

London Irish Trust 7 Wellington Street, Strand.

The Leader.

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

Contents.

NEWS OF THE WEEK—

	PAGE
The Parliament of the Week	194
Alleged Irish Corruption	197
Mr. Bright and the Reform Bill ..	197
Oath Scruples	197
Continental Notes	198
The Emperor's Reply to "the Friends"	199
The War Preparations	199
India, China, and the Cape	200

Taxes on Knowledge	200
The Preston Labour Battle	200
Cholera Defence	201
British Morals	202
The Public Health	202
Miscellaneous	202

PUBLIC AFFAIRS—

How Reform Bills are Secured ..	203
How the War is to Begin	204

The Scottish Education Bill ...	204
Nicholas at Home	205
Relief for Poor Lords	205
A "Stranger" in Parliament	206

LITERATURE—

Summary	209
Definitions of Life	210
Modern Poets	211
Books on our Table	212

THE ARTS—

American Philosophy and American Dramatists	212
The British Institution	212

Births, Marriages, and Deaths...	213
----------------------------------	-----

COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS—

City Intelligence, Markets, Advertisements, &c.....	214-216
---	---------

VOL. V. No. 206.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 4, 1854.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

THERE is to be no Reform Bill this year. Last night Lord John Russell explained the circumstances under which the order for the second reading would be discharged, and the Bill be postponed until after Easter; it is generally understood that it will stand over for the session.

The causes which have led to this delay are well known. From the first it was understood that there was a difference of opinion in the Government itself—a difference which made itself apparent when Lord Palmerston suddenly rushed out of the Cabinet and took a separate position. It was subsequently explained that no difference had existed which would necessarily have led to his departure; and from the circumstances of his cordially re-entering into the Ministry, that statement was corroborated. The Reform Bill underwent consideration by a committee of the Cabinet, including its best men; and it was laid before Parliament without any fresh disruption. Nor is any statement made which implies that Lord Palmerston has not been sincere in his re-union. Mr. Hume summoned the independent Members, and they agreed in his opinion, that the Bill should be supported as a whole.

The greatest objection taken was that against the minority clause, and on grounds well understood. If large minorities be represented, some of the principal manufacturing towns which now send only Liberals would send Conservatives; but, on the other hand, some counties which now send Conservatives would send Liberals, and, on the whole, the Liberal cause would gain. But, in considering a question of national representation, we are not considering a revolution, or a *coup d'état*; we are not thinking how we can render one particular set of opinions victorious; we are considering how the body of the people can actually go, by their representatives, to deliberate in Parliament; and the contest upon opinions, the decision upon measures, the resolve upon policy, must take place in the representative chamber. We want, therefore, that all the people should be represented; and the refusal of proportionate representation to a large majority in any place evidently leaves gaps in the whole system. The Parliamentary Reform Association have declared their opinion, published in a circular, which is excellent for its statesmanlike sense. They recognise the justice and sound reason of this new proposition, and at the same time they exhort their members not to be divided by small objections to the details which conceal the real merits of the plan, but to stick to one answer—*That it would enfranchise a million of Englishmen.*

Now that million have a right to know who

prevents their getting the franchise. Indeed the whole people has a right to know it; because, by not enfranchising that million, including many members of the working classes who would have secured a direct representation in Parliament, we are deprived of the opportunity for placing in the representative chamber many advocates of further extension of the rights of the industrious classes. It is a burning shame that the offer, coming spontaneously from statesmen who were in no degree forced to execute this public service, should be intercepted. And by whom is it intercepted? Chiefly by three classes. One, we regret to say it, is represented by the Manchester election-committee of Mr. Milner Gibson and Mr. John Bright, who have held a special meeting, and received Mr. Bright's exhortation to stop the Bill, mainly because it would let in a Conservative member for Manchester! Of course all those who had interests in the boroughs to be disfranchised, in freemen, and other abuses to be pruned by the Bill, whether those persons are "Liberal" or not, were joining underhand to stop it if they could; and several of the Irish members were ready to help them. Those made the second class. But it is also hinted that members of the Government have helped to take a share in these anti-popular proceedings—to dam up the current of progress. It was not Lord John; it was not Lord Aberdeen, nor the Duke of Newcastle, nor several others of the chief men whom we could name. Who was it then? Sir Charles Dering's motion, objecting to proceeding with the Bill in time of war, was the pretext. For our own part we agreed with Sir Charles before the Bill was introduced, but after it had been introduced it was too late to entertain that objection; and what is more, we are certain that many who now skulk into opposition against the Government, and against the million who would have been enfranchised, are not sincere in their pretence. They are helping the representatives of lingering corruptions, with some of the Irish anti-Ministerial and anti-English members, and the Tory Opposition, to prevent a considerable enfranchisement of the English people; and England ought to drag out the names of the traitors.

Ministers and the *Times* have given the public complete information as to the present state of our relations with continental allies and with Russia. A summons was sent to the Emperor, by the Governments of France and England, on Monday last, requiring him to undertake, within six days after the receipt of the summons, that he would evacuate the Principalities by the 30th of April next. The Governments of Austria and Prussia are expected to acquiesce in that summons. Of course the Emperor is expected to refuse, probably off-hand; and in that case his answer would be received about the 20th of this month. In the mean while English troops are on their way to Turkey, and the departure of other regiments is accelerated.

The two first detachments, each 8000 strong, of the French contingent will embark simultaneously from Algiers and Toulon in time to unite with ours.

Admiral Corry, rigidly punctual to orders, has brought up at Spithead in good time to hand over his well-trained and effective ships to the flag of Sir Charles Napier, for the Baltic. The gunnery practice under Admiral Chads is incessant, and at all the dockyards the authorities and the artisans seem to vie in activity and zeal in every department.

Within ten days the finest fleet ever fitted out will have assembled at the rendezvous; and a third French squadron, now in course of organization, is expected to complete at Spithead that noble union of strength so happily conspicuous in the Bosphorus. It is hoped that the allied fleet may be ready to anticipate the complete break up of the ice, which seldom occurs in the Gulf of Finland before the middle of April, so as to cut out the two Russian divisions stationed on either coast of the mouth of the Gulf of Finland, at Revel and Helsingfors, and prevent their junction with the third and chief division at Cronstadt, moored snug behind the guns of that almost inaccessible arsenal. Whether an unexpectedly early spring may defeat this hope, is at least doubtful, but we are certain that whatever zeal, daring, and dashing seamanship can do, will be carried out by the Commander-in-Chief of the Baltic fleet, and we shall not have a lower opinion of his services, if we first learn the movements of the fleet under his orders by their execution.

The united action of England and France is once more attested by the most important demonstrations on both sides. Lord Raglan and Sir Baldwin Walker have been to Paris to consult on the concerted movements of fleets and armies. The French Government has issued instructions to its consular and diplomatic agents to extend to English ships and subjects the same protection as if they were French, and our own Government has issued exactly similar instructions.

The speech delivered by the Emperor Napoleon to his Legislative Corps emphatically clinches the "neutrality" of Austria, welcomes the English alliance as the result and earnest of a frank and friendly co-operation and in no mincing phrases declares the duty of resistance to Russian encroachments.

Within our own frontier, also, significant acts and incidents have been accepted as pledges of the hearty prosecution of the war, in the probable event that the Year will brave his doom. Amongst these the graceful and affecting farewell of the Queen and her children to the Scots Fusiliers, from the balcony of Buckingham Palace, in the early February morning, is perhaps not the least important. A second time it identifies our Court with the national action; and as the spirit of the men had already been raised to the highest en-

thusiasm by the loudly-manifested sympathy of the public, this royal approval will operate as an incentive which the soldiers were thoroughly prepared to receive. Ministers have laid upon the table of the Commons a supplemental estimate, the main item of which is an additional increase of 15,000 men to the army—an increase which the experience of the recruiting officers indicate to be a work of no difficulty. In moving the ordinance estimates, Mr. Monell stated many improvements in the equipment of the soldiers, the most important of which, however, is the general distribution of a gun made on the most approved form of the Minié rifle. Although it is not probable that any army of picked men can equal the Chasseurs de Vincennes, or any specially trained corps of riflemen, still, considering the improved training, the intelligence cultivated by better treatment in barrack, and the generally picked physical capacity of the men, it is likely that they will use the new arm with a degree of efficiency that a very short time back could have scarcely been hoped. Mr. Sidney Herbert stated a very high proportion of successful shots amongst men recently practised, in skirmishing order as well as in more regular order. There is no probability that Russia, even if the idea had occurred to her, can equip her army with the rifle, or even procure the weapon itself, in time for the approaching campaign. To a great extent, therefore, it may be said that we are sending an army of rifles against an army of muskets, though the Russian musket is, we believe, a superior and powerful arm.

In the House of Commons a debate arose about the making of these guns by Government, who intend to establish a factory for the purpose; and the plan was set down as an item of 100,000*l.* in the estimates. Birmingham, through the voice of Muntz, protests against being deprived of the custom, and the usual arguments were advanced—that Government ought not and could not compete with the private manufacturer. This is nonsense. Private manufacturers cannot always come up to sudden demands. Even in the matter of locomotives for railways, we have known a case of an order which could not be executed for eighteen months, although a very high premium was promised on each engine ordered—300*l.* additional on each. Mr. Sidney Herbert has found the same difficulty in the gun manufacture. The execution of an order was delayed for two years, of course because private trade did not possess the force for the sudden execution of a large and unexpected demand. It is Government alone which can command the means for establishing that machinery with the suddenness and the largeness required by an imperative necessity. However, the particular item in the estimates was postponed for a month, in order to be considered. We do not suppose that Government will actually delay its own proceedings for that period.

The debates of the week in Parliament have, generally speaking been of less interest than the substantial business transacted. The Lord Chancellor has introduced a Bill to continue the amendment of the Common Law Procedure, including, in case of honest scruple, the substitution of affirmation for oath. Mr. Napier has carried a motion with the assent of the Attorney-General, and the hearty support of the Solicitor-General, for an inquiry into the regulations respecting the education of barristers, with the view to secure that the Inns of Court shall operate in the law as the great universities operate in attesting the "degrees" of qualification in those who seek to be members. Lord Donoughmore has introduced a set of Bills to regulate tenant-right and improvement compensation in Ireland.

Ministers have sustained a defeat in Parliament. Mr. T. Chambers has carried against them, by 168 to 118, a motion to inquire into the state of conventual establishments, with the view to inspection, and to security against illegal detention of the inmates. The object we regard as desirable; but unquestionably the present is not a desirable time to move it; and as unquestionably Lord John Russell was correct in saying that discussion has failed to bring forward any substantial facts to prove the necessity of an alteration. The facts appeared to be chiefly of that doubtful kind which may be called "Irish facts." The result of the motion, however, is important, chiefly as showing that the Commons do not at present appreciate the necessity of standing by Ministers.

The Ministerial proceedings out of doors are important, and even startling. In reply to a de-

putation from the City, Lord Aberdeen made the welcome announcement that Ministers intend to arrange for the collection of agricultural statistics, with a view to ascertain the progress of the crops, and to afford the means of enabling the produce markets to regulate themselves with a better intelligence of existing facts. The experiments in three Scotch and two English counties have been sufficiently successful to justify Ministers in this step. Some questions arose as to the machinery which may be used—a doubt which appears to imply that the machinery hitherto employed—that is, the Royal Agricultural Society in Scotland and the Poor-Law officers in England—has not been all that Ministers would desire; but there can be no real difficulty. That same machinery might be improved, or other machineries might be brought into the service,—that, for example, of the Registration Office, which has worked with great and increasing success in the various branches of information collecting, to which it has been applied.

The Metropolitan Commission of Sewers has disappeared under a *coup d'état*. Lord Palmerston has peremptorily recommended the adoption of Mr. F. O. Ward's plan of tubular drainage; and they answer by resigning in a body. For our own part, we have perfect confidence in tubular drainage; but a sudden requirement upon the respectable body of gentlemen to reverse all their proceedings, and adopt the plan of an "outsider," was perhaps more vigorous than considerate. However, we are to have a new central commission, "connected in some way with local representation," and resulting in drainage *à la Ward*, which promises to be an improvement upon the commission, and the old plan.

A fine opportunity offers itself for Ministers to show that they have the interests of the mercantile marine at heart, more than they have proved it in extending free trade to that reluctant patient. The Tyne is to be made, what it can well be rendered, a harbour of refuge—an asylum for shipping much needed on the stormy and bleak north-east coast of Great Britain. A plan has been adopted by Government and by the local commissioners; and the commissioners have been empowered to raise money—200,000*l.*, or about half the sum really wanted; to raise it by local taxation—which will perhaps raise that half in ten years! The Tyne Commissioners, well supported by bodies interested in shipping and commerce, call upon Government to be more usefully prompt in the service of shipping, and to enable them to raise the cash at once. If Government will put down half of the money wanted, the people of the Tyne will lay down sovereign for sovereign; the works can be executed at once; and the sailors who are to be annually sacrificed, the money to be annually sunk in that rough sea for the next ten years, will be saved. Surely it is worth the attention of the "First Lord," before whom an influential deputation have arrived in London to lay the case.

Something surprising is going on in Spain, but the Government endeavours to suppress both the action and the accounts of it. An insurrection broke out at a garrison town, entirely amongst the soldiery, and the simultaneous order for the arrest of General Concha, who has evaded it by concealment, connects him with the movement. In this case it is supposed that the object was to begin that movement which is to unite Spain with Portugal, under King Pedro the Fifth. The Government declares that the insurrection is a mere local affair, and is a total failure, yet it has been thought necessary to place Spain under martial law—a strange necessity, if insurrection be so partial!

In François Lamennais the really Catholic Church, whose temple is arched by the starry firmament, loses an eloquent preacher. To the last he refused the fussy interference of those more worldly clergy who wanted to carry to his bedside, in the name of "consolation," the cant of sect. Dying a poor man, he insisted on being buried as a poor man; dying out of the pale of the church, he would not let his earthly frame be carried into a church to receive the mockery of funerals; and on the same day that Admiral Roussin was carried to his tomb in pomp, Lamennais was carried on a pauper's bier to the trench in Père-la-Chaise. France, dead to patriotic feeling, made little effort to resist the prevention of a gathering at his funeral; but when France regains a soul, the words of a Believer will still live to stir that soul.

PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

By far the most interesting proceedings in Parliament have been some brief conversations and answers to queries in both Houses of Parliament in relation to the coming war. The questioning was begun on Monday by Lord ELLENBOROUGH.

