypothesis as a means to accurate perception, than by narrating a portion of my own experience relative to the colours of shadows.

Indian ink was the pigment which, during boyhood, I invariably used for shading. Ask any one who has received no culture in art, or who has given no thought to it, of what colour a shadow is, and the unhesitating reply will be—black. This is uniformly the creed of the uninitiated; and in this creed I undoubtedly remained till about eighteen. Happening, at that age, to come much in contact with an amateur artist, I was told, to

my extreme surprise, that shadows are not black, but of a neutral tint. This, to me, novel doctrine, I strenuously resisted. I have a pretty distinct recollection of denying it point blank, and quoting all my experience in support of the denial. I remember, too, that the controversy lasted over a considerable period; and that it was only after my friend had repeatedly drawn my attention to instances in nature, pointing out one shadow after another, and asking me whether I did not see its bluish-grey colour, that I finally gave in. Though I must previously have seen myriads of shadows, yet in consequence of the fact that in the majority of cases the tint approaches very nearly to black, I had been unable, in the absence of hypothesis, to perceive that in the other cases it is distinctly not black.

I continued to hold this amended doctrine for some five or six years. It is true that from time to time I observed that the tone of the neutral tint varied very considerably in different shadows; but still the divergencies were not such as to shake my faith in the dogma. By-and-bye, however, in a popular work on Optics, I met with the statement, that the colour of a shadow is always the complement of the colour of the light casting it. Not seeing the wherefore of this alleged law, which seemed moreover to conflict with my established belief, I was led to study the matter as a question of causation. Why are shadows coloured? and what determines the colour? were the queries that suggested themselves. In seeking answers, it soon became manifest, that as a space in shadow is a space from which the *direct* light only is excluded, and into which the *indirect* light (namely, that reflected by surrounding objects, by the clouds and the sky) continues to fall, the colour of a shadow must partake of the colour of everything that can either radiate or reflect light into it. It follows that the colour of a shadow must in all cases be the *average colour of the diffused light*, and must vary as that varies with the colours of all surrounding things. Thus was at once explained the inconstancy I had already noticed; and I was soon led to recognise, in fact, that which the theory implies—namely, that a shadow may have any colour whatever, according to circumstances. Under a clear sky, and with no trees, hedges, houses, or other objects at hand, shadows are of a pure blue. During a red sunset, the mixture of the yellow light from the upper part of the western sky, with the blue light from the eastern sky, produces green shadows. Go near to a gas lamp on a moonlight night, and a pencil-case placed at right angles to a piece of paper will be found to cast a purple-blue shadow, and a yellow-grey shadow, produced by the gas and the moon respectively. And there are conditions it would take too long here to describe, under which two parts of the same shadow are differently coloured. All which facts became obvious to me as soon as I knew that they must exist.

Here, then, respecting certain simple phenomena that are hourly visible, are three successive convictions; each of them based on years of observation; each of them held with unhesitating confidence; and yet only one—as I now believe—true. But for the help of an hypothesis, I should probably have remained in the common belief that shadows are black. And, but for the help of another hypothesis, I should probably have remained in the half-true belief that they are neutral tint.

Is it not clear, therefore, that to observe correctly is by no means easy? On the one hand, if we have a pre-conception, we are liable to see things not quite as they are, but as we think them. On the other hand, without a pre-conception, we are liable to pass over much that we ought to see. Yet we must have either a pre-conception or no pre-conception. Evidently, then, all our observations, save those guided by true theories already known, are in danger either of distortion or incompleteness.

It remains but to remark, that if this be so with *statical* phenomena, how much more must it be so with *dynamical* ones. If our observations are imperfect, in cases like the foregoing, where the things seen are persistent, and may be again and again looked at, or continuously contemplated, how much more imperfect must they be where the things seen are complex processes, changes, or actions, each of them presenting successive phases, which, if not correctly seen at the moments they severally occur, can never be correctly seen at all. Here the chances of error become immensely multiplied. And when, in addition, there exists some moral excitement,—when, as in these Spirit-rapping and Table-moving experiments, the intellect is partially paralysed, by fear or wonder—correct observation becomes next to an impossibility.

