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The Leader.

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

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SATURDAY, JULY 29, 1854.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

IN that sort of interest which comes nearest to mankind in a country of steady Government and safely-placed "affairs" like England, "cholera" becomes the question of this week, and the most vitally important debate of the five Parliamentary days was to have taken place last night on the bill to re-constitute the Board of Health. The House in dealing with the measure has looked beyond the petty personal questions in which Lord Seymour, as the snubbed of Mr. Chadwick, would have involved the anti-choleraic legislation; and the country, which seems timidly trusting to the authorities—to this has Bureaucratism brought us—will not be disposed to admire Lord Palmerston for the dashing indifference in which he has left the fate of the only sanitary measure we can hope to get this year—endangered by the compact opposition organised by the general detestation in influential quarters, of the unlucky Mr. Chadwick, who thinks, foolish man, that he can serve a country upon some other condition than serving sanitary patriots. The Bill ought not to have been postponed; and certainly last night's business presented nothing worth delaying it for.

There is very great exaggeration, no doubt, about the cholera; it is not incurable, and with proper care, it is, perhaps, not even contagious; but it is spreading over the country with a rapidity and intensity sufficiently remarkable to suggest that vigorous efforts, by the "authorities" and by individuals, are demanded to repress what, unexpressed, would, in certain miserable districts, as on the first year of its visit, under circumstances not more "favourable" than the present, speedily assume the character of a plague.

Next to this question of preserving our own lives, the next important topic is with respect to slaughtering the Russians. Progress has undoubtedly been made in this respect in satisfying the national ardour: we have forced from certain Ministers explanations which the more timid of them cannot get explained away; and there is some hope that the demand of a business-like nation will be appeased,—the governing powers consenting to make the war a real war. Certainly, in the debate on Monday, we had some unpleasant surprises as to the facts, which we are constantly overlooking, of our constitution—which is reso-

lutely monarchical: Lord John Russell bluntly telling the sectionally restive representative institutions (which had voted nearly all the supplies) that they only were put into work at her Majesty's good pleasure—a profound truth which startled the multitude, who seldom calculate the Crown, almost as much as the other truth brought out by the Duke of Newcastle in his Sheffield communication—that it was the Sovereign and not public meetings, who made war, and drew treaties, and arranged peace. But when the Sovereign acts in accordance with the wishes of the nation, the nation, which is practical, is content; and we may see evidences in Monday and Tuesday's debate that public opinion had its usual success in England—in forcing forward the Government—which, if public opinion will continue watchful, in Parliament and press, may be forced still further. We cannot take the view that Lord John's "truly British speech" was mere Whig clap-trap, meant only as a bid against Lord Aberdeen: or, if it was clap-trap, let us turn it into reality, by holding the conspiring Whigs to their chief's declarations. What, indeed, may give to the majority the most confidence, is the calm, dignified, and consistent conduct of Lord Aberdeen. He was greatly blamed because in asking the vote of credit from the Lords he made no "statement" and no appeal; but the scrape Lord John got into was Lord Aberdeen's justification for reserve—that is in Lord Aberdeen's own eyes—Lord Aberdeen having a great contempt for Parliamentary Government. A better justification is suggested in the question—why should two Ministers make one statement? Lord Aberdeen is always ready to leave talking to any one—even at the risk of their talking clap-traps to his injury.

For the present it is to be hoped we shall hear no more about the divisions of the Cabinet on the war; all we can require of our Ministers is that they should act together; and all the principal members of the Government have now said the same thing of the war—that it must go on until a peace perfectly and permanently protective of the Sultan can be secured, which we fancy will be a long time hence. Lord Palmerston said on Monday that Lord John had spoken the opinions and intentions of the whole Cabinet; and as the speech satisfied, the whole Cabinet is entitled to a participation in the temporary popularity. But disunion in the Government, in respect to other matters, has clearly not ceased. The scene be-

tween Lord Palmerston and Mr. Wilson is a Parliamentary scandal; and as it is easily seen that Mr. Wilson would not have made his bold stand against a powerful Parliamentary noble unless the chief in his own department had supported him secretly, there is an unpleasant inference that there is disagreement between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary. We believe Mr. Wilson is right in his view of the bill; and even were he wrong we could not join in the indignation of the "liberal," and perhaps rather democratic, press at the "audacity" of a "subordinate" like the Secretary to the Treasury, who happens to be a much cleverer and much better informed man than Lord Palmerston, in resisting the dictation of a great aristocratic leader. In the affair of Mr. Baines, the other day, and, more recently, in the affair of Mr. Strutt, we detect the supreme insolence of the great Parliamentary nobles in their treatment of the intellectual, but merely middle-class men who condescend to take the livery of a Government class instead of becoming, by right of brains, the Governing class themselves. But the public, which is middle class, should put a stop to this; and there is the opportunity in this instance—for Lord Palmerston disdaining the "sheer nonsense" of Mr. Wilson, forced the House of Commons to go into a Committee on a bill, which when committed, is ascertained to be a heap of blunders, impracticable and unworkable. Lord Palmerston has a very fallacious reputation for excellence at the Home Office:—now this is an exact sample of his method of doing business everywhere—for he is only a clever and not an accurate man; and he ought to be punished for impertinent dogmatism against a man of the authority of Mr. Wilson (for whom, on the other hand, we have no liking) on all commercial questions.

The bill is not wanted; and the bill will not work. And if it be wanted—because of the assumed soundness of Englishmen who are supposed to be ready to make money even at England's expense—ought we to hear any more praises of ourselves—Lord Palmerston excels in them—as a patriotic, spirited, chivalrous, &c. &c., set of people? The bill was an insult to the country, and was only accidentally viewed as an absurdity because it was introduced by the silliest of noble Lords; its real character being ascertained, the House of Commons should kick it out.

The other Parliamentary incidents are not numerous. The Bribery Bill is finished at last and

somewhat spoiled by over-discussion, for, as "travelling expenses" are now legalised, a wide door is left open to electoral villainy and agents' ingenuity. This, however, need excite no national sorrow: the bill is only good as a lever to raise the public and M.P. morale about corruption:—technically it is useless. The Oxford University Bill, with the Lords' amendments laid on it, has been re-discussed in the Commons, and these amendments have, in the main, been retained, despite Mr. Walpole and some other Church-Tories' exertions. It curiously illustrates how much position and how little principle guides men and parties in the House, that Mr. Walpole, who had majorities a month ago, was now beaten on all his most tenderly-fondled fanaticisms. The Beer Bill is likewise improved in the Lords, who give the working-classes half an hour extra after dinner for dessert-beer, and an hour later at night;—that is, no drink is to be sold after ten, but the place of entertainment may be kept open till eleven:—a memorandum for the working-class being that they may order at ten sufficient drink to last them till eleven. Lord Brougham asked when would the West End clubs be closed compulsorily in this way?

The Spanish news may be summed up in a phrase:—Madrid is awaiting the arrival of Espartero: who is master of Spain: who may be the Cromwell if he will: who may make conditions with Isabel and attempt a new constitution; or who may bring in Montemolin, and so challenge Louis Napoleon. We hope he will elect to be Cromwell. Louis Napoleon, who, it is said, is collecting an "army of observation" at Bayonne, could not object to that. His Majesty the Emperor will not endure any one of three things in Spain: a Bourbon (male) dynasty—a Montpensier dynasty—or a republic; and he is so necessary to England that the Coburg plan—an amalgamation of Spain and Portugal under the young King of Portugal—is not likely to be proposed at all to him.

We are letting slip the Prussian alliance (we fancy it will return when Frederick William abdicates—which he will), and the advantages of an Austrian alliance are becoming more and more doubtful, if Austria's action is to be confined to mere neutrality: so that our governing powers dare not offend the French monarch. We have no reason to assume that there is any disposition to do so—the fear arises merely out of remembrance of the old traditional difficulty whenever France and England met at Madrid. Let us hope that it is true that the Emperor has invited Prince Albert to visit the Boulogne camp, and, also, that his Royal Highness will accept it. The failure of the City attempt at a French fête has not disturbed the international complacency at the alliance: the honeymoon is over, and there is not yet a cloud. Indeed, Louis Jourdain, in the *Sidèle*, is this week proposing an alliance of the presses of the two countries—which we do not precisely understand, unless he means that the *Times* should be published in Paris, and the *Sidèle* here—to which our middle classes, who are in favour of education, and a dear newspaper, might object.

He is perhaps not aware that our leading journalists do already take a good deal of the brilliancy of the Paris press—brilliant still.

A very gratifying fact for England is that she has allies in her own colonies. Australia has pronounced in favour of the war with Russia; Sydney, with the airs of a great capital, talks independently, and yet offers loyalty. Remembering that Sydney runs some risks in the war—much more than Liverpool or Hull—this is an incident showing how the old English spirit lives in the new Englands. Also how much England has gained in giving self-government. If we had more of it at home, her Majesty may rest assured we should be even more loyal than we are.

PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

THE WAR.

The war was the question in both Houses on Monday.

Early after the meeting of the House of Lords on Monday, the attendance being rather fuller than usual, but still not large,

Lord ABERDEEN moved the address to her Majesty in reply to the message on the credit for the war. He was very brief, business-like, and reserved. He knew the "proverbial loyalty" of their lordships, and was "sure" there would be no "opposition;" he would assume, indeed, that there was "entire unanimity" as to the necessity of adopting all such measures as would bring the war "to an early and successful termination."

"My lords, I shall also assume that that result is mainly to be produced by the activity and energy of the efforts of France and England, with the concurrence of the other powers. At this advanced period of the year it must be the general desire of your lordships that the close of the existing session may not be delayed longer than is absolutely necessary, and it is also highly probable that in the course of the present year contingencies may arise, of which it may be of the highest importance that we may be able to avail ourselves and turn to account in the prosecution of those efforts in carrying on the war which we believe will lead to the restoration of peace. It is intended, therefore, for this reason, following the precedents which on similar occasions have been set—it is intended to ask Parliament for a vote of credit to the extent of 3,000,000*l.* sterling,—a large sum undoubtedly, the administration of which with the other supplies which have been voted, possibly some noble lords may prefer seeing entrusted to other hands than those who now have the disposal of them. At the same time I am unwilling to believe that any such wish, should it exist, will be allowed to interfere in any degree with that desire to promote and assist as far as possible the efforts which her Majesty's Government may think it necessary to make under the circumstances to which I refer, by which your lordships are, I am confident, influenced. The House will clearly understand that this money now demanded has already been provided and voted by Parliament—there is no question, therefore, of imposing any new burden upon the people—there is no new tax, no loan involved in this vote, but simply an authorisation to employ for the purposes of the war funds which have been already provided by Parliament. Under these circumstances, my lords, I think I am not making an unreasonable proposition in following the course which has been observed by all preceding Governments, and asking your lordships to concur with the other House in making provision for such emergencies as may arise. I beg, therefore, my lords, to move," &c. &c.

The reporters add "cheers" to the short speech; but there were only a few Ministerial hear, hears. Lord Aberdeen had had his usual luck in producing dissatisfaction and disappointment.

The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH followed. He would, of course, not resist the motion. But he said a few words to enforce on the Government the necessity and duty, during what he believed would be a long war, to enforce economy in every department of the public service. If this were not done, the Government would fail in carrying the people with them during the war.

The Earl of HARDWICKE, a member of Lord Derby's Government, considered that the necessities of the Crown demanded that this should be regarded as a vote of confidence, and he would give his vote for. He hoped the war would be vigorously conducted; and for his own part he would like to know what object was had in view, in carrying on the war! He warned the Government that public expectations were high, and something "great" ought to be done.

Lord FITZWILLIAM, one of the Whig conspirators against the Peelite section of the Cabinet, then rose, and set himself to create an ill-feeling against the Premier, laying stress upon a phrase which Lord Aberdeen *did* use, but which was used with perfect propriety:—

"He must say that both this and the other House were placed in a most singular position, in consequence of the conduct of ministers in reference to this war; and his noble friend at the head of the Government must forgive him if he said that there never was a speech made on an occasion like the present of which it might be more truly said that it conveyed scarcely a single idea to the Parliament to which it was addressed. But, though that speech conveyed so little, one ominous expression fell from the noble lord to which he would draw their lordships' attention. In the course of his observations, his noble friend made use, while speaking strongly as to the restoration of peace (and his noble friend could not speak more strongly on that point than he (Earl Fitzwilliam) felt)—while speaking upon this point, his noble friend made use of this ominous expression, 'with the concurrence of the other powers.' ('No,' and 'Hear.') His noble friend must forgive him for saying that, if he used that mysterious expression it was his duty to relieve it from the mystery in which it was now enveloped by declaring who were the powers whose concurrence his noble friend was so desirous of obtaining."

The Earl of ABERDEEN—I said concurrence in carrying on the war.

Earl FITZWILLIAM—"Concurrence in carrying on the war,"—no, my noble friend said concurrence in the restoration of peace.

The Earl of ABERDEEN—my noble friend is totally mistaken. I said nothing of the sort. I made no reference whatever to other powers in respect to the restoration of peace; it was entirely in respect to carrying on the war.

Earl FITZWILLIAM was sorry if he had misunderstood his noble friend. His noble friend said he only spoke of carrying on the war in concurrence with other powers. Very well, concurrence for carrying on the war. He knew that the great object his noble friend had in view was, as he had stated, the restoration of peace; but this, however, he would impress upon the attention of his noble friend, that the best way of obtaining peace was by striking a serious blow against that power which had brought on the war. It was not by partial attacks upon small isolated points, but by vigorous blows upon that point where the enemy might be most effectually assailed.

A great deal of similar commonplace followed; and Lord CLANRICARDE succeeding, took the same side. He clamoured for information; he wanted to know what was going on; could he rely on the newspapers? The convention between Austria and the Porte ought to be laid on the table; for Turkey had bound herself to England and France not to make treaties without their consent, and they ought to know what this meant before Parliament voted more supplies. For his part, he would like our Government to let Austria know that England could do without Austria. The time for conferences was gone by. Lord Clanricarde said not a word on this occasion against Lord Aberdeen; his former failure in personal attack had convinced him that he had done enough in that way.

Lord CLARENDON made some "general remarks," amounting to nothing in particular. He excused the non-appearance of a copy of the convention between Austria and the Porte, and expressed "hopes" about the former:

"I am quite ready to admit that it is a treaty of great interest and of great importance to this country, and that the public and your lordships have a right to have an early knowledge of its contents; but your lordships are aware that until we have received from the respective Governments the ratification, it is not usual to lay such documents before Parliament. I will repeat what my noble friend has said, and in which I entirely concur, that Austria is an independent power, having a right to pursue her own policy in whatever manner she may choose. But, my lords, Austria is under solemn engagements to other countries, has vital interests of her own to protect, and unless we should suppose that she would bring disgrace on herself by not fulfilling her engagements, or be blind to her most vital interests, I think we must believe that Austria will act as we have every desire she should do, and as we have every right to expect."

As to the "conferences" going on, the English Government was no party to the communications made by Austria to Russia, and would not be bound by the reply of Russia. He added some sentences apparently bold and satisfactory, but amounting, after all, to nothing. They produced real "cheers":—

"If I still should be so fortunate as to retain your good opinion, you will believe me when I say in my own name and in those of my colleagues, that there is no intention of returning to the *status quo*, no intention of listening to proposals for a patched up peace, which should only prove a hollow truce, sure to render future wars inevitable. (Cheers.) If we continue to enjoy the support of the Parliament and people of England, I can assure your lordships that we will enter into no engagement short of a just and honourable peace, which shall be worthy of the righteous cause in which we have engaged, worthy the allies with whom we have undertaken that cause, and, I hope, not unworthy of the great and disinterested sacrifices which this country has so nobly made."

The address was then agreed to.

Lord Derby was not even present in the debate, which did not last more than an hour.

In the Commons, Lord JOHN RUSSELL usurped the function which properly belonged to Mr. Gladstone, and moved the vote—making also a long speech. On behalf of the Government he thanked the House for the support they had given, and for—their kindness in abstaining from asking questions. He sketched the magnificent state of our navy and army. But he admitted the war had been altogether carried on by the Turks, to whom he paid a condescending tribute of admiration, more especially with reference to the siege of Silistria. The "alliance" with France was, he said, earnest and hearty; he referred to the embarkation of French troops in English ships at Calais; and he spoke of the feeling between the troops of the two nations as of the best character. He then went on:—

"Sir, in referring now to the present state of affairs, and the necessity for this vote, I shall decline altogether giving any detail with regard to the services for which this large sum of money may be required. . . . It is quite impossible to form anything like a regular estimate of what these services will be, and they will greatly depend on the nature of the operations which our admirals and our generals may think fit to undertake. . . . Sir, I shall touch upon few other points, and those points I shall only touch upon, because in the view that I have stated, of our being near the time of the prorogation, I think it is fitting to give to this House as much information as consistently with my public duty I am able to afford. In speaking last year, nearly at a corresponding period, negotiations were then continued, and I was above all careful not to say anything which might tend to disturb the carrying on of those negotiations, or diminish in the least degree the chance of their success. We are now certainly more at liberty in that respect, and our exertions must be undisturbedly directed in a different manner to obtain by the force of our arms and the strength

of our alliance that lasting and honourable peace for Turkey and for ourselves which we were unable to procure by the means of negotiation. Sir, in advertent to the present state of Europe, every one is naturally anxious to learn what part will be taken by Austria upon this subject. I have always maintained that, whatever might be the interest of England and France in defending and protecting Turkey—that the interest of Austria is much greater. It is impossible to conceive the Emperor of Russia succeeding in what must now be acknowledged to be his desire, and establishing an effective control, if not an acknowledged dominion, over the Principalities, and an increasing and predominant influence in Turkey, without his having complete command of the government of Austria. I cannot conceive that the independence of Austria would be maintained if Russia was to extend her power in the way in which she now seeks to extend it; but, sir, in order to consider this question, it is necessary also to bear in mind the difficulties which Austria must have to deal with now that, on more than one side, the Russian armies can approach at no great distance from her capital, and that it would have been imprudent in her to commit herself to arms against Russia unless she had been fully prepared; and that, with regard to two of the kingdoms subject to her sway, those kingdoms have been in very recent years so greatly disturbed as to make it more perilous to her to enter into hostilities than it would have been if no such danger had existed. It has therefore been the policy of Austria, declaring that she concurred with us in our object, to attempt, as long as possible, by negotiations to obtain a settlement of these questions. She has more than once declared that, although the principles that her Majesty has laid down, and the object that her Majesty had in view met with her full approbation, she did not despair of the Emperor of Russia evacuating the Principalities and agreeing to fair and equal terms of arrangement, so as to maintain the balance of power in Europe; and lately, she has sent a message which has been published in the newspapers within these few days, asking Russia to evacuate the Principalities, asking her to fix a term for that evacuation at no remote time, and transmitting also to St. Petersburg the protocol of April, agreed to at Vienna between the four powers, in which it is declared that it is the object of the four powers that Turkey should be attached to the system of Europe, that the empire should form part of the general balance of power, and that arrangements ought to be carried into effect by the general consent and concurrence of the powers of Europe, in order to obtain that settlement."

He then referred to Russia's answers to Austria, characterising them as evasive, and as not adopting the indispensable basis to peace that the Sultan be recognised as an European sovereign, with all the rights of sovereignty over his own subjects.

"We must endeavour to obtain, by the arms of those powers which are already engaged in war, such conditions as may be necessary for a just, an honourable, and a safe peace. (Loud cheers.) With regard to Austria, with regard to the part that she may take when she gives her answer, all I can say is this, that although she might be mistaken as to her policy, although I think she has been mistaken in not joining sooner and more frankly with the Western Powers in the endeavour to curb the ambition of Russia, yet I cannot believe that she will forfeit the engagements into which she has entered. She has now entered into engagements not only with the Western Powers but with Turkey; she has declared to the Western Powers that if the Principalities are not evacuated by Russia, she will use forcible means in order to cause them to be evacuated. She has stipulated in a convention with the Sultan of Turkey that she will endeavour to secure the evacuation of the Principalities by negotiation, but if those should fail by other means, and that she will be ready to furnish the number of troops necessary for that purpose. I conceive that by this declaration and by these engagements Austria will be bound to take part in the attempt to drive back Russia from the unjust aggression which she has made. Whether she may, with that hesitation which has been unfortunately protracted too long—(loud cheers)—attempt again to obtain from St. Petersburg some better and some more satisfactory assurance, I am unable to say. We have no control, of course, over the councils of the Emperor of Austria. With regard to the policy of Austria, as I have said, I have no doubt; neither have I any doubt that she will honourably fulfil her engagements. But with difficult circumstances surrounding her—with but half support from the kingdom of Prussia—she may consider it necessary to obtain a favourable answer from St. Petersburg."

Warming with these cheers, Lord John plunged into indiscretions, and began to define the peace he would be satisfied with;—being continuously cheered, and by both sides:—

"I say, with such a prospect in the past state of affairs, we ought to endeavour to obtain securities against the aggressions essential to it. I hold that it is impossible that the arrangement which was made by the treaty of Adrianople with regard to the Principalities should be again assented to—an arrangement which gives to the Emperor of Russia upon the most pretence the power of assuming the possession of the two provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia; which gives him the power of occupying with an armed force two provinces containing 4,000,000 of inhabitants; and I say that under such circumstances it is impossible that the integrity of Turkey, or the balance of power in Europe, can be secured by reverting to those treaties, or merely restoring the *status quo ante*. (Cheers.) But there is another mode in which the position of Russia has been and is menacing the independence of Turkey, and the integrity of Europe. The establishment of a great fortress, prepared with all the combination of art, made as impregnable as it is possible for art to accomplish, and containing within its port a very large fleet of line-of-battle ships ready at any time to come down with a favourable wind to the Bosphorus, places Russia in a position which makes her exceedingly menacing to Turkey, and therefore no treaty of peace could be considered safe which left the Emperor of Russia in the same menacing attitude. That is the great project, the existing treaties,

I have thought it right to state, not particularly, but generally, the views of the Government with respect to the securities we ought to obtain, but what those special securities will be, in what manner they will be signed, or on what terms they should be framed, is not a subject that I can go further into than I have already done. I believe we shall be ready, as we have been ready, to communicate with the Government of France upon the subject. I have now reason to believe that the views of the Government of the Emperor of France coincide with our own upon the subject. We shall be ready also to communicate with the Government of Austria when they wish to know our opinions with regard to such a settlement of the war as in our opinion would be alone secure, honourable, and just; but I must say, and I say it with regret, that I see no symptom of the Emperor of Russia being at present disposed to grant such conditions as I have hinted at, or to give securities such as I have said are desirable for securing the integrity of Turkey and the independence of Europe. I cannot say that he is at all disposed to depart in any respect from those demands which were made by Prince Menschikoff, and which aimed at subjugation, this is the great acquisition that Russia has steadily kept in view, and from the time of the Empress Catharine down to the present moment, she has pursued the same course to attain her object."

He added a phrase about "material guarantees" being required for the future. Appealing again to the House to present a "unanimous" front to Europe, he referred to the question of the "autumnal recess." He admitted Mr. Disraeli's right to do as he had done—suggest such a thing; but the House must not be allowed to pass any resolution to that effect. Her Majesty's advisers could not consent to shackle themselves by any pledge as to what they would advise: summoning Parliament being her Majesty's prerogative. He sat down, amid general cheering, greatly complacent.

Nobody of importance now rising, Mr. ALCOCK presented himself; and Mr. Alcock, though a very able man, not being a Parliamentary personage, the House emptied. Mr. Alcock did not speak long; he was dissatisfied with the slow movements of our fleets and armies, and recommended an early *coup* on the Crimea.

Mr. BANKES, a Tory squire, urged an autumnal session. He hoped there would be no subsidy to Austria. (Cheers.)

Mr. HUME, intensely Ministerial, praised everything, said nothing about an autumnal session, and only hinted at his conscientious objection to subsidies.

Mr. BLACKETT was delighted with what Lord John had said about Sebastopol. For the future, he hoped there would be less diplomacy and more war. He did not desire the Austrian alliance; and he feared that Austria meant to have the Principalities for herself. He also looked with suspicion on an alliance which might lead indirectly to England becoming a party to the oppression of "nationalities" crushed under the leaden sceptre of Vienna.

Mr. COBDEN, who re-collected a full House, commenced by a sneer at Lord John's sketch of a campaign, and at that attempt to turn the House of Commons into a council of war. The House had one advantage in that position; the real power of Russia (in attack) was now ascertained, and he reminded the House of the vituperation and ridicule to which he had been exposed for speaking contemptuously of Russian strength. Had he not predicted rightly that Russia could effect nothing without a loan? In fact, her vast territory, over which she had to march armies, was the source of her weakness—that is, of her poverty. But Russia was as bad to attack as incapable herself of attacking, and he did not see what material guarantees could be got from her. Were the allied armies to attempt to march over Russian plains? The Crimea presented a fatal climate to Europeans; the Crimea, therefore, could not be occupied; more especially as the population hated the Turks. Besides, had not the German Powers stipulated that if they joined us there should be no attempt to diminish Russian territory: how, then, could we take material guarantees, and yet hope for the German alliances?

"He then demanded consideration for the Greek Christians in Turkey; for while admitting that the Greek monarchy was a mistake, he contended that the Greek race had worked most remarkably in the cause of progress and civilisation. He complained that France and England had taken every measure to put down the Greek insurrection, while they had made pledges and promises in favour of the Christians in Turkey. The time would come when the rights of these men, who constituted three-fourths of the population, and the progressive and commercial part, must be accorded. It would be a great blunder to alienate that class of the population from ourselves, but we had placed ourselves in antagonism with them by our conduct in regard to the insurrection. He then ridiculed the views of those who regarded this war as carried on for the interests of the Italian and Hungarian nationalities, and adverted to the delusion that Lord Palmerston, to whom many looked as the individual to whom the war should be confided, had done anything for such nationalities."

And how would the people of England endure a war which was not for freedom, but merely for the Sultan's sovereignty—which represented, in the case of the Christians, the oppression of nationalities? Lord John, he said, had taken the plunge that night; but if he had spoken for the Cabinet, he had said too much to leave the Government a chance of internal peace.

Mr. LAYARD was satisfied, to some extent, with Lord John's declarations; but he would like more definite information as to how this money was to be applied. What Lord John said was different from what Lord Aberdeen had said: and the House ought to make conditions.

Lord D. STUART was decidedly in favour of an autumnal session,—and of Lord Palmerston. Lord John's was a "noble speech;" and Lord John ought to be Premier.

Mr. DISRAELI then rose, and did the most dexterous thing in parliamentary annals: made Lord John destroy the effect of Lord John's own speech! The speech, and the scene, are thus admirably summarised in the *Morning Chronicle*:—

"He (Mr. Disraeli) said that he had been listening for nearly six hours to strictures upon the Government by its principal supporters. He had not thought his own suggestions for an earlier sitting than usual an unreasonable one, and he supported his view by a reference to the proceedings of last autumn. Had Parliament been sitting a short time before the massacre of Sinope, in all probability the fleet would have been ordered into the Black Sea in time to have prevented that catastrophe. He considered that that night had been pregnant with important declarations on the part of Government. They had heard at last a distinct announcement of the object of the war. He adhered to his previous opinion, that the war had been caused by the discordant elements of the Government, but he had never interfered with the conduct of the war itself. He had heard with consternation the statement made that night of the united resolution of the Cabinet. He proceeded to state what he had understood Lord John Russell to say; and, on Mr. Disraeli's coming to the destruction of Sebastopol, considerable sensation was caused by Lord John Russell's rising and explaining that he had only meant that Russia ought not to be permitted to keep so large a naval force in the Black Sea. Then (exclaimed Mr. Disraeli) for six hours we all have been in a fool's paradise. He dwelt for some time upon the difference between what Lord John Russell had been understood to say (from which consolation had been derived for the language used in another place) and what he declared himself to have said. He had not thought the speech, as he had understood it, the most prudent in the world, but he had regarded it as an authoritative declaration on the part of the Ministry, and it had been received as satisfactory, and more than satisfactory, by all the supporters of Government. After six hours it turned out that this statement was illusory, and now he had a right to demand of the noble lord what was his policy, if he had one. Nothing so extraordinary as this had ever taken place in his parliamentary experience. After enlarging upon this theme, and showing how Lord John's supposed declaration had formed a basis for the arguments they had heard, especially those urged by Mr. Cobden as to the German Powers being opposed to the depriving Russia of territory, he ironically took credit to himself for having prevented terrible misconceptions by his mistake, which had elicited from the Lord President the explanation that no new policy was being pursued, but merely the old one which had been adopted all along. All he apprehended was, that the telegraph might already have taken the supposed announcement to St. Petersburg. Honourable gentlemen who had drawn such painful distinctions between the policy of Lord Aberdeen and of some of his colleagues, would act unfairly if after what had passed they continued to do so, as it was now clear that there was no difference between the policy of Lord Aberdeen and that of Lord John Russell. It was a consolation to know that the Cabinet, though a coalition, was united in the intention to pursue the war feebly to a mean termination."

Lord PALMERSTON attempted a reply; but Mr. Disraeli had bewildered the Ministerialists, and Lord Palmerston was not successful. Lord John had said, in effect, that Sebastopol was to be destroyed; and Lord Palmerston refused to back out of that hint, stating that Lord John spoke for all his colleagues—which the House didn't believe—and was, at any rate, of opinion that Lord John had blundered. As to the German alliances, while France and England acted together, he did not care who stood aloof. (Cheers.) The question of a prorogation must be left to the Government's discretion.

Then commenced the confusion, which left Lord John in a pitiable position, having to give up another night to an explanation of what Monday night had meant.