"My lords," he said, "I wish to put a question to my noble friend at the head of her Majesty's Government, in reference to a circumstance which came to my knowledge yesterday, namely, the general orders issued from St. Petersburg for the preparation for sea of twelve frigates and corvettes on the breaking up of the ice. The question I have to put is, whether her Majesty's Ministers do intend, if they can, to prevent those frigates and corvettes from leaving the Baltic? It is impossible to entertain the smallest doubt that the intention with respect to these twelve men-of-war is to send them out of the Baltic before our ships arrive at the entrance to the Categat. If they leave the Categat and reach the Narve of Norway before the 21st of March, they may take a north-west passage, and go round by Scotland and Ireland; and before five weeks have elapsed from this time, the tranquillity which has lasted so long at Lloyd's may be suddenly disturbed by the notification of the capture of unsuspecting British merchantmen in the chops of the Channel or to the north of Ireland, and the feelings of all England would be distracted by the capture of British artillery in sailing vessels, without convoys, by Russian men-of-war on their voyage to the Mediterranean. I infer that this is the destination of those ships from circumstances which I shall mention. There are not less than eleven Russian men-of-war that I know of distributed in different positions on foreign stations. A frigate and a brig are at Manila, flanking the China trade; and we have a 50-gun ship, which was lately in a state of mutiny, at Hong Kong. There is a 60-gun frigate off Australia, where we have only a 26-gun frigate, which is ordered to be relieved by another frigate of the same calibre. The whole of the Australian trade will therefore be at the mercy of that man-of-war. At Rio there is a 44-gun frigate, the *Aurora*, which we, in the exercise of a generous hospitality, recently repaired at Portsmouth, by artificers who were required in constructing or repairing ships for our own purposes. That vessel is now at Rio; and I believe the whole number of guns which we have now at that station is not equal to the number of guns mounted by that one ship alone! There is also at Madeira a schooner, heavily armed. Two heavy frigates were seen on the 9th of November off Cape de Verd, and from the direction they were steering, and from the circumstance of our not having heard of them since, my impression is, that these frigates have gone round Cape Horn. Again, in the Adriatic, there are three Russian frigates, in an Austrian port, forming the Greek inspection. All these vessels are unwatched, and may all pour upon our trade in different parts of the world. The Emperor of Russia is at perfect liberty to give orders to that effect, because what we have done is war. We may take it as war or not, as we please, but it is war, and justifies him in giving instructions to the commanders of these vessels to act accordingly. The ships in the Baltic, to which I have alluded, may be met with an equal or a superior force, to keep them out of the Categat; but if they are not prevented from leaving the Categat three times the number will not be sufficient to protect our trade; and therefore it becomes a matter of absolute urgency that her Majesty's Ministers should make up their minds what they mean to do on this subject. The order should be given immediately; not a day or an hour should be lost. It will not do to issue instructions to each ship which may be sent to the Categat at an interval of three or four weeks, to send about to intimate to each Russian ship that may be met with, that she must go back to her own port, or come into an English port. The sending of such a message is extremely inconvenient. It embarrasses extremely all the operations of the English vessels, for at the very time she is sending a boat, perhaps she ought to be firing her guns double-shotted, and thus her movements may be materially impeded. I trust, therefore, that that course will not be adopted. I conclude that it can never be considered possible to attack without notice; and therefore I conclude that notice must be given to the Emperor of Russia as to the intention which we entertain; and as these vessels may be at the mouth of the Categat before ours may meet them, in three weeks, not an hour or a day ought to be lost in giving that notice. And, therefore, I ask my noble friend if her Majesty's Government are prepared to prevent these frigates and corvettes from leaving the Baltic?"

The Earl of ABERDEEN: "My lords, I think my noble friend, who has been accustomed to conduct and regulate many operations of great importance, can scarcely expect me to give him an answer to that question." I think I might hope that my noble friend would give her Majesty's Government credit for possessing some of the activity and the watchfulness which belong to himself. My lords, I am not inclined to give an answer to this question—an answer which can only be useful to the power against whom we are to act. (*Loud cheers.*) And, my lords, henceforth, I beg to say that I shall consider it my duty to answer no question respecting prospective military or naval operations of this description. My noble friend has, with more or less accuracy, described the position of the Russian naval force in different parts of the world; but he has made one grievous error in his description, in saying that they are unwatched. I do not think it necessary to enter into that question; but I decline to give an answer to the question asked by my noble friend, and I trust, under the circumstances, he will see that I am fully justified in declining to give an answer to it."

The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH: "My lords, I contend that I am not justified in giving her Majesty's Ministers credit for watchfulness in this matter. (*A laugh.*) For anything that can be drawn from within the four corners of the book of political economy or finance I give them credit, and I believe they would generally propose measures which to a great extent would obtain my confidence and support; but as a war Ministry they are as yet utterly untied, and when I see that they are not aware of the value of time, which in war is almost everything—when I see they have postponed for two or three months the most necessary and essential

preparations absolutely required for success, and even for the protection of the coasts of England—when I see that the military and naval force they propose to employ is utterly inadequate, that it is discreditable to this country to enter on a war with the peace establishment scarcely increased, and to endeavour to persuade itself that that is a little war which is one of the greatest in which it has ever been engaged—I say, my lords, that having these impressions with respect to the past conduct of her Majesty's Ministers in reference to this war, I cannot give them credit either for watchfulness or for activity. I shall be most happy, indeed, if my forebodings should not be realised, and if those who have shown, to a great extent, abilities for the conduct of our affairs in peace, should exhibit similar qualifications for the conduct of war."

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE: "My lords, there is one point on which I concur with the noble earl, namely, that this war, which I am afraid I must describe as an immediately impending war, is not a little war, and cannot be considered a little war. But that which I most distinctly deny is, that her Majesty's Government have ever looked at the war, for a moment, in the light of a little war; and if the noble earl knew more than he appears to know of the preparations that have been made to meet that war, and the manner in which those preparations have been conducted, and which, so far as there is any evidence before the public, have been exhibited in the magnificent fleets now preparing to sail, and the admirable army now preparing to be sent out, he would see that all the activity is in favour of the watchfulness, the foresight, and the determination of her Majesty's Government. And when the noble earl comes to look into these particulars, I am confident he will have the candour to own that these preparations have been effectual, and that they will afford sufficient proof, not only in the particular details which he has brought under the consideration of the House, but in every particular spreading over every portion of the globe, of the watchfulness of the Queen's servants. But let me add that it would take away a great deal from the merit and from the effect of that watchfulness, if, having been watchful, they were to announce the details of that watchfulness to the public and to this House—even upon a question propounded by the noble earl in such a manner as to add nothing to the effect of that watchfulness, but to betray it in its details to the enemy." (Loud cheers.)

The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH: "Let me say one single word as to the example just adduced of the foresight and watchfulness on the part of the Government. The noble marquis has particularly adverted to the 'magnificent fleet' now in preparation. That fleet, my lords, consists, I believe, of eighteen vessels, out of which eighteen vessels seven only have ever been at sea; and I do say that that state of things, with the chance of their being engaged with the enemy in a fortnight or less—eleven untried ships, with eleven untried crews—is not a proof either of foresight or of watchfulness. It was precisely to that very point that I was adverting; because I do think the state of the negotiations in the early part of November was such, that the Government should have commenced to make all the preparations which they commenced to make two or three months later, and then they would have had such a fleet as we were accustomed to conquer with—a fleet which had been at sea, and one in which all the officers knew the men, and in which there was such a degree of discipline and experience as to give a certainty of success."

The Earl of WICKLOW brought the talk to a close by remarking—how any one could think that on entering upon a war like this, after forty years of peace, it was possible for our fleet to be in the situation expected by Lord Ellenborough, was a thing that he could not understand.

On a subsequent evening, the Earl of ELLENBOROUGH, in putting a question on the subject of the militia, took occasion to blame the Government for sending so large a military force to Constantinople until a predominant position had been secured in the Baltic. His belief was that the fleet intended for the Baltic was not sufficient for accomplishing the great objects which ought to be aimed at. As a measure of national security, the militia ought to be permanently embodied.

The Duke of NEWCASTLE deemed such discussions unwise and calculated to embarrass. It was intended to call out the militia for twenty-eight days; but was not intended to saddle the country with the expense of permanently maintaining an enormous militia force. The fleet about to be sent to the Baltic was sufficient for its object, and the force to remain behind was sufficiently strong to protect our own shores.

The Earl of HARDWICK adverted to the efficiency of the Russian fleet, and to the difficulty which was felt in manning the English fleet. It was true that the services of the coast-guard had been called for; but the noble earl was convinced that that body of seamen would be found unfit for anything beyond deck duty.

On the same night, Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT, in answer to a question, stated that seven ecclesiastics will accompany the army of the East—four Church of England chaplains, one Presbyterian minister, and two Roman Catholic priests.

Another branch of this subject was Mr. Hume's motion, on Thursday, respecting the administration of the army. The course taken by Mr. Hume was to call attention to the report of the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into the practicability and expediency of consolidating the different departments connected with the civil administration of the army, dated February, 1837, and signed by Lord Howick, Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and other commissioners. Mr. Hume moved that it is the opinion of the House that measures be taken to consolidate the different branches of the military service, and place the whole under the superintendence of one efficient and responsible department.

The present machinery, Mr. Hume contended, is anomalous, complicated, and inefficient. It is inconvenient enough in time of peace, but dangerous and by all means to be avoided in the prospect of war.

Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT mentioned that his experience led him to differ, in several respects, from the report referred to. If the circumstances which existed then be looked at, it will be seen that they differ much from what exists now. Differences had arisen between the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary-at-War (Lord Howick), as to certain reforms urged by the latter. Since then, many of Lord Howick's recommendations have been carried into effect, and other large reforms have been successfully accomplished by succeeding Secretaries-at-War. Mr. Hume pointed to the navy board as a specimen of the governing powers which he wished to see applied to the army and ordnance. But the First Lord of the Admiralty acted under the instructions of the Secretaries of State in the distribution of the naval force. This was a necessary arrangement, because it was only these Secretaries of State who knew what was needed. The same thing must apply to whoever is placed at the head of the army and ordnance. He may be entirely responsible, as Mr. Hume wishes him to be. But what is the use of that responsibility, seeing that the person must conduct his operations by the opinions of Secretaries of State, who alone know the circumstances? If his proceedings be challenged, he can only refer to the statements upon which he acted. Mr. Herbert did not say that matters were perfect. Theoretically, the system was faulty; but practically, it was correct. He proceeded to give his views upon certain changes which he thought might be advisable; but these were his opinions, and did not involve others. With respect to the course to be taken at the present juncture, he thought nothing could be more rash and inexpedient than to introduce large changes from theoretical considerations. Recent military movements have shown that all the departments can work harmoniously together. Adopt the resolution, and you run the risk of throwing all into confusion.

There was, however, little difference of opinion as to the desirability of change. Lord SALMON showed that the present arrangements are too complicated; but this is not the moment, he admitted, to attempt great changes. Sir JOHN PAKINGTON, speaking from the Opposition point of view, strongly condemned the present system, and urged amendment; Mr. EDWARD ELICE followed the same course; but all advised Mr. Hume not to press the motion. Lord JOHN RUSSELL admitted that his opinion was not much altered since 1837; and mentioned the reasons which had prevented the recommendations from being carried out to a greater or lesser extent. He admitted most readily the necessity of more efficient control in matters connected with the health of the troops. Improvements had been made in the departments, and would continue to be made. A Military Secretary will be appointed to assist the Colonial Secretary in performing his duties as Secretary of War. Under existing circumstances, he hoped the motion would not be pressed.

Mr. Hume withdrew his motion.

Mr. G. LIDDELL called attention to the following statement which appeared in the *Times* newspaper:

"The intelligence of the establishment of a Russian army in the Oxus is confirmed; also that an alliance, offensive and defensive, has been concluded between the Russians and Dost Mahomed, the Khan of Khiva, and the King of Bokhara."

He wished to know whether the Government were in possession of any authentic information on the subject of the advance of the Russian forces and the conclusion of the treaty referred to.

Sir C. WOOD stated that with respect to the advance of the Russian forces, he believed that there was not the slightest truth in the statement. Government had no information whatever of the kind, and the latest information which they had received rendered it almost certain that there could be no truth in the statement. In the latest communications which the Government had received from Mr. Stevens, the consul at Tabreez, dated January 4, that gentleman reported his having had a conversation with M. Khanikoff, a Russian officer in Persia, in the course of which he stated that he had introduced the subject of the reported Russian expedition to Khiva and Bokhara, when M. Khanikoff denied that anything of the kind had taken place. He said the report must have originated from the fact that some subjects of Hakan had erected a fort within the Russian boundary, on the right bank of Syr Daghia; a body of Russians was despatched thither, which after destroying the fort returned to its quarters at Kaimak. So far as her Majesty's Government were informed, therefore, the report was utterly unfounded. With respect to any alliance, offensive or defensive, having been concluded between the Russians and Dost Mahomed, the Khan of Khiva, and the King of Bokhara, a despatch from Lahore, dated 27th December, containing intelligence received from the news writer at Caboul, represented that Dost Mahomed was already fully engaged in hostilities with his brother, and he did not think that any ne-

gotiations of the sort alluded to were at all likely to be going on between the parties, who appeared to have already quite enough on their hands.

In reply to Captain SCOBELL, Sir JAMES GRAHAM said, that there are three Russian men-of-war in the Adriatic is true, but there are three British men-of-war there also, and, if they are not enough, two powerful French ships. The Russians have been hauled up within the inner mole at Trieste, where our ships cannot get at them.

In reply to a question from Mr. GIBSON, Lord JOHN RUSSELL promised that Government would announce its determination with respect to neutrals before war is declared.

SUPPLY.—NAVY, ORDNANCE.

The House of Commons have peaceably voted the estimates with the utmost unanimity—only the fraction of one vote causing any debate. The Navy estimates were agreed to almost without comment, Mr. W. WILLIAMS alone raking up old abuses about the half-pay officers on the navy list.

Mr. MONSELL then proposed the Ordnance estimates. The total vote is for 3,845,875*l.*, an increase of 792,311*l.* over that of last year, and for 19,265 men. A large portion of the increase is attributable to high prices, but the greater part of course to the war. The novelty of the estimate, and that which caused a warm debate, is a proposal to erect a gun factory at Woolwich, at a cost of 150,000*l.* Mr. MONSELL explained at considerable length that there exist great difficulties at present in getting adequate supplies of small arms from the manufacturers. In the first place the price, 3*l.*, is excessive; in the next, orders are not executed within any reasonable time. Contracts were made, after great difficulty, in October last, for 20,000 Minié rifles, and since that date various reasons, such as a strike and miscalculations, have been alleged for the non-fulfilment of the order.