The Arts.

CHARLES KEAN AND SARDANAPALUS.

To redeem my promise, I will try to express with moderation what really was the effect of *Sardanapalus* on the *Chat Huant* and myself, as we sat out its lengthened splendour, its weary pomp.

"Got up" with splendour and with care the piece undoubtedly is. All that archæology could do, has been done. Whether the result was worth the labour may be a question, even among those who think scenery and costume the "be all and the end all" of the drama. But I waive that question. I will suppose the spectacle to be as effective as to us it was wearisome; I will suppose the winged bulls (in flats) to have had a truly massive grandiose effect; I will suppose the conflagration at the end to be something more than a rival of the eruptions of Etna and Vesuvius at the Surrey Zoo Gardens—something more than red fire and collapsing "flies"—and still say *cui bono*? Is the Drama nothing more than a Magic Lantern on a large scale? Was Byron only a pretext for a panorama?

It is a strange state of Art when the mere accessories become the aim and purpose of representation—when truth of archæology supplants truth of human passion—when “winged bulls” dwarf heroic natures! Charles Kean is so bad an actor, and his troupe is so incompetent, that the policy of subordinating drama to spectacle is undeniable from his point of view; but how about the public? Why not give up the Drama altogether, and make the Princess's Theatre a Gallery of Illustration?

Far be it from me to deny the pains and liberality displayed in getting up this spectacle! The ballet was really an ingenious adaptation of those quaint attitudes one sees in the old Assyrian paintings to movements of the dance—the Hall of Nimrod and the grouping of the revellers—indeed, all the stage effects of the third act, were finer than almost anything yet put on the stage, of their kind. Laud these to the utmost and you do not meet the two fatal objections—first, that the sum total of all this splendour, all this archæology, all this “business,” is overpowering weariness; and second, that in a drama the accessories are but accessories, subordinate and not to be brought into the first rank. In proportion as the drama claims a hearing in right of its poetical conception and execution—that is to say, in proportion as it appeals to our higher faculties, and not to the lower appetites—the accessories become unimportant, and their prominence becomes impertinent.

When Macready produced *Sardanapalus* the play was worth seeing; and of his acting I have vivid remembrance, although twenty years have glided on since then. The impression Charles Kean is likely to leave is one of astonishment that any man accustomed to the stage could speak the verse so ignorantly, and evade expression so successfully. To say that he did not represent the character of *Sardanapalus* is to say nothing new: what character did he ever represent in more than a single aspect? But there is something remarkable in the ignorance seemingly implied in his delivery of various passages, which jars on the mind of the audience. It may not be in his power to represent the fluctuations of feeling; he may not have the plastic power of mimetically setting forth the varying aspects of character, but he must know the plain meaning of plain English words, and therefore is it astounding to see him not only carefully evading any representation of the effeminate voluptuousness and careless indifference of *Sardanapalus*, but also uttering the words in tones directly contrary to the sense. Thus, when the sword is placed in his hands, he gives it back, with the remark that it is too heavy, and this remark, instead of expressing effeminacy, he utters as if it were a stolid assertion of a matter of fact! How Byron would have fumed could he have heard his intention thus rendered! Charles Kean omits the detail which Byron laid so much stress on, viz., *Sardanapalus* calling for the mirror to arrange his curls before rushing into battle; but as he also omits to give any indication of the effeminacy, he, perhaps, instinctively felt that detail would raise a titter! In writing to Murray, Byron says, “*Sardanapalus* is almost a comic character; but, for that matter, so is Richard the Third.” Charles Kean would have been comic had he not been so dull. He may, perhaps, reply that his notions of dramatic effect differ from those of others, which is true: he thinks no proper dramatic effect possible except with “authentic costume;” the world thinks it possible only with an intelligent mind and expressive face! Costume, however, was avowedly his object. He offered himself merely as a lay figure for a Layardian picture. That object he has attained.

GENEVIEVE.