Lord D. STUART said that as Lord J. Russell had made a retraction of what he had said, and as Lord Aberdeen was reported to have made a speech nearly diametrically opposite to that of Lord J. Russell, the House ought to have time to obtain further information. He moved that progress be reported.

Lord J. RUSSELL denied that he had retracted anything; and after some explanation professed his inability to see why the vote should not be decided on.

Mr. HENLEY concurred in the view that Lord J. Russell had accidentally led the House into a material mistake.

Mr. LAYARD and Mr. GROGAN supported the motion of Lord D. Stuart. Mr. Layard being very vexed that he had been led to make a foolish speech about his "satisfaction."

Sir J. SHELLEY brought his testimony to the impression that Lord John Russell had declared that the destruction of Sebastopol must precede peace.

Mr. BOOKER had heard both Lord Aberdeen's speech and Lord J. Russell's that night, and nothing could be more contradictory than the two.

Mr. HORSMAN thought it important that the vote should be granted, and any further discussion could be taken on the report.

Lord J. RUSSELL assented to this course, provided the report could be taken this day.

Mr. PERO, in withdrawing a motion to make way for the proposed discussion, bore different witness to the words of Lord John Russell than that which had been given by other members.

Sir H. WILLOUGHBY had received the same impression as Mr. Disraeli.

Sir T. DYKE ACLAND strongly recommended unanimity on such an occasion.

Lord D. STUART withdrew his motion on the understanding that he received distinct assurance that further discussion should take place on the report. He should certainly make his motion for an address against prorogation until further information was before the House.

Lord J. RUSSELL, in again assenting to the proposed course, expressed his extreme regret that he should have fallen into any ambiguity of expression.

The vote was then agreed to.

On Tuesday, at the evening sitting, the House attending in large numbers,

Lord DUDLEY STUART made the motion of which he had given notice—to add to the resolution, "and that an address be presented to her Majesty to return thanks for her most gracious message, and to assure her Majesty that her Majesty may fully rely on the cheerful zeal and constant affection of her faithful Commons, and that they most readily do make provision according to her Majesty's wishes; and humbly to pray that her Majesty will be pleased not to prorogue Parliament until she shall have been enabled to afford to this House more full information with respect both to her relations with foreign Powers and to her views and prospects in the contest in which her Majesty is engaged." In supporting this motion, he referred to the misunderstanding of the preceding night, insisting that Lord John Russell had made what amounted to a retraction with respect to the objects of the war, whence he inferred that we were governed by men not in accordance with each other, and whose councils were vacillating. This was his explanation of Lord John's inconsistency:—

"Why, according to the subsequent reading given by the noble lord to his speech, if Russia was to lay down one or two sail of the line that would be sufficient. That, he must say, totally altered the state of things. How it came that the noble lord should have reduced his expressions and so diminished them as to take away all their value, was not for him to explain. He thought an impartial spectator would have thought either that the noble lord had received some communication from some of his colleagues, either in this place or in another place—perhaps from the noble lord at the head of the government—or that after speaking out his sincere, and manly, and noble opinions, and wishes, and intentions, which he (Lord Dudley Stuart) believed to have been the case when he first spoke, and that he felt afterwards that what he had said was not in harmony, however it might be with his own wishes, with the wishes and opinions of those with whom he was acting."

He insisted that there was disunion in the Cabinet, and he did not trust Lord Aberdeen, under whose influence our fleets and army were doing nothing and would do nothing: the calculation being that England would by and by be ready to give up the war in disgust. The Turks, he said, were by this time quite tired of our pretended alliance. He warned the nation that we would be led into error and misfortune if we waited for the Prussian and Austrian alliance. If Parliament did not sit through the year we should be hurried into some "ignominious peace."

Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT considered the motion legitimate. It was "a vote of want of confidence; a challenge which the Government took up." (*Cheers.*) The right honourable gentleman then went into an elaborate defence of the administration of the war; contending that wonders had been done; and that by the blockades in the Black and Baltic seas, and by that assistance of our army in the East, which had stopped Russian supplies, we had, in effect, destroyed Russian trade, compelled the Czar's forces to fall back, and annihilated Russian prestige. This, he said, was a good deal for one campaign, and the campaign was not yet over. Russia had been compelled to sacrifice the Circassian forts, and that was an immense loss to her.

"Why how many pounds sterling had Russia expended within the last quarter of a century, in erecting forts along the coast of Circassia; and had not all these been destroyed with one single exception?"

"Mr. LAYARD—The Russians abandoned them."

"Mr. S. HERBERT—The hon. gentleman was not satisfied even when the enemy runs away. (*A laugh.*) And this

reminded him of an opinion of the Duke of Wellington—that the people of England liked a good butcher's bill; but that might have been their feeling in past times; he believed now they would rejoice to find that these forts had been taken without that destruction of human life such as we read of in the accounts of the battles of old. (*Cheers.*)"

This hit told; and the right honourable gentleman went on to defend Lord Aberdeen.

"The noble lord had told them that the non-success of our arms was owing to the pusillanimity of Lord Aberdeen, and last night they were informed that the debate must be adjourned because, in another place, Lord Aberdeen might use language diametrically opposed to that of the noble lord the President of the Council. Honourable gentlemen opposite, however, who had had the good fortune to hear the noble lord in another place immediately got up and said there was not a single contradiction, and he confessed he was agreeably surprised when he read the newspapers this morning to find the few plain but strong phrases of Lord Aberdeen perfectly agreed with the opinions which had been expressed by the noble lord the President of the Council. (*Cheers.*) The noble lord who had spoken to-night told them that the people of England had no confidence in the sincerity of the Cabinet with regard to this war; but he (Mr. S. Herbert) did not think that the people of England believed the stories to that effect which had been so industriously circulated."

The war, he said, could not be concluded

"By simply patching up a hollow peace, but that the war must not be concluded without obtaining guarantees and conditions which should give some prospect to Europe of a desirable peace for the future, as well as protect Turkey and the other neighbours of Russia from being rudely trampled on by the rulers of that vast country." (*Cheers.*)

He, for one, did not desire to be a member of a Government on sufferance; and let, therefore, this motion be carried, or let him hear no more of the Cabinet not having the confidence of the House. (*Loud cheers.*) The speech was a success.

Mr. LAYARD (to whose speech on the former evening Mr. Herbert had been replying in a great measure) followed with a vindication, and some new sarcasms. He denied that in either sea there was effectual blockade; and he contended that Russian trade was not suffering, that trade being carried on through Prussia. Referring to the scene of the previous night, he insisted that Lord John had said one thing at one hour and another six hours later. He then considered our present relations with Austria, and the views of that Power, as developed in the protocols, which showed, in his opinion, that the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum* was all she sought, and that Austria would go no further with us than obtaining the evacuation of the Danubian Principalities. The moment that object was accomplished our difficulties would begin. He dwelt upon the great importance of the contest in which we were engaged, and upon the absence of distinct and satisfactory information as to the objects of the war. He acknowledged he had no confidence in Lord Aberdeen; he thought the country was distrustful of him. Although he regretted the motion of Lord D. Stuart, which placed him in great difficulty, if pressed to a division he should vote for it. The choice was between these things—whether we would remain a first-rate power, the defenders of European principles and liberties—or a third-rate power, and be the brokers, commission agents, and salesmen of the world. (*Cheers.*) Unless we took one side, we should be compelled to fall into the other.

Mr. W. A. WILKINSON was of opinion that Lord John Russell had retracted nothing, and that what Lord John had said was satisfying.

Admiral BERKELEY defended the naval administration of the war, and let out the secret that Sir Charles Napier had written home to say that he could do nothing (with the fleet) against Cronstadt.

Sir JOHN SHELLEY had confidence in the Government, but none in Lord Aberdeen, and he was sure the country had none.

Sir JOHN WALSH, as a Conservative, had no confidence in the Government; it was a ridiculous Government, beaten twice a week: but Parliament had no right to interfere with the prerogative of the Crown, and he would vote against the motion.

Mr. HILDYARD called attention to the indiscretion of Admiral Berkeley in telling Napier's opinion about Cronstadt; and Admiral Berkeley replied, conscious of a blunder; but referring to the troops who had gone to the assistance of the fleet as likely to qualify Napier's view of what could be done.

Mr. PERO thought the war had gone on very well, and that a good deal had been done, and he had confidence in the Government.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL vindicated himself and then Lord Aberdeen.

"Some hon. members have singled out the noble lord at the head of the administration, and made him the peculiar object of attack. Now, sir, whatever may be the constitutional nature of this motion—and I do not deny that as a motion of want of confidence, it is constitutional—there is nothing constitutional in an attempt to separate the Cabinet from the noble lord who is at the head of it, and to make that noble lord alone responsible for that of which all his colleagues must share the responsibility. (*Hear, hear!* from the Ministerial benches.) With regard to the general measures of the Government, those measures have been considered step by step by those advisers of her Majesty who are usually called the Cabinet, and for the decisions which have been adopted all the colleagues of Lord Aberdeen are

alike responsible to this House and to the country with that noble lord. With regard, again, to particular departments, with regard to the Minister of War and the First Lord of the Admiralty, who are especially charged with the conduct of measures relating to the war, I am sure I am justified in saying that there is no measure that they have proposed in order to give greater vigour to the operations of the war, and in order to ensure success in the war, which my noble friend at the head of the Government has not zealously encouraged and readily concurred in. That my noble friend for a long while believed in the chance of peace and wished to avert war is a reproach which I think he can very well bear. But, with regard to any delay which may have taken place, delay charged to have taken place at least—at the commencement of the war; those who sat with Lord Aberdeen as his colleagues are alike chargeable with him on account of it. [And then followed a counter-sneer at Parliament which was perfectly justified.] Let me, however, remark—because this has something to do with the motion—in reference to that which was for some time the real subject of attack, namely, that when the Pruth had been passed we did not at once advise her Majesty either to declare war or to take such steps as would have shown that we were determined to encounter the risk of immediate hostilities—let me remark that that event took place while Parliament was sitting, and when Parliament might, had it so pleased, have interfered to give advice to the Crown; and that the step of sending the fleet first into the Bosphorus and afterwards into the Black Sea, was taken at a time when Parliament was not sitting. He would abide by the decision of the House."

Lord Dudley Stuart, of course, did not press his motion: the Opposition was not anxious that he should;—and the money was voted—i.e., the Report was adopted. At one moment, when it was thought a division would come off, Mr. Disraeli rushed out of the House.

ENGLISH PATRIOTISM AND RUSSIAN SECURITIES.

On Saturday Lord DUDLEY STUART obtained leave to bring in his bill making it a misdemeanour for an English subject to have any dealings, during the war, in Russian "Securities." On Wednesday the bill was put into committee; and, on both occasions, there was a debate, the principal feature of which was, that Mr. JAMES WILSON, the secretary to the treasury, ridiculed the bill, first as unnecessary, and next as bad in principle; and that Lord PALMERSTON, favouring the bill, in compliment to Lord Dudley Stuart, treated what Mr. Wilson said as "sheer nonsense." On the question of going into committee on Wednesday there was a division: the commercial men siding with Mr. Wilson; the haters of sheer nonsense and lovers of public spirit with Lord Palmerston; and the latter, of course,—ironically helped by the Opposition, who were delighted with the scandal,—winning by a considerable majority.

Mr. T. BARING, who opened the discussion on Wednesday, demolished the bill in a few words. It was his opinion, as a merchant, that it was unnecessary, while it would proclaim to the world that, but for it, a Russian loan would be taken by Englishmen, whereas there was no disposition here to lend money to Russia. The bill, the provisions of which might be easily evaded, evinced an indecent manifestation of spite towards a particular Power; it should apply to all States, and should have been brought in by the Government.

Mr. J. WILSON used an unanswerable argument,—which certainly was not answered:

"He believed if it were once understood what the financial position of Russia was at this moment and what its operations were, it would have more effect in preventing a Russian loan than any laws which could be passed. At the time this country was engaged in war, from 1800 to 1815, when bank-notes were inconvertible, our currency became depreciated; but when the House passed a bill on the subject in 1819, in redeeming the securities, they determined to pay all their debts honestly without depreciation, and at the full value, instead of paying them with the depreciated currency. What did Russia do on a similar occasion? Russia commenced a long war with the issue of a rouble note of the value of 38 pence, which was made inconvertible for a lengthened period of years, but, owing to frequent issues, the rouble note was depreciated step by step, until, instead of being worth 38d., it was only worth 10½d. Now, what did Russia do? The whole of these securities were paid by the Russian Government at 10½d. The value of the rouble was restored to 38d., but all the old notes which the Russian Government had issued were paid at 10½d. Russia was now doing precisely the same thing again, and was declaring the rouble notes issued at 38d. to be inconvertible; those notes had already fallen to 32d., and, if the present war continued, it would soon be found that the excessive issues would lead to a depreciation equal to that which took place during the war to which he had referred. The creditors of Russia and the holders of Russian securities would then find that their securities were reduced to one-third of their original value. He thought, if these facts were known, that capitalists would be placed upon their guard against such uncertain investments, and that the object of the noble member for Marylebone would be secured much more easily and completely than by any legislative measure."

Lord PALMERSTON followed; talking his debonair ignorance of the subject with pleasant audacity, under which Mr. Wilson cowered.

"Now, what a puerile distinction that is which is attempted to be drawn between furnishing such aid directly and indirectly. This bill applies, not as many hon. gentlemen endeavour to represent, to established Dutch stock, which has been matter of bargain and sale and of bequest for years past, but it applies simply to stock to be created for the very purpose of making war upon this country. The object of the bill is simply this—to provide that, if the

Emperor of Russia endeavours to raise a loan in Europe for the purpose of killing your soldiers and sailors, of destroying your commerce, and of frustrating all your national policy, at least Englishmen shall not contribute to such loan. (*Cheers.*) Why, all the arguments I have heard against this bill go to the root of the whole question. The arguments of the hon. gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury amount to this—that you ought to abolish your law of high treason—that you ought to permit your merchants and manufacturers to supply the Emperor of Russia with gunpowder and ball, with ships of war, and with all the implements by which war may be carried on. (*Cheers from the Opposition.*) I consider that it is sheer nonsense to say so. (*Renewed cheers and laughter.*) These arguments are founded upon the principle on which we are told the Dutch admiral proceeded when, in the interval or lull of a naval action, he sold gunpowder to his enemies in order that the engagement might be renewed in the afternoon. (*Laughter and cheers.*) I am as desirous as any man can be to encourage the commercial enterprise of this country, but, for Heaven's sake, don't let us adopt a system which places pocket against honour, which sets the turn of your balance-sheet against the national interests (*cheers*), and which lowers the whole feeling of the country to a mere question of pounds, shillings, and pence. (*Cheers.*) I say that is a system which is disgraceful and fatal to a country, and that if we mean to maintain our national independence we must have regard to those great principles upon which nations act, and by which alone national independence and honour can be secured. (*Cheers.*) It may be said by some persons that this bill will be nugatory, but it cannot be nugatory, because it establishes a principle. It may be said that the provisions of the measure will be evaded. Why, there are men who would evade every law, however high the sanction may be by which that law is enforced. You cannot guard against the bad and evil passions of men, and the courses they may be induced to adopt by motives of private interest. All you can do is to lay down your principle; honest men will conform themselves to it, and those who choose to evade it must settle the matter with their own consciences. I would, therefore, strongly recommend the House not to reject this bill. I think its rejection would really tend to encourage Russia, and to make, as it were, a general advertisement that all British subjects are at liberty to assist our enemies with their money as much as they please."

The House went into committee; but when the clauses came to be discussed, Lord Palmerston was found in a scrape: the bill was such utter nonsense, that it had to be postponed until the law officers of the crown (who had given a rather blundering pledge that it was all right) had looked into it to see if they could do anything with it.

LORD BROUGHAM ON EDUCATION.

On Monday, Lord BROUGHAM delivered an essay on "National Education," describing what had been done, dogmatizing on what should be done; in neither respect saying anything new. Lord GRANVILLE paid some just compliments to the career of his noble friend as an Educationist, and some very unjust compliments to the Privy Council Committee of Education.

The Earl of HARROWBY said the metropolis was in a peculiar position as regarded its educational wants, and required specific action. The poorer districts could not subscribe, and could not, therefore, under the present regulation, receive Government aid. As regarded the country generally nothing effectual could be done until the employers of children afforded facilities for sending them to school.

Lord CAMPBELL said the question introduced by his noble and learned friend had a most important bearing on the present state of crime. Within the last two or three years the number of juvenile offences in the metropolis had multiplied to a most appalling extent, and there was a crying necessity or the interference of the State.

VENTILATION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In answer to Lord Dudley Stuart, about "noxious effluvia" in the House of Commons, Sir WILLIAM MOLESWORTH said, on Monday,—He was in the House on Thursday night and Friday morning, and he perceived the stench to which the noble lord referred. (*A laugh.*) He immediately caused inquiries to be instituted by the gentlemen who had charge of the ventilation of the House, Mr. Goldsworthy Gurney and an officer of the Board of Works, who were in attendance. He was assured by their report that the stench came in with the air from without the House, and did not in any way arise within the House. (*Much laughter.*) The stench, he was informed, proceeded from the Star Chamber Court outside the House, and was traced to a sewer which emptied itself by Westminster-bridge, and from an adjoining privy which was used by the workmen employed in the Houses of Parliament. The ascending tide disturbed the masses of sewage which, in consequence of the heat of the weather, were in a state of decomposition, and the gases which were evolved made their way into the House. He was informed that similar inconvenience had been experienced previously, and that about a week ago the stench was excessively offensive, not only pervading the House, but also the adjacent courts of law. Indeed, he was told, that in consequence of the disagreeable stench, the Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench had adjourned his court. He was informed also that a similar stench had been perceived in the

House on Saturday and that morning. He could only say that he would do all in his power to prevent this annoyance, but he feared all he could do would have very little effect so long as the Thames continued to be the *cloaca maxima* of this great city. (*"Hear," and a laugh.*) The smells came into the House with the external air. The only way of excluding them would be by preventing the admission of the external air, and if such a remedy were adopted, he feared that during the present weather its effect would be to stifle all the members. (*Laughter.*) There could be no doubt that these odours were very injurious to health, and the most effectual remedy he could recommend was that the sitting of Parliament should be brought to a close as speedily as possible. (*"Hear," and laughter.*)

BRIBERY BILL.

This bill has been greatly delayed, by the analytical discussion, in the Commons. On Monday and Tuesday it engaged the House in the morning sittings; and the bill has not been improved—taking it merely as a technical bill, which, morally and politically will be resultless. To sum up the injury done—"expenses for travelling" are to remain legal; and, under this cloak, a direct bribery can still go on.

AN ANTI-CHOLERA BILL THROWN OUT.—The Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention bill (consolidation of bills)—a measure to give the Board of Health and municipal authorities new powers to cleanse towns—was thrown out (abandoned) in the Commons on Monday because of a junction between the enemies of Mr. Chadwick and the advocates of local self-neglect; Lord Palmerston, as a managing man, weakly giving way.

SALE OF BEER, &c. BILL.—This bill (providing the new regulations for the opening of public-houses on Sundays) was read a third time and passed in the House of Commons last Saturday. Mr. H. BERKELEY objected that this bill would interfere with the comfort of the working classes when taking recreation by excursion trains on Sundays, thus legislating for the poor and not for the rich. Mr. PATTEN said, the bill dealt equally with all classes; but an alteration had been made in it to accommodate passengers by excursion trains. The bill was supported by Mr. HEYWORTH, Lord D. STUART, Mr. BANKES, and Mr. HENLEY; while Mr. W. J. FOX and Mr. CRAUFORD objected to this legislation.

When the bill got into the Lords, on Thursday, the Earl of HARROWBY announced, amid expressions of assent, that he would, on the next stage, propose amendments by which the hours during which public-houses might be kept open on Sunday were extended from 1 to half-past 2, and from 5 to 11 p.m., with the provision that no liquor should be furnished after 10 p.m. Lord BROUGHAM asked why west-end clubs were not to be brought under the provisions of this bill? No answer.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY BILL.—The Lords' amendments on this bill were discussed in the House of Commons on Thursday; there being a long debate and several divisions. Generally the improved character of the bill was maintained.

HAMPSTEAD HEATH.—The bill (Sir T. Wilson's) which endangered, though only prospectively, the public possession of Hampstead Heath, was thrown out of the Commons on Thursday, and by a very large majority. The Middlesex members, Lord ROBERT GROSVENOR and Mr. BERNAL OSBORNE, did this.

COMMUNICATION IN RAILWAY TRAINS.—The Lords have had a debate, on the invitation of Lord FITZARDINGE, on the necessity of railway guards and drivers of engines being put into communication in trains; and Lord STANLEY of Alderley, of the Board of Trade, has mentioned that the Government is "seriously considering the matter." It is absurd in a Senate to deal in such topics; but it is adding to the absurdity by not insisting on the Government doing more than "consider."

MEDICAL GRADUATES OF LONDON UNIVERSITY BILL.—This bill, which had passed the House of Commons safely, has been greatly modified in the Lords—the Duke of ARGYLE interposing and insisting that the same rights which London University graduates claimed ought to be extended to Dublin and the Scotch Colleges. Accordingly, the "large question of medical reform" is to include this point, and for the present the graduates of London University are, by this bill, to be relieved merely of the penalties attaching unintentionally to them under certain recent bungling measures. The Duke of Argyle, in making the objection did not seem to be aware that a second bill stood in the Commons for doing what he wanted.

DR. PRETHMAN'S CASE.—Mr. OTWAY brought this case before the House of Commons on Wednesday. Lord Palmerston offered elaborate explanations; and the House pronounced decisively that the man was a lunatic, and that he had had every indulgence and consideration shown to him.

OUR CIVILISATION.

FRENCH PROSTITUTES AND THEIR KEEPERS.

A FRENCH girl (taking advantage of the recent decision of Chief Justice Jervis), has brought an action against Marmaysee (who was the defendant in the former case) for balance of an account; and the action was tried this week at the Maidstone Assizes. She was a prostitute "employed" at a House in Newman-street kept by the defendant. The evidence was disgustingly simple; she made a bargain with him as to what she was to be allowed

out of the money paid by "gentlemen" for the use of her; and this bargain he had not kept. Some documents were put in, by which it was made to appear that during a period of four weeks the plaintiff had "earned" something like 80*l.*, and it appeared that she now sought to obtain the half of this sum as her share.

The case being thus completed, on the plaintiff's side, the Judge (Pollock) interposed, and was "shocked" at the facts, and expressed his regret that such cases should be forced upon his attention in court. He advised (this was odd in a judge) that the defendant should plead the illegality of the bargain, and so escape. But defendant's counsel (Mr. Parry) refused—relying on the "justice of his cause;" and, the Judge being obliged to give way, Mr. Parry addressed the jury for the defence, being very candid about his functions.

"He said he should not for a moment attempt to deny that he stood in a most disgraceful and degraded position; that he was, in fact, a male brothel-keeper; but he was sure the jury would still feel that he was entitled to their protection, and that persons ought not to be allowed to take advantage of his degraded condition to make claims upon him for money without any ground."

"The defendant, Germain Marmaysee, a stylishly-dressed Frenchman, was then sworn, and he detailed with the utmost composure the nature of the agreement entered into between him and the unfortunate women who occupied his house. He produced his books to show that he had paid the plaintiff all the money to which she was entitled, and he declared that, when she left the establishment, she was indebted to him in the sum of 18*l.*, for which she gave him a bill of exchange, which he produced. He also declared that the plaintiff went away on the 2nd of April, and that consequently she could not have been entitled to any further earnings up to the month of May."

"Upon being cross-examined, the defendant said he considered himself a gentleman. Since the former action he had sold the house in Newman-street, but it was still carried on by his sister-in-law, although he had nothing to do with it, and had no share whatever in the profits. He said he sometimes slept in the house, but did not keep the books. Formerly he was the clerk and kept the books, but he had now ceased to do so. He did not keep any other houses of the same kind. When he kept the house there were sometimes five or six, and sometimes as many as twelve women living there. They paid 25*s.* a week each for their lodging, and all their expenses beside were deducted from the money they received."

"The jury after deliberating about half-an-hour, returned a verdict for the plaintiff for the full amount claimed."

At the Lambeth Police Court, an old man, about whom evidence was offered to be tendered that he was "respectable," has been charged with infamous conduct to several little girls (some as old as twelve), whom he had enticed, from "low" neighbourhoods in Lambeth, under the railway arches. He escaped punishment for want of complete evidence. The curious part of this case was, that there was a competition among the girls of the neighbourhood to be led away by him—for he always gave each girl a shilling or two!

Two girls gave themselves up to the police at Liverpool this week, demanding "protection." Their story was, that they had been inveigled from their native town (Nottingham) by a "lady," who promised them engagements as milliners in Liverpool. The house at Liverpool was, however, they found, a mere brothel; and they refused her offers. The Liverpool magistrate sent them back to their friends, but it does not appear that he has ordered a prosecution of the "lady." Half these stories are untrue; and they ought to be tested in each case by a searching inquiry.

Last Sunday afternoon a child, out walking and picking up flowers, fell into a canal (in Lancashire). The child's brother, also a child, screamed for help, and appealed to a man who was passing. The man said he had his Sunday clothes on, and wasn't going to wet them—the child was drowned. The coroner has "reprimanded" the man!

A Westminster jury has sat this week upon the body of a young man, a commercial clerk in good employment, who was killed in a prostitute's night brawl—killed, when very drunk, by a woman's blow on his head. He had accompanied one of the prostitutes from Cremorne-gardens.

The Colney-Hatch Lunatic Asylum was the scene of a *fête* last Saturday; 1000 of the patients dining together under the staid supervision of the visiting Middlesex magistrates. The demeanour of the diners was unexceptionable—only one circumstance suggesting that they were not of the ordinary-world class—for not one lunatic got drunk!

A labourer, living in Monmouth-street (west-end), got drunk last Saturday night, and, of course, immediately commenced assaulting women. He tore the hair out of the head of Catharine Jones—literally scalped her; and being dragged away from her he got a log of timber and smashed the skull of one Moody, whose wife, coming to her husband's aid, was also dreadfully wounded. Both lie dangerously ill; and the case stands remanded.

At a village near Reading, a woman, married, is "taken with convulsion fits;" her husband rushes out and scours the country for doctors. He calls on

three or four; not one of them will attend, for the man is poor, and the night is late: the woman accordingly dies. The jury express their "regret."

A New Orleans paper speaks thus of an emigrant ship recently arrived out there from Liverpool:—

"The entire ship's company, with the exception of the captain, mate, and carpenter, are charged with the most fiendish outrages upon the female passengers during the passage. What renders the case more aggravating, is the charge made by the poor victims that these brutalities were perfectly well known to the officers, who made no efforts to restrain their brutish crew."

A poor woman, residing at 2, Bailey-court (somewhere near Covent Garden), was going to bed late last Saturday night, when her door was banged open, and her apartment was invaded by a drunken Irishman. She remonstrated, and he threw her out of the window! She is not expected to recover the effects of the fall—eighteen feet.

Readers will remember the case of the girl at Little Torrington, who was found murdered, having been violated, in a wood. The murderer, a married man, has been tried this week at Exeter Assizes, found guilty, and sentenced to death. It appears that he had never seen the girl before the day of the murder;—the deed was the result of sudden and brutal lust.

Here is a terrible case, illustrating the influence of the law of divorce on deserted women:—

"Jane Redford, a poorly clad miserable-looking woman, was charged (at Westminster) with intermarrying with John Flynn, her husband being then and now alive. William Gowan, 39 B, stated that the prisoner was given into his custody that morning upon the charge by her second husband, when she admitted that she had been recently married to him. The accused said that it was quite true that she had been married to both the men, but her first husband deserted her in 1847, leaving her in the greatest poverty and distress. She heard no tidings of him for seven years, and thought he was dead. When she became acquainted with Flynn she told him every circumstance connected with her history, and he then married her. On Monday evening he came home, struck her, and turned her out of doors, and that morning got up the present charge against her, and produced her former husband. Prisoner was remanded."

At Bow-street a "labourer" has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment for brutality (kicking) to his wife; and the magistrate said:—

"It would be quite impossible to carry out the provisions of the new act for the protection of women with any useful result, unless the parish authorities were willing to co-operate with the magistrates and assist the poor women who were deprived of their usual support. It was no use to talk about taking them into the workhouse. The women had a natural repugnance to go there; some trifle in the way of out-relief ought to be granted."

The Liverpool sharebroker, who stood charged with stealing a 1000*l.* bill of exchange, has been tried and acquitted—for no other reason, apparently, than that his counsel, Mr. John Aspinall, was eloquent. He failed altogether on the trial to account for the bill coming into his possession.

"On his behalf it was stated that he had received the bill from a Mr. Harris, whom he had known occasionally doing business on the Exchange, but whom he had not since seen, nor could he give any information to lead to his discovery."

At Guildhall, on Wednesday, an extraordinary case came on:—a revelation of a religion not included in Horace Mann's Census Summary.

"John Challis, an old man about sixty years of age, dressed in the pastoral garb of a shepherdess of the golden age, and George Campbell, aged thirty-five, who described himself as a lawyer, and appeared completely equipped in female attire of the present day, were placed at the bar before Sir R. W. Carden, charged with being found disguised as women in the Druid's-hall, in Turnagain-lane, an unlicensed dancing-room, for the purpose of exciting others to commit an unnatural offence."