"Knowing these facts, the question at once arose, whether such a system could be continued. The House considered the whole question. They found that the price of the musket under this system was 3*l.* They turned to the United States to see the system adopted there; and they found that the Government there possessed three gun factories, which produced 500 rifled muskets per day, at a cost of 37*s.* each; that they had an ample collection in store; and that the machinery employed made all the different parts of the arms so accurately that they could be fitted together anywhere. During the war with Mexico these establishments sent muskets there in pieces, and they were put together in camp without the slightest difficulty, so perfectly were the arms adjusted. He did not believe the same thing could be done with two of Purday's rifle-muskets put in the same case. He begged the House at this point to consider what had occurred in this country. In 1841 the percussion lock was introduced. This improvement rendered all the old flint muskets useless, it being found impossible to convert them into percussion. The change entailed an enormous expense. And there was no absolute certainty that the musket now about to be introduced would continue for any very great number of years in the face of the improvements continually making. It appeared to him, therefore, a matter of the last importance to provide a plan by means of which a large number might be manufactured annually, so that it might be unnecessary to keep an enormous number in store. When the late Duke of Wellington was master, and Lord Hardinge secretary, of the Ordnance, they decided that the number of muskets in store should be 457,000; but with the present amount of production Mr. MONSELL thought the number in store should be at least 800,000. In this estimate he considered only the requirements of this country without those of the colonies. Now suppose the country possessed a gun factory capable of producing 500 muskets a day, it would not be necessary to keep so large a number in store as 800,000. With such a power of production, it would be sufficient to have 100,000 in store; and thus the risk would be mitigated of having a great number of arms rendered obsolete by the introduction of new improvements. Let the House for a moment consider the pecuniary result of the proposed change. Instead of keeping 800,000 muskets in store, which would have cost 900,000*l.*, we should only have 100,000, representing a cost of 300,000*l.* Here would at once be a saving of the annual interest upon 600,000*l.* by the expenditure, whatever it might be, necessary for the new factory, which it was believed, upon the most careful calculations, might be erected for 150,000*l.* The factory, too, would produce not only muskets, but bayonets. For the regiments of the line 110,000 muskets would be required; for the artillery, 10,000; for the marines, 15,000; and for the militia, 50,000; making a total of 185,000. Add to these the number in store, 800,000, the aggregate would amount to 485,000, exclusive of the number required for the colonies. At the rate of 8*l.* each, these muskets would cost 1,455,000*l.* But according to the highest authorities the same muskets could be produced in the new Government factory at 80*s.* each. In the United States the cost was 37*s.* The saving, then, upon the number he had just named would be 727,500*l.*; and then the saving from the capacity of reducing the number in store from 800,000 to 100,000, by increased producing power, would be an actual saving of capital to the amount of 600,000*l.* All this saving would be effected by the expenditure of 150,000*l.*; and against this must be placed the proceeds arising from the sales of the factories at Birmingham and Enfield. Besides, there would be a great saving upon the bayonets manufactured. At 7*s.* 6*d.* each, the present cost, the amount would be 185,875*l.*; at 1*s.* 6*d.*, the price at which they could be produced in the Government factory, they would cost only 85,875*l.*, thus showing a positive saving of no less than 145,500*l.* If all these great benefits and those great



cial results could be obtained for the sum of 150,000*l.*—on which Mr. Anderson was certainly a safe authority—he was sure the House would agree with him that Lord Raglan was right in considering this measure, as the noble and gallant Master of the Ordnance had authorised him to state, of the last importance to the public service. Under these circumstances, he hoped the House would carry this vote. He had already said that, in his opinion, the results of the proposed change would not be such as the gunmakers appeared to anticipate. The gun trade in this country was now in a low state; but the gun trade in America was in a flourishing and advancing condition. Unless, therefore, our gun manufacture was improved, and a good system of machinery introduced, the foreign orders that now came to this country would go to America, and the trade thus be lost to us. He had an account of the number of muskets exported from the United Kingdom in 1851 and 1853. In 1851 the number exported was 247,236, in 1853 it fell to 238,767. But the export of pistols stood thus:—in 1851, 5,333; and in 1853, 22,235. So that while the exports of muskets had fallen, that of pistols had more than trebled. Why? Because Colonel Colt had introduced into this country the perfect machinery in use in the United States, by means of which he had been enabled to produce pistols at a cheap rate, and he had created a trade from which the country derived great benefit. He believed that the same benefits would result to the gunmakers from the factory which the Government intended to establish. It would lead them to use a more effective system of machinery, and, by this means, instead of injuring, it would benefit them. He trusted that what he had now said would awaken the gun trade to the wisdom of the course which the Government were pursuing; at all events, he was sure the House would never consent that the interests of the country should be sacrificed to the interests of a small number of private individuals."

When the vote was put there arose fierce debate. Mr. Muntz, in the interest of the Birmingham gunmakers, led the assailants of the Government. He averred that the Ordnance department were alone responsible for the delay; that private manufacturers could furnish arms more cheaply than Government; and said the reason why the manufacturers could not work more cheaply than they did was because the orders were not consecutive.

Mr. Muntz was supported by Mr. NEWDEGATE and Mr. GIBSON. Lord SEYMOUR came to their assistance, stoutly contending that Governments ought not to be manufacturers. This drew out Mr. GRADSTONE, who set forth the same arguments as those used by Mr. Monnell only more lucidly put.

Mr. Gladstone admitted "that *prima facie* the case was against the Government being the manufacturer; but there were certain cases in which the Government ought to be a manufacturer, and in which nobody denied that it ought to be a manufacturer. In one article of ammunition alone, of which it was the manufacturer, the country had been saved not less than half a million by its being so. Nobody denied that the Government should continue that manufacture. Again, nobody denied that the Government should be the manufacturer of ammunition generally. It was usually the manufacturer of its ammunition. Upon what did that distinction depend? Why, upon the particularities and the specialities of each case. Each question of the kind was not to be settled by general *dicta* about the propriety of the Government being a manufacturer, but by a careful examination of the particulars and merits of the case. What was the case here? The cost of our musket was 3*l.*, and the responsible department assured the House that our muskets could be manufactured for 30*s.* But economy was not the only question. Rapidity of manufacture must be taken into the account. What said the Ordnance department? Why, that board ordered a tender to be issued for the supply of 2000 carbines, of an improved plan, on the 11th of March last, and not a single one of them had yet been delivered into store. In this case the committee were discussing the finest instrument that could be made, and which required in its manufacture the most rigid and minute precision. So great indeed was that precision that it was impossible to attain to it without having recourse to machinery. What was the nature of this case? It was whether they would continue to have the muskets used by her Majesty's forces made by the old, inferior, and obsolete process of hand labour, or whether they would apply to that description of work that which they had applied to every other, and would bring to bear upon it the force and the economy of machinery. It was not a question of the monopolising spirit of the gunmakers, nor was it a question of the exorbitant profits realised by them. It was a question of inferior processes and superior processes. He could scarcely believe that in the manufacture of small arms it was possible to effect a saving to the country of 800,000*l.* or 900,000*l.*; but it was so. The noble lord asked if the Government was now making provision for future wars? No; but they were making provision for a war which was now gathering around us. He asked most properly, when the factory would be in operation? It would be in operation within twelve months, and the Government looked to obtaining from it in the course of next year a full supply of arms. He wanted to know who could secure equality and continuance with respect to contracts in the matter of arms. He wanted to know of that House, whose duty it was to study economy, whether they would enable the private trade to fulfil their contracts? They had to complete a war supply of arms in time of peace. They must have the power of sudden expansion and speedy manufacture on an emergency, and that was the matter involved in this proposition. They wanted the power of expansion for producing with absolute certainty a large amount of arms in a short time. They had gone on with the private trade "pottering" at this work for half a century—"oh, oh, oh," and "hear, hear, hear!"—and the result was that they invited the trade to send in 2000 carbines a twelvemonth ago last March, and they had not got one of those carbines yet delivered in the stores. Now, what was the case with regard to machinery? The

private trade was not maintained on a scale sufficient to lay out this large sum in machinery. But was it to be supposed that because the Government bought that machinery, it would be burdened with a large staff of workmen? On the contrary, the peculiarity of a change from hand-labour to machinery was this—that instead of having 90 per cent. skilled labour and 10 per cent. unskilled labour, they would require 10 per cent. of skilled labour and 90 per cent. of unskilled labour."

Finally it was agreed that the vote should be diminished by 100,000*l.*, and a committee appointed to investigate the question at once, sitting continuously until the inquiry is completed.

LAW REFORM.

Ministers have found time, amid the bustle of war preparations, for carrying on law reform. On Monday the LORD CHANCELLOR called the attention of the House to the second report of the Common-Law Commissioners. The first report of the commissioners related to the subject of special pleading, and the amendments introduced into the law, in consequence of that report, had proved most beneficial. In the second report, the commissioners considered the question what amendments could be made on the trial of matters in dispute. One of their first recommendations was, that whenever both parties wished to have the matter tried by a judge without a jury, it should be competent for them to have it so decided. He could not quite agree to this recommendation unmodified, for several reasons, which he detailed; and therefore he proposed that whenever both parties wished the matter to be tried by a judge, without a jury, it should be with this limitation—if the judge should think fit, or if the case came within certain general rules, to be framed by the judges. This would be a safe step, and if experience proved the system to work well, it might then be easily extended. The commissioners next recommended that cases involving matters of account should at once be sent to a referee without coming to the court. This he approved. A number of improvements were also recommended in the trial by jury itself, nearly all of which he accepted. At present a distinction was made between common and special jurors; but it was proposed, and he concurred, that an alteration should be made by raising the qualification, and by providing that there should be only one panel for both. Some alterations were recommended in the mode of trial, by both parties having the right of addressing the court after having called their witnesses. These he approved, and should adopt. Some technical alterations, which he approved, were also recommended, which he need not detail; but there was one he might mention. The rule of calling attesting witnesses to prove documents would be abolished except in certain cases. He did not propose to interfere with the rule which required unanimity in the jury; but if the jury could not agree within a given time, say twelve hours, then they would be discharged, the judge having in the mean time the power of ordering reasonable refreshments. In the case of a jury not agreeing and being discharged there would be a new trial. These were the principal recommendations relative to the jury.

"Another recommendation of the commissioners with reference to the conduct of the trial was, he thought, marked by great good sense. At present all evidence must be given upon oath, except by Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists, in favour of whose religious scruples Parliament had from time to time passed acts of Parliament enabling them to give their evidence on affirmation instead of oath. Of course the jury might, if they thought fit, detract from the weight of their evidence because it was not given on oath; but both they and the court were bound to receive and listen to it. It happened, however, occasionally that persons not included in the classes exempted by act of Parliament, on presenting themselves as witnesses, refused to be sworn on the ground of religious scruples. Such a case once happened to himself at York, and he never felt himself placed in a more unpleasant position. Upon the Bible being presented to, apparently a most respectable man who appeared as a witness, he said that he had a religious scruple, and could not take an oath. He was asked whether he was a member of one of the classes whom Parliament had exempted from the obligation to take an oath. He replied in the negative, but said that he had a most decided conscientious objection to take an oath, and he produced some passages of Scripture, such as 'swear not at all,' and others in support of his view. Lord Cranworth told him that he was bound to say that if he was not one of the classes named, he had no alternative but to commit him in case he declined to take the oath. The man replied that, whatever might be the consequences, he could not take the oath. It was late in the day when he was called, and it was agreed that it should stand over till next morning, in order to reconsider his determination. In the morning he said, 'I have talked with some one on whom I can rely, and I think I can take the oath if it means so and so.' He (Lord Cranworth) told him that he saw no objection to the interpretation which he put upon it; the oath was taken; the cause proceeded, and the difficulty and embarrassment which would otherwise have arisen was avoided. That it was so avoided was, however, only matter of accident. The present state of the law was evidently exceedingly faulty; it forbade a man's evidence to be received although he was a man with so strict a sense of duty and with so strongly conscientious a feeling that he would rather go to prison than say a single word that would set him free if it was against his convictions. What was proposed by this bill was that any person might, on stating that he had con-

scientious scruples, be examined by the judge, and if the latter was of opinion that his scruples were really conscientious, his evidence might be received not on oath. He thought that that was the best way of getting out of the difficulty. He knew that some persons were in favour of abolishing the oath altogether. But he should be very loth to give up the security of the additional obligation to tell the truth which he believed the fact of their having taken an oath imposed on the minds of many witnesses. If there was one thing more than another which confirmed him in that feeling it was an observation which he remembered to have once heard from the late Lord Melbourne. He said that 'the opinion which persons entertained as to the force of an oath in binding the conscience was shown by the fact that there never was a secret society without an oath.'

Having detailed the recommendations with respect to the proof of handwriting, and the reception of insufficiently stamped documents, which he adopted, Lord Cranworth referred to several others to which he could not accede, and which therefore he did not intend to propose. He then mentioned that the court which had adjudicated upon a case would have the power of issuing an injunction to prevent a repetition of the injury, but he did not propose to give the common-law courts the power of issuing decrees for specific performance. The commissioners recommended greater facilities with respect to equitable defences. He proposed also that equitable defences should be pleaded in bar to the action. After some further explanations, he laid a bill upon the table, which, after the second reading, he proposed to refer to a select committee, the committee to meet immediately after the return of the Lord Chief Justice from circuit.

Lord CAMPBELL pointed out several details in the bill which would require great consideration, but gave it a general approval. He expressed his satisfaction that it was not proposed to take away the trial by jury, though he admitted there were cases in which a single judge would be sufficient. He approved, however, of all the improvements proposed to be introduced into the mode of trial by jury, and particularly of the discretion given to the judge in cases where witnesses had conscientious objections to the taking of an oath.

Lord BROUGHAM described his satisfaction at the measure, and mentioned that, without any concert, but solely from a consideration of principles, the commissioners and himself had arrived at the same conclusions. The bill was a step in the right direction, which, before their lordships had done, he hoped would be converted into a stride.

The bill was then read the first time.

CONVENTUAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

Mr. THOMAS CHAMBERS has earned a sort of distinction in the House of Commons by making an annual motion relating to conventual and monastic establishments. This week he has beaten the Government, and carried a resolution to appoint a select committee to inquire into the number and rate of increase of conventual and monastic institutions in the United Kingdom, and the relation in which they stood to existing law; and to consider whether any, and, if any, what further legislation was required on the subject. This was not accomplished without a long debate and a division. Mr. Chambers maintained that conventual and monastic establishments in England and Ireland have increased 400 per cent. since 1843; that monastic institutions are contrary to law, and convents have no relation to law; that something should be done with respect to the disposal of property by women entering a nunnery; and that there is reason to believe persons are now confined against their will. He made out a very weak case, so much so that some members who supported his motion repudiated his arguments and the antagonistic spirit he displayed, and based their assent on the convenience of getting rid of an importunate yearly motion by granting inquiry. Mr. Chambers was sustained by Mr. NAPIER, Lord CLAUDE HAMILTON, Mr. WALPOLE, Mr. COWAN, Mr. NEWDEGATE, and Mr. PAIK. On the other side, were Mr. JOHN BALL, Mr. FAGAN, Mr. ROCHE, Mr. J. G. PHILLIMORE, Mr. MAGUIRE, Mr. F. RUSSELL, Mr. MIAL, Lord JOHN RUSSELL, and Mr. J. D. FITZGERALD. These gentlemen contended that the stories about persons being confined in nunneries were untrue; that it is an insult to suppose Roman Catholic gentlemen would submit to have their daughters ill-used in convents; and that it was remarkable that the parties so anxious for the welfare of the nuns should be Protestants, and that no complaints were made by the Roman Catholic parents of England. Mr. J. G. PHILLIMORE said he could not consent to recruit the Church of England by adopting this motion. Mr. MIAL said, as he would resist an inquiry into his own faith, even if he were convinced it would be advantageous, so he would resist inquiry into another faith, resting his argument on the ground of religious liberty. Lord JOHN RUSSELL put the case forcibly. Either the inquiry was intended to discover what was already known—the number of these institutions, and their relations to the law—and then it would be superfluous; or it was intended to inquire into the unfounded unsupported accusation that the convents were prisons, and then it is an insult.

"And now, Sir," he continued, "if there is no reason for

this motion, do let the House consider for a little what they are about to do. Those who support the motion say—'We do not wish to do anything to offend the Roman Catholics; we do not desire to press this inquiry in a manner which may be offensive to the superiors of any nunnery; in short, we want merely to have an inquiry, in order that the whole truth may be ascertained.' But while that is the spirit which animates the supporters of the motion in this House, the feeling out of doors is one of a very different kind—it is a feeling which would not be satisfied until you had a most full and complete inquiry into the management of all the convents in the land, and which, probably after that inquiry, would not be satisfied until there was a total abolition of all such institutions. Now, do not let the House think they can satisfy a feeling such as that by an inquiry which is not really full and complete. Do not let the House, if we do not wish to create a feeling in the Roman Catholics that they have not been well used in this particular, give way to the agitation out of doors, which I believe is all a mistake. Let us have courage to meet the popular outcry on this subject."