I WAS speaking just now of scenic effect; in *Genevieve*, as produced at the ADELPHI, such effect is in its right place; and, instead of being wearisome, it is only too uninterruptedly exciting. The drama is a drama of tableaux and incidents: for more than three hours you are kept in agitation, in terror, in suspense, by the movement, perils, intrigues, and ever-shifting positions of some actors in the Reign of Terror. The tumult of mobs, the clash of swords, the cries of agony, the conflicts of passion with duty, the palpitations of hope, the forlorn wailings of despair, the machinations of hate, and the triumphs of virtue—all the spices of melodramatic flavour are here scattered with a prodigal hand! You are stunned, but never wearied. It is as exciting as a wild gallop through a Dumas novel. It is indeed a Dumas novel, *Le Chevalier de Maison Rouge*, dramatised for the *Théâtre Historique*, where it had enormous success; and adapted to the exigencies of the Adelphi, where it is likely to have another enormous success.

Drama in any high sense of the word it is not—does not pretend to be; but melodrama of “startling interest,” and welcome as such, it assuredly is. The mobs are admirably grouped, and their tumult more natural than usual with stage mobs. The dresses are throughout picturesque and striking. The tableaux are arranged with great effect.

I speak solely of the spectacle, for there are only two dramatic scenes in the piece—the scene between *Dixmer* and his wife, and the duel between *Dixmer* and *Lorin*; the scene in the condemned cell has good “intentions,” but wants culmination.

Madame Celeste as *Genevieve* had what the French call *de beaux moments* notably in the fine scene with *Dixmer*, and in the boudoir scene with *Maurice*. Webster was not gay and light-hearted enough as *Lorin*, but his duel scene, and the scene in the condemned cell, were both very effective. Wigan playing the villain of *drame* was not in his proper element; nevertheless, he did all that face and intelligence could do for the

part, and made it stand out by the picturesqueness of costume and the force of characterization. The duel between him and Webster was as fine as the famous duel in the *Corsican Brothers*. Leigh Murray was, I regret to say, violent and stagey as the romantic *Maurice*. Keeley, as a drummer in the National Guard, distinctly opposed to dying for his country, was, what Keeley always is, immensely humorous; and Mrs. Keeley, as the classic *Artemise*, goddess of reason, and the riotous *enfant de Paris*, kept the scene alive with gaiety. A word also in praise of O. Smith's make up as *Simon*, the gaoler—it was a picture.

OMNIANA.

A FEW words will sum up all the rest of my theatrical news. On Saturday, a *débutante* at COVENT GARDEN—Madame Medori, made a great hit in the feeble opera of *Maria de Rohan*, and in strict accordance with the wisdom which characterizes operatic management, we hear no more of her! I was not present at her *début* and can only report hearsay.

Rachel took her benefit on Wednesday, and to a physically hot and dramatically cold audience, played *Louise de Lignerolles*, a very stupid drame in five acts, which was revived in Paris for her last year, one knows not why. Her acting had some perfect touches—especially of comedy—and much that was conventional and mechanical. The *calineries* of her scene in the third act,—the natural way in which, when she learns how she has been wronged, she rose up and walked rapidly from the room without once pausing to give an “exit look”—the tone in which she indicated the return of her confidence in her husband's affection—and the playful “strongmindedness” of the first act, when she will not suffer the prince to trespass on her grounds—these were touches which revealed a fine actress. But for the rest, her emotion was forced, cold, and mechanical; to use a theatrical phrase, it was “business,” not feeling. There is no concealing the fact—Rachel has fallen off!

VIVIAN.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

III.—PORTRAITS.

In portraiture, the object is to give a life-like reflex of the original. It mostly happens that the sitter grows dull under the tedious process of sitting—the muscles of the frame relax; the flexible parts of the countenance hang heavily, the eyelids fall. The painter who merely copies his model, gives a heavy sombre version, which few will recognise. The ordinary remedy is “to flatter” the original; usually a very imperfect kind of compliment, and in some cases a positive satire. The true painter, however, knows how to observe his sitter in moments of enlivened action or expression; and using “the sitter” merely as an aid, designs the figure which he has to paint, touching it with a skilled memory of the passing traits of life. For portraiture, the colouring should be as nearly as possible the effect of light on the actual objects, avoiding harsh and infelicitous accidents; and the composition should be in the same vein—nothing added to nature, but untoward accidents avoided.