"Inspector Teague said,—From information I received relative to the frequent congregation of certain persons for immoral practices at the Druid's-hall, I proceeded thither in company with Sergeant Goodeve about two o'clock this morning. I saw a great many persons dancing there, and among the number were the prisoners, who rendered themselves very conspicuous by their disgusting and filthy conduct. I suspected that the prisoners and several others who were present in female attire were of the male sex, and I left the room for the purpose of obtaining further assistance so as to secure the whole of the parties, but when we got outside Campbell came out after us, and, taking us by the arms, was about to speak, when I exclaimed 'That is a man,' upon which he turned round and ran back immediately to the Druid's-hall. I returned and took Campbell into custody, and observing Challis, whom I have frequently seen there before, behaving with two men as if he were a common prostitute, I took charge of him also."

"It was intimated that Campbell had been identified as having robbed a person under cover of a similar disguise."

"Isaac Somers said,—I am a journeyman baker, and have used the White Hart, in Giltspur-street, for the last twenty years. About seven weeks ago I met a woman dressed in muslin, and wearing a white veil. She took me to the Druid's-hall, and I had a glass of brandy-and-water and a cigar, for which I paid 1*s.* I changed a sovereign, and while in the company of that woman I felt her arms close round my waist, and shortly afterwards I missed the 1*l.* I had received in change. I believe that person, whom I took for a woman, was the prisoner Campbell, in woman's clothing."

The case stands remanded.

NOTES ON THE WAR.

There is this week little or no alteration in the attitude of the war.

Napier is where he was: the French troops, with the additional English ships, slowly joining him, and the destination supposed to be Aland Isles (Bomarsund to be bombarded), or, if "negotiations" should go wrong, the Gulf of Dantzic. General Baraguay d'Hilliers had reached Copenhagen, furious at news he got there that a second division of troops was to be sent out, and that D'Hilliers was not to be chief in command.

The English army remains at or about Varna—their destination supposed to be the Crimea. The fleets in the Black Sea are cruising.

Omar Pasha's army continues to obtain small successes; and news in yesterday's *Times*, being a despatch communicated by their Vienna correspondent, dated Hermannstadt, is to this effect:—

"The Russians consider the mouth of the Danube no longer tenable."

"Prince Gortschakoff, having convinced himself that Giurgevo and the Danubian islands opposite are occupied by a Turkish detachment, and not by the Balkan army, is withdrawing a great part of his army to Bucharest."

"It is believed that the right and left wing of the Russian army are retreating to the Sereth line of operations."

This indicates a retreat; but the news is at variance with the preceding and continuous accounts of the week—that the Russians were operating as if with the resolute intention of holding Wallachia—Omar Pasha accordingly halting—and waiting on the English and Austrians, both of whom remain still.

A party of officers from the English ships were boating about Sulina (mouth of the Danube), calculating that the defeated Russians had left the place, when a fire was suddenly opened on them from a ditchy covert of reeds, and, unhappily, Captain Larker, of the Firebrand, when leaping on shore to head his friends to the assault, was shot through the heart. He was a gallant officer, of that splendid family which may be said to belong to the navy, and he is deeply regretted. He was buried (at Constantinople) with solemn naval honours—French assisting, and Turks staring.

There has been a slight affair at Odessa.

"Odessa, July 14.

"Yesterday three steamers arrived and destroyed some works erected here. The allies fired some thousand shots. The Russians (as usual) lost one man."

A letter from Kars says:—

"The emissaries sent to Schamyl have returned. They state that the Circassian chief is keeping considerable forces in check. He has seized several places situated in the mountain range between Derbent and Kouba. Many Musulman deserters come over to the Turkish camp. It is declared that the Russian Government has sent word to its generals in Asia, that there was no possibility of sending them any reinforcements, and that they must keep on the defensive."

Lord Cardigan had returned to the English camp near Varna from his long reconnaissance along the banks of the Danube with his Light Dragoons. They were out seventeen days, and having no tents had bivouacked—the first taste of war's hardships. Once they were within sight of the Russians, on the other bank of the river; but they were only stared at.

The *Times* Vienna letter of the 22nd says:—

"Yesterday morning Lieutenant-Colonel Manteuffel conferred with Count Buol, and an hour later he had an audience—the second since his arrival here—of his Majesty. As has already been stated, the Prussian Envoy failed during his first interview to produce any change in the opinions of the Emperor; and report says that he met with no greater success yesterday. It is further related that M. de Manteuffel yesterday morning received a telegraphic message from Berlin, which he was charged to communicate without delay to this Government, and it is probable that such really was the case, as a Cabinet Council, at which his Majesty presided, was held in the evening. No particulars of what occurred have transpired, but persons worthy of confidence have this morning assured me that the mission of Prince Gortschakoff, although indirectly supported by Prussia, has completely failed."

In a few days we may expect the German Powers to pronounce decisively. Austria, certainly, cannot much longer delay action.

The King of the Sandwich Islands has declared himself neutral in the war between England and Russia! That sounds very ridiculous; but it appears that his Majesty was obliged to "pronounce"—both Russian and English ships of war frequenting his pleasant harbours.

A writer in the *Press* (the "authoritative Tory writer" we have before alluded to), mentions this as a fact:—

"The Chevalier Runson, one of the victims of our perfidious vacillation, wrote recently, in a letter to a friend, and in the bitterness of his heart, that, 'though the Russians were hated in Germany, no living man would trust England.'"

The Chevalier had better restrain himself to Hippolytus; but, if he come among us again, his opinion of us ought to be remembered.

An Army Police (ambulance corps) is being selected from the metropolitan police (London), and will be sent out to the East to serve in keeping order and regulations in the camp. They are to be mounted: pay 5*s.* 6*d.* a day with rations.

New sets of paragraphs are this week flying about respecting the Turkish loan:—

"MM. Diack and Durand, merchants at Constantinople, who are charged with the negotiation of the Turkish loan, are now in Paris, and have placed themselves in communication with the *Crédit Mobilier* and M. Mirés for that object. It does not appear, however, that these negotiations have as yet led to any definitive result."

On the same subject the writer of the *Daily News* city article, says:—

"The proposed Turkish loan engaged some conversation in the Stock Exchange to-day, in the absence of more exciting matter, the point more immediately under discussion being as to whether the loan would float at 75 per cent. in a 5 per cent. stock, these being terms to which it was rumoured the parties engaged in the operation on the part of the Porte might probably be induced to accede. We cannot help thinking, however, that such a course as this would be calculated rather to injure than benefit the credit of the Turkish Government, as a disposition will be generated to avoid all participation in a security which, after being hawked about in so many quarters, is offered on terms so low. If, as proves to be the case, the Turkish commissioners are equally unable to place the loan at a fair price, or to procure a guarantee for the interest and sinking fund from Great Britain and France, the best plan will surely be for them to write to Constantinople for fresh instructions."

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

The Austrian loan is being largely subscribed for. The Emperor stands at the head of the list for 1,200,000 florins—which he will lend to himself. The Esterhazys are down for large sums. The bureaucracy is prompt; no one dare refuse.

The first portion of the Mediterranean submarine telegraph from Spezia, in Piedmont, to Cape Corso, in Corsica, a distance of about 100 miles, has been successfully laid down.

The Emperor and Empress of the French are enjoying themselves at Biaritz; his Majesty, however, devotes much of his time to his avocations. Nor were these interrupted during his journey; a saloon carriage was fitted up for him as a *bureau*, in which he transacted business to his journey's end. His Ministers meet in council here every second day during his absence. The road from Mont de Merson to Bayonne, by which the Emperor and Empress passed, had been ornamented with evergreens and strewed with flowers by the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages. All of them came out dressed in their holiday clothes. It is said that the Emperor means to form an "army of observation" (on Spain) at Bayonne.

We have given, in the Spanish news, the fact that M. Salamanca's house was sacked, and his furniture thrown into the street and burned or smashed; unfortunately, we may add, the mob also destroyed his magnificent collection of pictures—one of the finest in Madrid, and of especial Spanish value.

EARTHQUAKE.—There has been an earthquake at Bareges (France). It worked several miracles. "Three shocks, at intervals of about five minutes, shook the whole chain of the Pyrenees, which seemed for an instant ready to topple down. The streets were speedily crowded with sick instantaneously restored to health. Paralytic persons, who had come to the waters to recover the elasticity of their limbs, ran as hard as if nothing was the matter with them. Several residents hastened to leave the town, carrying a few necessities on their backs."

PARIS FETES.—Great preparations are being made in Paris for the annual Napoleon fête on the 15th August. "Au champ de Mars, on représentera le siège de Silistrie et on lancera quatre ballons portant les noms de France, Angleterre, Turquie, et Autriche. Un magnifique feu d'artifice sera tiré en face du palais du Corps législatif; à la barrière du Thône, il y aura également un feu d'artifice. Représentations gratuites à tous les théâtres, jeux militaires au Cimetière et aux Arènes, et illuminations dans le genre le plus grandiose. Il n'y aura pas cette année, de joute sur l'eau, à cause des travaux en cours d'exécution sur la Seine. Les pauvres ne seront pas oubliés: une somme de 80,000*frs.* est destinée à être distribuée en secours aux indigents des douze arrondissements de Paris."

The King of Portugal is on a visit to the King of Prussia, and is enjoying the horrors of hot and gloomy Berlin.

"Disturbances" are vaguely spoken of as impending or occurring in various parts of Italy. "Advices from Verona, of the 22nd inst., state that disturbances had taken place at Parma. The soldiers were fired upon from the roofs and windows of the houses. The Austrian troops maintained the upper hand on all points, and the Parmese troops behaved well."

One of those "telegraphs" in the *Times* which are always dated Paris, but come no one can guess whence, is to this effect:—

"Throughout Italy the state of public feeling is very bad."

"It is said that an insurrection is contemplated at Modena."

"The French garrison at Rome is to be reinforced."

AUSTRALIA.

The citizens in Sydney heard accurate news of England's war with Russia in May, and on the 22nd of that month they assembled in a great meeting and passed loyal resolutions. A memorial was agreed to, to be forwarded to the Queen, declaring that

e colony was prepared to aid the mother country defending the great principles at stake. Before the meeting separated hearty rounds of cheering were given for the Queen, the Emperor of France, and the Sultan, and a corresponding number of groans for the Czar.

Dr. Lang attempted to turn the current of the meeting by taking the refuge point of view, and speaking in favour of Poland and Hungary. But he was put down.

The commercial markets throughout the colony were overstocked, but prices have not yet run down. Sydney was in great dread of Russian men-of-war those seas. The Governor-General had calmed their fears by assuring the colony that he had the best information, and there was no ground for alarm.

An admirable letter from Sydney, in the *Daily News*, says:—

"Many colonists are about to proceed to England, in consequence of which the passenger fares are greatly increased. I hear that, such is the demand for berths, it is difficult to obtain one either in a sailing vessel or steamer. The cause of the movement homeward is attributed in a great measure to the present exorbitant price of house-rent and provisions, which, within only twelve months has been nearly doubled. Four or five years ago, an income of 200*l.* to 400*l.* per year was deemed an independence."

The same excellent correspondent says:—

"We have space and occupation sufficient for the immediate employ of 20,000 labourers from Europe, and as many more for an indefinite number of years to come. There need not be an able-bodied pauper, from ten years old and upwards, in any poorhouse in England. Send them here—we want them, and they may all do well."

CANADA.

The elections for the new Parliament are in progress.

Toronto paper says:—

"A new feature in Canadian politics is likely to be introduced, Viscount Bury, eldest son of the Earl of Albemarle, anxious to represent a Canadian constituency. We are glad of it. There is the grossest ignorance of the wants and advantages of Canada in the British Houses of Parliament." Mr. Francis Hinck's address to his old constituency characteristic of him; full of negatives. His conclusion indicates how much political activity we are to expect in Canada:—

"I have only to state in conclusion that while I regret at the elections will take place at an inconvenient season, and that it has not been in the power of the Administration to bring the new franchise into operation, or to give effect to the treaty for reciprocal free trade with the United States, reduce the tariff, I feel assured that the responsibility for the failure of those measures will be thrown on those on whom alone it should devolve, viz., the majority by whose votes the Government was placed in such a situation as to be compelled either to resign or to recommend a dissolution."

SPAIN.

The Revolution in Spain halts. As we predicted from the first, Espartero has become the master of the situation. The last telegraphic news (from Bayonne) is dated the 23rd, and it is to the effect that all is in suspense in Madrid—waiting for the stroke of Victory. A letter of the 22nd, Madrid, says:—

"I have seen a person who has just arrived from Guadalajara. Between Alcala and Guadalajara, he says, the road is lined with people from the surrounding country, waiting, notwithstanding the tremendous heat of the sun, for the passage of Espartero. There is little doubt of his arriving to-night, but the hour is uncertain. The people will expect him any time after 4, but I should not wonder if it were many hours later before he arrives. As to the enthusiasm, I shall not attempt to describe it, because you would suspect me of exaggeration."

There was fighting in the capital up to the 20th—that is for three days barricades growing hourly in strength and number; and the Queen's wretched and not very loyal troops everywhere having to give way. At one time the Junta (citizens), which had been formed, and which had been in communication with the Queen, was imposed to lay down their arms, on her facile promises; but caution prevailed—and they hold the city until Espartero arrives. O'Donnell is no doubt with him. He was to have left Saragossa on the 20th.

The personal incidents of the revolution are numerous. Queen Isabel seems to have behaved with great coolness throughout. The blunder in attempting to stop disaffection with the rival ministry was a great one; but, probably, she was not responsible for it; and there is nothing to show that she was not as eager as the nation to put affairs into the hands of Espartero. Queen Christina would have lost her life had she been taken by the people; and it is doubtful where she is—whether escaped into France, or to Portugal, or lying hid in her daughter's palace, which the insurgents expected. As we stated last week, her own palace was pillaged, as was also Alamanca's and Sarlonu's houses.

"A person answering the description of the former, but with his whiskers shaved off, left the Palace in a carriage with several attendants, and got into a postchaise which waited for him at a few miles from the town on the road to

France. A friend of mine, a former officer of the Royal Guards, whom I met to-day with a musket in his hand at one of the barricades, informed me that this morning a person had escaped disguised as a lamplighter in a white jacket and trousers, and with the gas company's brass badge on his cap. He was tall, stout, and beardless, and quite corresponds in appearance, as far as I could learn, with the celebrated Salamanka. I suspect that the higher classes of persons engaged in the revolution are rather inclined to favour the escape of men who, if they fell into the hands of the people, would assuredly be hung, shot, or torn to pieces."

A singular change has taken place in the fortunes of the Colonel Gerrigo who, taken at the first outbreak, was sentenced to death. We now hear of him as the leader of the insurgents, haranguing and fighting at every street. The mob, of course, liberated him.

Espartero's proclamation to Saragossa significantly makes no mention of the Queen. The cry throughout Spain is the "Constitution of 1837, and Morality;" will Espartero make conditions with his Queen that she shall be good for the future?

There are, of course, rumours of Carlist risings and Montemolin's hopes. But they are not authenticated; and no movement seems to have been made in Madrid towards the dethronement of Isabella.

General San Miguel is the chief in command at Madrid.

Louis Napoleon is reported to have decided to have an army encamped at Bayonne, to watch Spanish politics.

EGYPT.

A NEW Viceroy reigns in Egypt; Abbas Pacha is dead: Said Pacha succeeds.

Of the deceased the *Daily News* says:—

"Egypt experienced very hard usage at the hands of its now deceased ruler. He fulfilled the most unfavourable rumours that were afloat in his grandfather's time as to the fate of his people and their commerce under his rule. Amidst the extreme difficulty experienced by everybody, from the late Pacha himself to the passing traveller, of ascertaining the real condition of Egypt, a few facts stand out indubitable. We fear, also, that there is no doubt that where Abbas Pacha's eye rested, and where his hand was laid, the decline has been most obvious, as it is, of course, most recent. There are memorials of his methods, however, which are not very recent, and which show what became of production under his care. That he would give security of life and property to his people nobody anticipated. It was more than could be expected in Egypt from any but a very extraordinary man. There were not many who supposed he would pay more respect to internal improvements than decorum to the memory of his grandfather and uncle required. But that he would foster the European alliances, which had done so much for the country, and countenance the foreign trade of his ports, and adhere to his convention of free trade, was confidently expected. At first it appeared as if he meant to do so; and his intercourses with the English and French consuls—friendly and agreeable men both—were frequent and familiar. It soon appeared, however, that this was merely in pursuit of pleasure. He liked exchanges of handsome presents with foreign potentates. He liked helping Mr. Murray to send us the hippopotamus; he liked offering challenges for races on the sands under the Pyramids; he liked to buy English bull-dogs of great price and greater ugliness; and he liked ordering and obtaining the most splendid of yachts from an English shipbuilder's yard. But he could never be got to attend to business. He was fitful in his moods; apt to shut himself up when an audience was extremely wanted; apt to run off, and forbid anybody to follow him, when steamers were entering the port, with despatches requiring instant and earnest attention. Of all difficult places to follow a man to on business, perhaps Mount Sinai is the most so; and to Mount Sinai, therefore, was the Pacha most fond of going—having a villa there, and trying to be a *Sardinian* in a small secondary, vulgar kind of way. His grand eccentricity seemed to be his hatred of Alexandria. Alexandria is the *Cinderella* of his family of cities; and there is no other so enlightened, or, though not very beautiful, so worthy of his favour. But he could not bear trouble, and therefore he could not bear trade; and therefore he could not bear Alexandria. He stripped the people—now by purchase, nominal or real, and now by confiscation; and all the corn was in his own granaries, that he could intercept on its way to the merchants' stores. What the merchants got hold of last year he forbade them to sell; and up to the time of his death he was commissioning his own officials to buy up the total produce of Egypt for himself alone. He would not allow any European trader any chance against him. The acts of a ruler like this touch us—not only our merchants at Alexandria, but our working classes at home. We may have no business to meddle with an Egyptian Pacha's exclusive relations with his own people; but when Abbas Pacha came into the market in royal state, to override commerce and treaties with his royal equipage; when he stepped in between the producers, merchants, and consumers, to break off their transactions, it became time to inquire, in all diplomatic moderation, what he meant, and to inquire also whether he would be viceroy or corn-dealer—this being an age of the world when no man can be allowed to use the prerogative of the one function to grasp the profits of the other in very teeth of a free-trade convention. But death has stopped him in mid-career, and has so protected our Egyptian commerce, and saved us from the freaks of a new kind of Merchant Prince. May his successor be a wiser and a better man."

Of this successor the *Steele* says:—

"On sait que la loi Musulmane appelle au trône le plus âgé des membres de la famille souveraine. C'est cette loi

qui a causé la mort de presque tous les frères et oncles des Sultans de Constantinople, dès que ceux-ci ont eu des fils capables de leur succéder. Une politique si barbare devait être abandonnée par le Sultan actuel, Abdul-Medjid-Khan. Il a respecté la vie et même la liberté de son frère, Abdul-Osman, qui est appelé à lui succéder."

"Said-Pacha, aujourd'hui vice-roi d'Egypte, est âgé de 36 ans; il est fils de Méhémet-Ali et quatrième frère du célèbre Ibrahim-Pacha, vainqueur à Koniah et à Nézib. En 1840, Said, alors amiral d'Egypte, se faisait remarquer par une préférence passionnée pour la France. Son avènement, quoique les circonstances soient bien différentes et qu'il n'existe plus entre la France et l'Angleterre de rivalité hostile, doit, être considéré comme favorable à l'influence française en Egypte."

The eldest son of the late viceroy, who was to have been married to a daughter of the Sultan, was at Malta when news arrived of his father's death. He has hurried back to Alexandria. Will the marriage now take place?

CHINA.

THE REVOLUTION.

The *Overland Friend of China* of June 6, sums up the China news transmitted by the last mail.

"From private sources (says the *Friend*) and on what we deem reliable authority, we learn that the insurgent army now consists of three main divisions, irrespectively of the central body in occupation of Nanking and Chinkeang-foo. A mere glance at the wide field of operations over which their movements extend, will suffice to show that, notwithstanding a check in the vicinity of the northern capital, the insurgent arms never were, on the whole, more victorious and powerful."

This is very vague: but it is news, and the only news.

CHOLERA.

THE Cholera is everywhere. We hear of it in New York, in the West Indies, in Paris, Marseilles, Constantinople, Varna, and along the Dardanelles, Sebastopol, and Berlin.

In England alarm is rising. In London two or three startlingly rapid cases have occurred. But the Registrar General's return as to the general health in London is not unsatisfactory; and at Liverpool the Health officer has quelled a growing panic by the publication of a report which speaks of that great and thickly-populated place as unusually healthy. But from other places in these islands the accounts are serious.

At Falmouth the barque Lima, of London, nine days for Hobart Town, has put in with six cases of cholera on board.

The *Belfast Banner*, of Wednesday, states that 24 cases of cholera have occurred since that day week, and that the disease has assumed a very aggravated character, and has proved unusually fatal.

It has been very fatal in a colliery village named Trimdon, situated between the Ferry-hill station of the York and Berwick Railway and Hartlepool. It broke out very suddenly on Saturday fortnight, and since then 14 deaths have taken place. Between 40 and 50 persons have been attacked with the disease in a bad form since its outbreak. Some of the deaths have been awfully sudden, and without those premonitory symptoms that have previously marked the early stages of this terrible disease.

Two fatal cases of cholera occurred towards the end of last week in this city, one of them a gentleman who had just returned from an infected district in the west, and the other his son, a child of three or four years of age.—*Edinburgh Courier*.

There are brief warnings of a similar character, from places in almost every county in England.

In Stroud cholera has broken out, and from a singular cause. Twelve persons dined off a putrid hare and cholera supervened,—infection spreading. Here is a description of one choleraic spot in Stroud:—

"The cottage in which deceased lived was one of four adjoining without any back place whatever, and in every one of which persons were ill; all refuse matter had to be carried out at the front into the street, and at the present time the three most dangerous cases are in a room not nine feet square; some of the excrementitious matter is thrown near to the public road, a wall only separating it from the foot-path, and the rest into what is called a privy."

CHOLERA IN PARIS.—The hospital reports from July 6 to July 12 inclusive, give 202 cases received, 104 discharged, and 102 deaths. Between the 13th and 16th inclusive there were 61 admissions and 38 deaths. The total from the commencement gives 3462 admissions, 1851 recoveries, 1828 deaths, and 283 remaining under treatment.—*Medical Times and Gazette*.

CHOLERA IN BARBADOES.—By a private letter just received from Barbadoes, dated June 26, we learn, that since May 14 to the date of the letter, there had been 4500 cases of cholera in the island, of whom 2114 had died. This is from the police returns; but the inspector believed that there had been double that number, as they had not been able to collect the information, half the police force having been swept off by the disease. In one parish, out of 81 cases, 80 died. Nine-tenths of the cases are of negroes. The deaths among the English soldiers have already amounted to 420.—*Medical Times and Gazette*.

COMMERCIAL MORALITY—A HUDSON ERA IN NEW YORK.

The Times City article says:—

"The commercial accounts from New York describe a partial recovery from the intense panic caused by the defalcations of Mr. Schuyler, but the stock-market was still in a state of great agitation, and the general distrust rendered it almost impossible to obtain advances on any description of security. Heavy additional failures are announced. The chief subject of discussion on all sides was as to the legal liability of the New Haven Company for the 400,000 stock over issued by Mr. Schuyler, it being evident that the directors intend to dispute it. Little doubt was entertained that, if the fact of the certificates having been signed by the proper officers can be established, the claim will be sustained, but the treasurer has already attempted to represent that his signature was necessary to their validity, and that this was never affixed. The probability seems to be that the bonds were sufficiently regular to involve the company, but that, under any circumstances, the holders, to escape the necessity of protracted litigation, will be induced to accept a compromise."

The New York correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* says:—

"The astounding stock frauds of the past week, extending so far as known, to at least three millions of dollars, have not only shaken public confidence and credit to a degree unprecedented for many years, but they have produced deep and anxious inquiry as to the latent but rapidly growing causes of such deplorable evils, as well as solemn, and it is to be hoped not unprofitable, reflections upon the alarming fashions and signs of the times, especially in this city of New York. Whither has flown the republican simplicity of bygone years, accompanied as it was by pure sincerity and simple truth? Alas! it is known no more. But, in its stead, we have extravagance, luxury, pride, pomp, and an aping of aristocracy. Nay, start not. Believe me when I say that aristocracy exists in a republic (I mean social aristocracy), especially in the larger cities. Why, here in New York, as well as in other cities I could name, many merchants, brokers, and particularly contractors and speculators, who reside in palaces decorated with the thickest and richest Turkey carpets, sofas, and chaises-longues, worth hundreds of dollars each—lakes of mirror in gorgeous frames adorning the walls—chandeliers in gold and crystal, with their thousand lights—paintings by the old masters, statuary, marble and rosewood centre tables, brilliant with burl and ormolu—bedsteads worth from one to two thousand dollars each—cellars stocked with the rarest old wines—one or two carriages, and the entire family establishment conducted on a similar scale of splendour. And then, for the dresses of ladies! No wonder such glorious houses as those of Stuart and Co., and Bowen and M'Namee flourish in New York. The public journals every now and then chronicle the gay doings of private parties and balls, where some of the dresses of the ladies cost more than a thousand dollars each. Now, all this is very well, where the givers of such parties are really men of wealth, for, if they live within their incomes, their lavish expenditure encourages many branches of industry, and spreads money and the means of support amongst the industrious classes. But, alas! such is by no means the case, for, in many instances, the most dazzling livers are citizens who mainly depend for their revenues on wild and chance speculations, bubble companies, and stock-gambling. Such an artificial condition of things and of society, such a hotbed of extravagance, while it produces intense and incredible rivalry among its puffed-up, vain, and deluded votaries, but too frequently leads to the commission of such gigantic frauds as the one or more that have recently discredited the stock transactions of New York. However great the loss and ruin that may arise from the New York and Newhaven, and the Haarlem swindles, and however numerous the losers, still the results will, in the long run, be increased caution and a severer scrutiny into railroad and other company affairs. Already people begin to inquire how Mr. S., Mr. P., and Mr. O., can possibly continue to live in a style of magnificence almost vying with regal splendour, when his real resources are not patent to the public, but only inferential from supposed stock and bubble enterprises. Hereafter, it will be more difficult to throw dust in the eyes of stockholders and directors; it will no longer be easy to build up gorgeous structures of gilt gingerbread instead of gold, to dazzle, allure, and swindle the public—no longer possible to make imaginary fortunes look real, as if by the magic of Aladdin's lamp—no longer feasible to get immensely into debt by artificial and deceptive means, and thus to live, at the expense of creditors, in a style equally luxurious with that of Lucullus."

"Mr. Robert Schuyler, the Napoleon of the great 'do' in Wall-street, is a prominent member of the 'upper ten' (upper ten thousand) as the New York moneyed aristocracy is vulgarly styled in contradistinction from the *oi polloi*. The utmost confidence was reposed in him, and in the railway world he was regarded as a little prince."

The pulpits of New York have been busy in denouncing this state of things. It is a "panic"—such as followed our own "railway mania."

HOW TO DEAL WITH NECESSARY EVILS.

The *Leader* has done good work in the press—in teaching journalists that the most "delicate" subjects can be so handled as not to offend proper delicacy while doing public service. The *Morning Chronicle* travels, of late, boldly into the field we opened; and we recommend to the attention of the orthodox, who may suppose that we are revolutionists, the following remarks of a conservative journal on the question of prostitution:—

"Painful as are the details lately revealed, we must use them to bring out one aspect of the question. It is an actual

fact that the white slave of this sort purchased at 8*l*. produces an annual return of one thousand pounds a-year. In the instance to which we have referred, the hire of the girl produced, in one week, 23*l*. and if we estimate the outlay on her clothing and board at the enormous amount of one-fourth of her miserable earnings—i. e. at 25*l*. a year—she produced to her keeper, who never gave her a single farthing, at least a clear annual profit of 75*l*. Ought we, or ought we not, to interfere with his traffic? We say nothing now of the crime of procuring and buying young girls. On this point the Bishop of Oxford's Act is a step in the right direction, for it makes such transactions penal; but we have not attempted to deal with the relations between the brothel-keeper and his inmates. They can be dealt with, however. We find from Behrend, the great German authority on this subject, that this very matter of the tariff for lodging, board, and clothes, as between procurers and prostitutes, is accurately and successfully provided for in the Berlin regulations. Such a case as that of Marmaysee's would be impossible in Germany. And let nobody turn in disgust from the consideration of these matters. Our affected prudery has borne no good fruits. In England, there are, after all—relatively to the population—more prostitutes than in France; and our illegitimate births per thousand are, to those in France, as seventy-one to sixty-four. As to other social consequences of the present state of things, until we have mastered the great work of Parent-Duchatelet, and studied the records of the Congrès Général d'Hygiène, which met some years ago at Brussels, we are not justified in forming, still less in expressing a judgment on one of the most important problems of the day. We will only remark that, in ages when there was more real, though less affected, zeal for public morals than in our own, such subjects received—as they do now in almost all countries except England—the earnest and practical attention of the authorities both in Church and State."

MOVEMENT TO "PRESERVE" SUNDAY IN SCOTLAND.

The *Glasgow Sentinel* in an able article says:—

"For the last month or two certain so-called 'religious' and 'temperance' journals have been exulting over our Scottish Public-house Act. They have affected a great desire to make the people sober, and have ostensibly supported the measure on that ground; though we have averred that its chief recommendation in the quarters referred to was its Sabbatarian provisions. It is fortunate that the report of the Parliamentary committee comes early to expose these pretended champions of temperance. Already one of the Glasgow supporters of the new Act has denounced the report—the *Scottish Guardian*,—and we expect daily to read of others; while so far none of the journals that took the side of the measure has offered a word of approval of the report, though in regard to the English public-houses it proceeds to a considerable extent in precisely the same direction; this shows how far cant and hypocrisy, and not a real regard for sobriety, have been the actuating motives of the Forbes M'Kenzie partisans. Meanwhile we hope that Parliament will have the courage to take up the report of the committee and legislate in the spirit it directs, despite the noise and clamour that will be raised about 'Sabbath desecration.' In doing so it will be sustained by the real intelligence and independent spirit of the country, rapidly rising superior to the tyranny and intimidation of ecclesiastical coteries and cabals, and prepared to do its duty to the people whenever those in power earnestly desire to work out a necessary and important reform, and the public interests require it. For ourselves, as far as Glasgow is concerned, we shall not rest satisfied until at least our public Museum and the Botanic Gardens are opened to the inhabitants on the afternoon of every Sunday."