On the other hand, Mr. WALPOLE put the case for the motion. If these communities, as he believed, were not necessary to the full and free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and were hostile in spirit and practice to the Protestant institutions of the country, there would be legitimate grounds of inquiry. Did the inmates require protection, either as to their personal liberty or the disposition of their property? As regarded the first, it appeared that the laws of every country in Europe, except England, made provision for it, and he thought there could hardly be a doubt that some alteration of the law was required in reference to the transmission or disposition of property.

On a division the motion was carried. There were for it, 186; against it, 119; majority, 67.

SINOPE.—Before going into Committee of Supply, on Monday, Sir HENRY WILLOUGHBY renewed the talk about Sinope, and imputed that disaster to the non-fulfilment of the instructions sent by Lord Clarendon to Admiral Dundas on the 8th of October last. He also accused Lord Stratford of keeping the Turkish fleet out of the Black Sea. In reply, Sir JAMES GRAHAM explained that Lord Stratford had exercised his own discretion with respect to the instructions of the 8th of October, and had not thought it expedient then to warn the Russians that the British fleet had been ordered to protect Turkish territory. As to Sinope, that had occurred solely in consequence of the neglect of the Turkish Asha. He had been warned of his danger, and ordered to return to Constantinople; nevertheless he had remained at anchor in that open bay. After that catastrophe the fleets had been ordered to clear the Black Sea of Russian ships. The steamers had cruised in all parts, and only in one harbour did they see any of the Russian ships. There were three off the entrance of the sea of Azoff. Some of the naval members joined in the debate, agreeing that Admiral Dundas had done rightly in returning with his sailing ships to the Bosphorus.

INNS OF COURT.—On the motion of Mr. NAPIER, supported by the ATTORNEY and the SOLICITOR GENERAL, it was unanimously agreed that a humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying her Majesty to grant a commission to inquire into the arrangements in the inns of court for promoting the study of law and jurisprudence, the revenues properly applicable, and the means most likely to secure a systematic and sound education for students of law, and provide satisfactory test of fitness for admission to the bar.

IRISH TENANT RIGHT.—The various bills on this subject, both those of Lord Donoughmore and the bills under the care of the Duke of Newcastle, have now been referred to a select committee. In a discussion that, on Tuesday night, preceded the second reading, in which Lord DONOUGHMORE, Lord MONTEAGLE, the Duke of NEWCASTLE, Lord CAMPBELL, Lord CLANCARTY, Lord DUFFERIN, and Lord DESART took part, the bills were generally well received. Lord Monteaale, indeed, objected to all legislation for facilitating arrangements with regard to compensation between landlords and tenants. He contended that contracts should be free and open. Legislation had hitherto only frustrated every attempt to better the condition of the tenantry. Ireland, he added, had now merged into a progressive state, and these measures would only throw it back. Yet he agreed to the second reading. This naturally laid him open to the retort from the Duke of Newcastle, that it was wonderful how, with such strong objections, he consented to send the bills to a select committee. Interference in contracts is nothing new. There are above 200 statutes regulating the relation between landlord and tenant. The Duke contended that unless these measures enabled tenants to recover retrospective compensation they would be unsatisfactory. The bills were referred to a select committee.

NEWSPAPER STAMPS.—On the motion of Mr. CRAWFORD returns of the number of stamps issued to the newspapers of the United Kingdom last year were ordered. The motion was resisted by Mr. WILSON and Mr. GLADSTONE, on the ground that it was prying into private transactions. Mr. DISRAELI insisted that newspapers are different from other property. They influence public opinion, and it ought to be known what is the extent of the opinion they represent. Seeing the House disposed to adopt the motion, Mr. Gladstone gave way, and the returns were ordered.

EMIGRATION SHIPS.—After some objections on the part of the Under Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. F. PAERL, who contended that the comfort and safety of emigrants were cared for, the following resolution, moved by Mr. JOHN O'CONNELL, was agreed to: "That a select committee to inquire into the recent cases of extensive loss of life aboard emigrant ships, whether by sickness, wreck, or other causes; and, generally, into the sufficiency, or otherwise, of the existing regulations for the health and protection of emigrants from the United Kingdom." His object was to complete the

inquiry which was left in an unsatisfactory state by the select committee of 1851.

PAYMENT OF WAGES.—Sir HENRY HALFORD, after some opposition, obtained leave to bring in a bill to restrain stoppages from the payment of wages in the hosiery manufacture. It was arranged with Ministers that this bill should, with the Truck Act Amendment bill, be referred to a select committee after they have been read a second time.

ARMY ESTIMATES.—A Parliamentary paper, containing the supplemental estimate, has just been issued. The additional number of troops required for foreign service is 15,000, including all ranks, and the additional charge amounts to 570,000*l.* Of this sum the land forces are estimated to require 500,000*l.*, and the staff 70,000*l.* The whole charges for the services of 1854 and 1855 will therefore be 6,857,486*l.*, being an increase upon the charge of 1853 and 1854 of 832,470*l.* The increase for the same period in the numbers of the men is 25,694, of which number 10,694 have been already voted.

ALLEGED IRISH CORRUPTION.

THE committee investigating the charges of corruption preferred against the Irish Members has sat two days this week. Mr. Howley, the stipendiary magistrate, said to have paid 500*l.* for his place, denied emphatically that he had ever been concerned in such a base transaction as that imputed to him. He was appointed by Lord Morpeth in 1841. Mr. Dillon Browne, Mr. Somers, Sir William Brabazon, and Mr. O'Connell—especially the last—obtained the post for him. Forty-eight of his brother magistrates had also memorialised the Lord-Lieutenant in his favour. But he made the following statement, which may account for the origin of the story:—

"At the time of his appointment to his office in 1841, he sold off his stock and let his place to a man named Knox. He realised 1000*l.* by his sale, and put an advertisement into the local papers that that sum would be lent on application to Mr. E. D. Kane, a solicitor in Dublin. Mr. Kane was witness's solicitor, and was authorised to invest the money on good security. Mr. Somers and Mr. Custis, both Sligo gentlemen, applied to Mr. Kane, and he having advised witness of the applications, and that the security they offered was good, he lent them, with witness's consent, 400*l.* each. Mr. Custis was totally unconnected with Sligo borough, and he and Mr. Somers were quite unconnected with each other. Mr. Somers gave a mortgage on his estate for the money, which was to bear interest at five per cent. However, he was in embarrassed circumstances, and witness never received any interest. He made application to Mr. Somers for it, but not very often, twice or three times in seven years; but his letters remained unanswered, and, knowing Mr. Somers's position, he did not personally press him. His estates were now in the Encumbered Estates Court, and from his knowledge of the other debts due upon it, and the order in which they stood, he was certain to be ultimately paid. Before advertising his money for loan he was not aware that Mr. Somers wanted any loan."

Dr. Gray was examined. He said his Tuam speech had not been properly reported. He said a young man, Mr. Fair, waited on him and told him that he was in negotiation with Mr. O'Hara, a solicitor, for the purchase of a paid guardianship for 3000*l.*; and that Mr. Somers, M.P., was to procure the situation. Re-examined, the next day, Dr. Gray could scarcely be got to give definite answers; but, closely questioned by Mr. Keogh, he admitted that he had no impression, when he made the sweeping statements at Tuam, that they referred to any member now sitting in Parliament. That the existence of such cases of corruption was believed in, he said, was shown by the common talk. Mr. Keogh, Mr. Lucas, and Mr. G. H. Moore could tell them all about it. He persisted in insinuating sweeping charges of corruption on the faith of private and general conversation; and the committee peremptorily ordered him, on Monday next, to divulge the names of those persons likely to be able to support his general statements.

SLIGO ELECTION.

A select committee, appointed to report on a petition from Mr. Somers, the rejected of Sligo, sat on Wednesday. The inquiry before the committee at present was confined to a petition from Mr. J. P. Somers, alleging that attempts were made on the part of Mr. Sadleir to bribe the sureties to his petition against the return of Mr. J. Sadleir, at the last election, to withdraw their recognisances, so as to prevent that petition coming before a committee. It was clearly shown by the evidence of the parties to the transaction, that 50*l.* or 100*l.* had been offered by persons, supposed to be the agents of Mr. Sadleir, to the sureties for the petition of Mr. Somers, in order to induce them to withdraw their recognisances; but it was denied by the agent of Mr. Sadleir, that either Mr. Sadleir or himself were cognisant of the offer.

MR. BRIGHT AND THE REFORM BILL.

MR. BRIGHT has hoisted the standard of opposition to the new Reform Bill—differing in this from the great majority of the Liberal party. The occasion for this pronunciamento was a meeting of the election committee of Gibson and Bright, at Manchester, on Monday. It was a meeting preliminary—a convention of the general committee, 1800 strong, will

be held shortly. Here is a summary of Mr. Bright's objections:—

"He complained that, whereas a 10*l.* householder need only have been in possession for a year, the term was three years in the case of a 6*l.* householder; that a man drawing 3*l.* out of his 50*l.* deposit in a savings-bank to apprentice his child, for instance, was to lose his right to vote; that it would rest with employers whether their men, receiving 2*l.* a-week, should have votes, because it would be for them to choose whether they would make advances for current necessities, and pay the balance quarterly; and that the different franchises were too complex, and no one would know to whom he ought to object. He observed that some of the disfranchised boroughs are perfectly pure, and some perfectly free; and you might give members to large bodies under such circumstances that a very few sitting at a private dinner-table shall decide who are to be members. The bill, he insisted, shows an innate hostility to popular representation, and a distrust of the people. Seats are to be given to the inns of court, he said, not because lawyers are wanted, but to prevent more seats being bestowed on the large towns. The announcement that there were not to be more members for the metropolitan boroughs was cheered by the Opposition. Though counties with a few more than 100,000 people were to have an additional member, Lancashire was not to have an increase proportioned to its vast numbers. A man accepting office ought to go before his constituents; a Minister ought to have their confidence as well as the confidence of the Crown. The object of the minority-representation clause, he said, was to give the Whigs some of the 46 new county seats; but, Whig county members were of a class that only put a drag on a Liberal Government, as much so as if they were Tories. Why, again, were eight or nine great towns to send a member to Parliament to vote in opposition to their opinions? It was most ungrateful to those eight or nine towns, which had been mainly instrumental in doing everything on which Lord J. Russell now defended the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. Minorities were already so well represented, that a Government could get but a narrow majority. But this clause was the pivot of the bill, and without it the bill would insure a Tory majority. The clause, however, was objected to by the Liberal members. The truth was, that the distribution of members was so arranged in the bill as to give power to the territorial interest. The bill would not give a representation in accordance with the opinions of the great bulk of the people; and he had no wish to see the measure pass into a law."

The *Times*, commenting on this bitterly antagonistic speech, appropriately terms it the expression of the purely Manchester view of reform. Mr. Bright is thus allied to the underlings in office, the quasi-Liberals—the Vases and Derings—and assumes the command of guerilla to reinforce the regular Opposition.

An address issued by the National Reform Association on Thursday contains the following passages:—

"The Government, as you are aware, have proposed a new Reform Bill. We have thought it our duty to examine the measure. We have done so with the greatest care, and now desire to lay before you the conclusions to which we are forced. We find, then, that the proposed measure continues the right of voting to every man who now possesses it; and that it gives the right of voting to at least an additional million of men. To recommend such a measure seems but a wanton waste of words. To cavil at such a measure seems an act of madness. Stripped of nakedness, its sterling worth is clear; but entangled in the trammels of minor detail, much of its goodness is hidden from the view. We entreat you, then, to explain to all around you the grand features of the measure; to caution your friends and neighbours against being entrapped by the opponents of all reform into dissatisfaction with the mere technical matters; and to reply, to every insinuation which is put forth, 'the measure gives the franchise to an additional million of our fellow-countrymen.' If the measure did no more, it is a splendid addition to the present electoral system."

But Ministers have yielded to the storm; and the Reform Bill is postponed at least until after Easter, perhaps for the session.

OATH SCRUPLES.

MR. HOLYOAKE has addressed the following petition to the House of Commons. Unable to take an oath himself, Mr. Holyoake, since he entered business, has been more than once plundered with impunity.

"The petition of George Jacob Holyoake respectfully sheweth:—

"That your Petitioner is a bookseller and publisher, at 147, Fleet-street, in the City of London, who has recently suffered from theft on his premises, of the stereotype plates of a work in course of publication. The plates, which had been broken up and sold, were traced, and the thief brought to the premises of your Petitioner, who was, however, compelled to suffer the thief to depart, because on former occasions your Petitioner has experienced that her Majesty's judges and justices treat his evidence as inadmissible, on account of his deficiency in religious creed. Your Petitioner does not, as the Quakers and others, refuse to give oath, and thereby, in the judgment of the Court, despise and insult it; the decisive objection to his oath comes from the magistrates, who discover that the words of the oath are to him unmeaning. Your Petitioner is bold to say, that oaths, promises, and declarations, are as sacred with him as with other men; and that all his neighbours and acquaintances know this. In his trade he is trusted as freely as the most orthodox Christian; and it is in his power to obtain from many unimpeachable quarters solemn attestations of his honour and fidelity. In short, your Petitioner finds that his word is believed everywhere except in a court of justice, in which he is not permitted either to make an affirmation or to swear, and is liable to insult and contumely from the magistrate on

account of it. The consequences of this are, first, that your Petitioner is OUTLAWED, and is exposed to any amount of theft, robbery, and personal violence from any bad man who discovers the fact of his outlawry; next, that he is disabled from giving attestations which may be necessary for the ends of justice, in the case of other persons who are injured. Your Petitioner is aware that the numerous acts passed by your Honourable House prove, that it is by accident and not by intention that the law is allowed to be in this unjust state; inasmuch as Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists have been permitted to make affirmation instead of oath; and in India, as your petitioner is informed, every witness is expected to make affirmation according to that form which is most binding on the witness's conscience, and by no means according to that which is most binding on the judge. Marriage, also, which used to be solely a religious right, to the annoyance of dissenters, is now, at the option of the parties, a civil right. Your Petitioner is therefore assured that your Honourable House can never wish and approve that under pretence of an oath the magistrate should exact of him a confession of faith, and then, because he is honest enough to refuse to make a false statement, should inflict on him the extreme penalty of outlawry; a penalty reserved by the intention of the law for great and manifest offences, but which is inflicted on him for that which is the British Empire at large is undoubtedly regarded as no offence at all—namely, the not holding the same religious creed as the dominant power. Your Petitioner, therefore, implures your Honourable House to amend this defect of the law, by enacting that every witness shall be accepted in all her Majesty's Courts upon such form of affirmation as is most binding on his own conscience.

"GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE."

[Our readers will perceive that the Lord Chancellor has brought in a bill on common-law procedure which includes a provision, that conscientious persons, objecting to take an oath, may give evidence without.]

CORPORATION REFORM.