Tried by such tests, how do the portraits that annually smile from the walls of the Royal Academy pass? Indifferently. Merits there are, here and there. Watson Gordon gives a vigorous and characteristic view, when the subject is a rough Scotchman, but it is not often a pleasant picture, and it almost always happens that the tone of the colouring is that of a man sitting in a dark room on a leaden day. He exhibits this year many of his characteristic portraits—the most characteristic being those most marked by his sombrier peculiarities. Francis Grant gives you a lively sketch,—like enough in general resemblance; but at no distance do you lose a sense of the pigments. The young Lady Sophia on her pony is an example: there is the lively young lady, pleasant and engaging,—there is action in the horse; and yet what the eye rests upon, you are painfully conscious, is neither more nor less than “paints.” A sweeping mannered style of handling, a sketchy generalizing design, are the causes of this unsubstantial result. A picture of Lady Bolton, by another artist, exhibits similar faults, with more careful finish: the painter can imitate silk and lace, but his eye fails to trace the delicate indefinite tints of the face, and a pretty mask confesses that the roses of its cheek come from the colourman's. We find an improvement when we come to the work of an artist whose labour tells better—Knight; but still he cannot enough master the sluggish stubborn oils to give you the free flow of George Dawson's hair, the moving blood under his sallow skin, the flashing of his eye, the steadfast, yet almost wild expression of the preacher whose preaching is not bound by walls, but speaks in the very elements of nature. Knight, however, has attempted a design of George Dawson, and has produced a striking study. Still more of a design, still more living, is Lucas's portrait of Sir Joshua Rowe, the Chief Justice of Jamaica; and with a more picturesque subject, E. Williams sets before you the eagle-eyed Charles James Napier, of Meeanee.

Some portraits besides those we have mentioned are interesting for their subjects; such as the collective portrait of “The Arctic Council,” including Sir John Franklin and many other noted Arctic discoverers; Sir David Brewster; Hiram Power, the sculptor of the Greek Slave—the man at his work, admirably painted by H. W. Phillips; Douglas Jerrold. But how many of these paintings are only pigments, struggling to imitate humanity, and often remaining nearer to the palette than to flesh and blood?

H.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, June 24, 1853.

The summary of the whole week's business might be written in one word—“stagnation.” The threatening aspect of the Eastern question would have sent Consols down three or four per cent. some years back, but now, notwithstanding the time that parties have had of taking in sail, and making all snug before the storm comes on, the backward movement has been hardly worth mentioning. It appears that the majority of the public cannot bring themselves to believe in the possibility of a

war, or that the Emperor of Russia really can be so insane as to pit his Cossacks against civilized Europe; the daily electric telegraph messages which are sent from Paris, always have this effect upon the French and other foreign shares, and the only business done in the Stock Exchange has been confined to the Foreign market. The fluctuation in the leading lines of France has been from 11. to 30s; the mining market has been nearly at a stand-still. There will be a considerable demand for Californian adventures should the present crisis pass off, and a reaction take place. From the statements of the different managers of the Californian mines, it would seem that the quartz-crushing machines being brought to bear upon the auriferous rocks, very great results must arise. Take, for instance, the *Aguila Fria*, one of the earliest and most respectably conducted of these adventures—they calculate to send home annually 50,000*l.* worth of gold; this return on a paid up capital of 100,000*l.* I leave you to judge how immensely in value the

shares must increase. There are now in California three or four mines, which are availing themselves of machinery for crushing the quartz, and if this anticipation of the *Aguila Fria* Company be correct, of course it will prove of the greatest service to all the mines. In Land and other Companies but little has been doing. It is stated that the Scottish Investment, an Australian Company, which for so long a time ran a neck and neck race with the North British Australian Land and Loan Company, will declare a dividend of 10 per cent.; the shares now bear a premium of 2*½* per share, while North British are only *¾* to *1* per share premium. Jamaica copper mines have been steady throughout the week. Fort Royal have receded a little.