THE SPITALFIELDS SILK TRADE.

A MEETING of the operative silk weavers in the velvet branch was held on Friday week, to hear the report of the committee appointed to present the uniform list of prices to the manufacturers.

The report was that all the manufacturers, with the exception of three, had agreed to "confer" with the workmen as to the list proposed. A speaker at the meeting recommended that the workmen should leave the employment of the manufacturers who refused to "confer;" but the idea, though cheered, was not carried out. Mr. Archer, "a young master" present, gave it as his opinion, that the masters could afford a better price than they gave.

Mr. Walsingham, an operative, spoke at considerable length, confirming the statements of his colleagues.

"The committee had waited upon Mr. Edmunds, of Steward-street, who was about to commence in the velvet branch; and such was the favourable impression they made on that gentleman's mind, that he told them that when the list was adopted, he would conform to it, but, should he commence before it was adopted, he would consult the committee respecting his prices. (Great cheering.) The committee had waited on another manufacturer in Spital-square, who would not allow his name to be mentioned, but the gentleman lived next door to the firm of Stone and Kemp. (Shouts of laughter.) He had promised not to mention his name. (Continued laughter.) That gentleman said he always dealt fairly by his hands, and he liked a bold man, who would speak his mind at the scale, as that was the proper place to do so; but when he found a man discontented he discharged him. (Rounds of laughter, and a Voice: 'What countryman is he?') The committee could not prevail upon the gentleman to say whether he would attend the meeting or not." (Laughter)

ONE OF THE GOVERNING CLASS.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Morning Advertiser* is enumerating the "good things" enjoyed by various prominent lordly men, and their connexions. He speaks thus of Lord Stanley of Alderley—an astute statesman, who has always been "in" but never "forward" in calling attention to his innings:—

"Now for a summary of what the public has done for this gentleman (he alone can say what he has done for the public):—One bishopric (for his uncle) for 12 years at 5000*l*. a year (besides patronage), is 60,000*l*.; two baronies, Stanley and Eddisbury; Home-office, six months, 1000*l*.; Treasury, six years and a quarter, 12,500*l*.; Paymaster's-office, one quarter 500*l*.; Foreign-office, five years and a half, 11,000*l*.; Board of Trade up the present time, about 2500*l*., making a total of 87,500*l*., exclusive of patronage to an enormous extent, and appointments of his connexions, especially that of his son, a mere lad, who has been placed over the heads of many older and more meritorious men in his profession (the diplomatic service) as a further guarantee and a future assurance to John Bull that the family of Stanley of Alderley shall not be forgotten. This is the way the Government is carried on."

The writer (he signs A Tax Payer) seems to think that he has made a discovery as to our political system!

MR. URQUHART ON OMER PACHA.

MR. URQUHART, in one of his interesting, but not important, letters to one of the evening journals whom he inspires, says:—

"I know no name which it would be more prudent to keep in reserve at present than that of Omer Pacha. I have no respect for renegades or for Franks. Omer Pacha is both. He is an Austrian by birth, a Frank by education, and a renegade by choice. In the Turkish army, from the period of his entrance into it down to the commencement of the last autumn, his conduct has been distinguished, and, I may even say, pre-eminent. By offering his resignation in the first period of the Montenegrin affair, he seemed to have established his sincerity; but when he lent himself to crossing the Danube at Kalafat, and not crossing it from Matchin, he placed himself in a position wholly novel, and which I will not venture to characterise, leaving it for history to determine whether he was no soldier or no patriot. This monstrous case does not stand alone. Silistria, you say, was endangered. Well, if it was so, how did Omer Pacha sit quietly at Shumla, with 88,000 disposable men under his immediate orders, during the two months of that siege? and how did he proceed thither only on the morning he received the courier announcing the departure of the Russians?"

Yet, knowing that Omer Pacha was generalissimo, Mr. Urquhart prayed Parliament not to let French or English go to the assistance of the Sultan!

COURT AND "FASHION."

THE Court is still at Osborne. Her Majesty and the Prince take yacht-voyages in the Solent.

The fashion of the week has been down at Goodwood. A "sporting reporter," dating Tuesday, says:—

"The magnificent meeting at Goodwood was inaugurated to-day under the most favourable auspices. The attendance of aristocratic and other visitors certainly showed no diminution from that of former years, although the absence of several distinguished persons was noted."

"An attack of the gout, we regret to state, confined the Duke of Richmond to the house during the early part of the afternoon, but just before the race for the Stewards' Cup he arrived on the course in a pony-chaise. The principal members of his family 'assisted,' as usual, at the meeting."

"The yellow jacket and crimson cap—the colours of the noble proprietor of Goodwood-park—were not displayed during the day, and their total disappearance from the turf was the only cause of regret which the spectators experienced."

OUR FEMALE TROOPS IN THE EAST.

THERE is a lady-camp at Therapia: the wives of the officers, French and English, who have "moved on."

A correspondent says:—
"Madame Yousouf, d'Altonville, Dundas, Chabannes, and several others reside in the village, as also Madame de St. Arnaud, who, by the way, shines above the rest, as an old soldier and able tactician, and more especially as regards siege operations, having ensconced herself and suite in the Imperial Kiosk, and carried a position, as far as I am aware, hitherto impregnable to friend or foe."

Another, writing to the *Daily News*, says that the Turks cannot understand this camp!

"For thus runs the Turkish adage:—'Woman's heart is soft, her hair long, and intellects short.' There is still, all admit, one splendid exception to the rule—the young and charming Countess of Erroll, who at every station, it appears, has been an object of universal attraction. Here she was encamped at Hayder Pasha, within an enclosure of the Husta-hand, and many a lingerer had at times a reverential peep as this gentle spirit tripped across the sward, with all the world before her, as if home, country, friends, and affections were all centred on that spot. 'May Providence guide her uninjured along.' She is now, report says, with her own rifles, foremost in the field."

The wives of the soldiers—and the female camp followers generally—are very differently treated. The Government gave them a passage out—and there leaves them; and, wanting allowances, accommodation, and food, they are suffering severely in the strange land.

KOSSUTH'S SUCCESS IN GLASGOW.

the Commonwealth (Glasgow)—a very able paper stigmatising itself among the Scotch journals by boldness, has these remarks upon Kossuth's visit to Glasgow:—

"And yet, it seems, this man coming on this mission, one of our men in civic place did not deem it 'respectable' to meet. This man of princely bearing, this man who was virtual king of a large European nation, who has stood and given orders on battle-fields where opposed enemies were cannonading each other, in whom the genius of a philosopher and an array of letters is made to serve the purposes of high patriotism, and wide and enlightened statesmanship; and before whom even Emerson the American bowed, as before a superior; there were persons among us who deemed themselves too 'respectable' to meet on a platform. What grand intellects must have in Glasgow! But the number of those who refrained from accompanying Kossuth to the platform on the grounds of 'respectability' was, no doubt, small; and we can understand that many whose presence there would have been proper, kept away, or took their places as simple spectators, for more satisfactory reasons. It was to the honour of Glasgow, however, that on the occasion of Kossuth's visit a man as Professor Nichol should have been his host, and that there were among our public men, and even among our clergy (whose absence from political meetings is a matter of custom) so many ready to appear in the cluster of Scotchmen that surrounded the illustrious guest. We observe, too, the pleasure that even in the adverse newspapers, there have been no personal attacks upon the man. They resent opinions and deny their utility; but, with no exception that we know of, they speak of himself with respect. This, indeed, is one of Kossuth's triumphs among us. He has conquered the powers of editorial scurrility."

OFFICER-MORALITY IN INDIA.

the Mofussile (Agra) the cleverest of all the Indian papers, speaks of a recent court-martial for "officer's offences":—

"The officers who were the actors in those proceedings which led to the disgrace of Colonel Gidley, have been tried for one offence and dismissed the service for another. For their dissipation and irregularities Colonel Gidley was clearly made responsible, since he did not use his authority to check those practices in the beginning, or punish them in the end. It was apparently considered that those whom he could have reprimanded had a right to consider themselves free of his sanction in their improprieties; and that therefore they should not be made individually answerable for their own offences. We all know how important is the influence which a Commanding-officer exercises upon the character of a regiment. This consideration was the spirit which influenced the entire proceedings against Colonel Gidley, and their termination seemed to be a lesson to commanding-officers, such as they would not readily forget. The lesson, though sacrificing the Colonel, seemed to be a beneficial one for the service. But the subsequent proceedings are so inconsistent, and so contradictory that the moral altogether lost."

As our readers are aware, the younger officers were not accused upon their trial for those offences for which Colonel Gidley was made responsible, and for which he suffered. They were charged with having given false evidence on his behalf. The nature of the alleged false evidence was varied, related in a great degree to matters of opinion, in which a tolerably wide latitude should be accorded for possibly mistaken views. A prisoner in fact, should be allowed the advantage (a somewhat doubtful one) of being considered a fool, rather than of being proved to be a knave. Some of the alleged false testimony was not established to be such, and a considerable portion of allowed room both for charitable construction and for fair and favourable consideration. It was, however, determined by the Court to be perjury, and the prisoners were dismissed the service."

"Had this sentence applied to all the prisoners, we should have had no charge of inconsistency to make against the court. We should have thought that in the case of the junior officers, as in the case of Colonel Gidley, it was somewhat partial to severe sentences, and should have attributed severity—as we now must—to its zeal for the honour of the service. We might have suspected, to be sure, that the knowledge that the junior officers had been the first cause of Colonel Gidley's disgrace, would excite a feeling against them, but we could not have established the fact. But a grave mistake has been made in drawing a distinction between the offence of Lieutenant Fraser and that of the other officers. They were all tried on the same charge—that of giving false evidence; Lieutenant Fraser is the only officer who pleads guilty to the charge, and Lieutenant Fraser is the only officer who escapes. The reason is that Lieutenant Fraser was the only officer who was not implicated in those proceedings for which the others were put upon their trial, but for which they are really condemned."

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Tuesday, July 25.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.—Robert Isherwood and brother, Foden, Liverpool, wool dealers.
BANKRUPT.—Edward John Wells, Maidstone, ironmonger—George Johnston, Oxford-street, veterinary surgeon—William Beckett, Gillingham, Norfolk, cattle dealer—Henry Adron, St. John street, Clerkenwell, baker—Melchor Lopez, Fenchurch-street, and Oxford, cigar and wine merchant—Isaac Beek, Birmingham, licensed victualler—Edward Crane, Hunt, Kidderminster, ironmonger—Theodore Jovitt and Edmund Micklewood, Plymouth, stationers—John and Henry Richard Haldstad, Bradford, Yorkshire, wool-staplers—Charles Henry Holgate, Kirtton in Linsey, Lincolnshire, scrivener—Joseph Candell, Sheffield, carpenter—William Wild Foots, Sheffield, share-broker—Isaac Thorniley, Bardsley, near Ashton-under-Lyne, cotton-spinner—William Guest, Manchester, commission agent.
SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.—H. Laird, Cupar-Fife, nurseryman—K. M'Nab, Milburn-cottage, near Inverness, brick manufacturer—J. Gattstam, Glasgow, oil manufacturer.

Friday, July 29.

BANKRUPTS.—Sommersby Edwards, Long Buckby, Northampton, scrivener—John Humphrey, Dorking, butcher—Anthony Deale, Leadenhall-street, patent ocean float manufacturer—James Maynard, West Chelsea, butcher—Horatio Clagett, Leadenhall-street, City, patent ocean float manufacturer—Michael Neville, Liverpool, brassfounder—Gordon Henry Cripps, Shrewsbury, wine merchant—James Abraham Bell, Great Baddow, Essex, hop merchant—William Dundas, Colbridge-place, Paddington, house decorator and paperhanger—Francis Kay, Sheffield, nail manufacturer—Henry Anderson, Leicester, manufacturer of carved frames—Robert Kirkpatrick, Manchester, brass and iron founder—Joseph Pratt, Manchester, bookseller and printer—Ephraim Watson, Polstead, Suffolk, shoemaker and farmer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.—David Miller, Annfield, Fifeshire, wood merchant—William Taylor, Glasgow, builder—John Laing and Sons, Edinburgh, postmasters—Malcolm Niven, Glasgow, merchant—James M'Connell and Company, Hazelton, bleachers.

MISCELLANEOUS.

REFUSING TO BE SWORN.—We recommend to attention the moral of this case. In a trial for felony at Exeter assize, last Thursday week, a lady who was a material witness refused to be sworn to give her evidence before the grand jury, alleging that she did so from conscientious motives. She, it appeared, was neither a Quaker nor a Moravian. On its being mentioned to Mr. Justice Wightman, his lordship said that the lady need be under no apprehension that she was doing wrong in taking an oath to give evidence in a court of justice. Perhaps she objected to take the oath on the ground that it was against the text of Scripture, "Swear not at all." If so, that had been explained by very religious and learned men to allude to "vain and idle swearing."—The lady said she considered the word of God beyond the word of man.—Mr. Justice Wightman said he thought the lady would do well to consider the sin she was committing in thus obstructing the course of justice in an important trial on a charge of felony by refusing to be sworn. If she still refused to be sworn he had but one duty to perform, and that would be a very painful one to him, namely, to commit her to prison; but he begged to say that if he was compelled to do so she would have all the inconvenience of being a martyr without any of the merits. He would, however, strongly recommend her to confer with the sheriff's chaplain, who was desirous of explaining the text of Scripture to her, and he trusted she would be guided by the excellent advice which he was sure that reverend gentleman would give her. The lady then retired with the chaplain, evidently thinking that she was a martyr. Some time afterwards the lady returned into court, and still refused to be sworn. She was removed in custody of the gaoler.—[A question has been asked in the House of Commons about the matter, and it would seem that Lord John Russell is "considering" the expediency of a measure to meet such cases.]

Mr. Ira Aldridge, the African tragedian, after having made his appearance on the greater part of the German theatres, and also on those of Basil, Bern, and Zurich, in Switzerland, intends to return to England. In Berlin, in the Royal Theatre, he received from the King the *riband* belonging to the order of Art and Science; and in Bern, the republican metropolis, he was honoured before his departure by a garland of *Afp-roses*. He goes from Zurich to Vienna (where he is engaged), and from Vienna to Paris.

THE ROYAL FREE HOSPITAL CASE.—After the verdict of the jury in this case, Mr. Cooke, the surgeon, placed his resignation in the hands of the Committee of Governors of the College; and, after a long conference, the Committee have declined to accept it—thus meeting the public indignation. What will "young Mr. Wakley" do?

Mr. Jeremiah Smith, the late Mayor of Rye, has been liberated from prison by order of the Home Office. Why? Because, say the papers, facts have transpired since his trial. What facts? Is not this secret and irresponsible police in Downing-street?

The New York Crystal Palace is a failure. Mr. Barnum has given up the Presidency of the Committee—even he could not save the "show." The shares are "nowhere," and the place is soon to be pulled down.

On Monday, a bull driven from Smithfield, got infuriated and dashed from Holborn, up Gray's Inn-lane. An old woman was crossing the lane, and he gored and tossed her. He raged for some hours in the neighbourhood, but the butchers appear to have behaved like gallant Matadors. Do the Anti-Smithfield-Removal Aldermen count upon this as a public amusement?

A Dutchman charged with the murder of five people and robbery, in Amsterdam, is the hands of the London police, and has been "up" at the Mansion-house. Remanded until the arrival of the Dutch police. The electric telegraph had put an officer on the watch, and he was captured soon after his arrival here.

MR. MECCHI AT TIPTREE-HALL.—On Wednesday the bold and energetic Mr. Mechi had his annual gathering at the model farm, Tiptree-hall. Those who have had the pleasure of attending former assemblages of a similar character, can very well recollect the torrent of ridicule which Mr. Mechi had to resist in his earlier experiments, but if they also attended on Wednesday, they would have seen, almost universally, ridicule displaced by admiration, and a general anxiety exhibited amongst those who were most interested to acquire the most intimate possible knowledge of the means by which crops of the greatest luxuriance had been produced on land which only a few years since was a barren and stony waste. Nothing, in truth, could be finer than the appearance of the different corn-fields under the combined effects of the glorious weather and Mr. Mechi's skillful appliances. The wheat was pronounced to be the best that had been seen for some years, and the barley and oats came in for an almost equal share of admiration. The turnips received, as usual, a most critical inspection and an approving verdict, and the live stock carried their solid and well put-up flesh with an appearance of ease and comfort that excited the envy of more than one of the visitors. The company was distinguished. "Sewage manure" was the great question of the day.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, July 29.

In the House of Lords,

THE SALE OF BEER BILL

was read a third time, and before it passed, the Earl of HARROWBY proposed amendments to extend the hours during which public houses may remain open on Sundays from between one and two in the day to between one and half-past two, and from between six and ten in the evening to between five and eleven, in accordance with the notice given by the noble earl on the previous day.

The latter part of the amendment was opposed by the Earl of SHAFTESBURY and the Bishop of LONDON, and supported by the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, and was lost on a division by a majority of 9—the numbers being for the clause as it stood, 24; for the amendment, 15.

From six o'clock to ten, therefore, remain the hours at which public houses may be opened on Sundays.

The amendment making the hour in the morning at which these places may be open, from one to half-past two instead of from one to two, was agreed to, and the bill passed.

The other business was merely formal.

The House of Commons sat at 12, and was employed in passing through Committee the Militia Bill (No. 2), which provides for the military in barracks, and storehouses for the militia. An opportunity was taken to put the Government in a minority on the 4th clause, providing that the expense of these buildings should be paid out of the county rates. Mr. ROBERT PALMER moved that it should be amended, so as to leave half the expense on the Consolidated Fund. Though vigorously opposed by the Government the amendment was carried by the country members, the numbers being for the amendment, 85, against it, 60, majority, 25.

The Militia Bill for Scotland passed through Committee in ten minutes.

The House then adjourned from 4 to 8.

Among the questions to Ministers, the following only were of any interest:—

Mr. BURR inquired whether it was true that the Danish Government had conceded to America with reference to the Sound Dues:—

1. That American ships, laden with transatlantic produce, and their cargoes, when bound to a Danish port to discharge them, shall be entirely free from Sound dues, as well as from light and buoy dues.
2. That the discount of 25 per cent., hitherto allowed to the importer when residing in Denmark, shall be discontinued. Also, whether any steps have been taken by her Majesty's Government to secure similar privileges to British subjects.

Lord J. RUSSELL said the negotiation between these two Governments had gone off on a question of indemnity to Denmark, and therefore England had not taken any steps to obtain similar correspondence.

Colonel BLAIR drew attention to the attack made in a leading article of the *Times* on the late Captain Hyde Parker, in which it was insinuated that he rushed heedlessly into an ambushade when merely on an excursion of curiosity in the Sulina mouth of the Danube, and appealed to Sir James Graham to give any information which could set the real state of things before the country.

Sir J. GRAHAM then entered into a very feeling statement of the affair, showing that Captain Parker had gone on the expedition in question in the positive discharge of his duty, and not for mere purposes of personal curiosity, and had performed that duty in the most gallant manner. He heard a strong tribute to the character of the gallant officer, and stated that despatches giving an authentic version of the matter would appear in the *Gazette* of that evening.

Mr. DISRAELI said he was anxious to correct an error which he made last evening in Committee of Supply, in respect of the renewal of crown leases. In speaking on the motion of the Government for the purchase of Burlington House, he impugned their conduct because they had renewed the lease of a house in the vicinity of the public offices, which he thought was detrimental to the public service. Now, it turned out that her Majesty's Government were exempt from all blame in that respect, and that if any blame was attached to the renewal of the lease, strange to say, the blame was upon him, and that he was responsible. He then explained that he had decided on not renewing the lease, but by inadvertence and without his knowledge it had been granted just before he left office.

The House then proceeded with the Bribery Bill, various clauses being proposed by different members, most of which were rejected on divers causes; but the whole discussion was of very average importance.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"X." is illogical. We offer him our columns for his "largest truths." We only condition that he shall give his name, address, and calling, and then his private world will judge if the heroism of his life corresponds to his style of abusing merely practical people.

"MARIANNE DAVEY."—Advertise: that is the only plan. It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication.

The Leader.

SATURDAY, JULY 29, 1854.

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.

MINISTERS ACCOUNTING TO PARLIAMENT.

THE result of the debates on Monday and Tuesday nights more than justifies our expectations of the good that might be done if independent members of the House of Commons were to restore their own power to themselves. Their case is one of the most surprising instances of voluntary abdication, without motive or reward, we ever remember. They seem to forget that, practically, the Commons may be the rulers of the country; that is, that they possess the power of compelling those rulers, as our predecessors have compelled the rulers of a former day,—whether crowned or right honourable. The work of Monday and Tuesday night was not done in that first-rate style which masters of Parliamentary action have formerly exemplified, and which even living members may regain by practice. The object was to make the Ministers of this country, who are appointed by the Crown, but are responsible to Parliament, tell their Parliament how they were carrying on the affairs of the empire abroad. Although not at present greatly skilled in combinations of independent parties or members to put the screw upon Government, individuals did show a real intention of putting the screw as they best could; and the mere sight of the instrument, the mere look of earnestness, was enough to bring Ministers to their duty:—they told how they are carrying on the affairs of this country.

Their conduct is indeed remarkable. Not a hundred years ago the answer would have been the "throwing themselves upon the House," or some other evasive pretext to get off without an answer. They have now given the answer completely—they have told us the motives of the war, the objects at which they are aiming, the conditions which they will accept, the relations with their allies, the state of our forces, military and naval, and to a certain extent the instructions given to the commanders. From the reply we learn, that Russia is no longer called upon simply to evacuate the Principalities, but that the treaty of Adrianople, which secured her a position or influence in Turkey, will not be renewed; that the Sultan is no longer treated as an outside barbarian, but will be admitted to the European council as of its constituent members; that Russia will not be permitted to retain a strong fleet in a fortified port as a master-key for the possession of the Black Sea; and although Ministers still reserve the right of a discretion in negotiating terms of pacification, it is distinctly understood that they will not grant peace except on conditions of this kind.

There is, indeed, one part of the position of Ministers which they have explained as far

as they have been interrogated, and it is important to note that it always bears a certain proportion to the force of the interrogatory. They have been asked how they are placed with Austria, and they have answered frankly and directly. Austria has demanded the evacuation of the Principalities, and has promised, if that evacuation be not effected, that she will aid in compelling it by force. We do not say that Ministers could be discreetly asked to state now, what they would do if Austria broke her pledge. We do not say that they are even yet bound suddenly to declare what they will do with Prussia, who not only temporises in a way that savours of more than treachery, but maintains such an intimate and fixed relation with the Court of Russia as to prove that her likings, her faith, her purposes, are all Russia. The eldest son of the Czar remains colonel of a Prussian regiment; officers of that regiment have been permitted to visit St. Petersburg, and to accept honours and rewards. There is, indeed, a fraternising between the Russian and the Prussian army, between the Russian and the Prussian Governments, and the families. Prussia is less a colleague than a spy in the Councils of the Four Powers. There remains, however, some alliance between her and Austria for German purposes, and time might fairly be allowed to Austria in breaking that alliance. Still, we say that the Ministerial view of such conduct ought to be declared. We ought to know whether our Ministers share the opinions, the feelings, and the resolutions of the English people towards crowned cowards and traitors like Frederick William, or whether they retain some separate kind of etiquette and customs, which are regulated by diplomacy, and not by national feeling. If they had been questioned on that point, they could not have refused to answer, and, perhaps, it is not too late even now.

In regard to the direction of the war, its motives, objects, and conditions, Ministers have given distinct pledges, and the country has responded to their frankness by the most complete trust. We have given into their care a picked army, thoroughly equipped, in Turkey; a fine fleet in the Euxine, and a magnificent fleet in the Baltic; we have entrusted to them the safety of our island against any treachery on the part of Russia and her allies, avowed or secret. These are momentous trusts indeed. After the recess Ministers will be expected to give an account of that army, of those two fleets, of those two islands. They are expected to give us back our warlike machinery, not perhaps uninjured by contest, but adorned with victory. And these are trusts in regard to which statesmen themselves are bound to challenge a stern account.

And paramount as is the importance of the war, let us remember that it is not only in regard to war that members have a right to call Ministers to an account: they have also a right to take the same stand in other questions—to make the vote a condition of having a sincere account. We do not counsel "factious oppositions;" still less do we counsel fishing indictments, based not upon distinct evidence, but upon conjecture, or upon the hope of bringing out something. The House of Commons, however, has a perfect right, whenever it gives money to Ministers, to say, Tell us what you are going to do with it. In truth, Ministers have themselves this time ventured to tell us all that they were going to do with the 3,000,000*l.*, reserving only some discretion as to a part of the cash in hand. It would, however, be a great mistake of the constitutional right, if we were to suppose that the House of Commons can only exact an account upon the specific distinction of each particular

grant. On the contrary, it has a right, on the granting of supplies as a whole, to exact an account from Ministers as a whole, upon their position and policy as a whole. For instance, before we are bound to give them up the civil estimates, we have a right to make Ministers tell us what they intend to do for the people in the way of improvement, political, sanitary, commercial or social; and if they do not give us a good account, to tell them that they are not the Ministers for the English people in these days. Members appear to have forgotten that Ministers are really answerable to Parliament for their public acts, and that the relaxation of the purse-strings is only the condition of a really intelligent approval on the part of Parliament. How far members have forgotten this right the reports of our Parliament for the last few years will show. It will prove how idle is the farce of stating "grievances," on going into Committee of Supply, by members who are prepared to give way if they be only allowed to mouth out a speech. But if members really take the matter in hand, if any of them—however few, so that they be reasonable, earnest, and firm—let it be known that they intend to have a clear account from Ministers before they consent to give Ministers the means wherewith, we shall once more renew Parliamentary responsibilities; and the debates at the beginning of this week show that even the tenderest revival of the good old Parliamentary rule can secure us an earnest of a better *régime*.

HOW TO MAKE THE WAR PAY.

PEOPLE are so very much engaged in the lofty consideration of which Minister is a traitor, and what Russian fort cannot be taken, that a very singular fact which at any other time would have excited very revolutionary ideas in England, is altogether overlooked—viz., that in this session we have had three Budgets. Bit by bit legislation is out of fashion; bit by bit finance seems to be coming in.

There has been this excuse for that sort of finance: that Ministers have only been feeling their way in the war. Public opinion has forced them on from point to point; let us hope it may force them on further. When, in a great hurry, and in an informal manner, they came forward with their first budget this session they asked for a very little money, merely enough to despatch an army and equip a fleet; they have since told us that at that time they did not expect that a hostile gun would ever be fired. On the occasion of their second budget they only asked money enough to sustain that fleet and army to the end of the year; and at that moment they refused all information as to our prospects or their intentions, probably because they did not understand the war, perhaps because their intentions were not of a character to bear revelation. Monday saw their third budget, which was merely a demand for a vote of credit to use money already handed over to them. This is their year's finance in a great war, which they ought to have seen would be a very long war.

The three budgets have knocked the funds about a great deal. The first and second suspended, and greatly interrupted trade; the third excited popular alarm. Is this to go on again next session, or are we to have a comprehensive finance for a European war? At the beginning of this year it was a mere abstract question whether or not Mr. Hume's new principle of war finance could be carried out—whether a people could afford to pay ready money for a war. But it is now evident, from what the mouthpiece of Ministers, or, if not of Ministers, of the Whig party, has declared, that we are about to insist on conditions with Russia which Russia

will struggle long to resist; the resistance probably conducing to a complicated war. It has now, therefore, become a very real consideration for tax-payers whether they can continue to pay cash down for the luxury of defending civilisation. Our ally, Louis Napoleon, who had different intentions from those of our Government, and who accordingly at once adopted a different system of finance, has raised a loan to carry on the war: and the French nation, who think that posterity would not object to sharing in the expenses of preserving a civilisation, from which posterity will perhaps derive the greatest advantage, appears to be quite content. We venture to predict, that Mr. Gladstone also will have to come to a loan. The last war cost us at the rate of thirty millions. By the accounts presented to the House of Commons in 1714 it appeared that the expenses of the then war during twelve years amounted to nearly sixty-nine millions, making a yearly average of about five millions and a half. War is much more costly now than it was during either Wellington's or Marlborough's campaigns. We are paying about fifteen millions this year for war before a blow has been struck. Granting that the gallant British people would continue to endure a war in which there was no fighting, would they be content to pay as much as fifteen millions a year for the creation of good appointments for military and naval younger sons? The country assuredly would not pay another fifteen millions in another year. Would it not, indeed, be a most effectual method for preventing the English merchants, of whom Lord Palmerston is afraid, from dealing in Russian securities to give them a good, popular, safe English stock?