THE City has bestirred itself, and has offered its remedy for existing evils. The Court of Common Council of the City of London has complied with the invitation of the Royal Commissioners, appointed to inquire into the affairs of the corporation, and has submitted its suggestions for a new corporate constitution. By this scheme it is proposed to give the right of voting for aldermen, councilmen, or ward officers, to occupiers of premises, whether shops, offices, or residences, and whether occupying jointly, or alone, who are rated to the police rate at 10s. per annum. All such persons are to be eligible as aldermen and councilmen, bankrupts and insolvents being disqualified. The Lord Mayor to be elected in Common-hall from the aldermen who have served as sheriffs, and the election to be absolute. Aldermen to be elected by the wards for life, and without liability to veto. The number of councilmen to remain as at present. Aldermen becoming bankrupt and compounding with creditors, or absenting themselves from duty, to lose the office. The Court of Lord Mayor and Aldermen to remain a separate court for some special purposes, but to have no power over the City cash, and the legislative power to be in the Court of Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council. The laws forbidding non-free men to trade to be repealed, and the City street tolls abolished. The powers of the several City courts to be consolidated and amended, and there to be only two such courts for the trial and hearing of civil causes within the City, namely, the Mayor's Court and the Sheriff's Court, as regulated by the Small Debts Act.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

THE Emperor of the French in person opened, in the *Salle des Maréchaux*, the Legislative Session of 1854 on Thursday last. After speaking of the measures adopted to remedy the insufficiency of the harvest, he turned to the Eastern Question. "Last year," (he continued) "in my opening message, I promised to make every effort to maintain peace, and to re-assure Europe. I have kept my word. To avoid a collision, I have gone as far as honour permitted. Europe now knows, beyond all doubt, that if France draws the sword, it is only that she has been compelled to do it. France has no idea of aggrandisement. She wishes only to resist dangerous encroachments. And I am, therefore, glad to proclaim emphatically, the time of conquests is passed never to return; for it is not in extending the limits of its territory that a nation can henceforth be honoured and powerful, it is in placing itself at the head of generous ideas,—in making the empire of right and of justice everywhere prevail. Look at the results of an unselfish and undissembling policy (*sans arrière-pensée*). We have England, our former rival, forming with us the bonds of an alliance which becomes from day to day more intimate, because the opinions which we defend are also those of the English people. Germany, which the remembrance of former wars rendered still distrustful, and which on that account has given for the last forty years perhaps too many proofs of her deference for the policy of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, has already recovered her independence of action, and considers freely on what side her interests lie. Austria, above all, which could not see with indifference the events which were in progress, will enter into an alliance, and will thus attest the just and moral character of the war which we are undertaking. This, then, is the question as it stands,—Europe, engaged in domestic struggles for the last forty years, reassured, moreover, by the moderation of the Emperor Alexander in the year 1815, as well as by that of his successor up to this time, seemed to doubt the danger

which menaced it from the colossal Power which, by its successive encroachments, embraces the north and the centre of Europe, and which possesses almost exclusively two internal seas, whence it is easy for its armies and its fleets to launch forth against our civilisation. An unfounded demand at Constantinople has been sufficient to arouse Europe from her sleep. We have seen in the East a Sovereign demand, in the midst of the most profound peace, from his less powerful neighbour new concessions, and, because he did not obtain them, invade two of his provinces. Such a fact as this ought to put arms in the hands of those who revolt from injustice; but we have other reasons for supporting Turkey. France has as much, and perhaps more interest than England in preventing the influence of Russia from extending itself indefinitely over Constantinople, for to be supreme in Constantinople is to be supreme in the Mediterranean, and no one of you, gentlemen, I think, will say that England alone is largely interested in that sea, which washes 300 leagues of our coast. Moreover, this policy does not date from yesterday; for ages every national Government in France has maintained it, and I will not desert it. Let them not, then, come and ask us 'What are you going to do at Constantinople?' We are going there with England to defend the cause of the Sultan, and none the less to protect the rights of the Christians. We are going there to defend the freedom of the Sea and our just influence in the Mediterranean. We are going there with Germany, to aid her in preserving the rank from which, it seems, they wish to degrade her, to secure her frontiers against the preponderance of a too powerful neighbour. We are going there, in fact, with all those who desire the triumph of right, of justice, and of civilisation. In this solemn conjuncture, gentlemen, as in all those in which I shall be obliged to appeal to the country, I rely firmly upon you, for I have always found in you the generous sentiments which animate the nation. Strong, then, in this security, in the nobleness of our cause, in the firmness of our alliances, and confiding, above all, in the protection of God, I hope soon to arrive at a peace which shall no longer depend on the power of any one to disturb it with impunity."

The *Moniteur* has this week published a decree prohibiting the exportation of arms, projectiles, and other munitions of war; and a circular from the Minister of Marine ordering all commanding and other officers of the French navy to concert with the English naval officers all the measures which are intended to protect the interests, the power, or the honour of the flags of the two nations, so that their forces may act as if they belonged only to one and the same nation.

A third squadron is organised, consisting of 10 sail of the line, 14 frigates, and 15 auxiliary steam corvettes. This squadron is to be under the command of Vice-Admiral Pasceval Deschênes and Rear-Admiral Penard.

The Atlantic squadron anchored in the roads of Toulon on the night of the 28th ult. The 120-gun ship *Louis XIV.* was launched at Rochefort on the same day.

Marshal Vaillant is to be the new Minister of War, in place of Marshal de St. Arnaud, who has been appointed commander-in-chief of the expeditionary army in Turkey.

Prince Napoleon Jerome's letter to his cousin, asking leave to serve in the expeditionary army, deserves to be recorded:

"Sire,—At the moment that war is about to break out, I pray your Majesty to permit me to take part in the expedition which is in course of preparation. I do not ask for any important command, nor any distinctive title; the post which to me will be the most honourable will be one that is nearest to the enemy. The uniform which I am so proud to wear imposes on me duties which I shall be happy to fulfil, and I desire to win the high rank which your affection and my position have given me. When the nation takes up arms your Majesty will find, I hope, that my place is in the midst of the soldiers, and I pray you to permit me to join them in order to support the rights and the honour of France. Receive, Sire, the expression of the sentiments of respectful attachment on the part of your devoted cousin,

"NAPOLEON."

"Palais Royal, Feb. 25, 1854."

On Sunday, the Belgian Minister at Paris waited on the French Emperor, and gave him from his master the insignia of the Grand Cordon of the order of Leopold. On the same day the Dutch Envoy waited upon the Emperor with a letter from the King of Holland, offering him a carpet.

On the 27th ult. the treaty of commerce between France and Belgium was signed at Brussels.

Marshal St. Arnaud will leave Paris, it is said, on the 15th instant to assume command of the army of the East. He labours under a chronic rheumatism.

The funeral of François Lamennais took place on Wednesday (he died at 9 A.M. on Monday morning). According to the express injunctions of the deceased, it was not merely a private, but a pauper's funeral. He refused to the last all offices of priests, and all the so-called "consolations" of the Church. His body was attended to the grave by a select few of his nearest friends. Although it was removed from his house as early as seven o'clock in the morning, dense crowds thronged the streets. The gratuitous "suspicion" of a contemporary, "that during the day or two previous to his death he would not have objected to religious consolation, but some political friend so closely watched him that, even if such a desire existed, there was no means of knowing it or of satisfying it," is simply rubbish. We are enabled to give all such statements the most unqualified and most authentic contradiction.

On the same day Admiral Baron Roussin, a highly distinguished officer under the first Republic, the Empire, and the Restoration, was buried with a great display of military honours. Admiral Roussin was celebrated for his hydrographical labours, and was a member of the Bureau des Longitudes. He had seen hard service, but since 1831, when he commanded the squadron which forced the entrance of the Tagus, he had been completely by increasing infirmities to renounce active employment afloat. In the scientific

department of the navy he was indefatigable to the close of his life.

Exactly a year has now elapsed since the Turco-Russian dispute may be said to have commenced, as it was on February 28, 1853, that Prince Menschikoff arrived at Constantinople, on board the *Foedrogan*, accompanied by a numerous suite, amongst whom were two generals and two admirals. It may be doubted whether the position of the Emperor of Russia is much improved since this time last year. The latest accounts from the seat of war (February 19) represent a total suspension of operations from the snow, which rendered the roads impassable. The two armies remained in their old positions. Omer Pacha has received a magnificent sword of honour from the Sultan, which was delivered to him at his head-quarters, in the presence of the army and of his staff. Omer Pacha's influence has introduced a most important innovation in the Turkish army. Two French officers and an Englishman have been appointed to command on the Danube. The names of the officers are—M. Mercier (French) captain of Dragoons, appointed full Colonel of Cavalry; Viscount Du Puy (Chasseurs à Cheval d'Afrique), appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of Cavalry. Both of these officers are ordered to Kalafat. Mr. O'Reilly, an Englishman (once in the Sardinian army), commands two squadrons of cavalry. In Asia General Gayen, also an Englishman, is appointed head of the staff. The want of good officers has been the drawback of the Turkish army, so much so, that a Russian officer, now a prisoner at the Seraskierata, lately observed that every Turkish soldier should have a decoration of brilliants, and that every officer deserves the bastinado. When the newly-organised Cossack force, on its route from Constantinople to Shumla, passed through Adrianople, their banner of the Cross and Crescent received publicly the benediction of the metropolitan bishop, with the prayers and good wishes of the assembled multitude. The French Emperor has presented this corps with the magnificent gift of two thousand carbines—sabres and pistols in the same proportion. The Cossacks of the Don, it appears, fraternise with this force, and a deep spirit of disaffection is said to exist among those restless subjects of Russia; so that in all probability the first shot fired in the Euxine may be the signal for a general rising. The same feeling, it is understood, prevails in certain districts of Bessarabia, and amongst some divisions of the Russian forces on the Danube.

The total force of the Russians in the Principalities is estimated at 91,950 infantry, 21,120 cavalry, 6080 artillery—total, 119,150; 304 guns.

A military correspondent of the *Times*, in a most interesting letter, gives a highly favourable report of the morale and discipline of the Turkish troops:—

"I saw the other day," he writes, "the soldiers of a battalion which marched through here getting their bayonets sharpened by a man who was busy at this work with a grinding-stone for some hours in the centre of the town. It was a voluntary act of the men, and it shows a decided inclination to do something closer to the Russians than point-blank range. Indeed, from the enthusiasm of the men, and their discipline, I expect that, in the struggle which is approaching, the Turkish infantry will show itself to be equal to any which Europe can produce. They may fail in a campaign owing to the superiority of the enemy in *la grande tactique*, but a victory over them in a battle will be bloody and dearly bought."

The cavalry is the weak branch of the Turkish force; but the writer has some faith in the irregulars from Asia:—

"It is true these men are mounted on mere nags or ponies; yet an enthusiastic fighter, with a sharp yatagan in his hand, and calling out 'God is great,' mounted on a pony going full speed, may knock over at least one dragoon, or cut through the skull of a foot soldier, before he is killed, and when they come by thousands these men are not to be despised. I am informed, on what I consider good authority, that at least 30,000 irregular cavalry will be assembled along the Danube before the end of March."

A treaty has been concluded between the Porte and France and England relative to future negotiations with Russia; and negotiations have been opened with the Four Powers concerning the future treatment of Christians.

The Sheik-ul-Islam has advanced 100,000,000 piastres to the Porte, and expressed his willingness to make further sacrifices.

On the 6th inst., Lieut. O'Reilly, R.N., of H.M.S. *Retribution*, submitted a sketch of Sebastopol to the inspection of the Sultan. Redschid Pasha, Halil Pasha, and many other dignitaries, were present.

Halim Pasha, who commanded in Albania in 1831, has been appointed commander-in-chief of the operations against the 'orthodox' insurgents.

The Prussian officers serving in the Ottoman army, have been authorised to continue their services.

H.M.S. *Furious* and the French steamer *Magellan* were at Varna on the 9th ult., having escorted eight Turkish storeships. Another division of the allied fleet, composed of the *Sampson*, *Firebrand*, *Gomer*, and *Sane*, had cruised along the coast of the Crimea from Kaffa to Sebastopol. At Kaffa they had seen two Russian steamers in the harbour.

The Russians have transported all the *matériel* for pontoons to Giurgevo, where the soldiers are preparing the bridges to be thrown across the Danube.

The insurrection in Epirus is making doubtful progress. At Athens, the excitement has been intense, and the Government powerless in the hands of the students. The capture of Arta is not confirmed. Two steamers have been sent from the allied fleet in the Bosphorus to the Piræus, and it is believed that the Gulfs of Contessa and Salonica, and the coast of Albania will be declared in a state of seige. The insurrection is decidedly an "orthodox" Russo-Greek movement.

The Emperor of Russia played his last card for creating division between France and England, by his behaviour towards the two Ambassadors. Sir H. Seymour left St. Petersburg without seeing the Emperor, having been informed that his passports were ready for him.

M. de Castelbajac demanded to be treated in the same manner as his colleague, but, the Czar having expressed a wish to see him, the General acceded to the Emperor's desire, and was invested during the interview with the insignia of the Order of St. Alexander Newsky.

The wealthiest families of St. Petersburg had asked leave to raise a regiment of infantry at their own expense. Their wish had been acceded to, and they were allowed to name the officers.

An ukase enjoins all naval officers on pensions to rejoin the service. Many Greeks have been enticed into the Russian service, and great advantages have been held out to the Jews to induce them to enter the navy.

Prince Paskiewitch is appointed to the supreme command over the Danubian army.

The *St. Petersburg Journal* of the 24th contains the following as the substance of the answer sent by the Czar to the Emperor Napoleon:—

"If his Imperial Majesty extends his hand to me as I extend mine, I am ready to forget the mortification I have experienced, harsh though it be.

"Then, but then only, can I discuss the subject treated of in his letter, and may perhaps arrive at an understanding. Let the French fleet prevent the Turks from transporting reinforcements to the theatre of war, and let the Turks send me a Plenipotentiary to negotiate, whom I will receive as befits his character.

"The conditions already made known to the Conference at Vienna are the sole base on which I will consent to treat."

The Russian Government, it is said, has been compelled to lay the same embargo on the export of gold which they some time since imposed on that of silver. If this statement prove correct, the commerce with Russia, which is already in a very depressed state, will labour under still greater difficulties.

The Swedish and Danish officers and seamen serving in the Russian navy have received notice from their respective Governments to return home. The British war-steamers *Hecla* has arrived at Copenhagen with the masters and pilots appointed to make surveys. England and France ask Denmark to allow the combined fleets to take up their station at Kiel.

Russia demands of Prussia, and Sweden, that their ports near the Russian frontier shall be closed to French and English vessels.

The Imperial Guards have arrived in Warsaw, and will simply relieve troops of that garrison, which are ordered off to the south. A military force is to be stationed along the coast of the Baltic. Some poor tailors and petty shopkeepers have got themselves incarcerated in the citadel of Warsaw for the heinous offence of wrapping up some of the goods they sent home to their customers in newspapers which contained the documents published in our Parliamentary blue book.

One of the rumours current in certain political circles is, that the Czar, in order to keep Austria quiet, and to punish her for desertion, "threatens" (writes the Paris correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*) not only to raise the whole of the Slavonic races into insurrection against the power of the Emperor Francis Joseph, but to re-establish the kingdom of Poland in favour of his third son."

M. Lapinski, of the Russian Foreign Office, has been directed to draw up a war manifesto. The document is to be, according to his instructions, popular, resolute, and ardent. The Czar is again making paper money. By an ukase of the 17th, addressed to the directing senate, he orders the issue of six new series of credit notes, each of three millions of silver roubles (7½ millions of francs.) So great is the press for men in Russia, that soldiers who had served for 25 years and been discharged, are again called out and forced to march immediately.