Three o'clock.—Prices since this morning have been better sustained, and considerably more business has been transacted. Consols have been done at 89*½* and *¾*, and closed at 89*½* and *¾*. Money is easy on the Stock Exchange at 1*½* and 2 per cent. for short loans.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday, June 17, 1853.

The supplies of all grain this week are short. Wheat on the spot is held firmly, but the demand is limited. Several cargoes arrived and on passage have been sold for Dutch and French ports. This, if it continues, must tend to advance prices here. The value of barley is well maintained. Oats are getting very scarce, and are fully sixpence dearer. Beans and peas are in request at full rates.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	229	228½	229	229½	229	229½
3 per Cent. Red.	99½	99½	99	99½	99½	99½
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	98½	shut	shut	99½	shut	shut
Consols for Account....	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½
3½ per Cent. An.	101½	101½	101½	101½	101½	102½
New 5 per Cents.						
Long Ans., 1860		5½	515-16	5½	5½	
India Stock						28
Ditto Bonds, £1000		29			28	28
Ditto, under £1000		29			28	28
Ex. Bills, £1000	6 p	3 p	2 p	2 p	2 p	5 p
Ditto, £500	6 p	3 p	2 p	2 p	2 p	3 p
Ditto, Small	6 p	3 p	2 p	2 p	2 p	6 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Dutch 2½ per Cents.	65½	Russian 4½ per Cents.	102½
Ecuador.....	5½	Sardinian Bonds.....	94½
Mexican 3 per Cents.....	28	Spanish 3 p. Cts. New Def.	23½
Peruvian 4½ per Cents.	84	Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	96½
Peruvian 3 per Cent. Def.	59		

French Plays.

ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.

Positively the Last Nights of Mdle. Rachel's Engagement.

On Monday Evening, June 27th, LADY TARTUFFE.

Numerous applications having been made for a Day Performance during Mdle. Rachel's Engagement, Mr. Mitchell respectfully announces that a MATINEE DRAMATIQUE will take place at this Theatre, on Tuesday next, June 28th, commencing at Three o'clock.

On Wednesday, June 29th, will be presented the Tragedy of LES HORACES—Camille, by Mdle. Rachel, positively her last appearance.

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

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

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

THE AZTECS, the newly discovered race of human beings.—The AZTEC LILLIPUTIANS, from Central America, whose existence was hitherto supposed to be fabulous, have arrived in London, and will make their first appearance in public in a few days.

GERMAN LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND HISTORY.

DR. ARNOLD RUGE will deliver **THREE LECTURES** on the above Subjects, at WILLIS'S ROOMS, KING STREET, ST. JAMES'S.

LECTURE I.—FRIDAY, July 1st.

"GERMAN LITERATURE OF THE LAST CENTURY."

1. The period of Lessing, or of the Enlightenment; the Struggle for Liberty of Thought; the Character of the Authors Lessing, F. H. Jacobi, Haman, Stolberg, Klopstock, Wieland, Voss, Lichtenberg, &c. 2. The period of Kant, or the Classic Period; Supremacy of Science and Art, Character of Kant, Herder, Schiller, Goethe, Jean Paul. 3. The period of Fichte, or the Romantic Period; Licentiousness and Opposition against the Supremacy of Reason; Character of Fichte, Novalis, Schelling, Tieck, the Schlegels and the Teutonic Writers of the time of 1815. 4. The period of Hegel, or the Philosophic Period; Hegel and his School; Victory of the Philosophic over the Romantic Party; Strauss, Feuerbach; the Modern Poets, Platen, Heine, the Political Lyrics, the Humanists, the Revolution, Prospect of Liberty.

LECTURE II.—MONDAY, July 4th.

"GERMAN PHILOSOPHY SINCE KANT."

1. The Kantian Philosophy, answering the questions of the Enlightenment; System of restricted liberty. 2. The Fichtian Philosophy, principle and method of absolute liberty. 3. The Hegelian Philosophy; the dialectic method, principle and system of absolute liberty combined. 4. Humanism; outlines of it, realizing the principle and system of freedom in society, state, and religion.

LECTURE III.—THURSDAY, July 7th.

"GERMAN HISTORY SINCE 1813."

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