But there comes the next question, why should the English people pay for the war at all? According to Lord John's statement of the causes and position of the war, there has been an infamous aggression which we have undertaken to repel. Should not an unjust aggressor be punished as well as repelled? Nothing would be easier than to make the war pay for itself. Russia has not to be conquered: she is conquered. A strict blockade would cost us nothing; it is not more expensive to have our ships in the Baltic or Black Seas than to have them at Malta, or in the Tagus, or the Solent. Russia strictly blockaded, which is hardly yet the case, is helpless, and no terms ought to be made until she has paid not only Turkey but ourselves for the trouble the two countries have had in checking her ambition and destroying her *prestige*. It is true Russia has no ready money, but she has various provinces that we might take as a material guarantee—or hand them back to their rightful owners. If the war is a just war there would be no injustice in dealing thus with Russia. The common sense of the question is, indeed, so apparent that there would be absolute treachery in our governors refusing to make barbarism pay for the defence of civilisation. Nationally—although we once greatly abused Napoleon for adopting the system here recommended—we have no right to be squeamish in such a matter. We made an unjust war on China, and yet it is only three years since the last instalment of Chinese specie, robbed by us from the "Brother of the Sun," rolled along the streets of our capital to the Bank cellars.

One fact is obvious in the perplexities of the present military politics, that the Czar has not the slightest intention of giving in; and we must begin to test, in a practical, business-like way, whether the men who are conducting our affairs are earnest in the intention to conquer Russia. A real and rapid way of conquering her would be to put arms in the hands of her enemies:—some

of them would do a great trade with us if they could. Poles, Lithuanians, Cossacks, Circassians, and Siberians would supply us with the requisite armies to march into the heart of her territories: for those armies are in the heart of her territories. Propositions of this nature, however, are premature. Our Ministers are not eager for dynastic revolutions, and are not sure that the fickle English nation will not soon be weary of the war. But there seems very little doubt that our Government is about to lend or give money to Turkey. There is a talk about a "Turkish-Sepoy" army, and it will not be questioned that we might rely on the services of a considerable percentage of the population of Asia if we offered good pay and good prospects in a war against Russia. This army, it is supposed, will be officered by Englishmen or Frenchmen; and if a great *condottiere* were to present himself, he might pierce to Moscow as several of the Demidoffs did,—not having heard of the impossibilities mentioned on Monday by Mr. Cobden. With such allies we should have something like a real war, and as Kossuth has told us, it is not a real war sending a handful of thirty or forty thousand men to conquer a country of a hundred millions.

Our old statesmen, and our old generals and our old admirals, will die off before this war is over, and Nelson and Wellington will appear to ignore Chiefs, and Cabinets, and conceive grand cruises and campaigns. We must already be somewhat out of routine, inasmuch as we get a prospect of this mercenary Eastern army; and it is not impossible that in good time we may think of defending civilisation by a reaction to the old barbaric ideas of war. When William the Norman collected the *mauvais sujets* of the Continent under his banner, he promised them, that if they conquered, they should have the conquered country; civilisation certainly benefiting by that rather infamous method of treating Saxon landed proprietors.

It is not a real war at all unless Europe is advancing against Russia to beat her back into Asia, and we think that if her Majesty announced in the *London Gazette*, that those who conquered might have Russia, there would be fewer applications for Government appointments, more heroism, and more civilisation in the world.

THE NEW CAPE GOVERNOR.

Who is Sir George Grey, recently appointed Governor of the Cape of Good Hope? Is he one of the fortunate Greys, appointed for family favour; or is he one the very best man that could be selected for the government of that colony in these new days of its constitution? We may answer both questions in the negative. He is not one of the Greys of Howick, nor, we believe, is he at all related to them. He is not the best man that could have been chosen for the Cape in these early days of a constitution granted after rebellion. But his appointment is intelligible enough.

Many years ago there was an expedition into the interior of Australia, in which Lieutenant Grey and a brother officer were the principal actors; they showed great activity, skill, and courage in traversing that difficult country; but it so happened that Mr. Grey got the larger share of the credit. Some time after, South Australia was founded by intelligent colonists, upon sound principles, and the colony therefore became an object of jealousy to the Colonial-office. Having gone through a series of mismanagement by ill-selected or unlucky governors, the colony was greatly in want of a clever man, and Captain Grey was appointed Governor. He managed the affairs of the settlement well; did not impress the colonists with a sense of his hos-

pitality, but did impress the Colonial-office with a sense of his subserviency to bureaucratic suggestion, and his skill in softening the unpopularity of bureaucratic rule. The early history of New Zealand was, in its official part, even more disastrous than that of South Australia; and after a series of bad Governors there also, clever Sir George Grey was appointed. He succeeded notably. The colonists were put to some trouble in their land relations by the totally figmentary nature of the native tenure; constantly baulked by the Colonial-office, and by a local government established in a remote corner of the island, they were, after repeated promises, expecting the constitution which Sir John Pakington thought he had secured for them, and had sent to them through Sir George Grey. They have discovered that before they could get hold of their complete self-government, they must undergo a probation. Sir George had succeeded in setting one part of the colonists against another, in cultivating the native tenure until it became a practical obstruction to the sale of land, and in delaying the constitution for fifteen months; having in the meanwhile destroyed a system of land sale disliked by the Colonial-office, and defeated every independent party, also disliked by the Colonial-office. Finally, having put everything in suspense—land settlement, supreme court, enforcement of the constitution—he came away to visit his native country, and to receive the approval of the Colonial-office; leaving his successor to arrange matters with the colonists and to pay his political bills. No man ever more thoroughly disappointed a colony, or rendered a colony more ridiculously impotent by setting one part of it against another; no man ever did better service in that way to the Colonial-office.

The natives have been rather troublesome in the Cape. They have been in the habit of coming over the border and driving away the herds of the colonists. Under a particular set of treaties suggested by "humane" statesmen, the settlers were forbidden to take the law into their own hands, and the Blacks gaily carried on their game of picking up oxen and sheep upon Tom Tittler's ground—Tom being prevented from following them. This principally it was which caused the rebellion and re-emigration of the Anglo-Dutch across the border; those men whose independence has since been recognised. Subsequently Lord Grey resolved that the Cape, which had been guaranteed against the introduction of convicts, should, nevertheless, have them; all classes of the colony rebelled, and actually refused to hold intercourse with the Government while the convicts remained off the coast, and thus they beat the Government. Lord John promised them a constitution; when Ministers afterwards evaded and delayed fulfilment of the promise, the Cape colonists again grew angry; and now they have their constitution. But it has cost this country some millions to put down, by concessions or military force, the successive outbreaks of the natives, the alienations of the Anglo-Dutch, and the open rebellion of the British. Now Sir George Grey is sent over with a special eye, we believe, to wheedling the colonists into some greater subserviency to the Colonial-office, and avowedly to manage the natives. This is an alarming admission; for if he should attempt to manage the natives as he has done the New Zealanders, by fostering the presumption and hopes of races only too ready to be presuming and sanguine, we shall have more border wars, and more rebellions, Dutch and British. Or if Sir George is too clever a man to tamper with colonists that rebel, perhaps other colonies may learn, from that new form of an old lesson, how to treat a troublesome Governor.

ATMOSPHERE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ON Monday night the exuberant merriment of the House of Commons was excited by a statement made by Sir William Molesworth, the Commissioner of Works, in answer to a question put by Lord D. Stuart, as to what powers the Government possessed to prevent or remove certain "noxious effluvia" which appear at intervals to render the "honour of a seat" in that assembly an extremely questionable pleasure. Sir W. Molesworth stated in a gay and airy tone that the effluvia in question were inevitable and incurable. The House of Commons is subject to the evils incident to any other establishment, domestic or manufacturing, situated on the banks of the Thames between Hammersmith and Blackwall. When the tide goes out a vast surface of mud is left, enriched by sewage, to be played upon by the rays of the sun; and the sun in July being equal to penetrating even that atmosphere in which the arrangements of our civilisation envelope our capital city, it appears that an atmosphere of decomposed gases is given out,—piercing the windows and entrances of the contiguous House—so painfully pungent as to drive the most assiduous of our public men to the Palace-yard cab-stand, and thence—anywhere out of the House. It is further stated by the elegant Commissioner of Works, who seems like other delicate men to revel occasionally in exceptional allusions, that the workmen employed in the completion of the new Palace of Westminster are provided by the constitution, for whom they in turn are arranging, with a single water-closet, which, under certain tidal circumstances, also comes within the influence of the sun, and gives out a second set of special odours, varied like those of Cologne, and easily recognisable by the practised member—just as in a ball-room may be distinguished the scent of flowers from the perfume of ladies' toilets. Sir William deplored this state of things, but candidly confessed that he saw no remedy; and all he could say in reply to the asphyxiated entreaties of Lord Dudley Stuart was that he hoped the House of Commons would see the necessity of an early prorogation. Thus our constitutional machinery, it is acknowledged by devoted partisans of our institutions, is dependent for its easy working on the state of the Thames tide. The gloomy hear-hears from the weakly members, interrupting the more reckless laughter of the more robust portion of our younger conscript fathers, revealed beyond all doubt that it would be less infamous in the country to sentence its chosen law-givers to the subterranean horrors of a coal-mine than to demand that they should watch over the common weal in a house smelling as if of the collected dead cats which are thrown during a general election at unpopular candidates.

In the sitting of the morning of that day on which Sir William made this statement, and in another morning sitting since, the attention of the House of Commons has been exclusively occupied in considering the clauses of the Bribery Bill. This is a measure constructed with the view of tempering in some way the electoral corruption of our picked constituencies. It is a bill of many clauses, clause after clause attacking some special tendency of our electors to plunge into political impurity. And it is opposed, when opposed at all, merely on the ground that constituencies out of which the House of Commons proceeds are incurably corrupt.

Here, then, we have a revelation as to the physical and moral atmosphere of the House of Commons. Surely at the next Academy Exhibition the inevitable "portrait of an M.P." will represent a gentleman holding his nose between his fingers!

THE DOMESTIC MOLOCH.

OF all adulterations of society that one is unquestionably the worst, which some of our readers will denounce us for alluding to. We shall be accused of being revolutionary and subversive, because we point to the existence of a plague spot far more pestiferous than the sources of the cholera, more hideous than the influences of thieving and pick-pocket crime, viler than even the lowest kinds of debauchery which parade themselves in the street. We say, that infinitely worse than this open defiance of the law, is the hypocrisy which, while denouncing crime, introduces it into otherwise uncorrupted society. We have lately had exposures like that of Alice Leroy; this week a second plaintiff proceeds against Marmaysee, the defendant in the case of Reginbal; and these cases are singular only for their publicity. They prove what we have formerly asserted, that amongst the respectable classes of society exist practices which those classes of society pretend to denounce, but which they indulge under cover. The evidence of this corruption continues to increase to our hands. In a case recently exposed at Clerkenwell, a girl named Bradshawe was entrapped into a house of vice under pretence of domestic service. The *Liverpool Mercury* has referred to a system of abduction organised in several large provincial towns, such as Derby, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, &c., to entice from their homes, for the worst purposes, young girls of ages ranging from ten to seventeen years. The *Morning Chronicle* learns "from other sources that there are accredited agents of certain London houses established at the principal railway stations to look out for victims, who are regularly consigned to them like poultry or cattle."

The profits of places of this kind vary in a scale of indefinite range. In the case of Reginbal, the earnings of the girl were above 20*l.* a week—a thousand a year; and our contemporary calculates, with great probability, that Marmaysee would make of the receipts and payments of one girl alone 750*l.* a year:—that is assuming, which we cannot, that these receipts would be regular and continuous. But Marmaysee was not the only example of the traffic, though one of the most successful. The police know that there are a considerable number of houses in London devoted to the same kind of trade, which have an infinitude of branches. Statistics would be baffled in the endeavour to trace the entire number of the persons engaged in it, or their gross receipts; but the aggregate revenue must be immense—worth that of a German principality at least. Nay, if we could follow the species of income-tax which is voluntarily paid, in all classes, we might see that London returns to the collectors in this kind of revenue far more than Mr. Gladstone exacts under the name of his hated impost.

But the worst part of the evil we say, at present is, that all this is done under the pretence of a totally different state of things. Speak with some freedom of divorce, pronounce it a thing which might be rendered more facile, as it is in many of the states of America, and you will be denounced by numbers of those respectable persons who are constantly infringing the laws of marriage, right and left; divorcing themselves weekly and daily; temporarily but lavishly endowing wives whom they accept and repudiate with more than Turkish facility; and who perpetuate a state of things which not only introduces adulteration into the very hearts and homes of Englishmen innumerable, but dooms those very wives of the hour, the toys and creatures of the system, to a premature mortality. Five years is reckoned the term of a successful life in this

profession. At any honest occupation a woman may earn her 5*s.*, 6*s.*, or perhaps 10*s.*, a week, and die of tedium, bad food, and fatigue at thirty-five. But in this superior trade, she can earn 20*l.* a week, more or less, and finish off in five years. And yet, we say, that this sacrifice of young girls—some of the pick of our female population—is not a sacrifice equal to the still more enormous sacrifice in hypocrisy and bad heart.

For pointing at it, for speaking of it out aloud, we shall be called "improper" and "immoral;" and yet, we say that there is so much of good feeling in English society, that this heinous system could not continue if it were talked about. There was a yet worse horror in one of our colonies; but that horror lasted only so long as propriety turned away its modest face from the picture. At last, some honest and bold men put forth their strong hands to tear down the veil. One of these men was Sir William Molesworth, whose report on transportation in New South Wales outraged the quiet English feeling of decency.

Transportation was stopped.

Sir Frederick Pollock takes the exactly opposite course. He advises Marmaysee to plead the "immoral purpose" in bar of the action against himself, and gives the advice with the very object of stifling publicity. Declining to accept that suggestion, Marmaysee was punished by being ordered under arrest as the keeper of the house. Yet evidently his offence was not the existence of such establishments—which Sir Frederick can scarcely hope to extinguish—but the public appeal to law. Sir Frederick would, it seems, prefer silence and no law.

Assuredly *he* will not put down vice at home.

THE HOT WEATHER.

WE know, or ought to know by this time, the land where the cyprus and myrtle are emblems of deeds that are done in their clime. But we never sufficiently recognise that our own private and national virtues are very much the result of a climate producing plants and fruits, such as the cabbage and the gooseberry, of a less gorgeous character. As a sensible people we are indebted, very much, for that well-balanced civilisation to which we so frequently allude, to the circumstance that the quicksilver in our barometers generally stands half way up the tube. We are such splendid animals, for physical purposes, for the same climatic reasons which explain our superiority over the rest of Europe in our beef, our mutton, and our race horses; and our steady political progress, or endurance, and our reluctance to rush into revolutions, may be traced to the state of caloric in our bodies. The British constitution, like a fair, quiet, but prosperous, British landscape, is mainly the growth of circumstances originating in a very slight degree with the wisdom or ploughing of our ancestors. Physically, the fact is universally admitted. The hot sun excuses innumerable villains in our dramas and our poetry. The degradation of whole nations has been attributable to the over facile production, by the untortured soil, of simple food—and also to the want of appetite which the climate superinduces for any other aliment than the unluxurious rice, the olive, or the potato. We excuse a South American revolution as we excuse a South American earthquake; and when we talk of the unsettled condition of Spain or Italy we only mean the necessity of despotic treatment for a people who suffer by the proximity of the sun, as dogs are said to suffer when the moon comes nearest to the earth. But also the genius of a people is very much dependent upon the stomach of a people, and political conditions are inseparably

connected with the state of a nation's digestion.

It would not be very unreasonable if the English dog-days were to be explained as that particular period when everything goes to the dogs. When the sun, whom we get in reach of in this month, bursts out in his full glory upon us, we become even more disorderly, reckless, and apathetically anarchical (that is our national manner of expressing excitement), than the natives of a tropical clime. They, at least, take the hot horrors as their normal condition, for which they are prepared. Their houses are built to elude a hot sun, their clothing is fashioned so as to escape him, they know by tradition the food that is suitable to the season, and their men of science have exhausted the lore of refreshing potative mixtures. But in England a hot summer comes upon us as much to our astonishment as though hyænas were to re-appear in Yorkshire. We are in our close houses, in our dense towns,—in our black coats, our thick neckerchiefs, our flannel shirts, and our heavy shoes—and with our overloaded digestions. We have no organisation to get sleep at night, and we are without those delicate contrivances which enable Europeans, even in India, to get through their work in the day. We eat our beef as usual, and we drink our beer more than usual. We perspire, we faint, and we don't know what to do. We accordingly talk about the cholera, neglect our business, set in towards misanthropy, misogynysy being a still earlier stage, and die in hundreds. In most, yet even then in our but slightly, collected moments, we ask in a sulk why Napier doesn't take Cronstadt, and incoherently why Lord Aberdeen "don't" resign. That is what we want to know.

We state this phase of the nation, as the characteristic of this particular period, with the view to accounting for the altogether exceptional oblivion of people and Parliament to their constitutional duties and rights. Public spirit is not to be expected at such a climactic crisis, and good government is necessarily in abeyance. It is at such periods that dynastic conspiracies are brought to a head, and that the integrity of nationalities gives way. Let us, then, at least consider ourselves fortunate that Prince Albert (who is always represented by liberals as an enemy of our conspicuous self-government) has not as yet attempted that *coup d'état* which, at such a moment, would be so sure to succeed. The British lion is ignominiously limp.

CHOLERA.

CHOLERA is like corn; its harvest is dependent upon the sun. It springs from the sun upon each section of our globe as we circle round the sun. They had a hot season at Barbadoes the other day; and in Bridgetown, out of a small island population, it killed 10,000 people. It has been very hot in New York, and it is doing its work there with deadly celerity. In the East, and we fear, among our troops and sailors there, it is raging. Where there is most heat in England there there is most cholera, and the disease is the most alarming in the towns which are hot during both night and day; the atmosphere being, as it were, boiled in the street caldrons—where it simmers, stanches, and kills.

The people are getting frightened these dog-days, and they exaggerate the danger. But there is danger, and no doubt what everybody says is true—"something must be done." What? Our people are so unlike what the old English people used to be, are so unorganised both municipally and nationally, that they are crying out helplessly

to Parliament; and Parliament shrieks with imbecility to the Home Office, which responds that cholera is not in its department, but duly commences to correspond with the Board of Health. Cholera is our great "internal enemy," says the press; and the press abuses Mr. Chadwick, and talks of "next session." There is among the public no tangible idea whatever of fighting this great internal enemy the cholera. The poor, penned into the streets like sheep in a slaughter-house, await their doom, and take as well as they can the Dr. Southwood Smith style of advice—to live well:—advice to many as satirical as Queen Antoinette's reference of the Paris multitude to cakes. The rich are horrified because cholera is contagious, and not rendered less virulent by first nestling in the befilted clothes of their humbler fellow-Christians. But the rich can go out of town, and, being exhausted with seeing a great *cantatrice* perspire through her *repertoire*, and Spanish dancers struggle on a furnace-stage through the idiotic contortions of what is supposed to be the expression of Iberian enjoyment, the rich *do go* out of town—before they come back hoping to find that the Home Office or the Board of Health, they are not sure which, has done something.

Clearly a great internal enemy is worth facing. If Louis Napoleon were to land on our shores with half a million of men, tolerably certain to slaughter some thousands of us, we should make an exertion, and no effort would be too tremendous for us if we had to calculate the probability of a Louis Napoleon, not being put down, coming over to us every July. Cholera is a very material thing—as material a thing as any other invader, or internal foe; and it might not be throwing away our time at a period when the House of Commons has nothing to do but investigate printing machinery, if we were nationally to advertise for tenders for the supply of that sanitary organisation which would put down cholera. Money can do anything; it is simply a question, are we wealthy enough to pay for the complete eradication of cholera? Our house is very dirty, and we want our house put in order. To cleanse all the towns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, would not take much longer than it took the Egyptians to build a pyramid, or the Assyrians to cut a canal, and the Romans to make a road. And these works were accomplished by putting armies and nations to the labour. What Mr. F. O. Ward calls the venous and arterial drainage of England could be accomplished in a week—if all England set to. Lord Palmerston had the courage, some time ago, to deal with Providence as a foreign power not coming within his jurisdiction and not in his department, and to recommend some Scotch clergymen, who prayed him to pray, to remain on their knees only for the purpose of washing out the domestic back-yard. Suppose, then, that her Majesty decreed a national suspension of business, in order that throughout these realms we might have a great wash? We are spending in one year about 15,000,000*l.* to maintain the "independence of Turkey." Can we not afford that much more to cleanse England?

SAVAGE LANDOR AND PRINCE —

In our last number we said enough to indicate our respect for the character, career, and principles of Mr. Savage Landor; and, in what we have now to say, his friends will understand us to speak as a friend.

Mr. Landor has been writing in a contemporary's columns, a series of letters addressed to Prince Krazinski, and dealing with questions of Polish politics. Mr. Landor seems to assume that a successful "rising" in Poland is imminent; and he discusses the

question—what form of Government should be given to the liberated country? He, a Republican, would appear occasionally to adopt politics as "the science of exigencies;" for he recommends a Monarchy. Who, then, should be the King? In his fourth letter (which was published on Thursday) he says:—

"The idea of an English Prince upon her throne has haunted me ever since the reading of your letter.

"The Duke of Cambridge, whom you propose for election, is respectable in private life, but inexperienced in political or military. He is guiltless of perfidy or of cruelty. If you think perfidy is necessary to kingcraft, you might perhaps find a Prince among his alliances who has been beguiled into it by the blandishments of a barbarian; if cruelty stands in the place of valour, one might be pointed out who delights to be represented by artists in the midst of hares with bloody noses, and stags in the agonies of death—one memorable in his earliest days of manhood for shooting down a dozen or more of these poor creatures, confined for the purpose within a high paling."

Now, we doubt if this reference is at all justified by any interpretation of the widest laws of political discussion. It is an allusion unnecessary to the argument, for the Prince in question could not be a candidate for this throne which is being thus prematurely put up in Mr. Landor's studio-auction-room. But it is objectionable on other grounds; in the first place, because no political writer has a right to insult those who cannot reply to him either by sword or by law; in the next place, because the "perfidy" is not proved, and the "cruelty" consists in the mere adoption of a "manly" custom of the time—shooting living things for human pleasure. A wholesale slaughtering of stags was a novelty to us; but the sport was not on English soil, and, had it been, would the cruelty have been greater than in the ordinary English case of a *battue* of smaller "game?" Our nobles and gentlemen are just as cruel as the Prince; and that is not cruelty at all which is the thoughtless assent to a fashion of the time. Spanish ladies are not less womanly than English ladies; and yet they enjoy bull-fights.

But for still other reasons we venture to protest against the tendency so often displayed by Mr. Landor to assail the English Court. As Liberals, we think loyalty an exigency; and we have always regarded the attacks of the liberal press upon a powerful personage, who can have few sympathies with the aristocracy, and who might be induced to sympathise with the people, as silly and suicidal. We despair of making Mr. Landor loyal, and we should admire him less if he were to abate a jot of his finely impracticable classical Republicanism. But we trust it is not a hopeless attempt to suggest to him in England the observance of that discretion which he condescends to exercise in the instance of Poland.

MANUFACTURES—EMPLOYMENT OF PAUPERS.

MR. F. LUCAS, the Member for Menth, who would appear to be greatly misunderstood in England, for though specially regarded as a religious zealot, we find his name, in Parliamentary proceedings, invariably connected with a business-like proposal or a practical speech, is "on the paper" to call the attention of the House of Commons to the subject of the industrial employment of paupers in Ireland,—a subject which is obtaining more and more consideration in England with reference to our own mendicity—and we direct notice in advance to the matter in the hope that the question will be elevated out of a mere "Irish debate." The English Radical and the Irish "Independent" party mean identically the same thing—even, we believe, in regard to the Roman Catholic question; and if English members help Mr. Lucas they will be helping themselves.

Mr. Lucas wants the same thing done in Ireland which has been so successfully done in Belgium—

the establishment of *Ecoles d'Apprentissage* in the towns; in the first place, with a view to employing those who cannot now find employment; and, in the second place, for the purpose of making that suggestive experimental progress in machinery and manufactures which Mr. Whitworth's report has shown is not sufficiently sought even in England. For the purpose, Parliament is only asked for a permissive act enabling towns to establish such things for themselves,—the expense to be met by local rates. It is, in fact, an educational measure which is asked for, to provide the education most requisite in Ireland: and it would be illogical, at least, in the friends of the secular system to be supported by local rates, if they did not aid and abet Mr. Lucas in this innovation.

That this sort of permissive act has to be secured before large communities can proceed in such an experiment, suggests that our institutions of local self-government are by no means perfect. In Belgium parishes and communes have done such things or themselves.

M. MANIN.

We inquired, the other day, of a correspondent (Mr. John Yarnold), where was M. Manin, and what was he doing? Mr. Yarnold has sent us the following letter from his friend:—

"Au Rédacteur du *Leader*, qui vous demande où je suis maintenant, et ce que je fais, vous pouvez répondre ceci:

"Depuis mon départ de Venise, vers la fin de 1849, je demeure à Paris;

"Je donne des leçons d'Italien;

"J'attends le moment favorable pour recommencer la lutte, et je m'y prépare; dans le cercle de mes rapports avec les hommes les plus distingués des différents nuances du parti libéral, je tâche de conserver et d'accroître les sympathies pour ma patrie, de combattre et de rectifier les préjugés et les erreurs qui subsistent sur la question Italienne, de convaincre que la solution de cette question dans le sens de nos aspirations de nationalité est du plus haut intérêt pour l'Angleterre, pour la France, et en général pour la cause de la civilisation, du progrès, de la paix durable, et du véritable équilibre Européen;

"Je ne prends aucune part aux tentatives qui n'ont aucune chance sérieuse de succès, et je les désapprouve.

"Je blâme l'appel aux instincts cruels et sauvages, aux moyens farouches ou lâches réprouvés par la morale, et je prêche hautement qu'on ne régénérer pas une nation en la corrompant.

"Je tâche de rallier tous les patriotes Italiens sous un drapeau commun, et je crois avoir fait un grand pas dans ce sens par la lettre que vous venez de faire réimprimer, dont le programme a été accepté par tout les hommes les plus importants et les plus estimés du parti national Italien.

"Ce programme est très-simple, et se résume en ces peu de mots: Nous voulons tout unanimement l'indépendance complète et l'union de l'Italie en un seul corps politique; sur tout le reste, nous sommes prêts à faire toutes les concessions et les transactions que les circonstances pourraient exiger.

"Si M. le Rédacteur du *Leader* désire d'autres renseignements ou d'autres explications, je m'empresse de les lui donner."

Our readers will, we think, agree with us that M. Manin at least observes dignity in his exile.

Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

OFFICERS AND GENTLEMEN.

(To the Editor of the *Leader*.)

SIR,—The very pertinent remarks you have made in your paper of the 22d inst. on the subject of "officers and gentlemen," induce me to direct your attention to another weak point in our military system. It is not sufficient that an officer, like St. Patrick, be come of "dacent people," that he be possessed of Fortunatus's purse, or that he bow more gracefully than a French dancing-master of the old régime. If he would keep his place in the onward movement of civilisation and general enlightenment he must learn to be as efficient with the pen as with the sword: he must wield the goose-quill as skilfully as the sabre. It is true that something has already been done in this direction, and a candidate for the scarlet honours of the army must now undergo the ordeal of a preliminary examination. But, let me ask you, sir, if you really imagine that it is essential to the making of a good officer that he should once have been able to stammer through the first five books of Livy, the first three books of the "Æneid," or the first two books of "Caesar's Commentaries?" Is it even necessary that he should have at the tip of his tongue the names of the Athenian commanders who made such stupid blunders at Syracuse? And yet these are the principal subjects of his examination. He must be able to talk glibly about Grecian and Roman fable, but may be ignorant of the existence of a Condé or a Turenne. One would suppose that he might learn something more of his profession from a careful study of the campaigns of Marlborough, Wellington, and Napoleon, than from reading about Æneas or Romulus, or the divisions of ancient Gaul. It is at least certain that a persistence in our present system will fail to produce officers more remarkable for their professional knowledge than they already are for their gentlemanly conduct. And if we cannot convert the barracks into a drawing-room, that is no reason why our officers should not be required to know something of the art of war. J. H.

"PRO-SLAVERY" INFLUENCES OF THE LEADER.

(To the Editor of the *Leader*.)

London, July 22nd, 1854.

SIR,—You challenge me to point to the slightest evidence of the truth of my charge against the *Leader*. I should like to know what part of my charge, or rather charges, you deny.

1. My first charge is that you published a paragraph highly laudatory of Henry Clay, the American pro-slavery statesman, and especially of the part he took in favour of the great compromise measures, of which the infamous fugitive slave-law was one. Do you deny this? If so, I will point out to you the paragraph, if you will allow me access to a file of your paper.

2. My second charge is, that you refused to publish a letter of mine on this paragraph, in which I pointed out the true character of the compromise measures, and endeavoured to show that Clay deserved censure instead of praise for favouring their enactment. Do you deny this? If so, I will produce the letter, and point you to the Paper in which you state your refusal to publish it.

3. My third charge is, that while you refused to publish my letter, you did, after some delay, criticise it, and misrepresent its character and contents. If you deny this, I will give you the letter and your remarks on it, and, when published, leave your readers to judge whether it be true.

4. My fourth statement was that you offered to publish any letters I might write to you on other subjects; thus showing, that it was not my manner of writing that led you to exclude my letter, but the subject of it; or, rather, the side I took on that subject. For proof of this, I will point you, if you require it, to your own words.

5. I have added, that my impression is, from all I have seen in the *Leader* on the subject of American slavery, that the *Leader* is under pro-slavery influence, and is systematically unjust to the advocates of African or Negro freedom. You will, of course, allow me to know what my impression is. If you can show my impression to be erroneous, I shall be glad.

You say it is no offence in journalism to be shy of particular correspondents; and you say this, apparently, for the purpose of making the impression that I was one of those "particular correspondents" of which you were shy. But I was not, as your own words show. You acknowledged, at the time, that it was not of the correspondent that you were shy, but of the side of the great question which he undertook to defend. You spoke of the correspondent himself in favourable terms. You have spoken of him in favourable, in very favourable, terms since then, as I can show from a letter of yours in my possession, if necessary. It was not wise, therefore, any more than it was just, to insinuate that I was one of the particular correspondents of whom you were shy. But this is a little matter. Be just to the American slave and his friends, and I will bear in silence injustice to myself.