"Order is re-established at Saragossa," but all Spain is declared in a state of siege. Arrests, imprisonments, and fusillades are the order of the day, and *pronunciamientos* are daily expected in Arragon and Catalonia. With regard to the unhappy affair at Saragossa, it appears that the Government having reason to suspect the fidelity of the Cordova regiment, had ordered it to Pampeluna. The revolt was declared at eleven in the morning, and from that hour until evening both parties were preparing for the struggle. Towards evening Brigadier Hore, disappointed that the movement was not more generally followed, advanced with a *demi-compagnie* towards the Plaza de la Seo, where he was received with a brisk fire by the Grenadier Regiment under the orders of the Marquis de Santiago. At the first discharge he fell dead, pierced by three balls. The insurgents were from that moment thrown into disorder.

The gallant and devoted Brigadier Hore was an attached friend of General Concha. The population of Saragossa was doubtful, if not hostile to the Government. There is little doubt that if Hore had acted with more prudence, and had been content to hold the strong fortresses of the place, the whole city and garrison would have gone over to him, and the revolt would have spread through Spain. As it is, the doom of the Government is only adjourned. Meanwhile they are playing a desperate game. M. Gonzales Bravo, ex-Minister, and the editors of the Opposition journals have been arrested and banished. General Serrano (ex-favourite) and others have been ordered to quarters in different parts of Spain. General Concha has, it is believed, escaped to Nice, having set the police on a false scent. The insurgents who occupied the fort at Saragossa surrendered at discretion on the morning of the 21st. The five companies and handful of armed civilians fled towards the French frontier, pursued by two squadrons of cavalry. At Madrid the council of Ministers was sitting *en permanence* at the war-office. The day on which news of the revolt reached the capital Queen Isabella appeared in public, and was received with the usual indifference. The two Chambers now in existence will, it is believed, be dissolved; the Constituent Cortes will be convoked for the 1st of May at Madrid; the Government will present to the Cortes the plan of a new constitution. There will be two deliberative assemblies, a Senate and a Congress. The Senate will be organised according to the rules established by

the constitution of 1837. The candidates will be proposed by the provinces, who will draw up a triple list of the number of senators to be named; the Crown will select from these lists. The Senate will be renewed by thirds, and only when the Crown shall have pronounced the dissolution of the Congress. The election of the members to Congress, and that of the candidates for the Senate, shall be effected by two degrees. The crown will alone nominate the presidents and vice-presidents of the two chambers. The number of the deputies to Congress will be very restricted. In general, it is proposed to strengthen the royal power at the expense of the legislative power.

It was reported at Vienna on Thursday last that an Imperial manifesto was about to appear, in which, though mention will be made of the neutrality of this empire, the Emperor would announce that, true to the policy of his house, he will not permit insurrectionary movements near his frontiers, and therefore his troops will enter Bosnia and Servia.

The European residents of Constantinople have presented an address to the Sultan, expressing their profound gratitude for the constant protection afforded to commerce, and the religious tolerance granted in Turkey.

The King and Queen of Sardinia returned to Turin on the 26th ult. Their Majesties were loudly cheered by an immense crowd on entering the capital, and all along on their way to the Palace. In the evening the town was illuminated. Their reception at Genoa has been excellent.

Prince Napoleon Jérôme leaves Paris for Constantinople on the 15th, with Generals Canrobert and Bosquet.

THE EMPEROR'S REPLY TO "THE FRIENDS."

We have already recorded the interview between Mr. Sturge and his colleagues—the ambassadors from the Society of Friends. We have now the answer of the Emperor to their address. It was as follows:—

"We received the blessings of Christianity from the Greek empire; and this has established and maintained ever since, a link of connexion, both moral and religious, between Russia and that power. The ties that have thus united the two countries have subsisted for 900 years, and were not severed by the conquest of Russia by the Tartars, and when, at a later period, our country succeeded in shaking off that yoke, and the Greek empire, in its turn, fell under the sway of the Turks, we still continued to take a lively interest in the welfare of our co-religionists there; and when Russia became powerful enough to resist the Turks, and to dictate the terms of peace, we paid particular attention to the well-being of the Greek Church, and procured the insertion in successive treaties of most important articles in her favour. I have myself acted as my predecessor has done, and the treaty of Adrianople, in 1829, was as explicit as the former ones in this respect. Turkey, on her part, recognised this right of religious interference, and fulfilled her engagements until within the last year or two, when, for the first time, she gave me reason to complain. I will now advert to the parties who were her principal instigators on that occasion. Suffice it to say that it became my duty to interfere and to claim from Turkey the fulfilment of her engagements. My representations were pressing but friendly, and I have every reason to believe that matters would soon have been settled if Turkey had not been induced by other parties to believe that I had ulterior objects in view—that I was aiming at conquest, aggrandisement, and the ruin of Turkey. I have solemnly disclaimed, and do now as solemnly disclaim, every such motive. . . . I do not desire war; I abhor it as sincerely as you do; and am ready to forget the past, if only the opportunity be afforded me. . . . I have great esteem for your country, and a sincere affection for your Queen, whom I admire, not only as a Sovereign, but as a lady, a wife, and a mother. I have placed full confidence in her, and have acted towards her in a frank and friendly spirit. I felt it my duty to call her attention to future dangers, which I considered sooner or later likely to arise in the East, in consequence of the existing state of things. What on my part was prudent foresight has been unfairly construed in your country into a designing policy and an ambitious desire of conquest. This has deeply wounded my feelings and afflicted my heart. Personal insults and invectives I regard with indifference. It is beneath my dignity to notice them, and I am ready to forgive all that is personal to me, and to hold out my hand to my enemies in the true Christian spirit. I cannot understand what cause of complaint your nation has against Russia. I am anxious to avoid war by all means. I will not attack, and shall only act in self-defence. I cannot be indifferent to what concerns the honour of my country. I have a duty to perform as a Sovereign. As a Christian, I am ready to comply with the precepts of religion. On the present occasion my great duty is to attend to the interests and honour of my country. The deputation then remarked, that as their mission was not of a political character, but intended simply to convey to the Emperor the sentiments of their own society as a religious body, they did not feel it to be their place to enter into any of the questions involved in the present dispute; but, with the Emperor's permission, they would be glad to call his attention specially to a few points. . . . They said that they and many others in their own country had incurred the disapproval of the supporter of the present military system by advocating the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. They also remarked that, seeing that, while Mahomedanism avowedly justifies the employment of the sword in propagating its doctrines, Christianity is emphatically a religion of peace, there appeared (with reference to the present dispute) a peculiar propriety in a Christian Emperor's exercising forbearance and forgiveness. And they added that, in the event of a European war, among the thousands who would be its victims, those who were the principal cause of it would probably not be the greatest sufferers, but that the heaviest calamities would fall on innocent men, with their wives and children."

THE WAR PREPARATIONS.

THE QUEEN AND THE GUARDS.

QUEEN VICTORIA has bidden farewell at least to one detachment of the gallant fellows who are to sustain the national honour on the banks of the Danube. On Tuesday, the first battalion of the Scots Fusiliers were ordered to march to Portsmouth. In obedience to the wishes of the Queen their departure was postponed for an hour. Her Majesty wished to bid them farewell. This delay drew to the spot an immense concourse of spectators, among whom every variety of emotion was strikingly exhibited. Bird-cage-walk, the enclosure of the park, and the space around the palace were blocked up by an ever-swelling crowd. Shortly before seven o'clock the gate of Wellington Barracks was thrown open, and the advanced guard thrown out to clear the way, announced the onward movement of the battalion in the direction of Buckingham Palace. The loud bursts of hearty and continued cheering rendered the music of the band almost inaudible. As soon as the serried column extended along the esplanade, her Majesty, accompanied by Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, Prince Alfred, and Princess Alice, came forward on the balcony in the centre of the palace, and was received with deafening cheers. The battalion formed line, opened ranks, and presented arms, the colours being towered, and the band playing, "God save the Queen." Her Majesty repeatedly acknowledged the compliment. The troops then shouldered arms, and, at a signal from Colonel Dixon, took off their bear-skin caps and most lustily cheered, the field officers riding up in front and saluting her Majesty at the same time.

Resuming its march, the battalion proceeded through St. James's Palace and by Pall-mall, Trafalgar-square, and the Strand, across Waterloo-bridge, received along the entire route with even more energetic and spirit-stirring manifestations of popular enthusiasm than the departure of the Grenadiers and Coldstreams a few days ago called forth. At the Army and Navy and the United Service Clubs, and again at the National Gallery, the cheering was loud and long-continued. Within the narrow space of the Strand thousands of civilians followed, and almost impeded the progress of the men by their anxiety to bid them a hearty farewell. Mothers, sisters, and wives invaded the ranks, and hung upon the steps of the men. The band alternates with the fife and drums,—music which tells of parting to all who hear it. Waterloo-bridge, with its toll-keepers strongly entrenched behind their turnstiles, stopped the rush of people on the north side of the river, but fresh crowds were waiting to receive the battalion on the Surrey side, and when it reached the entrance to the station the pressure of the multitude became so great that the men had to pass in through a narrow lane of policemen in single file. Here, amid deafening cheers, those soldiers who had friends with them, whether male or female, were compelled to leave them behind. Fairly in the station, the entrance doors were closed, and the cheering multitude and lamenting friends alike shut out. About nine o'clock two trains, starting in quick succession, conveyed the battalion to Portsmouth. That portion of the regimental band which remains behind played it out of the terminus amid the cheers of a large number of spectators. The house-tops and windows whence a view of the departing trains could be commanded were filled with occupants to the outskirts of town, and at the various stations along the road people had assembled in numbers to show their sympathy and bid farewell. It was one o'clock before the troops reached Portsmouth. Major-General Simpson and the staff of the garrison received them at the station, whence they were conducted, with every mark of honour from the military force and from the inhabitants of the town, to the place of embarkation. The bands of the 23d, 35th, 42d, and 79th played them on their way. A large force of the first and last-named regiments voluntarily fell in as an escort, and the people amply performed their part in the general demonstration by their loud and continuous cheering. By 3 p.m. the battalion had safely embarked on board the *Simoom* steam frigate, of 18 guns.

The Rifle Brigade and the Ninety-third Highlanders have also set sail. The Thirty-third has left Dublin in the *Cambria*, the people of Dublin surpassing the Londoners in bidding the Duke of Wellington's old regiment farewell. All the infantry regiments in the United Kingdom are now under orders for foreign service; but as yet nothing definite has been stated respecting the cavalry.

Lord Raglan and Lord de Ros have paid a hurried visit to Paris, this week, to consult with the military authorities. Sir Baldwin Walker has also been there, to consult with the naval officials.

THE FLEET.

As the time for action rapidly approaches, the enormous armaments in progress at Spithead also approach completion. The arrival of Admiral Corry's fleet on Wednesday largely increased the force at the anchorage, and as soon as the French fleet arrives there will be assembled upwards of sixty sail

of ships of war "ready to go anywhere and do anything." The victualling of the ships has commenced, and the war stores are rapidly being stowed on board.

The whole of the ships at the anchorage, before the arrival of Rear-Admiral Corry's squadron, were practised daily in great gunnery by Rear-Admiral Chads. Signal having been made by order of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier, to follow the movements of the *Edinburgh*, Rear-Admiral Chads consequently ordered every commanding officer to cause the first and second captains of guns to fire four rounds each at a target moored at 800 yards, and to report to him the time in which it was done by each ship. This has displayed some splendid practice in gunnery. The *Dragon* was particularly skilful with her 84-pounders, having struck the bull's-eye twice, and struck the target several times, her last shot knocking it away. The practice, generally, was admirable. As the first important preliminary to a state of actual war, the Admiralty have issued new code signal-books to the fleet, which come into use this day.

Sir Charles Napier hoisted his blue flag at the fore on the *Princess Royal*, 91, on Monday, until the *Duke of Wellington* arrived. Commodore Michael Seymour has been appointed captain of the fleet.

INDIA, CHINA, AND THE CAPE.

Advices have arrived by the usual mails from Bombay, to the 28th; Hong-Kong, to the 11th; and the Cape of Good Hope, to the 21st January.

The chief item of the Indian news, which is authentic, is that the Governor-General had set up brick pillars six miles above Meaday, in the territory conquered from Burmah, to mark the boundary, and that he had returned to Calcutta. The next item, as will be seen from an answer given in the House of Commons by Sir Charles Wood, is not to be relied upon; but as even the information of the Board of Control is not always accurate, and as Ministers have been deceived by Russia before, we think fit to append it. At the same time we confess the shape is questionable—a letter from Cabul, in the *Delt Gazette*—

"The Russian army had halted within two marches of Khiva, and was employed in the construction of cantonments. Four Russian agents had reached Dost Mahomed, bearing a message from the Russian general. The message was to this effect:—Dost Mahomed was solicited to proceed with his camp to the banks of the Oxus; there to meet two Russian Envoys with letters from the Czar—one addressed to the Amir himself, and the other to the King of Bokhara—proposing the formation of a quadruple alliance between the Czar, the Khan of Khiva, Dost Mahomed, and the King of Bokhara; the alliance to be agreed upon on the right bank of the Oxus. Should Dost Mahomed agree to the proposal, the Russian general would come in person to the right or northern bank of the Oxus, (in the neighbourhood of Chorgore, we presume), and await an interview with the Dost. Dost Mahomed's reply was that he consented to the proposed negotiations; but that he would not cross the Oxus to meet his old enemy the King of Bokhara, unless the Russian general would in the first place cross to the Afghan side of the River, bringing with him, as temporary hostages, the son and Prime Minister of the King of Bokhara. On these terms he would not only treat with the King of Bokhara, but would forgive him all his past offences, holding that the importance of the quadruple alliance should throw all private quarrels into the shade. On these terms, then, a treaty of alliance between Russia, Khiva, Bokhara, and Cabul was on the point of settlement."

From China the news is curious. Files of the *Pekin Gazette* have been received up to the 17th of November. They contain a sort of history of the advance of the insurgent army gathered from the reports of the Imperial generals. According to these statements the Imperialists had defeated the rebels, but somehow or other every military dispatch described these rebels as being nearer to the capital. This was accounted for by the statement that the rebels, although beaten, eluded the Imperial armies, and continued to advance. It appears that the march on Peking has been made in two columns. That division, which made the descent on Nankin, and captured it, was detached from the main army, which kept on its course northward from the spot where it had first touched on the banks of the Yang-tse-Kiang. Having captured Nankin, the eastern column marched by the Grand Canal to form a junction with the western column at Tien-tsin—the port of Peking, and within eighty miles of that capital. At this spot the two armies united; and the Imperial generals describe themselves as having surrounded the rebel host, which they estimate at only 18,000 men. Trading junks, which left Tien-tsin on the 26th November, describe the rebels as checked at Tien-tsin; but later information asserts that that city had fallen. The Mongol Tartars had come to the assistance of the Emperor.

The news from the Cape is of the simplest kind. The colonists were busy electing their Parliament. There were twenty-five candidates for the fifteen seats in the Legislative Council or Upper House.

General Cathcart was still settling the frontier

TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

THE annual meeting of the Association for Promoting the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge was held in Exeter Hall on Wednesday. Mr. G. L. Ricardo, the chairman, said it was an admitted principle that raw materials should be exempted from taxation, and no raw material had a better claim than paper. At the same time he was afraid the Chancellor of the Exchequer would tell them that in the face of a war he could not spare the paper duty. With respect to the stamp on newspapers, he did not think that any Chancellor of the Exchequer would tell them that that was a question of revenue. It would be better to stamp anything rather than the newspaper, the necessary means of the dissemination of knowledge amongst the people. If there ever was a time at which it was important to remove every impediment to the progress of education, it was the present, when we were going to extend the franchise to hundreds of thousands of new voters. At the same time he believed that the people had a natural desire for knowledge, and that if the means of obtaining it were placed within their reach, the education of the people would soon make considerable advances.