But now, you say, you offer me all the opportunity I may desire. Do you mean that you will allow me to write in your columns in favour of negro freedom and of American abolitionism? If so, it is enough. Do that, and I will take it as a proof that you are, at present, whatever you might be two years ago, disposed to do the slaves of America justice. Nay, more; do that, and I will try to believe that you have never intended to be unjust to the American slave and his friends. But if, while such men as George N. Sanders are allowed to diffuse their pro-slavery poison through the land by means of your paper, the friends of freedom—the enemies of slavery—are refused the opportunity of administering an antidote through the same medium, the impression that the *Leader* is under pro-slavery influence will be made, not on my mind only, but on the minds of your readers generally.

In conclusion, I am no enemy to the *Leader*; but a friend. I only wish it to be consistent. Give the slave and his friends the same free use of your columns that you give to the shareholder and his friends, and I will again, as I did some years ago, promote its circulation to the utmost of my ability.

My letter is already too long, or I would add some remarks on what appears to be one of the most erroneous, if not one of the most deceitful and censurable productions I have had the unhappiness to see. I mean the letter of George N. Sanders to Louis Kosuth and others. But I will write to you again, if encouraged to do so, and expose the trap which G. N. Sanders has laid for the republicans of Europe. Woe to the Democrats of Europe, if they pledge themselves to the slaveholding despots of America, to keep silence on the basest, the most inhuman, and the most inexcusable outrage on human rights in the shape of American slavery.

Yours respectfully,

JOSEPH BARKER.

[Mr. Barker is all wrong; but the controversy would weary our readers. We have therefore only to say—there is unlimited "open council" for Mr. Barker; and if he thinks the negro race will benefit by his exertions in the *Leader* it will be a great comfort to him, and no inconvenience to us. For our own part we think Americans had better be left to settle their own institutions: we have so much to do at home.]

AN ETHNOLOGICAL SUGGESTION.

(To the Editor of the *Leader*.)

SIR,—It is not often, nor ever, I believe, knowingly, that the *Leader* departs from the good custom of calling things by their right names; but it cannot help sinning in that respect now and then. The journalist's life of heroic self-denial is spent in hearing and reading an infinite deal of twaddle; no wonder then if some of it will stick to him in spite of himself. That is the case with a writer in your last number, who talks of the "Anglo-Saxon race." Now if there is such a race in existence it is probably to be found in or about Holstein and Schleswig; but it is not identical with the English race either in this old stock-hive or elsewhere. An English thoroughbred horse is not an Arabian, however much of his blood is derived from the desert, and an Englishman is not an Anglo, or a Jute, or a Saxon, or a Teuton of any denomination, but something else, and, in my humble opinion, something better, viz., an Englishman. To which of the various elements in his very composite blood does he owe his superiority over the descendants of his forefathers? I am almost afraid to tell you, though Jacob Bryant, thank God! is in Hades. Between you and me—you will not let it go farther—assuming for convenience' sake that half of the Englishman's blood is Saxon (and this is more than the truth), the other half, saving your favour, is—CELTIC. Yes, the children of the Saxon conquerors must, with very few exceptions, have had for their mothers women of the old Celtic stock of the Britons; for assuredly when the warriors crossed the sea to fight for possession of this island, they did not fill half their small vessels with wives from home. The invaders may have slaughtered or reduced to bondage all the male Britons who did not escape from them to the fastnesses of the west, but if they did not reserve a good number of the women for a different destiny, they were not like any other conquerors whom the world has ever seen. Our language bears evidence of the habitual presence of Celtic women in Saxon households. Not to mention provincial words, and others of comparatively recent introduction, we retain in common use upwards of thirty words from the old Celtic vocabulary of Britain, and the great majority of these apply to articles of feminine use or to domestic feminine occupations. They are as follows:—basket, barrow, button, bran, clout, crock, crook, cock (in cock-boat), dainty, darn, gown, gusset, griddle (gridiron), gruel, gyve, foam, flaw, funnel, kiln, mesh, mattock, mop, rail, rasher, rug, solder, size (glue), tackle, welt, wicket. To this authenticated list perhaps we may add cradle, and that particularly feminine verb to cuddle. If we could clearly establish the Celtic origin of this last interesting item, that alone would be enough to settle the question triumphantly. At all events it is tolerably apparent that whilst the Saxon lord imposed his own language on his dependents, some of them continued to apply their own familiar terms to things about which he did not deign to concern himself; and that among those who did so were especially the women of his household. In fine, sir, it is my belief, and yours too, I hope, by this time, that the phrase "Anglo-Saxon race" is humbug. Applied to themselves generically by men of English descent, it is an ethnological denial of the mothers that bore them.

I am, &c., WALTER K. KELLY.

[The point may interest students, and we have no objection to using "English" for "Anglo-Saxon." But the one has a geographical, the other an ethnographical reference; and we cannot be quite accurate of a mixed race. Should we say Teuto-Celto-Frankish race?]

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*.

THE influence of the Oriental question and the war-gossip on the literary market is a topic on which we could say a great deal, if we liked. Instead of making an original disquisition on the subject, however, we will help ourselves to some considerations, not unconnected with it, which we find ready to our hands in an article in the last number of the *British Quarterly Review*. We have already noticed the number: the following is from its opening article on *Dryden and the Literature of the Restoration*.

"It is a common remark that literature flourishes best in times of social order and leisure, and suffers immediate depression whenever the public mind is agitated by violent civil controversies. The remark is more true than such popular inductions usually are. It is confirmed, on the small scale, by what every one finds in his own experience. When a family is agitated by any matter affecting its interests, there is an immediate cessation from all the lighter luxuries of books and music wherewith it used to beguile its leisure. All the members of the family are intent for the time being on the matter in hand; if books are consulted, it is for some purpose of practical reference; and if pens are active, it is in writing letters of business. Not till the matter is fairly concluded are the recreations of music and literature resumed; though then, possibly, with a keener zest and a mind more full and fresh than before. Precisely so it is on the larger scale. If everything that is spoken or written be called literature, there is probably always about the same amount of literature going on in a community; or, if there is any increase or decrease, it is but in proportion to the increase or decrease of the population. But, if by literature we mean a certain peculiar kind and quality of spoken or written matter, recognisable by its likeness to certain known precedents, then, undoubtedly, literature flourishes in times of quiet and security, and wanes in times of convulsion and disorder. When the storm of some great civil contest is blowing, it is impossible for even the serene man to shut himself quite in from the noise, and turn over the leaves of his *Horace*, or practise his violin, as undistractedly as before. Great is the power of *pocoquantism*; and it is a noble sight to see, in the midst of some Whig or Tory excitement which is throwing the general communion into sixes and sevens and sending mobs along the streets, the calm devotee of hard science, or the impassioned lover of the ideal, going on his way, aloof from it all, and smiling at it all. But there are times when even these obdurate gentlemen will be touched in spite of themselves to the tune of what is going on; when the shouts of the mob will penetrate to the closets of the most studious; and when, as Archimedes of old had to leave his darling diagrams and trudge along the Syracusan streets to superintend the construction of rough cranes and catapults, so philosophers and poets alike will have to quit their favourite occupations, and be whirled along in the common agitation. These are times when whatever literature there is assumes a character of immediate and practical interest. Just as, in the supposed case, the literary activity of the family is consumed in mere letters of business, so, in this, the literary activity of the community exhausts itself in newspaper-articles, public speeches, and pamphlets, more or less elaborate, on the present crisis. There may be a vast amount of mind at work, and as much, on the whole, may be written as before; but the very excess of what may be called the pamphlet literature, which is perishable in its nature, will leave a deficiency in the various departments of literature more strictly so called—philosophical or expository literature, historical literature, and the literature of pure imagination. Not till the turmoil is over, not till the battle has been fairly fought out, and the mental activity involved in it has been let loose for more scattered work, will the calmer musings resume their sway, and the press send forth treatises and histories and poems and romances as well as pamphlets. Then, however, men may return to literature with a new zest, and the very storm which has interrupted the course of pure literature for a time may infuse into such literature when it begins again, a fresh and stronger spirit. If the battle had ended in a victory, there will be a tone of joy, of exultation, and of scorn, in what men think and write after it; if it has ended in a defeat, all that is thought and written will be tinged by a finer and deeper sorrow."

Let our readers make the application of these remarks for themselves, and console themselves with the expectation of new vigour in our bookmaking, after the Oriental blast is over. After all, however, we are not so badly off as might be thought—probably because the Oriental question does not harrow our civic vitals as a civil controversy would. Even the war itself is grist to the mill of our literary gentlemen—as witness the thousand-and-one books and pamphlets about Russia and the Czar, Turkey and the Sultan. And, besides this literature of ephemerals bred out of the war itself, have we not such works as SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON'S edition of the *Collected Works of Dugald Stewart*, of which the first volume has been published, and LORD MAHON'S *History of England from 1713 to 1783*, of which the seventh and concluding volume has just appeared, and Mr. CROWE'S *Reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X.*—not to speak of novels and of our reprints of such classics as GOLDSMITH and GIBBON—to show that Nicholas does not occupy all our thoughts, and that, though the Cossack is at our gates, our publishers are still bold enough to buy copyrights?

Under the reverential title of *Shakspeare's Scholar*, an American journalist, MR. RICHARD GRANT WHITE, undertakes to rescue his great master from the hands of DRYSDUST. Profoundly, and undisguisedly, he hates the tribe of commentators, and unmeasured is the contempt which he entertains for Mr. COLLIER'S folio of 1632. Therein he finds that poetry is turned to prose, dulness substituted for wit, dramatic propriety exalted, the context disregarded, and the really important alterations destitute of novelty. According to Mr. WHITE, SHAKSPEARE is his own interpreter. "It is folly to say that the writings of such a man need notes and comments to enable readers of ordinary intelligence to apprehend their full meaning. There is no pretence for the intrusion of such aids, except the fact that SHAKSPEARE wrote two hundred and fifty years ago; and this seems to be but a pretence." We shall give a fuller account of Mr. WHITE next week. Meanwhile, we gladly welcome this addition to SHAKSPEARIAN literature from the other side of the Atlantic.

Speculations and propositions on the subject of education are increasing at an enormous rate. It is as if all the inquisitiveness and all the philanthropy of the country were for the time working in this one direction. What to teach, and how to teach it, are the problems of the day. The Crystal Palace itself figures in our current literature as something deriving its chief

interest from its connexion with these problems; and there is now in London an exhibition, called specifically the "Educational Exhibition," and under the superintendence of the Council of the Society of Arts, the purpose of which is to bring under one view, for persons interested in education, all the apparatus, devices, and appliances,—in the shape of books, models, maps, pictures, and the like,—anywhere in use, whether in Great Britain, on the Continent, or in America, for facilitating the process of instruction in schools. This is but a palpable representation of what is going on everywhere in a dispersed manner. The press teems with books and pamphlets on the science of education. Almost every number of every periodical has an article bearing on the subject. And our WHEWELLS, our FARADAYS, and other men of note, seem to have been seized with a passion for lecturing on educational reform.

All this is hopeful; but judging from the heterogeneousness of that mass of speculations which now lies before the public in the character of materials towards this greatly desired "science of education," it will be a long time before the public, or their authorities, can come to any satisfactory agreement, even as to the fundamentals of the "science." It will require a mind of some force to drive a straight furrow through so much mingled sense and crudity as has been already accumulated on the subject. Confining our attention to school instruction alone, what a number of notions and projects do we see abroad—each carried about like a flag, by some educational reformer or other, and followed by a band of exponents and advocates! There is the "teaching of common things" notion of Lord ASHBURTON, one of the best of them all. By way of extension of this notion, there is a demand by some for a species of schools, which should be, in part, model-farms, in part workshops, where youths might be trained in the useful arts of common life. Then, there is also the notion that youths should all be drilled as soldiers, after something like the Prussian system. "Teach drawing," say some, "cultivate the sense of form and colour." "Why is not music taught in all our schools?" is the hobby-question of others. "Teach the elements of physical science and chemistry," say some; "let children be made familiar with the constitution and laws of the world they inhabit." "Teach rather physiology," say another set of exclusives; "it is, above all, essential that children should become acquainted with the structure of their own bodies—the laws of health, &c." "Instruct the rising generation in the truths of political economy—the laws that regulate the exchanges and the other processes of society," is the advice of a numerous class, who trace strikes and other evils to the ignorance existing on these subjects. And so with a whole world of other notions, some broad and some narrow, but all characterised by a spirit of protest against the too exclusively literary and linguistic education hitherto given in schools.

To extract the good and the practicable art of all these suggestions will, we repeat, require more philosophy than has yet been brought to the task. Some of the suggestions, however, are clearly of more value than others. All those efforts, for example, that are being made to introduce into education a provision for the instruction of youth in *those orders of ideas which relate to their duties and functions as citizens*, deserve especial attention. We have before us a lecture by Dr. W. B. HODGSON, well fitted to suggest this remark. It is one of a series of lectures on education delivered at the Royal Institution, and published by Messrs. PARKER and SON. The first lecture of the series is by Dr. WHEWELL, and is entitled *On the Influence of the History of Science upon Intellectual Education*; the second is by Professor FARADAY, and is entitled, *Observations on Mental Education*; the third is by Dr. LATHAM, and treats of *The Importance of the Study of Language as a Branch of Education for all Classes*; the fourth, by Dr. DAUBERT, is *On the Importance of the Study of Chemistry as a Branch of Education for all Classes*; the fifth, by Professor TYNDALL, makes similar claims for the *Study of Physics*; the sixth, by Mr. PAGET, advocates similarly the *Study of Physiology*; and this by Dr. HODGSON is entitled, *On the Importance of the Study of Economic Science as a Branch of Education for all Classes*. The idea of teaching economical science in schools is certainly more novel than that of teaching either chemical, mechanical, or physiological science. The most ardent advocate of this idea, we believe, is Mr. WILLIAM ELLIS, of Camberwell, a gentleman of independent means, who has now for a series of years put it into practice with signally good results, by actually himself teaching the principles of political economy to the boys in several large schools in and about London, and has also written various pamphlets with a view to bring the matter more largely under the notice of those interested in education. Already, we believe, a considerable impression has been made by Mr. ELLIS—MR. CONDEN and other men of influence having been aroused to the importance of the reform proposed by him. It is Dr. HODGSON'S object in the lecture before us to recommend this reform. He considers that, if the elements of sound political economy—as the doctrine of wages, and the like—were taught in schools, the results would be very favourable to social well-being. He would have this kind of knowledge made a part of the education, not of the poor only, but of the rich; not of men only, but of women also. He says:—

"It is an error to suppose that in matters touching men's 'business and bosoms,' even though of daily and hourly recurrence, instruction is not needed, and that 'common sense' is a sufficient guide. Alas! common sense is widely different from proper sense. It is precisely in these subjects that error most extensively prevails, and that it is most pernicious where it does prevail. In matters far removed from ordinary life and experience, pure ignorance is possible, perhaps; and, in comparison, little mischievous. But in those which concern us all and at all times, it is alike impossible to be purely ignorant and to be ignorant

with impunity. If the mind have not right notions developed at first, it will certainly have wrong ones. Hence we may say of knowledge what Sheridan Knowles says of virtue: 'Plant virtue early! Give the flower the chance you suffer to the weed!' The minds of most men are congeries of maxims, and notions, and opinions, and rules, and theories picked up here and there, now and then, some sound, others unsound, each often quite inconsistent with the rest, but which are to them identified with the whole body of truth, and which art the standard by which they try all things. This fact explains a remark in a recent school report, that it is far easier to make this science intelligible to children than to their parents;—no doubt, just as it is easier to build on an unoccupied ground, than on one overspread by ruins. And so, not only is it possible to teach this subject to the young; but it is to the young that we must teach it, if we would have this teaching most effective for good. For further evidence of the general need for this kind of instruction, it suffices to look around us, and test some of the opinions prevalent lately or even now. And here there is much of interest that might be said, did time permit, of still prevailing errors regarding strikes, and machinery, and wages, and population, and protection, and taxation, and expenditure, and competition, and much more besides. But into this field my limits forbid me even to enter. Let me, however, refer you to a most admirable series of lessons on *The Phenomena of Industrial Life, and the Conditions of Industrial Success*, which has recently appeared under the editorship of that zealous educationist, the Dean of Hereford."

Dr. Hodgson is not unaware of the prevalence of prejudices against economical science likely to thwart the proposition he makes; and he boldly grapples with no less a person than Mr. DICKENS, as one of the most powerful literary representatives of these prejudices. The following passage will be read with interest:—

"Here I cannot but express my deep regret that one to whom we all owe, and to whom we all pay, so much gratitude, and affection, and admiration, for all he has written and done in the cause of good—I mean Mr. Charles Dickens—should have lent his great genius and name to the discrediting of the subject whose claims I now advocate. Much as I am grieved, however, I am not much surprised, for men of purely literary culture, with keen and kindly sympathies which range them on what seems the side of the poor and weak against the rich and strong, and, on the other hand, with refined tastes, which are shocked by the insolence of success and the ostentation incident to newly-acquired wealth, are ever most apt to fall into the mistaken estimate of this subject which marks most that has yet appeared of his new tale, *Hard Times*. Of wilful misrepresentation we know him to be incapable; not the less is the misrepresentation to be deplored. We have heard of a young lady who compromised between her desire to have a portrait of her lover, and her fear lest her parents should discover her attachment, by having the portrait painted very unlike. What love did in the case of this young lady, aversion has done in the case of Mr. Dickens, who has made the portrait so unlike, that the best friends of the original cannot detect the resemblance. His descriptions are just as like to real Economic Science as 'statistics' are to 'stutterings,' two words which he makes one of his characters not very naturally confound. He who misrepresents what he ridicules, does, in truth, not ridicule what he misrepresents. Of the lad Bitzer, he says, in No. 218 of *Household Words*:—

"Having satisfied himself, on his father's death, that his mother had a right of settlement in Coketown, this excellent young economist had asserted that right for her with such a steadfast adherence to the principle of the case, that she had been shut up in the work-house ever since. It must be admitted that he allowed her half a pound of tea a year, which was weak in him; first, because all gifts have an inevitable tendency to pauperise the recipient; and, secondly, because his only reasonable transaction in that commodity would have been to buy it for as little as he could possibly give, and to sell it for as much as he could possibly get; it having been clearly ascertained by philosophers that in this is comprised the whole duty of man—not a part of man's duty, but the whole."—(p. 335.)

Here Economic Science, which so strongly enforces parental duty, is given out as discouraging its moral if not economic correlative—filial duty. But where do economists represent this maxim as the whole duty of man? Their business is to treat of man in his industrial capacity and relations; they do not presume to deal with his other capacities and relations, except by showing what must be done in their sphere to enable any duties whatever to be discharged. Thus it shows simply that without the exercise of qualities that need not be here named again, man cannot support those dependent on him, or even himself. If it do not establish the obligation, it shows how only the obligation can be fulfilled.

Let me once more recur to physiology for an illustration. The duty of preserving one's own life and health will not be gainsaid. Physiology enforces this duty by showing how it must be fulfilled. But, if one's mother were to fall into the sea, are we to be told that physiology forbids the son to leap into the waves, and even peril his own health and life in the effort to save her who gave him birth? Physiology does not command this, it is true; this is not its sphere; but this, at least, it does,—it teaches and trains to the fullest development of strength and activity, that so they may be equal for every exigency—even one so terrible as this; and so precisely with Economic Science.

Again, we are told it discourages marriage:—

"Look at me, ma'am," says Mr. Bitzer. "I don't want a wife and family. Why should they?"

"Because they are improvident," said Mrs. Sparsit.

"Yes, ma'am, that's where it is. If they were more provident, and less perverse, ma'am, what would they do? They would say, 'While my hat covers my family,' or 'while my bonnet covers my family,' as the case might be, ma'am, 'I have only one to feed and that's the person I most like to feed.'"—(p. 336.)

Does this mean that men or women ought to rush blindly into the position of parents, without thinking or caring whether their children can be supported by their industry, or must be a burden on that of society at large? If not, on what ground is prudent hesitation, in assuming the most solemn of all human responsibilities, a subject for ridicule and censure? Is the condition of the people to be improved by greater or by less laxity in this respect?"

We believe that this remonstrance with our distinguished novelist is not wholly undeserved—Mr. DICKENS being one of those writers of fiction who are just a little bit too dogmatic on certain points now and then.

DANGERS TO ENGLAND.

Dangers to England of the Alliance with the Men of the Coup d'Etat. By Victor Schoelcher, Representative of the People. Tribune and Co.

We should have contented ourselves with simply announcing the appearance of this dismal, and, as we think, ill-timed publication, with a sincere word of sympathy and respect for the writer, did we not feel called upon to seize the opportunity of a distinct explanation on the part of our journal in reply to the insinuations of certain of our friends among the proscribed, who appear to have formed a singular conception of the duties of English journalism. We are accused—it seems, of the complicity of silence, of the worship of success, and of that besetting sin of Englishmen, the subordination of great principles to the national selfishness—because we have ceased to declaim against the authors and abettors of the *coup d'etat* of the 2d of December, 1851. We are conscious of as deep a sense of responsibility to the cause of human rights and liberties, for every word we write, and for every word we withhold, as any of our injured clients can be. Never has the duty of the English press been more sacred than since it has uttered the only free voice on this side of the Atlantic. But journals, however honest, have their conditions of existence as well as other political institutions. They must reflect the common sense of the community, or of that section of the community in whose name they profess to speak. Above

all, they must remember that the science of politics is, as Kossuth admirably said, *the science of exigencies*. In other words, in politics, as in all human affairs, there is a time for all things; a time to be silent and a time to speak. If we are told that the time to be silent about the eternal principles of right and wrong never comes, we reply that every nation is the best judge of its own rights and its own wrongs. So long as the French nation appeared to be the victim of a surprise we protested, with all the energy of unalterable convictions, against the men who had waded to a wrongful usurpation through blood and broken oaths: the men who had assaulted, gagged, decimated, and defrauded a gallant and generous people. But the time arrived when, in the eyes of impartial witnesses, that whole people became the abettors and accomplices of a crime, if it was a crime, of which a knot of desperate adventurers had been the successful heroes. Call it lassitude, indifference, exhaustion, servility, terror, what you will, rightly or wrongly, the French nation has visibly accepted—we do not say applauded—the restoration of the Empire on the ruins of the Republic. We do not forget the violence, the proscription, the tyranny, the venal sabre, and the prostituted franchise: we believe and know that all public spirit, not to say all patriotism, is dead, when a nation's rights are sold to mercenary traitors. We remember and we cherish the eloquent voices that have denounced from the depths of exile the triumphant wrongdoers, and sought to call back a deluded and disheartened people to a sense of dignity and self-respect. But, as Victor Schoelcher himself says, "Facts are facts; there they stand: nothing can expunge them;" and the facts are, an impotent Assembly of factions dispersed amidst a jeering crowd: material interests clamouring for tranquillity and 'order' at any price: statesmen like M. Guizot venting their weak hate in austere historical parodies: ex-ministers like M. Thiers babbling shy treason and mean slander in the salons: one half of a great nation vilifying and defaming the other: the inevitable conclusion being, that where all are intriguers, success is the sole right, and defeat a just expiation. Under these circumstances, an English journalist, be his sympathies, his regrets, his convictions what they may, has no right to judge French politics from the point of view of French refugees. It is the function of the future historian to balance causes; the contemporary journalist is concerned with visible effects and immediate results. And here we may be allowed to recal what we wrote on a former occasion:—

"France has visibly accepted the Imperial régime. This acquiescence may be the result of apathy and indifference, or of that lassitude which succeeds to the loss of illusions, and that prostration which is not repose. With many, no doubt, the impotent hatred of the power that degrades while it protects is only equalled by the fear of flying to the unknown for a change. The single fact we are concerned with at present is the acceptance of the existing Government by the French nation. Where is there any evidence to the contrary? If there be any public spirit left in France, it points to distant camps as the field of its expansion. In the capital as in the departments there is quiet if not confidence, and cold respect, if not enthusiasm, for the Emperor. Acknowledging this state of feeling and opinion as a fact, it is not our business to snarl at the elected Chief of the French nation. It is not our business to propagate the industry of *on dits* and innuendoes, with which discarded statesmen and impossible factions seek to avenge the material comfort and tranquillity of subjugation. We have little sympathy for that opposition which is incapable even of the dignity of defeat."

We adhere to all that this journal has said from first to last on the origin and constitution of the present ruling powers in France. We do not love liberty and justice less, or less abhor perjury and violence, in 1854 than in 1851. But to declaim incessantly on principles which we all know to be as eternal in their essence as they are variable in their accidental application—which we all know to be set aside by every new and virtuous Government that takes power by assault in a struggle of contending factions—would be to beat the air. It is natural enough that the defeated should feel, and where the laws of their adoption permit, should pour out their undying and irrepressible indignation upon their persecutors; but are English journalists to throw themselves into the attitude of proscribed and vanquished victims, and to watch foreign events with eyes blurred and distorted by injuries not their own? We presume to think not. Our path lies amongst actualities; our duty as regards foreign politics is that of critical observers, but our point of view, M. Victor Schoelcher must permit us to insist, is national. Anxious above all to preserve and to strengthen the alliance of the two great nations, we accept with deference, if not with sympathy, the Government accepted by the French nation, and which at present has done more to establish and to ratify that alliance than any French Government hitherto permitted to arrive at years of discretion. If we are indignantly warned against putting our faith in national oath-breakers, we reply that we put our faith in political fatalities and in the force of interests—not in any sentimental clap-trap of the passing hour. We welcome this magnificent alliance of France and England with our whole hearts, and we find it impossible to forget that certain of our dispassionate Cassandras are the men who, throughout the reign of Louis Philippe as throughout the Restoration, were incessantly vilifying England, denouncing her goodwill, stirring up the most hostile passions, and fanning the flame of the most fatal animosities. Perhaps we do little injustice to some of the refugees in expressing our sad belief that they would be ready to denounce 'perfidious Albion' again as soon as her hospitality was no longer a refuge.

There are among the most steadfast lovers of liberal institutions many who accept the *coup d'etat* of the 2d of December as a political necessity, while they detest the act and the agency itself. There are others who say that, however loudly it may now suit the purpose and the rôle of the men who allowed their country to be sold to declaim about 'eternal principles,' the history of every Government in France for sixty years past has been a succession of *coups d'etat*, in which the vanquished party have always been called by the victors 'anarchists,' and by themselves, defenders of 'eternal principles.' Danton said bitterly, that the vices and the follies of his countrymen would demand a king again. Impartial eye-witnesses have lately assured us of the satisfaction with which the splendid equipages and gorgeous trappings of the Court of Parvenus are regarded by that airy and versatile crowd. So dominant are the histrionic and upholstering tendencies! There are without doubt marked exceptions to this general proneness to servitude; there are tribunes of Spartan virtue ready to assume the drapery of Romans at a moment's notice; there are the popular performers of the favourite parts of Danton and Camille Desmoulins; there are the Doctrinaires, a melancholy species of Parliamentary posture-masters; there are the amiable chimærists of a hundred sects, who would set all citizens to dine at a common

table, to chant songs of truculent fraternity at perpetual banquets of black bread and blue wine, and would compress society into a parallelogram, teaching civilisation to progress backwards. There are, too, how can we forget, who have been honoured by their friendship? men that stand apart from the giddy crowd who gape at mountebanks; men whose whole life is one eloquent protest against all that degrades a nation; men who desire the wise and calm alliance of political liberty with social contentment, the realisation of every generous reform, and the tranquil progress of civilisation. But from the 24th of February, 1848, to the 2nd of December, 1851, what folly, what extravagance, what weakness was omitted that could contribute to inaugurate amidst acclamations a new despotism on the ruins of an impossible Republic? The Provisional Government was no doubt as pure as it was incapable; the dictatorship of General Cavaignac as arbitrary and violent in its acts as it was inconsequent in its intentions. The Presidency of the Republic was a patient and elaborate using up of all factions for the benefit and domination of the one which had every clap-trap in its favour. There is the true and faithful *résumé* of the last essay of French republicanism. May the next be wiser!

The time may come when, after severe purgation, France (we mean the heart and brain of France, not the 'interests' and the mob only) may demand and justify the recovery of forfeited rights and abandoned liberties. Heartily shall we welcome that auspicious day. Meanwhile, we conceive all that the public writers of an allied nation have a right to desire is that France may always be in possession of a Government of her own choice. That choice English statesmen and English journalists will respectfully accept.

HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF LOUIS XVIII. AND CHARLES X.

History of the Reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X. 2 Vols. By Eyre Evans Crowe. Bentley.

This is a book which will disappoint the expectations that were formed of it on its announcement. It was anticipated that Mr. Crowe would follow the plan of M. Guizot, whom he has always appeared to reverence both as statesman and historian, and deal with the politics of the present in recounting past events—sketching in the mistakes of Louis XVIII. the course which must not be followed in the (we hope and believe impossible) event of a second Bourbon restoration—and assaulting the present through the first Napoleon. But Mr. Crowe has done nothing of the kind. He has written a history of what may be regarded as contemporary politics in a perfectly historical style; if at all startling, the surprise arising out of the absolute and cold impartiality with which he speaks of matters that are but the news of the day.

Mr. Crowe has some great qualifications for a work such as this. In his *History of France*, in which he was successful to the full measure of the demand for a separate history of a country whose annals are half our own, he prepared himself for discussing the contemporary politics of France; and in his capacity, as a journalist, he has been at once a spectator and an actor in the period he now deals with. Thus, in this instance, in his first chapters and his last, he evidences a double quality:—the opening essay, recounting the social causes of the first Emperor's political fall, being a masterpiece of historical disquisition, and the description of the three days of July being equally excellent as a narrative of the incidents of that consummate conspiracy by which the Orleans rose to the fated throne. But the defect of the work is, that the want of passion, of political sentiment, and the absence of moral teaching in the book, produce an impression which repels and fatigues. Calm and measured narrative, halting for a clear daguerreotype-like portrait, or a wise comment, is an excellent thing; but in a history which is not merely an almanack all this should have a purpose; and we fail to detect any in Mr. Crowe's two volumes, which, with all their philosophy, want something more of the human interest. Why take the period of the Restoration if there is nothing to be taught out of it? There was, perhaps, this advantage in the selection, that the many French writers who have so overdone their modern history have had less to say of the last of the Bourbon French Kings than of any of the other potentates, crowned, laurelled, or cypress, who have reigned and passed away since Mirabeau. But we doubt whether Mr. Crowe's lofty impartiality of treatment and indifference to every variety of hero will recommend him to French readers, who generally object to the sort of posterity represented by contemporary foreign opinion—and, more particularly, when that opinion is merely—no opinion at all. English readers, on the other hand, like to choose sides;—and there is ample selection among French partisans.

Passages will explain the tone of a book which, whatever its artistic merits, is entitled to the most respectful treatment; and we seize at once upon the first passage about the most pronounced in the volumes, and as having the most distinct reference to present affairs:—

"No more curious or interesting problem has arisen out of the events of modern history, than that suggested by the failure of a nation, so civilised, so spirited, so intellectual, and so fond of freedom, as the French, to establish and to work satisfactorily and permanently a constitutional monarchy. No country had ever more fearful experience of extremes in government. Within the space of little more than a quarter of a century, France offered the spectacle of the absurd pretensions and imbecile attempts to govern of an absolute, hereditary, and civilian monarchy, of the equally hopeless and far more criminal efforts of a people, after deposing their sovereign, to suffice to the task of ruling and organising themselves. A senatorial government of revolutionary notables, dethroning in turn the sovereign people, proved not more just, more efficient, or more respectable. Every political institution and every social class having been tried, found unworthy, and swept away (parliaments and representative assemblies not excepted), there remained the army, the sole body which was organised and disciplined, that could obey a superior, without that superior decimating it, and fulfil the soldiers' duty of defending the country, without prescribing, sacrificing, and massacring each other. The rise of the army in France, to dominate over all other classes and institutions, cannot be considered as owing so much to the ambition of its chief as to the necessity of things. Similar events will produce similar results. And whenever the people of a great country refuse to obey their old masters, and fail to discover or agree upon any mode of organising themselves in a political system, power must devolve upon any body or class which possesses association or discipline, an acknowledged authority, or a combined will. In many countries, and at several epochs, the clergy formed the most perfect and formidable association; they dominated in consequence. In the present day, circumstances endow the military with this advantage, which is denied to almost all other classes and pro-

fessions. The consequence is, that when civilian efforts fail, when the nobles, shorn of what they consider their right, rebel against the rest of society, when the middle and lower classes, the employing and employed, fall into deep and irremediable dissension, the army necessarily steps in, not to conquer or grasp the right of domination, but to assume it as a task that cannot be declined. Military usurpations have ever been due more to the follies and foibles of those who were not soldiers, than to the ambition or audacity of those who were.

"Military domination is, however, but a temporary remedy, for military power can in reality found nothing. If, indeed, the warlike struggle be tedious and severe, if the force or the foes to overcome present obstacles which it requires years to subdue, then the conqueror may, no doubt, form military establishments, and organise the country, as if the whole object of life was soldiering, and the only aim of mankind the science of slaughtering, pillaging, and oppressing each other. But even supposing a kingdom or country engaged in a struggle with the surrounding world, and sacrificing everything to soldierdom, an end must come at last. It will be attained even by victory; for after victory will come the task of administering in peace both the conquering and the conquered. But military institutions no longer suffice for this. The sons even of the soldier who has conquered the world, must seek other means of livelihood and eminence than the sword. Commerce engages the one; intellectual, forensic, political eminence attracts another. The rich seek to enjoy, the less rich to advance. Such a world requires freedom as the sphere of its activity, the necessity of its development; and a prolonged attempt to consider a country as a camp could not but ultimately fail and overwhelm the bold but silly man who persisted in it, even were he a Caesar or a Napoleon. A military dictatorship, therefore, however it may obviate a temporary difficulty, cannot solve the permanent problem of providing a government for a numerous, civilised, intellectual, and physically developed people."

That appears satisfactory and complete; but if we read on we find that Mr. Crowe does not in the least suggest what will solve the "permanent problem." His conclusions are all of the same character—in which nothing is concluded. Mr. Crowe sketches Napoleon as a man who succeeded not mainly even because of his military talent, but because of his "great good sense, the total absence from his mind of bigotry, of fanaticism, of party spirit, of hallucination, of inveteracy of any kind;" and that is the only sort of hero the writer seems to sympathise with—accordingly not very well defining the heroic either for individuals or nations.

In this extract the Emperor's nephew may learn a useful lesson, though Mr. Crowe appears innocent of an intention to give it, and we in England may see how infirm is that "cordial alliance" on which we are staking all:—

"Such was the France that Napoleon organised into the docile instrument of his power, or the tacit audience and admirer of his heroic deeds. Nor were his arrangements ill-imagined for a reign which was to be marked by a series of victories, and which was to be but a continued fête. It is necessary, however, to provide for the storm rather than the sunshine, and to make preparation for the reverses rather than for the successes of life. And these had scarcely come upon Napoleon ere he had ample means of judging how perishing and flimsy were the foundations which he laid for the permanence of his Imperial power. Whilst still in Moscow, the conqueror of the Russian armies, but with his communications intercepted, an adventurous officer, aided by a sergeant, undertook, and well-nigh accomplished a conspiracy for dethroning the great Emperor. At night Mallet put on a general's uniform, attired his attached sergeant as aide-de-camp, and in this garb presented himself at the barracks of several regiments in the capital, at the hotel of the Prefect, and the quarters of the commanding-officer. The latter he was obliged to shoot; but all the others listened to, and credited his plausible story, that the Emperor had been cut off in Russia, and was no more, and that he, Mallet, was intrusted to form a Provisional Government to dispose of the future empire of France. Not a word was said of the King of Rome or of the Imperial succession. Nor do the high functionaries of Napoleon's creation and appointment display a sign that either the Imperial régime or the Imperial dynasty was uppermost in their thoughts. The conspiracy failed through a mere chance, the escape of an officer. And Napoleon returned furious, to ask of his mystified functionaries whether the continuance of his empire depended upon his mere presence, or his name, and might be expected to disappear the moment that name and that presence were withdrawn."

We again extract an allusion to the first Napoleon's relations to the press and the Church—pressing it, despite Mr. Crowe, into the service of illustrating the affairs of our own day:—

"This combat of the sensualist and spiritualist, of the revolutionist and the monarchist, writers and thinkers, was carried on, not only in the university, but in the press, fallen and menaced as it was. The *Journal des Débats* was the organ in which the Royalist contrived to fling his javelin at the Revolutionist. Napoleon so far permitted this, as to pay largely the editor, M. Fievée, not only for writing in moderate support of his opinions in the *Débats*, but for corresponding directly and secretly with himself, by which the Emperor hoped to be in possession of the secret views of a party, which he dreaded whilst he patronised. At last the Emperor saw through the full hostility which was covered with so much talent, and such a show of moderation. "These men," said he, "are leading the way to a monarchy, different from that which it is my intention to found." The editorship of the *Journal des Débats* was accordingly taken from Fievée, and given to the Voltairian Etienne, whilst, not to extinguish the religious monarchists, the *feuilleton*, or literary and critical portion of the journal, transferred to the *Journal de l'Empire*, was left in the hands of Geoffroy and the anti-Voltairians."

"Whilst in literature and in the university the Royalist cause was thus kept alive, it also, as may well be supposed, survived or became resuscitated amongst the clergy. These, too, like their lay friends, were inclined to be grateful to the French Consul and Emperor for having restored them to influence, and avenged them of the Jacobins. But the ecclesiastical, no more than the philosophical, could bring themselves to believe in the permanence of the government or the dynasty, which seemed to place its sole intrinsic reliance on itself and in the brute force of soldiers, and making use at the same time of the republican and the Royalist, the materialist and the religionist, to be the instruments and servitors of a power based upon no principle whatever, but upon force and the necessities of the moment."

These are from the preliminary chapters; when the reign of Louis XVIII. is approached, the accomplished pen of the great journalist is devoted entirely to a hard and rather statistical statement of facts—the best thing we thus get being a clear view of an anarchy.

The political portraits are, many of them, excellent; they are all impartial—too impartial. Here is a sketch of the founder of the Doctrinaire School—a school to which Mr. Crowe belongs:—

"Of all the personages who at that time took part in politics, without being carried away by them the most revered and sagacious was Royer Collard. He is with justice considered the founder of the Doctrinaire school, the first to take a position on intermediate ground, in religion between the disciples of Loyola and those of Voltaire, in Government between divine right and the sovereignty of the people. One of the wisest acts of Louis XVIII. was the appointment of Royer Collard to be President of the Council of Public Instruction, in which position he could hold the balance between the influence of the old philosophic and of the new religious party. But Royer Collard was also a deputy, and took active part in the great questions of the press, of individual liberty, and of the law of elections, in all which his opinions were marked by a profundity, and pronounced with a precision, which rendered his words oracular and his influence potential. The deputies of the Centre, and more especially of the Right Centre, rallied round him; and with such supports and disciples as Canaille Jordan, the Duc de Broglie, Guizot, Bouquet, the school of Royer Collard promised for the moment to be as predominant in the Chamber as it was in the university. But the current of events went not to strengthen moderate opinions or parties in politics. The ministerial patronage which Decazes shed over the Doctrinaires, far from strengthening them, proved a serious cause of weakness, by compromising the young party, and rendering it responsible for the inevitable faults and weaknesses of even a well-intentioned administration. The main support of M. Decazes were the Government functionaries. They com-

posed the greater part of the working majority, of which the Doctrinaires formed a small nucleus; and the Doctrinaires themselves accepted office, either in the university, the administration, or the Council of State. In vain did several of them protest at different times against the acts of the Ministry; in vain did they profess their independence; they became so enveloped and compromised by the policy of M. Decazes, that the same obloquy covered both. Royer Collard, therefore, determined to retire from office. As head of the Education Board he was not always able to resist the demands of the clerical party, or to obtain that support of the Prime Minister against them which he desired. He foresaw the overthrow of the balanced system of administration; and deemed it wise to withdraw in time, not to be overwhelmed and identified with its fall."

Here is Mr. Crowe's own doctrinaire philosophy; it is the best comfort mankind will find in his book:—

"In politics, as in morals, and indeed in everything human, it is vain to look and wait for those solid and imperishable foundations, which defy time and preclude change or decay. Great and even lasting edifices, with vast and magnificent cities, have been built on heaps of faggots and on piles of wood. So in politics and in morals: taking man, so imperfect, so ignorant, so brittle, empires and bodies politic and institutions may be built up and perfected of men, of man's faculties, and energies, and virtues, and vices, such as they are. But there are some who refuse to build on any foundation, but would build on nothing but granite; so there are some who in religion seek for demonstration of the unseen, who in philosophy insist on some irrefragable and primitive truth, and who do not consider politics as stable, unless they have established some principle or found some basis which they consider immutable. Unfortunately nothing is immutable in any part of the scene of life. All that such men can do therefore is, to pretend that the principle which they have found is immutable and immortal, and that it is impiety to doubt and profanation to question it. Having thus raised a political dogma to the rank of a superstition, they think they have got a solid foundation for government."

One remarkable circumstance has struck us in turning over these volumes. Few Englishmen are such masters of French literature and French politics as Mr. Crowe; French society is perhaps more familiar to him than English. And yet we have not noticed a single gallicism in all this writing. We do not know whether that is a merit, but it is a curiosity.

CATHOLIC UNION.

Catholic Union: Essays towards a Church of the Future as the Organisation of Philanthropy. By F. W. Newman. John Chapman.

It were well for mankind, and for the progress of free inquiry, if all its champions brought to their solemn task the straightforward simplicity, mingled with genuine tenderness and consideration for the feelings of others, which characterise the writings of Mr. Newman on religious subjects. There never was a style in which personal egotism was so little apparent; the most devout sectarian has not to shudder at finding subjects dear and sacred to him treated with levity and sarcasm: the toleration Mr. Newman contends for is genuine, and in him is never "found wanting;" and strong in the sincerity of this moderation and charity, he utters his earnest convictions with an intrepid directness which gives peculiar force to his writings on these subjects, usually so conventionally and indirectly dealt with.

This spirit of toleration—characteristic of all Mr. Newman's books—is especially so of the one before us, which is indeed, from beginning to end, a plea for toleration as the only basis of union. It asks, in the first place, what has made the establishment of a really Catholic Church hitherto hopeless? and the answer is too obvious—the impossible condition imposed upon all the members, of agreement upon theological truth. It asks, in the second place, how may it be possible to form such a Church? and endeavours to show that it can only be by the exercise of the widest toleration, or, to speak more properly, by obtaining a clear idea of the propositions to which it is reasonable to demand universal assent. What is the present state of opinion on this subject among the body who restrict to themselves the name of Church? Many wise and good individuals, religious men in the deepest sense of the term, if religion imply a recognition of moral responsibility, do not believe in the doctrines of Christianity. They do not seek to persuade others, who think differently, they do not wish to deprive the Christian of a belief which brings him comfort, they contend only for the same right of free opinion, they demand only not to be forced to subscribe doctrines to which their reason refuses assent. The evidence which satisfies some minds, is not convincing, we all know, to others of a different constitution, and on every other subject we are accustomed to admit the justice of this plea, but on this, the most important of all subjects, the Christian Churches, one and all, practically deny it. They offer the choice between faithless assent or virtual excommunication; these men, who have enquired earnestly, who have decided honestly, find themselves compelled to choose between the position of social Pariahs, or the depression and degradation of a life-long lie. Many have scarcely the choice—many, to whom truth is dear and precious above all things, could only purchase the power to be true at a cost of wrong and misery brought upon others, which they have neither the courage nor the right to inflict. The Christian Churches justify their conduct towards dissentients by various articles of their compulsory creed; they not only insist on the duty of belief, making belief a voluntary act—which is absurd; but they declare that the eternal happiness of man is dependent on this belief; in other words, that the just and merciful Creator whom they proclaim and acknowledge, will punish men for opinions consequent on the constitution of mind wherewith He has endowed them—which is worse than absurd: it is incredible and abhorrent. Yet it is impossible to put a different interpretation upon the doctrines contained in the creed of St. Athanasius, and in the 8th, 13th, 17th, and 18th of the Articles of Religion.

We have alluded to these tenets of the Christian creeds, which appear to us so unjust and erroneous, not in any spirit of rancour or bitterness, but simply because this doctrine of infallibility is, as Mr. Newman says, the rock upon which all Churches have hitherto split; indeed, such a system is obviously ill-calculated to solve the great problem of Catholicity, as it at once converts dissentients into antagonists. Hence, for eighteen centuries the Church has been fighting a losing game; and the evils of internal dissension and extended sectarianism have become so glaring, as to have in some measure created their own remedy. Mr. Newman draws a parallel between this movement, and the analogous process which takes place in the development of different nationalities.

"In times of confusion and violence, every rude and strong people endeavours to extend its sway over its neighbours; and every successful power begins to dream of Universal Empire. The word Empire probably excited in Charlemagne, as the word Church in the Popes

and in many a Protestant prelate, a belief of his right to universal obedience. But the resistance of man, claiming equal rights with man, gradually teaches nations that universal sway is impossible, and that each nation must submit to co-ordination with others. Before this stage is reached, each is seeking the destruction and absorption of the rest; no moral relationship of nationalities is conceded. But after each is convinced that all have an equal right to existence, moral action between them becomes possible and commences.

"So too, as long as different churches are under the delusion that they have, each of them, a divine right to command the obedience of the rest, they remain in implacable hostility, and no moral relations can exist. It is said that persons afflicted with monomania are sometimes cured by mere juxtaposition, since each sees the error of the other in so vivid and ludicrous a light. Something of the kind has gone on among Protestants. Members of different churches see that a claim which is made by all over all is self-destructive; that no church has any divine guarantee of infallibility; that therefore no one has any power or right authoritatively to declare 'the truth,' and that it is pride, misanthropy, and folly in a church to disown other churches, just as in a nation to disown other nations, or a man other men. In short, thousands of us have learned, that though as a matter of convenience separate churches or sects must exist, yet each sect ought to be in friendly relations to every other, and moreover ought to desire that every other may perfect its best fruit, so that each may learn whatever another has to teach."

We agree with the author: thousands among us have arrived at these conclusions; thousands there are, we hope and believe, who will echo the profession of faith contained in the following passage:—

"But now recurs the other question,—Are we to abandon as a dream the idea of Catholicity? Rather, have we not laid a new foundation for that idea, from the day in which we have begun to recognise, as in moral amity with us, other churches, having different tenets from ours? Hereby we admit moral union in spite of ecclesiastical separation. Indeed, to deny the propriety of this is inhuman, and is almost unimaginable in those who have renounced the principle of persecution. If it is not right to treat a man as a felon, because he has what we think to be a false creed, we must treat him as an innocent fellow-citizen; in other words, we must be in moral relations with him. It is true, these relations need not be intimate. We cannot associate with many, nor directly co-operate with many; and we need to select our coadjutors. I do not expect or hope that men will follow the results of their theories to the sacrifice of their prejudices. Still, in spite of reaction towards forms and creeds, the winning principle of the Age seems to be this: *The Moral is higher than the Ecclesiastical*. We are learning that right creeds are but means of becoming better men; and that goodness (in the truest sense) is the end proposed; and we have daily proof that persons who agree with us more minutely in theological creed are by no means always so trustworthy in various virtues as others who differ from us. The true union between man and man in the highest and closest human friendship turns on a reciprocal trust in one another's virtue; and thousands are become so sick at heart at the pretensions of creeds, that they often ask, whether the union of good men, as such, is for ever to be impossible. This question is nothing but the aspiring of the heart towards the true Church of the Future,—a union of those who look on that part of man, in which he is said to be like to God, as his best and noblest; and who dedicate themselves to the cultivation of this. Such a catholic union would have no religious creed whatever: and so far from bearing within it the sectarian principle of Protestantism, it would embrace Jews, Turks, Arabs, Hindoos, Chinese, Christians, Theists, Pantheists, and Atheists,—whenever they were sincere, and personally virtuous. They might retain their religious distinctions, like the 'Orders' in the Church of Rome: yet in the contact of friendliness the stronger element would attract and gradually overpower the weaker, exactly as we see in scientific truth. As the doctrine of Ptolemy was superseded by that of Copernicus, and Copernicus was swallowed up in Newton, so will it be in regard to religions, when that misanthropic and pernicious bigotry is tamed, which continues to disgrace the theory of Christianity and the practice of so many of its professors. Those who believe their creed likely to win proselytes by closer contact, will rejoice in the breaking down of the barriers by which at present every sect in its turn fortifies itself against the access of argument and evidence. One who is confident in the truth of his own creed ought to be anxious that it may have friendly opportunity to diffuse its light; and one who has weak convictions ought to feel it absurd to shut out other men's light. Only, let that chicanery and crookedness be excluded, which fanaticism and worldly interest propagate. Indeed, they will exclude themselves by their overweening pretensions."

The question of Human Brotherhood, as Mr. Newman remarks, "takes us into the regions of Communism and Politics, as departments of Morals." For if the principles of brotherly unity and sympathy be truly grafted in a man's heart, he will not rest contented with speculating upon the wrongs of his fellow-creatures "in the abstract;" and even the crudest and most unjust of socialist theories will make him thoughtful rather than indignant, looking upon such as they should be looked at, as the inarticulate cry of unreasoning suffering, the evidence of social evil, to be deplored, and, if possible, remedied, not to be ignored and suppressed. Politicians have too long dealt only with the symptoms, leaving the disease itself unattacked. Mr. Newman's views on this point are well-considered.

Here are some very true observations on the subject of the dependence of a Church upon the State. That this union does sensibly paralyse the energy of ecclesiastical reformers, is doubtless true; but it is no less true that the evil lies deeper, in,—we return to the point,—the Church's own constitution.

"In no one instance has the episcopal bench initiated efforts for moral reform: in every instance (as far as I am aware,) the majority has weighed heavily against reformers, when they arose among the laity. In short, the ecclesiastical organs have been so paralysed by their dependence on the State, as to retain energy for nothing except to resist any reform decisive enough to improve them. Protestantism has done much good, by unfettering the energies of individuals; but the good is done often in spite of church-organisation than by means of it. The laity and the dissenters, or the low church, work; the high church obstruct;—until decorum brings them over, when the battle is all but won."

"Such considerations, and others besides, lead many of the more energetic dissenters to lay great stress on the importance of separating Church and State; which they believe not only to be required by justice and by the Christian religion (i. e. by the rule of the New Testament), but also to be important for giving energy to the ecclesiastical organs themselves. I am not about to differ from this judgment; in fact, I fundamentally agree with it. The serious mischief done to England by her Established Church is, I think, forcibly seen by turning to the United States of America; where all the same religious sects exist as with us; where the Episcopalians are not only as loftily ecclesiastical as here, but even more uniformly so. Nevertheless, they lay no claim to regulate the public education, and do not obstruct it. In consequence, in New England and New York a very efficient system of public education is at work, and is extending itself into Ohio and other parts of the Union. But here, the Established Church has long lost the love and reverence of three-quarters of the nation, and therefore cannot educate them; yet uses her political position and influence to hinder the State from doing it in the only way in which the people will accept it. Manifestly this obstruction is gratuitous. It is not necessitated by the creed of the Church; for the American Episcopalians, with the same creed, have no desire thus to obstruct. The true cause is, *pride of station*; and inasmuch as to separate the Episcopal Church from the State, and make it co-ordinate with other bodies, would bring it into a like mind with that of America, it would exceedingly promote that great cause, national schooling. It would also give to the Church the dignity of self-government, in place of the degradation of an immutable parliamentary creed."

"But when our dissenters go farther, and expect some great regeneration from separating Church and State, the example of America again is an instruction. It does not appear that the Episcopal Church there is very active for moral good; nor yet that the Congregationalists here are much damaged at present by our Established Church:—for they are as efficient on this side of the Atlantic as on that. None of the American churches lead the philanthropic or moral reforms of the day. Among a large part of the community there is an active en-

thusiasm,—to overthrow slavery, to extinguish drunkenness, to find for women new occupations, and open to them every kind of education; to improve the treatment of criminals, to find new parents for orphans, to instruct the deaf and dumb, and other helpless persons. But the ecclesiastical organs, I believe, give no aid to any of those objects; some they actively oppose; others they quietly discourage; the rest they ignore. Thus Protestant churches, in their freest development, show that they are not disposed to accept as theirs the moral work of the day. If less encumbered with ceremonies than that of Rome, yet they are effectually encumbered by theology, so as not to come into full contact with the daily realities of life."

It is scarcely possible, in the limits of an article, to enter upon the second part of Mr. Newman's book, the "problem of reconstruction. He is hopeful that the day is not far distant, when a really Catholic Church, "the Church of the Future," may arise. The seed has been already sown: "Humanist Churches," says Mr. Newman, "are already formed in England, Italy, Germany, and America." We must refer the reader to the volume itself, for the excellent practical suggestions upon the internal government and conduct of such a Church as is here described, the principles on which it should be based, and the reforms at which it should aim. Many of the hopes and aspirations contained in these pages will doubtless be styled Utopian, by reformers less sanguine or less earnest. Our last extract shall be one which bears on this subject; it well deserves to be kept in our minds and hearts.

"To have an ideal for which we live and die, is a first pre-requisite for a life which deserves to be called human. If we had none, we should be mere creatures of desire, carried away by it, as inanimate bodies by attraction or beasts by their momentary inclinations: the powers of the Will would be unexercised, and there would be no moral persistency. According as the ideal is worthy or unworthy, the life is beneficial or pernicious; but in either case it is human, and it is unselfish. Our highest ideal is (whether we know it or not) a God to us; and if we devote ourselves to it, we are practical Theists, whatever our creed. He who worships no ideal at all, but lives for self, is the real atheist."

ELEGANT EXTRACTS FROM MODERN MUSES.

WHILE we have been giving our attention, for some little time past, to the prose-writers of the season exclusively, the poets have been quietly accumulating on our table until we find seven volumes of verse, by seven different rhymers, mutely appealing to us to be examined and reported on. Some days since we endeavoured to prepare ourselves for the performance of this duty by looking through our new collection of poems in a general way; proposing to pay particular attention, afterwards, to each poet in turn. This latter design, however, we have found ourselves entirely unequal to execute—owing principally, as we are disposed to imagine, to the present heat of the weather. Every attempt we have made to read anyone of our seven poets carefully and conscientiously, with a view to the production of a fit critical estimate of their works, has resulted (we blush to confess) in the production of nothing but perspiration. We have tried reading in our shirt sleeves, reading in a draught, and reading in a recumbent position without neckcloth and slippers; and have, in every instance, only got the hotter for our pains. In this lamentable emergency, what is to be done? It would, on the one hand, be the height of injustice not to notice our seven poets because we have been unable to read their verses with proper attention; and it would, on the other, be perfectly monstrous to venture upon giving an opinion on works the merits of which we have found ourselves to be incapable of testing. There seems to be but one fair and satisfactory way of escaping out of the difficulty; and that is, to let the poets speak for themselves, without any comment whatever on our part. We will, therefore, with the reader's permission, give specimens of each gentleman's Muse in turn; merely premising that our only principle of selection is to pick out the shortest examples we light on, in the first instance; and to choose those passages—wherever we can—which have the advantage of being complete in themselves.

Let us open the list at once with a specimen of

MR. PATRICK SCOTT'S MUSE.*

"BEAUTY.

"Mother of many children, born in heaven,
And denizen'd with man, divinest end
Of labouring reason! unto thee 'tis given,
Beauty, thou sun of inner worlds, to lend
A radiant shadow of thyself, and shed
A glory upon earth from thy God-crowned head!
Man works by modes, and these may not attain
A part in thee, and oft the fainting force
And the dimm'd vision mark his upward course
To thy far temple; he but moves between
The darkness of his toil, and the fair scene
Which thou dost open on him, as the crown
Of his endurance: sorrow, too, and sin,
Are moulds to shape his spirit, the first frown
Heralding Nature's smile; his infant soul
Is perfected through media, and within
Its chambers dwells the educating light,
Till earth's fore-spent necessities shall roll
Their curtaining clouds away, and Beauty flood the sight."

MR. HENRY NUTCOMBE OXENHAM'S MUSE.†

"TO H. P. L.

"The loyal heart is lightest
When just disenthralled from fears,
The smile of love is brightest,
When it is dimmed by tears:

"The snow-drop glitters purest
When bathed in early dew,
Friendship is ever surest
When fears have proved it true.

"Then, dearest, let no sorrow
On bitter memories dwell,
The promise of the morrow
Hath a gladder, holier spell.

"And love's keen eye-glance readeth
That talisman aright,
For little skill there needeth,
When hearts with hearts unite."

* *A Poet's Children*. By Patrick Scott. (Longman.)

† *The Sentence of Kaires, and other Poems*. By Henry Nutcombe Oxenham, M.A. (Whittaker.)

MR. JAMES D. HORROCKS'S MUSE.*

"TO A LADY READING BYRON.

"Those pages thou dost gaze upon,
Replete with thoughts divine,
Oh! would that they for me had won
A single thought of thine.

"I fancied as I sat by thee
That thou didst share the pain
And pleasure that pervaded me,
And scarcely could refrain

"From softly breathing in thine ear
Those feelings long repressed;
I deemed that in thine eyes the tear
Some sympathy expressed.

"Oh! tell me it deceived me not,
And that thou, too, canst feel,
And that I may unburden what
I can no more conceal.

"If I have erred, O pardon me!
But since, alas! we've met,
All that I now can ask of thee
Is, 'Bid me not forget!'"

MR. WARWICK BEECHWOOD'S MUSE.†

"PRESENCE AND ABSENCE.

"There is a time when bliss o'erpowers
The heart which with its weight must stoop,
Like Spring-time's early-opened flowers
Whose dew-drenched buds with sweetness droop:
Hast felt it, Love? Ah! thus should I
Joy now, if thou wert only nigh.

"There is a moment when the mind,
Wearied of life, would snap the chain
That binds to earth, and longs to find
Death's solace for its grief and pain:
Thus now I writhe; my heart thus sear:
Where art thou, Love? Alas, not here!"

(MR. ?) RUTHER'S MUSE.‡

"If thou wilt of my way become the fellow,
Heed not the war of critic hosts so Punic,
But listen to my songs as to a mellow-
Voiced bird among the bushes. 'Tis a Runic
Lay, of the northern Gothic islands keeping
A little use; and robed in bardic tunic,
Beneath a canopy in kingly keeping,
Darkling I sing it on the gold-topped hills,
O'er which all night the sun's fresh light is peeping.
Yet oft, like tidal streams, the measure fills
With heavy sorrow, felt as 'twere my own,
And drops into the dark of human ills.
I sing of things which I have seen and known,
From fiction borrowing only what the art
Of verse requires; from human life, as shown
Daily to all, it is my single part
To note whatever claims my just regard,
And scenes beloved to map on memory's chart.
If any marvel how these things I heard,—
I gather'd them, like passion-flowers, in youth;
Then little thinking that a vulgar bard
One day should become, who, touched with ruth,
Should weep as never, for a weak relief,
One weeps in telling of a white untruth."