On the motion of Mr. Cassell, seconded by Mr. Ingram, a resolution against the paper duty was adopted. Mr. Collet then moved—

"That while a system of cheap newspaper postage is a matter of once of high importance and of easy attainment, no postal privileges granted merely to a class can compensate for the evils of the stamp tax on news and of the security system, which were originally imposed and are still retained for the purpose of preventing the cheap circulation of intelligence among the great mass of the people."

This was seconded by Mr. Cobden, who, at some length, entered into the whole question. He repeated what Mr. Ricardo had said respecting the paper duty and the stamp tax. The stamp, he said, did not involve such an amount of revenue as to prevent the Chancellor of the Exchequer from dispensing with it either in peace or war. Mr. Cobden, observing that provincial proprietors are opposed to the removal of the stamp, showed how much better it would be for all—proprietors, editors, reporters—if the stamp were abolished, and industry set free. He also argued in favour of local papers. Then at the close he put this case:—

"The false reports which were current, even in the metropolis, connected with the absurd charges recently made against Prince Albert—of which he would only say, that next to the cowardice of attacking those who were too helpless to defend themselves, was the dastardly conduct of attacking one who was so high that he could not reply to the attacks—had shown that there existed in the lower stratum of society an amount of credulity which made us not safe from another Lord George Gordon riot, or another Titus Oates plot, or even from an imposture like that of Perkin Warbeck. Now, seeing that we lived in a country which professed to be governed by appeals to public opinion; and in which the mass of the people did in the last resort decide upon questions of the greatest importance, could we shut ourselves to the fact, that this ignorance prevailed among the people, who had no opportunity of exercising their reason by that discussion of facts and principles which newspapers would promote; and could we doubt that, having regard to the safety of society, the interests of morality, and to all those kindred blessings which attended upon cultivated intelligence, we were doing right in using every effort to abolish this stamp, which kept us so much behind the state of intelligence which we found to exist on the other side of the Atlantic?" (*Loud cheers.*)

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. Craufurd, M.P., moved—

"That the last attempt to define what is a newspaper has been signally unsuccessful, and that the increased inability of the Board of Inland Revenue to enforce the law with impartiality, shows that no remedy will be effectual that does not exempt the press from all taxation, and liberate it from all control except that of a court of law."

This resolution, seconded by Mr. Nicholas, was adopted, and the meeting broke up.

THE PRESTON LABOUR-BATTLE.

(From our Correspondent.)

Preston, Thursday.

THE placard given in the postscript to my last, proffering work and good wages to all who stand in need of them, is now distributed throughout the Cotton District and many parts of England. During the week the unionists have put forth the following:—
CAUTION! TO THE WORKING CLASSES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Brethren,—From information we have received from various places in England, Ireland, and Scotland, we find that the Associated Master Manufacturers of this town are, by agencies, engaging families and others for the purpose of coming to Preston, to fill up what they term vacancies, occasioned by parties leaving town during the strike; stating, further, that the strike is settled, and that the hands have all resumed work. THIS IS TO GIVE NOTICE, that the foregoing are most infamously untrue. The operatives are still struggling with their cruel and relentless persecuting employers, and we do therefore trust that you will do all in your power to controvert the delusive statements put forth.

By referring to the *Times* newspaper, of February 27th, you will see that they (the masters) are having recourse to the expedient of visiting the Poor-law Guardians of Bradford and other places, with a view of procuring individuals

capable of working, who are unfortunately the recipients of parochial relief. In the name of common humanity, exert yourselves to put a stop to such a system, the bringing about of which will entail so much misery on the oppressed and unfortunate factory operatives of this town, in the doing of which you will perform a duty to yourselves, your country, and your God. Arise in your majesty, for Labour is truly in danger, the rescuing of which is now placed in your hands, in the accomplishment of which ages to come will call you blessed.

By ORDER OF THE AMALGAMATED COMMITTEE.

Andrew Milne, President for the Trades; John McLean, Secretary for the Trades; John Parker, Treasurer for the Trades; William Crook, Secretary; James Holden, Treasurer.

N.B.—A man named WILLIAM DURRANT, travelling about the country, collecting old iron, &c., is, we are credibly informed, in the employ of the Masters, for the purpose of misrepresenting the state of the town, and to otherwise calumniate the delegates. Beware of him, and shun him.

It appears that Messrs. Wilding and Sharples, through the medium of their Manchester agent, got together sixty-two persons in that city, and brought them on Monday morning to Preston. Information of this circumstance was at once transmitted to the head-quarters of the unionists, who lost no time in putting themselves in communication with the strangers. These were taken to the Farmer's Arms, where the Spinners' Committee holds its sittings, and after being plentifully refreshed with beef and beer, of which they seemed to stand in great need, no less than fifty-four of them returned to Manchester. Great excitement was caused in the town by this occurrence, and a meeting was held in the Orchard. From the statements then made, it would appear that very few of these immigrants had ever worked at machinery, and that, even of those few, the greater proportion had been in a flax-mill. It would also appear that the terms offered by the masters to these strangers were very advantageous,—a fact which proves very strongly that they are fighting for the mastery. I understand that, on Tuesday, some of those who had been induced to return to Manchester made a second application to be sent to Preston, but their offer was very curtly refused. Some of the other masters are expecting volunteers, and cabs are engaged to meet the late trains, in order to prevent the delegates from intercepting the hands. Bedding is said to have been conveyed into some of the mills, in anticipation of the difficulty of obtaining lodging for the immigrants. When a similar experiment was tried by the Messrs. Fulkner, of Manchester, eighteen years ago, a spark from the tobacco-pipe of a man, who was smoking in his bed, fired the mill, and the whole was burnt to the ground amid the acclamations of all the operatives of Manchester.

So far as the mills of the Associated Masters are concerned, affairs seem to be in the same position as they were last week. The addition to the number of hands at work has been very unimportant, and the fact that several of those at work have sent very large contributions to the Union, with a request that they might be entered in the balance-sheets as contributed by "Knobsticks," is a very significant indication of the feelings which actuate some of even those who have resumed work. Nothing like molestation has been offered to those who have so resumed; but the following anecdote will serve to illustrate the system of annoyance not unfrequently pursued:—An old man, who had returned to his work at the mill of an Associated Master, was set to cleaning some machinery in a room level with the street. After working there for a short time, he went to the manager and requested to be put somewhere else, and, upon being asked for a reason, requested the manager to come and judge for himself. There were thirteen windows in the room, fronting the street, and no sooner had the old man set to work beneath one of them, when a grinning head popped in and shouted "Knobstick!" In great wrath and disgust, the old fellow shifted his quarters, but, to whatever part of the room he moved, his persecutors were too sharp for him, for a neighbouring window immediately opened and the offensive word was shouted in his ears. At length he made the pleasing discovery that one window was sheltered from the street by a high wall, and thither he accordingly betook himself to work, as he thought, in peace and quietness. Scarcely had he well settled down to his task before the window was gently pushed open, and right under his nose was thrust an enormous knobstick. "Noa," said he, "I can't stand that. 'T'wor bad enow to call it me; but now they show me the thing itself"—and, with that, he put on his coat and marched out of the factory.

A report is very rife throughout the Cotton District, that the Stockport and Blackburn masters have had a meeting, with a view of taking off the ten per cent. conceded last year. I cannot speak positively as to this, but there is a very strong impression that way, and the Preston employers are waiting with great anxiety for some such movement in their favour. It is undoubtedly true that the general feeling among the manufacturers, with regard to the Operatives' Union, manifests the greatest heat and bitterness, and that some of the most influential

employers of labour in the Cotton District have expressed themselves very strongly, to the effect that the movement on the part of the operatives is socialistic and dangerous to the safeguard of property, and that no means must be left untried to crush and destroy it utterly. Many of the manufacturers are prepared to increase their subscriptions to the Defence Fund almost to any extent, and it is not improbable that some overwhelming influence has been brought to bear upon the Stockport masters, to induce them to adopt such a course as is hinted at above. With regard to the Blackburn masters, it is believed that many of them have been paying a high rate of wages (higher than the state of the market for which they work will afford) purely from political motives, and in consequence of the rivalry which undoubtedly exists between their town and Preston; and it is not unlikely that if they had perfect confidence in each other, and were not kept in dread by their own operatives (who are the most determined and unruly hands in East Lancashire), they might not be indisposed to fall into such an arrangement. If this should really be carried out, the consequences will be most deplorable, for the tranquillity of the country will not be worth five minutes' purchase; whilst, regarding it as a measure calculated to settle the present dispute, nothing could be more injudicious and short-sighted. Even supposing that a general reduction of wages throughout Lancashire would cause a stoppage of the supplies sent to Preston (which I am disposed to doubt), a resumption of work upon the terms of a forced capitulation would only aggravate and extend the sore, and dispose the operatives to take advantage, with all the more readiness, of any vantage-ground which a brisk trade may hereafter put them upon.

It cannot, indeed, be too forcibly or too frequently impressed upon the masters, upon the operatives, and upon the general public, that terms of peace founded upon any other basis than mutual agreement can be productive of nothing but unmixed evil. Yet there are master manufacturers, liberal and well-meaning men, who believe that they are enunciating a great political truth, when they say that it would be the ruin of the country for the masters to give in one jot.

Since the commencement of the dispute nothing has exercised a more pernicious influence towards prolonging the struggle than the Defence Fund. Many of the Preston masters, especially those who manufacture for the home trade, are desirous of getting to work, and I believe that they would gladly do so if they could make terms with their operatives without seeming to concede a victory. Others of the masters are careless about getting to work, and are believed to be actually doing better with their slices of the Defence Fund than if they were weaving for the Indian and Chinese markets. Now these two classes, whose interests are so diverse, are so closely bound and impacted together by the absurd rules of their combination, and the extra security of the bond, that they can do nothing unless they all act together. But they are not only bound to each other, they are bound to the subscribers of the Defence Fund, and, in return for the weekly cheques paid over under that specious name, they are actually parting with their freedom of action—they are pledging themselves to keep inviolate that untenable resolution which I quoted in my last, and they are selling that right which should be one of the most precious to sensible men—the right of acknowledging an error.

On the side of the operatives the difficulty is not less monstrous. I calculate that in wages alone the Preston operatives have now sacrificed about 250,000*l.*, and, in the shape of relief, they have received from their fellow-operatives and the public about 70,000*l.* The quarter of a million is their own sacrifice, but the 70,000*l.* binds them to the other districts that they will not act without their consent. Such is the pernicious working of this fatal principle of combination, and such the complicated dilemma into which both sides have suffered themselves to be betrayed. It should be observed that, in making their subscriptions to the Relief Fund, the operatives are beyond all suspicion of entertaining any sinister motive; whereas it has been urged, and with some show of reason, that it may suit some of the houses about Ashton and Stockport to pay 5 per cent. upon their wages, in order to keep such concerns as Messrs. Horrocks and Miller out of the market. It is certainly stated, and upon the very best authority, that a formidable competition has arisen against the trade of that celebrated house since the commencement of the Lock-out; and if it be true that subscribers to the Defence Fund have had it in view to bring this about, words cannot express the opinion that should be formed of the knavery that could devise, and the simplicity that could be victimised by such a trick.

It is said that the agents of some of the foreign Governments are busily engaged in canvassing the Cotton District, with the view of engendering a feeling in favour of building factories abroad, and I have heard of intimations being actually made that,

if English loomers would take that course, special immunities would be granted, and opportunity given for the importation of the materials free of duty. I have not, however, heard that these negotiators have met with any success.

The agitation for a Labour Parliament seems to be carried on with unabated vigour, as the following placard, posted over the walls of Manchester, will testify:—

GENERAL ELECTION!

Notice is hereby given, that the nomination and election of representatives of the trades of the city of Manchester and vicinity in the Labour Parliament, will take place in Stevenson-square, on Saturday next, March 4th, at half-past three o'clock.

In order to secure a full and fair representation of the whole mass of the people, the election will be conducted on the principles of universal suffrage, no property qualification, and payment of members.

Nomination to take place at half-past three. Working-men are earnestly requested to attend and give their votes.

Having received a letter impugning certain statements in this journal, we submitted it to Mr. James Lowe, and we are now enabled to give his explanation, which we think will appear, to all impartial readers satisfactory.—*Ep. Leader.*

THE LANCASHIRE STRIKES AND "LOCK-OUTS."
(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—Your correspondent, James Lowe, puts down the earnings of a family at 85*s.*, which he makes up in the following way:—

Father, a spinner	s. d.
Two daughters, in the card-room, 11 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> each	22 6
Elderest lad, a piecer	11 0
Three lads, in the card-room, 5 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> each	16 6
	85 0

I can state on the testimony of more than one hundred spinners, who work in Preston, that their average weekly wages do not amount to more than 18*s.* or 20*s.* each, while the weekly wages of female card-room hands cannot be set down at more than 8*s.* 6*d.* or 9*s.* The "elderest lad, a piecer," is often a man from twenty to twenty-four years of age. Hundreds of these piecers are married men, and have to support a wife and family out of 11*s.* per week. No three lads, brothers, who work in the card-room, do earn 5*s.* 6*d.* each; 5*s.* 6*d.* for the elderest, at sixteen years of age, and 4*s.* 6*d.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* for the other two, would be much nearer the truth.

The case, when fairly stated, should stand as follows:—

Father, a spinner	s. d.
Elderest lad, a piecer	20 0
Two daughters, in the card-room, 9 <i>s.</i> each	18 0
Three lads, at 3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> , 4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> , and 5 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	13 6
	62 6

To the above may be added the mother and three children, who have no earnings; making in all ten persons who have to subsist on sixty-two shillings a week, a trifle over 6*s.* each, which goes in the following way:—

Rent of house, which belongs to master (worth 8 <i>s.</i>)	s. d.
Coals, candles, soap, soda, &c.	4 0
Clothes, shoes, hats, caps, stockings, bedding, and everything in the wearing line for 10 persons	3 3
Taxes, medical fees, schooling, books, &c.	12 6
Assistant washerwoman to the family (one day)	2 6
Sundries, which every housewife knows	2 0
Loss of work, through sickness, holidays, breakdowns, &c.	1 6
	30 9

Thus, you see, nearly one-half of the entire income is expended before a bite of food can be bought.

There are many other articles, not eatables, which I have not allowed for, but which are indispensable in a large family. After taking the above sum from the whole earnings, a trifle over 3*s.* each remains to provide food for ten persons, seven of whom may be considered as adults.

The above is much better than an average case. The following will represent the condition of the vast majority:—Father, a weaver on three looms, 14*s.* a week, out of which must be taken 7*s.* for all domestic expenses, then 7*s.* remains to maintain a wife and two or three children.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,
Royton. J. B. HORSFALL.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—I have perused Mr. Horsfall's note, and beg to assure him, in reply, that I had the statement which he impugns from the mouth of the manufacturer who now employs the family whose earnings are specified. The case is, no doubt, exceptional, and as it was only quoted to prove the lamentable improvidence of some of the working-classes, Mr. Horsfall must have greatly misunderstood my meaning if he thought that I quoted it in evidence of the average of earnings. So far as averages are concerned, I think that Mr. Horsfall's statement is accurate and valuable.

Yours, very truly,
JAMES LOWE.

* Quære, "no-property qualification?"

CHOLERA DEFENCE.