MR. S. H. BRADBURY'S MUSE.§

"I walked with thee one wealthy summer's night,
In grove bedecked with flowers;
Our cheeks embathed in the moon's pale light,
Falling in beamy showers.
There was a luxury in thy silken hair,
When rippling o'er thy cheek
In radiant waves; thine eyes threw light so fair,
I felt too great to speak.

"My soul danced high in bliss—a splendid swoon—
A brilliant rapture swept
High up my heart, clear as the silent moon,
And stars their splendours wept.
I heard the beatings of thy heart, and felt;
Cold dewdrops chilled thy breast;
And saw the distant hills of white clouds melt
Far down the star-paved west.

"The azure gulf of Heaven was filled with stars,
The glittering fruit of God;
The mellowed moonbeams fell like golden bars,
Gilding earth's dew-bathed sod.
I saw thy languaged eyes were ripe with charms,
A summer-burst of love;
And close insphered in thy pale round arms,
I dreamed I shone above."

MR. JOSEPH LONGLAND'S MUSE.||

"Let God be praised for all His ways,
But most for having made the ladies;
He serves us all both great and small,
But most in having sent us ladies.

"There's nothing in the world so sweet,
There's nothing such a treat as ladies;
The joys of heaven cannot compete,
With those we find in tender ladies.

"Whatever pain our fate may bring,
While separated from the ladies,
We'll fancy every pang a wing,
That helps us on towards the ladies.

* *Zeno, a Tale of the Italian War, and other Poems*. By James D. Horrocks. (John Chapman.)

† *The Friends, and other Poems*. By Warwick Beechwood. (Longman.)

‡ *Haymakers' Histories. Twelve Cantos in Terza Rima*. By Ruther. (George Bell.)

§ *Edenor, and Miscellaneous Lyrics*. By S. H. Bradbury, "Quallon." (Simpkin and Marshall.)

|| *Trephely; or, a Cycle in the World's Destiny. A Poem in Six Books*. By Joseph Longland. (Saunders and Otley.)

"The haven's rich to where we fly,
Brimful of love and living ladies;
In spite of every stormy sky
We'll strive to die among the ladies."

If we had not bound ourselves to deliver no opinions, we should be inclined to say that the Muse of the first gentleman on our list was the nearest of the seven to Parnassus, and that the Muse of the last gentleman was the nearest, of all the mad Muses we ever yet met with, to Bedlam. But we are pledged to make no comments; and as the surest way of redeeming that pledge, we will only remind the gentle and purchasing reader that the names of our poets' booksellers will be found at the bottom of the page—then wipe our heated brow, and say no more.

Portfolio.

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

A CLERGYMAN'S EXPERIENCE OF SOCIETY.

II.

September 10, 18—.

ENGLISHMEN seem to be impressed with the conviction that dulness is inseparable from religion. They certainly take great pains to instil the notion into the minds of their children. Towards the close of the last century, a certain Mr. Raikes, of Gloucester, opened a Sunday school in that city. I had always been taught to look upon this man as a benefactor to humanity. I had been told that it was impossible to exaggerate the good effects which had flowed from the introduction of this novel element into the religious organisation of a Christian country. I do not question, for one moment, the sincerity of Mr. Raikes, nor the capabilities of his discovery, but I am persuaded that the method by which it is attempted to religionise the infant mind, in many families and many parishes, is wrong and cruel. I only ask the good people who are so earnest in the cause of religion, to realise if they can the sensations of a child at the close of a "well-spent" Sunday. To what condition has he been reduced?

I was what nurses call a "naughty" child. That is, I strove with all the might of a precocious rebel against their petticoat tyranny. My governesses fared no better; and, before I had escaped from their clutches, I became profoundly convinced that the whole business of education, as carried out in these days, is a gross sham. It was a system of restraint. The thoughts that leaped within my brain—all outbursts of natural feeling—were denounced as "naughty." It was bad enough on week days, but no language can describe the intensity of horror with which I looked forward to the recurrence of a Sunday. Of course I dared not so much as breathe a murmur; but I often thought how strange it was to call that a holiday which presented only one round of irksome occupation. There were hymns and collects to be learnt—prayers to be repeated—it was a heinous offence to gather flowers, or to seem to enjoy any one sensation in the world. I was forbidden to walk, except to and fro from church; and if I tried to take refuge in reading I was in perpetual danger of being caught with what was not a "Sunday book." I was taken twice a-day to church, and how shall I record the weariness induced by services which I could not, for the life of me, comprehend! It was so dull—that narrow pew—that sleepy voice—that wonderful talk about Hell and Heaven (especially the former)—that cold, gray, stupid eye of my governess, watching as if to revenge on me the humiliation of her position—will ever live in my recollection. Oh, with what satisfaction did I scamper off to bed, hoping, if my digestion happened to be in good order, that I should some time attain to the perfect sainthood of the fine ladies who repeated the responses in an audible voice, and looked at their neighbours' bonnets. For my own part I like naughty children, and I think they are oftener in the right than the very good ones, who turn out such terrible bores or such hopeless profligates in after life.

People in the higher classes are growing more sensible in this matter, and I devoutly trust that few children now-a-days are condemned to pass so wretched a childhood in respect of Sabbath observance as I have. But, in the name of common humanity, think of the treatment you inflict on the children of the poor. Young ladies who love your church, you are beautiful as angels, you are the homes of guileless innocence, you were sent to purify, refine, and elevate humanity, you have noble instincts and loving hearts,—but, to tell the truth, you are the dupes of clergymen. They are sad fellows those clergy, be they old or young. Very pleasant it is, no doubt, for them to be regarded with such devotion by beings so bright as you; but let me show you the other side of the picture. You think it a very grand thing to spend a few hours in a Sunday school, instructing the children of the poor. Oh yes, it is your mission, it smooths your way to heaven; but do you know what you are about? Those children of toil and sorrow have emerged from an atmosphere that would well nigh choke you. It is a great relief to the parents to get them out of the way, else certainly they would never be "in your class," gaping at your costly dress, and wondering what you mean by your fine stories about not caring for appearances. For six days in the week they have been cooped up for as many hours in a stifling atmosphere. Look at their faces! If you were physiognomists you would very soon close your book, and fly away with your little band to the green fields and the fresh air. What lessons you could teach them! It was not in close rooms, but by the sea shore or on the mountain top, that He whom you worship used to teach. And why again will you take these wretched babes to church? They do not understand it. Of course they "look about" as you call it, eat lozenges, and "fistle" on their seats. Did not you do all this, and don't you know that it would be simply unnatural if young life could ever wear the habits of the old. Often have I stood before three hundred children, stricken almost dumb with shame! Why I heard once from the lips of a dying child thoughts that would have made the fortune of a Christian poet. The babe had fashioned its own beautiful creations out of the hints it had gathered from the world-worn sayings of men. And yet in that schoolroom have I stood, a jaded master on one side, and you, with your earnest but

mistaken zeal, before me—the grand old sun, too, pouring his divine light through those grim windows, and lighting up the story that I could read on the faces of those pauper children. How could I hope to catch their attention? Oh! it was cruel. God knows I am not writing against religion. I would do everything in my power, if I were a parent, to develop the religious faculty in my children, but I would not cabin and confine their young souls. Let nature lead the way, and do you follow humbly in her track.

November 20, 18—.

The Church of England is an unhappy compromise. The Roman Catholics manage things much better. They boldly assert that their priests are possessed of supernatural powers. They are the instruments of communication between man and Heaven. The Pope is the vicar of God—standing in His place, the appointed medium of spiritual influence—in short, a God upon earth. To a man wrestling with himself, goaded by temptation, wandering up and down, "seeking rest and finding none," the Church of Rome must be a very city of refuge—that is, if he can once accept the fundamental dogma; otherwise, I do not see how he can escape the only other alternative of refusing all human aid, and of speaking face to face with God. Now say what you may of the doctrine of Apostolic succession, it forms no portion of the creed of the Church of England. The priests in that Church are men, and yet, according to the ordination service, they have been "called" by the Holy Ghost, and are invested by the Bishop with the terrible and responsible authority of forgiving sins. This doctrine is stated in as many words, and the power is conveyed by the imposition of hands. Was there ever such a mockery? The young priest is told that he has the power of absolution, and he is forbidden to exercise it except by asserting, what everybody knows, that the Deity does pardon sins. The priest is, therefore, powerless, for, most assuredly, I believe that, with the exception of the High Church section, no clergyman would dare to teach that he is clothed with any power beyond that possessed by the humblest member of his congregation. Hence, we are all in a false position. Why not openly acknowledge the fact, instead of aiming at a fatal compromise between the two extremes?

November 27, 18—.

It was decided the other day by high legal authorities—only think of judges, not bishops, deciding points of doctrine—that the Church of England does not believe in baptismal regeneration. And yet the liturgies and services directly assert the contrary. At least, whenever I baptised or christened children, I said, "Seeing that this child is regenerate." The practical effect is that baptism is a fashion, and, as a rule, the parents and sponsors have no more faith in the spiritual effects of that ceremony than Voltaire or Rousseau had. Except that it assists the registry in establishing the legitimacy or illegitimacy of a child, I know as a fact that very few persons believe that it serves any purpose in the world. High Churchmen hold a contrary opinion, and in this, as in many other respects, they are the only consistent men in the Church of England. Another consequence is, that many clergymen of the Evangelical school, are placed in a very false position. Here is one instance. To-day I was sent for to bury a child. The appointed hour was four o'clock. It had been a thick, foggy day, and towards the afternoon a drizzling rain had set in. I waited for three hours at the church. It was not till seven o'clock that the sexton told me that the people had come. * * * * An old hag—a hired mourner—came in to register the child. I went into the desk to read the first portion of the service, and saw, besides the clerk and myself, two persons in the church. One was the old hag whom I have mentioned, the other a counterpart of herself. The dull flickering of half a dozen gas-lamps spread an unearthly glare, and my voice echoed mournfully through the aisles and galleries. I went out into the churchyard, and saw, to my intense horror and disgust, that these two creatures had brought the child to be buried in a candle-box. * * * * Had I obeyed the ritual, I should have asked if the child had been baptised. I felt certain that it had not, and if I had asked the question I must have refused to have performed the service. I learnt, afterwards, that the child had been still-born. It was brought, not to be buried, but to be registered, in order that the parents might receive their wretched mite from a burial club! To this alternative are we reduced. We must either violate our professed belief, or countenance a fraud. In early times it was different. Christians believed in the reality of the Sacrament, and the whole system was harmonious. Now all is discord, confusion, and practical unbelief. Religion has degenerated into a fashion. * * * *

I find that very few persons think it necessary to partake of the Holy Communion. This shows that the religion of the Church of England has lost its vitality. It is impossible to conceal the fact that belief in the communication of spiritual influences is fast dying away. The second Sacrament is administered in this parish about fifteen times in the year! The congregation ought to number about 1500; out of these there are, in general, scarcely a hundred communicants. I know that this is an exceptional case. In many churches the Sacrament is administered more frequently, and the communicants are more numerous—but, as a rule, there is an obvious want of faith in sacramental efficacy. And yet, as it seems to me, partaking in this Sacrament is the only test by which one can decide whether there is any living faith in the whole Church system. * * * *

Is it true or false that the millions of people who never enter a place of worship are condemned to eternal perdition? If true, what a fearful doctrine! If false, why is it perpetually taught? The other day I went from door to door through one of the most wretched districts in the town. As a clergyman of the Established Church it was my duty to inquire into the spiritual condition of every soul in my parish. Here is a scene I witnessed: In a room, about eight feet square, I found four women and a man; one of the women was lying, half-dressed and in a drunken sleep, upon a filthy bed, the others were lounging about on chairs. A "dirty" fire was smouldering in the grate, near which the man sat with a short pipe in his mouth. A torn hat was crushed down upon the back of his head; his eyes were blood-shot with drink; there could be no mistake about the matter, he was sunk in the very lowest depths of animal degradation. The women greeted me with a bewildered stare, the man turned round as soon as I entered, and I shall never forget the intensity of hate with which he eyed me. He burst out into a volley of imprecations, and frantically ordered me to leave his

presence. By this time, a crowd of idlers had made their way into the room—and I saw at once that, if I yielded to the brute, my influence would be gone for ever. I sat down, and by dint of a little patience, and a few kind words, subdued his wrath. I did not open my lips on the subject of religion, and our interview ended in my obtaining leave to visit him again.

Now, this man was the type of an enormous class of persons in the district. It was very obvious that, as a clergyman, I could not approach them. In their minds religion was identified with priestcraft, tyranny, and covetousness. It had no relation with the wants and sufferings of humanity. A priest was useful in his way, he "could make all it right" on a death-bed, but he could solve no problem of social life. I soon discovered, however, that when I addressed such persons on purely human grounds, when I came to speak to them—as one suffering in some respects like themselves—at all events, most willing to heal their wounds—my words found ready acceptance. Where then, in truth, is my congregation? Is it among the few hundreds only who appear in Sunday costumes in the Church, or among the outlaws of society, who make up the heathendom of Christian England, that I am to deliver my message? My sympathies are with the poor and outcast far more than with that other class who seem to tell me, by every look, that they can take care of themselves.

H.

The Arts.

DIORAMA OF THE WAR.

To some extent the efforts that have been made, at the GALLERY OF ILLUSTRATION, to keep up with the moving scenes of the war, have altered the character of the exhibition. We no longer have that gliding succession of scenic effects endeared to us by well-approved custom; the views are now given abruptly; the curtain descends upon each separate picture, and then there is often a long, but seldom a lucid interval, during which the literary gentleman talks balder M'Culloch than a literary gentleman should. The latest additions are views in the Baltic, showing Napier's fleet in Wingo Sound, the French fleet in Kiel Bay, the cutting out affair at Eckness, and other interesting objects and incidents. These views are shown and explained at the commencement. Then come the views of St. Petersburg and Vienna, the first of which is one of the most beautiful pictures to be seen in London. It shows the city by moonlight, across the Neva, which is frozen and covered with skaters. The lights on the quay, and in the many windows of the

palaces, contribute greatly to the effect of the picture, being so managed as to suit the various gradations of distance. In other scenes less care was apparent. A moon, for instance, was a mere circular hole, through which amazed spectators could discern the tops of masts and another moon, belonging to the scene at the back.

The views on the Danube and in the Black Sea are of unequal merit. Among the best were those taken from the sketches of the now famous Lieutenant Montague O'Reilly, of the Retribution.

Q.

THEATRES.

This is not the weather for theatres; that is obvious. Yet the theatres fill; and we cannot accept the explanation of the closing of DRURY LANE—that it is too hot. While the Spanish dancers retain sufficient elasticity and energy to gratify the crowded and enlightened HAYMARKET (strongly condemning the lower orders at the CRYSTAL PALACE for their want of appreciation of art) with their agreeable contortions, surely singers can go on singing. Singers do: at COYENT GARDEN the season is still in full glory; and even at DRURY LANE, on Tuesday (when the heat was the greatest of the week), Sims Reeves contrived to obtain a success, which was an event, in *Masaniello*.

At the HAYMARKET, Mr. Buckstone is even bringing out new pieces; and Stirling Coyne's well-concealed French adaptation—"The Old Chateau; or"—something to the same effect—constitutes a pretty drama, so far successful as, with the Madrid troupe, to bring a run of fortune to the house. Mr. Coyne brings out business-like, playable plays; and this is one of his best. Two women in love with one man—that is always a good basis for a plot; and Mr. Buckstone is thrown in as the funny Frenchman—characteristically comic, and patriotically unlike.

At the LYCEUM, Mr. C. Mathews has taken his benefit; to the "resources" of the occasion his brother managers contributing effective aid, indicating kindness in them, and suggesting to the public something honourable to him. If he will but burn his ships behind him—we except the ship which went down so well two seasons ago in the *Dames de la Halle*—there is, now, a great theatrical career before him.

Grisi takes her benefit on the 7th of August. A theatre large enough to hold the whole "musical public" ought to be built for the occasion. Indeed, if any of us could realise that the "farewell" is final, there would be something like a national "movement" to bid her a grand good-by. She is rich enough, and wants no "testimonial;" a national bouquet would be inconvenient—what then could be done?

W.

THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS.—"Here stands forward an autocrat booted and spurred and starred, with crosses and eagles and saints at every button-hole, who tells people that he is sent expressly by the Almighty to protect certain holy places a thousand miles from his dominions; and to whip certain holy women, because their holiness was not cut out and stitched and flounced and embroidered according to his pattern; and to tear little children from the knee and from the spelling-book of their fathers; and to drag, between the bars of harrows on wheels; the wife who implored permission to follow her chained husband to the mines of far Siberia. Prussian prosers would teach us that most of what is heroic in ancient history is mere fable. Be it so; but here are authentic facts, not of the ancient or the mediæval; facts which thousands have witnessed and have borne; heroic facts, if the word *heroic* be not derogatory from the dignity of God's peculiarly appointed. His deeds are legitimate, and somewhat more: a word against them, even here in England, tends to revolution and verges on impiety!"—*Letters of an American.*

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

CAMPBELL.—July 23, at Ramsgate, the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, eighty-seventh Royal Irish Fusiliers: a son.
CHAMBERS.—July 24, at 7, Great Cumberland-street, Hyde-park, the wife of Thomas Chambers, Esq., M.P.: a son.
GRAINGER.—July 25, at Oulton Rectory, Lowestoft, the wife of the Rev. John Grainger, of Eton College: a son.
LOWTHER.—July 22, at 21, Wilton-terrace, the wife of Captain Lowther, M.P.: a daughter.
ROMILLY.—July 22, at Edinburgh, Lady Elizabeth Romilly: a son.
VIVIAN.—July 23, at 104, Eaton-square, the wife of Henry Hussey Vivian, Esq., M.P.: a son.

MARRIAGES.

BATESON—CASTLEMAINE.—July 25, at St. Anne's Church, Dublin, Samuel Stephen Bateson, second son of Sir Robert Bateson, Bart., of Belvoir-park, County Down, to Florida, eldest daughter of Lord Castlemaine, of Moydrum Castle, County Westmeath.
BUCKLEY—STIRLING.—July 25, at Abergavenny, the Rev. W. Louis Buckley, B.A., to Anne Henrietta, eldest daughter of the late Captain George Stirling, and niece of Sir Samuel Stirling, of Ranton and Glorat, Bart.
CARLETON—HOBHOUSE.—July 27, at St. George's, Hanover-square, Lieut.-Colonel Carleton, Coldstream Guards, to the Honourable Charlotte Hobhouse, eldest daughter of Lord Broughton.

DEATHS.

CORRY.—July 23, at 50, Eaton-place, Lady Mary Emma Lowry Corry, second daughter of the late Earl of Belmore, aged fourteen.
HAYDON.—July 25, at 8, Henstridge-villas, St. John's-wood, Mary, widow of the late B. R. Haydon, aged sixty-one.
SOUTHEY.—July 20, at Buckland, Lymington, Caroline, the widow of Robert Southey, Esq., LL.D.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE

Friday Evening, July 29, 1854.

Whether the extreme heat during the past week, or Good-wood races, have had any effect upon the money market and the speculators, we decline to decide, but most assuredly the

languor has been very great. Consols have altered very little during the week; they are firm, and that is all that can be said—shares rather weaker.

Mines, as far as purchasing and selling shares, are a dead letter. Peninsula and San Fernando, Linares, and all mines connected with Spain, have greatly fallen, considering the unsettled state of that country. But the absence of all business is very manifest in the Stock Exchange; and great fluctuations will hardly occur just yet, unless a forward movement takes place on the banks of the Danube or Crimea.

Markets are rather firmer this afternoon. Consols close at 92½—92½ for account.

Consols, 92½, 92½; Caledonian, 63½, 63½; Chester and Holyhead, 15½, 15½; Eastern Counties, 17½, 18½; Edinburgh and Glasgow, 6½, 6½; Great Western, 79½, 79½; Lancashire and Yorkshire, 67½, 67½; London, Brighton, and South Coast, 107, 108 x. d.; London and North-Western, 105½, 106½; London and South-Western, 84, 85; Midland, 67, 67½; North Staffordshire, 4½, 4½ dis.; Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, 32, 34; Scottish Central, 93, 95; South Eastern, 61½, 61½; South Wales, 35½, 36½; York, Newcastle, and Berwick, 74, 75; York and North Midland, 55, 56; Antwerp and Rotterdam, 4, 3½ dis.; East Indian, 1½, 2 p.m.; Luxembourg, constituted, 3½, 3½; Madras, 4 dis., 4 p.m.; Namur and Liege (with interest), 7½, 8; Northern of France, 32½, 32½; Paris and Lyons, 17½, 17½ p.m.; Paris and Orleans, 45, 47; Paris and Rouen, 40, 42; Rouen and Havre, 23½, 23½; Paris and Strasbourg, 31½, 31½; Sambre and Meuse, 8½, 9; West Flanders, 3½, 4½; Western of France, 5, 6 p.m.; Aqua Frias, 1, 1; Imperial Brazil, 3½, 4; St. John del Rey, 20, 28; National Brazilian, 24, 3; Colonial Gold, 1, 1; Fortuna, 1, 1 p.m.; Linares, 10, 10; New Linares, 1, 1 dis.; San Fernando, 1, 1 dis.; Nouveau Monde, 1, 1; Pontgibaud, 10, 17; United Mexican, 3½, 4; Peninsula, 4½, 4½ p.m.; Australasian, 83, 85; Oriental Bank, 45, 47; Bank of Australia, 20½, 21; Union of Australia, 67, 69 x. d.; Australian Agricultural, 45, 46; Peel River, 1, 1 dis.; North British Australian Loan and Land, 4 dis., par; Scottish Australian Investment, 1½, 1½ p.m.; South Australian Land, 3½, 3½; Crystal Palace, 4 dis.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday Evening, July 28.

THERE is now a much firmer feeling in the trade, and a fair retail demand for Wheat at 2s. over the lowest prices taken on Monday. Oats are lower, but there is less pressure to sell. Barley remains unchanged—the demand being moderate. The decline in the value of Wheat is about 5s. per quarter throughout England. On Monday, the continuance of fine weather created a panic, which lasted during most of the day, but towards the close of the market more disposition for business was exhibited by buyers and less inclination to sell by holders, and on Wednesday the same feeling was again apparent, being strengthened by the reports from several leading country markets.

The French markets remain about the same as last week. In the Baltic districts prices are unaltered, and the harvest is progressing favourably. Indian Corn.—Two cargoes of Egyptian sold at 25s., cost, freight, and insurance. In Beans and Barley nothing doing. By advices from Archangel to 12th inst. (new style), it appears that only 21,430 chetwerts (17,520 qrs. of Oats) have been shipped to that date, and as shipments must cease on the 31st inst., there is not time for any great quantity more to be loaded, especially as Oats are the least valuable of any Archangel produce, and will therefore have to give way to other articles. It may be useful to know that the importations of Oats from abroad this year have exceeded those of last by 200,000 qrs., and that almost the entire excess has come to London. This increase amounts to about 50 per cent. on the importations of 1853. The stock of Oats here is certainly not very much larger than usual at this season, and with such an excess of supplies from the North of Europe as that indicated, it seems uncertain where Oats are to come from to make up the Russian deficiency for the next three months.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Frid.
Bank Stock	211	210	211½	211	210	210
3 per Cent. Red.	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½
3 per Cent. Con. An.	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½
Consols for Account	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½
3½ per Cent. An.	93½	93½	92½	93½	93½	93½
New 3½ per Cents						
Long Ans. 1860			4½	4 9-16	4½	4½
India Stock	224	224		225	222	
Ditto Bonds, £1000			5 p			
Ditto, under £1000			2 p		2 p	2 p
Ex. Bills, £1000	1 d	par	1 d	2 p	par	3 p
Ditto, £500	1 d	1 p	1 d	3 p	par	par
Ditto, Small	2 p	4 p	4 p	4 p	par	1 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Brazilian Bonds	99½	Russian Bonds, 5 per	
Buenos Ayres 6 per Cents		Cents 1822	97½
Chilian 3 per Cents		Russian 4½ per Cents	
Danish 5 per Cents	102	Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def.	18½
Ecuador Bonds		Spanish Committee Cert.	
Mexican 3 per Cents	2½	of Coup. not fun.	4½
Mexican 5 per Ct. for		Venezuela 3½ per Cents	
Acc. July 28	2½	Belgian 4½ per Cents	91
Portuguese 4 per Cents		Dutch 2½ per Cents	59½
Portuguese 5 p. Cents		Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	91½

OPERA COMIQUE, ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.

Last two nights of the season, and last appearances of Madame Marie Cabel.

Monday, July 31 (positively for the last time), the popular Opera of LES DIAMANS DE LA COURONNE. La Catarina, Madame Marie Cabel.

The Director of the Opera Comique at the St. James's Theatre, and of the Theatre Lyrique, Paris, respectfully announces that the Last Performance of Madame Marie Cabel and his Company will take place on Wednesday next, August 2, on which occasion Madame Marie Cabel will appear (for the last time) in Donizetti's popular Opera of LA FILLE DU REGIMENT. Madame Cabel will on that occasion introduce the celebrated trio of the Torreador.

Boxes and Stalls at the Box-office, and at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 33, Old Bond-street.

OPERA COMIQUE, ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.

THEATRE. The Director of the Opera Comique at the St. James's Theatre, and of the Theatre Lyrique, Paris, respectfully announces the last performance of Madame MARIE CABEL and his Company will take place on Wednesday next, August 2, on which occasion Madame Cabel will appear for the last time in the popular Opera of LA FILLE DU REGIMENT. Madame Cabel will on that occasion introduce the celebrated Trio of the TORREADOR, "Ah! vous dirai-je Maman!" assisted by M. Louis Cabel and M. Legrand, in addition to the French national air, "Partant pour La Syrie," and will also sing a couplet of the National Anthem "God Save the Queen!" By the kind permission of Frederick Gye, Esq., director of the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden, a favourite Divertissement, by the principal Artists of that establishment, will be presented during the evening. The Director respectfully solicits the honour and favour of the subscribers, and the public patronage, on the occasion of this farewell performance.

Boxes and Stalls for this attractive and final performance may be secured at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 33, Old Bond-street, and at the Box Office of the Theatre.

ROYAL OLYMPIC THEATRE.

Lessee and Manager, Mr. ALFRED WIGAN.

Last week but one of the Season,

On Monday, July 31st, and during the week
"TO OBLIGE BENSON."

Mr. Benson, (a Barrister), Mr. Emery; Mr. Trotter Southdown, (his Friend) Mr. F. Robson; Mr. John Meredith, (Pupil of Mr. Benson), Mr. Leslie; Mrs. Trotter Southdown, Miss Marston; Mrs. Benson, Miss E. Turner.

After which the Comic Drama of

THE FIRST NIGHT!

Achille Talma Dufard, (a French Actor), Mr. Alfred Wigan; The manager of the Theatre, Mr. Leslie; The Stage Manager, Mr. Franks; The Author, Mr. Harwood Cooper; Mr. Fitzurse, Mr. Vincent; Rose Dufard, Miss P. Horton; Arrabella Forthingay, Miss Emily Ormonde.

To conclude with

THE WANDERING MINSTREL.

Mr. Crinoun, Mr. J. H. White; Mr. Tweedle, Mr. Harwood Cooper; Herbert Carol, Mr. Vincent; Jem Baggs, Mr. F. Robson; Mrs. Crinoun, Miss Stevens; Julia, Miss Marston; Peggy, Miss E. Turner.

DUTY OFF TEA.—The REDUCTION

of the TEA DUTY, and the easy state of the Tea-market, enables PHILLIPS and Company to SELL—

Strong Congou Tea, 2s. 8d., 2s. 10d., and 3s.
Rich Souchong Tea, 3s. 2d., 3s. 4d., and 3s. 8d.
The Best Assam Pekoe Souchong Tea, 4s.
Prime Gunpowder Tea, 3s. 8d., 4s., and 4s. 4d.
Best Moyune Gunpowder, 4s. 8d.
The Best Pearl Gunpowder, 5s.
Prime Coffees, 1s., 1s. 2d., and 1s. 3d.
The Best Mocha and the Best West India Coffee 1s. 4d.
Sugars are supplied at market prices.

All goods sent carriage free, by our own vans, if within eight miles. Teas, coffees, and spices sent carriage free to any railway station or market-town in England, if to the value of 40s. or upwards, by

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In accordance with our usual practice of always being FIRST to give the Public the full ADVANTAGE of every REDUCTION in the value of our goods, we have at once lowered the prices of all our Teas to fullest extent of the REDUCTION OF DUTY; and we are determined, so far as we are concerned, that the Public shall reap the full benefit of this act of the Government.

The Best Pekoe Congou	s. d.
Strong Breakfast ditto	3 8 the pound.
Good sound ditto	2 8 "
Choice Gunpowder	4 8 "
Finest Young Hyson	4 4 "
Good Plantation Coffee	1 0 "
Cuba, Jamaica or Costa Rica	1 4 "
Choice old Mocha	1 6 "
The Best Homoeopathic Cocoa	1 0 "

For the convenience of our numerous customers, we retail the finest West India and Refined Sugars at market prices.

All goods delivered by our own vans, free of charge, within eight miles of London. Parcels of Tea and Coffee, of the value of Two Pounds sterling, are sent, carriage free, to any part of England.

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Malt Tax, addition of 50 per Cent.

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liberty of announcing that they have now on hand, in cask and bottle, an ample supply of BASS'S PALE ALE, with all its accustomed beauty of flavour and delicacy of colour, and WITHOUT ANY ADVANCE IN PRICE.

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