For some time the cholera has ceased to manifest itself, and has succumbed to the temperature. But summer will come in due course, and there is every reason to believe that the cholera will come with it in increased fury. However the public may have forgotten an evil no longer present, it has not been forgotten by the few who, from superior knowledge of the enemy, feel strongly the necessity of meeting its coming onset. On Monday some private gentlemen and some public men waited on Lord Palmerston to inquire what preparations are to be adopted for the defence of the country against cholera. Their names alone are a guarantee to the public of their sincerity, and of their right to move in the matter. They were Lord Harrowby, the Hon. Charles Howard, M.P., Lord Ebrington, Lord Gode- rich, M.P., Mr. T. S. Cocks, M.P., Mr. Granville Vernon, M.P., Sir James Clark, Admiral Smyth, Dr. Watson, Mr. John Simon, Mr. John Bullar, Mr. Reginald Cocks, Mr. Aubrey de Vere, Captain Galton, Mr. William Helps, Mr. Arthur Helps, Mr. Hullah, Rev. C. Kingsley, Mr. W. G. Prescott, Mr. Rintoul, Rev. J. T. Rowsell, Mr. John Ruskin, Mr. William Stuart, Jun., Mr. C. R. Wallah, Mr. F. O. Ward, and Mr. T. M. White.

The Earl of Harrowby stated that his lordship was perfectly aware that various indications had led many scientific and other persons who had paid attention to the subject to fear that the dreadful scourge of cholera would again re-appear in England during the present year. A number of gentlemen interested in the health of the metropolis had, under these circumstances, waited upon his lordship for the purpose of ascertaining whether any measures more efficient than that of 1849 would be adopted by her Majesty's Government to meet the emergency. It had been found that there were numerous obstacles in the way of giving effect to the Health of Towns Act; and what appeared to be indispensably necessary at the present time was some additional powers for the Board of Health, or other authorities, to deal immediately with those nuisances which had been found to be productive of disease. There was so much delay attending the operation of the existing acts, that it too often happened that in many densely crowded and unhealthy courts and alleys, death accomplished the work of clearing off the inhabitants before the officers of the Board of Health were able to act. He thought it would be desirable, in the present state of things, that a committee should be appointed in either House, who might examine the officers of existing boards, medical men and others, with reference to the imperfections in the operation of the Health of Towns, and other acts, passed for the protection of public health.

Lord Palmerston stated that the object referred to was one which rested more completely with the Board of Health than with his department. Sir W. Molesworth, as president of that board, intended to bring in an amended act, for the purpose of enlarging the powers which the present law gave to the board. That bill had not yet been shown by Sir W. Molesworth to his colleagues, nor had he (Lord Palmerston) had any opportunity of going into such details as would enable him to state precisely what additional powers it would be necessary to ask for, and he should feel greatly obliged if any member of the deputation could furnish him in writing with the heads of improvements which any measure of the sort ought to contain, and he would be happy to communicate with Sir William Molesworth on the subject.

Lord Ebrington stated that the Public Health Act did not apply to the metropolis, it was difficult to work, and it had been found impossible under its provisions to raise the necessary funds by way of loan, for carrying out those works which the commissioners of the board considered necessary and desirable. He was at an early period connected with the Board of Health, but resigned his position in consequence of the difficulties of carrying out the provisions of the act, or completing those works which were absolutely necessary, and he was averse to continuing in an office where there was so much responsibility and so little power.

Mr. Helps referred to the total absence of any one controlling body for dealing with a subject so important as that of the public health. There were four or five great powers in existence—District boards, boards of health, commissioners of sewers, and boards of guardians, each of which were adverse to, or opposed to, each other. In addition to these, there were certain little irregular bands of Cossacks, or water companies, constantly pushing forward their contradictory claims. What was wanted was one efficient board, capable of dealing with the evil at once and rapidly. The lives of not less than 2,000,000 persons were at issue, and the necessity for prompt, stringent, Governmental action was most imperatively felt by all who had paid any attention to the subject.

Lord Palmerston inquired what was the particular course which the deputation wished to impress upon the Government the necessity of doing? He was fully prepared to admit the necessity of preserving the public health, and he should be glad to hear any

particular remedy which might be suggested by the deputation.

Mr. Bullar, Lord Harrowby, Lord Ebrington, and Mr. Simon pointed out various defects, especially as regards water supply, and the means of raising funds.

Mr. F. O. Ward said, that with two amendments the Metropolitan Sewers Act would prove sufficient to place London in a state of defence against the invasion of cholera.

The powers of that act were very extensive. The commissioners were not only charged with the construction and maintenance of the public sewers, they had authority to call on the owner of any ill-drained private house to fill up cess-pools, make proper drains, with soil-pan apparatus, and all other requisite works complete, and should the owner neglect his duty in this respect, the commissioners might do the work themselves, charging the cost as an improvement rate (usually 1d. or 2d. a week) upon the property so benefited. These powers, however, were rendered to a great extent practically nugatory by the want of one power, the conferring of which constituted the first of the two requisite amendments to which he had referred. This lacking power was the enforcing of a supply of water, without which, as his lordship was aware, drains and soil-pans could not be got to act. There was, indeed, a clause in the Metropolitan Water Supply Act empowering parish authorities to compel owners to lay on water to houses, and, in their default, to lay it on themselves, charging the cost as a rate on the property, not exceeding 3d. a week. But this power required, for practical service, to be coupled with this draining power; and if such a power were added to the existing powers of the Metropolitan Sewers Act, a great step would be made towards rendering it a perfect and workable law, adequate to the present emergency. The other amendment to which he had referred was of a financial kind. The commissioners, being a terminable body, found it difficult to borrow a capital necessary for effecting improvements on the rates, which capitalists regarded as insufficient security. Instead, therefore, of being enabled to distribute the costs of works over a term of 30 years, which rendered the charge so light that it would be cheerfully paid, the commissioners were forced to employ each year's revenue as capital, excepting only the most urgent works, and thus applying moneys raised by a general rate to the immediate benefit of only particular districts—a course which, though perhaps in some degree forced upon the commissioners, had excited great jealousy among the ratepayers, many of whom were paying heavy rates without receiving equivalent benefit. Mr. Ward then proceeded to point out how this financial defect of the act might be remedied, first, by giving such further security to the rates as would render them acceptable to capitalists as security for loans; and secondly, by putting into operation a clause of this act, empowering loans to the Commissioners of Sewers from the Commissioners of Advances to Public Works. To illustrate the effect that might be anticipated if the powers of the Metropolitan Sewers Act were thus completed and rendered available, Mr. Ward referred to the case of Lambeth-square. A set of 32 small houses near the New-cut are inhabited by between 300 and 400 artisans. Three years ago these houses were a perfect fever nest of cesspools and privies; the stench was frightful, and there was an epidemic typhus, which raised the mortality to 50 per 1000 per annum—more than double the metropolitan average. These 32 houses had since been drained through four drains, and fitted up with soil-pans, at a cost of 77 a house. The stench had ceased, the mortality last year was only 13 per 1000, and whereas under the cesspool system there had been on an average seven houses constantly unlet, they were now all eagerly taken, so that this landlord was benefited by the improvement to the extent of 189l. a year. In conclusion, Mr. Ward stated his conviction that, by extending similar ameliorations to other districts of London, immense benefit, pecuniary as well as sanitary, would accrue to all classes, the landlords would profit as well as the tenants, and though cholera might not be absolutely exterminated at once, the severity of its ravages would receive an effectual check.

After some further discussion, Lord Palmerston stated that he should be most happy to receive any communication in writing from the deputation, pointing out the evils complained of, and the remedies which it was considered advisable to adopt.

The deputation, having thanked his lordship for the courteous reception and attentive consideration which he had bestowed on their statements, withdrew, and Mr. Ward, Mr. Simon, and Mr. Bullar were appointed to draw up a draft report.

BRITISH MORALS: THE BELGIAN GIRL.

The hearing of the sad case of Alice Leroy, induced by false promises to come to London, for the basest purposes, by the man Harrison, was resumed on Wednesday. Harrison now appears as Adolphe Feichtel, a Dutch Jew, and the evidence adduced advances the matter a long way towards proof, not only against him but others.

Mr. Parry, not being in the office at the commencement of the case, Mr. Arnold, the Westminster magistrate, put some questions to Alice Leroy. Asked what induced her to believe she knew before she had been brought there, she said a Greek Prince first showed her the purpose, and the hearing Madame and Harrison's talk about gentlemen. She had not remonstrated with Harrison, because she saw him seldom, nor with Madame because she dared not. Meantime Mr. Parry arrived, and the girl continued her story. Madame Denis took her to Paris, pretending to take her into the country. There at the Hotel de Valois, Rue Richelieu, 23, Madame introduced her to a "gentleman," as

her sister. The poor girl described how she was taken into a bedroom, stripped, and infamously treated by the "gentleman," Madame disgracefully assisting in the forcible assault. The "gentleman" came twice after. Alice was thrust into a dressing-room, with reproaches for not behaving better; and after one of these visits she heard the congenial couple discussing the terms of the bargain, Madame stipulating for the same price (30l.) for which she had "sold her sister." The "gentleman" gave Alice "eight gold pieces," a ring, a bracelet, a gold cross, all of which Madame seized and kept. After a fortnight's stay she was brought back to London.

"I had my ordinary food after returning from Paris. I cried several days together. Madame said that I ought to come down and do as the other girls did, and not to cry, because the servants would observe me. There was a young girl there to work. I spoke to her about my situation. I resolved at last to escape. I had made up my mind to escape, and was always looking for the means to do so from the beginning. I could not escape; the door was always locked, and I could not get down to get out. Madame was afraid that some people coming to the house to M. Denis would see the girls. When we went down Madame made us go up directly. She used to sit and watch in the dining-room. I agreed with the work-girl to escape. I escaped about eight days after, about half-past seven in the morning. The girl opened the door for me, and went to the corner of the street with me, where Antonio was waiting. Antonio was a servant who left a week before. When I escaped I had on only a woollen dress and a pair of slippers. I could not dress myself properly, because another girl slept with me."

Objection was taken by the attorney for the prisoner to the reception of the evidence relating to what occurred at Paris, but it was overruled by the magistrate.

It was further shown that Harrison had the care of the house in Denbigh-street during the absence of Madame Denis.

Two witnesses, Elvire Cerchel, a work-girl, and Antonio Verbeck, a Belgian, gave particulars as to the escape. It was managed by Cerchel with the aid of a charwoman, and after it had been effected both these women were imprisoned by Madame in the kitchen; but they broke the windows, cried "Police," and were liberated.

Cerchel, who had been working in the house, proved that girls frequented it and gentlemen. She was sometimes sent out to obtain change for bank-notes, and to order cabs for "gentlemen."

The prisoner was remanded, Mr. Arnold declining to accept bail.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

The deaths registered in London exhibit a considerable increase, having risen from 1154 in the previous week (a number which the mortality has not much exceeded since the middle of January) to 1334 in the week that ended last Saturday. In four weeks that followed the middle of January the mean temperature was 42 degs.; in the fifth week it fell to 35.1 degs.; and last week it was 40.9 degs.

In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1844-53, the average number of deaths was 1136, which, if raised in proportion to increase in population, becomes 1243. The present return shows an excess above the estimated amount of nearly 100.

The number of births registered in the week was great, amounting to 1795. Of these 891 were of boys, 904 were of girls. In the corresponding weeks of the nine years 1845-53 the average number was 1477.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 30.096 inches. The highest means were 30.314 inches, and 30.319 inches on Thursday and Saturday; the lowest 29.786 inches on Monday. The mean temperature of the week was 40.9 degs., which is 1.5 deg. above the average of the same week for 38 years. On Sunday the mean temperature was 4.7 degs. below the average; during the rest of the week it was above the average, though for the most part to only a slight extent. The highest temperature in the week was 53 degs. on Monday; the lowest 30 degrees on Sunday. The mean dew-point temperature was 33.8 degs. The wind blew from the north-west and south-west. There was no fall of rain except on Thursday, when it was 0.10 inches.

MISCELLANEOUS.

QUEEN VICTORIA has seen her Guards march to the wars this week; and has visited the Tower and the Haymarket Theatre; and has entertained her generals, Lord Raglan, General Brown, Colonel Eyre; her Ministers, Duke of Newcastle, Sir William Molesworth, and Sir John Young; and her late Minister, Mr. Benjamin Disraeli, and Mrs. Disraeli.

The Duchess of Gloucester is ill. The Queen, and the Duke and Duchess d'Aumale have called upon her.

Although there was a Cabinet Council on Saturday, yet Ministers met again on Sunday at the house of Lord Clarendon, and remained in deliberation several hours.

In reply to a deputation that waited on Lord Aberdeen, to impress on him the necessity of collecting agricultural statistics, he said:—

"Hitherto experiments have been made with a view to test the practicability of collecting accurate returns. Those made in Scotland have been very successful. In England the same system has been tried in two counties, Norfolk and Hampshire. At first it was not attended with the same success, as much opposition was offered, and more would have been if the returns had been made compulsory. It is, therefore, desirable to avoid measures which might appear compulsory. I am happy to say that now there is every prospect of the experiment being attended with perfect success. I have therefore no hesitation in saying, that enough has been done to prove that a system may be extended generally throughout the country, though I am not prepared to say by what machinery. The importance of the object is fully admitted, and its practicability proved. The time and the mode of inquiry are, therefore, now the only points to be determined. The question of expense would have to be submitted to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but on that point I do not anticipate much objection."

At a meeting of the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers, on Monday, the secretary read a letter from the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, written under directions from Lord Palmerston, enclosing a copy of a letter from Mr. F. O. Ward relative to the comparative advantage of the systems of drainage advocated by the Commissioners and the Board of Health, and informing the Commission that Lord Palmerston recommended the latter "as combining the greatest degree of efficiency with the greatest degree of economy." Colonel Dawson said he thought the Commissioners could not consistently remain any longer in office after that deliberate judgment by Lord Palmerston, and he moved that the Court adjourn *sine die*. Mr. Hawkshaw seconded the motion, and it was carried unanimously.

The Council of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce have adopted a resolution by a vote of eleven to eight affirming the principle set forth in the report of their special committee—viz., "That the present law, in so far as it prohibits the formation of partnerships with limited liability, is unsound, and an alteration in this and other respects is urgently required."

The Crystal Palace Company show that they are in earnest with their undertaking. At the meeting of the company on Tuesday, they unanimously increased the capital to 1,000,000l. by voting an additional 250,000l. The palace will be opened on the 1st of May.

Colonel Pakenham, one of the members for the county of Antrim, and who commands a company of the Guards, in a brief and manly address to his constituents, issued just previous to the embarkation of his battalion for war service in the East, announces that, in the event of his services abroad being required for a longer period than he anticipates, he will be reluctantly compelled to restore to them the trust they have reposed in him as one of their Parliamentary representatives. If, he adds, his absence should be short, he shall resume his duties with an unabated desire to discharge them for the best interests of the electors.

Mr. Cantwell declares that he will unseat Mr. Chichester Fortescue the re-elected member for Louth before two months have passed. Such threats are common on the hustings.

The honour of opening the first School of Design in connexion with a National School, belongs to the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. On Monday the school was opened under the presidency of the Duke of Argyll.

The poor law guardians of Totness have signed a petition to Parliament praying for the establishment of reformatory schools for juvenile delinquents.

A meeting of the magistrates of the city of Manchester was held on Tuesday afternoon. Most of the magistrates were present, and after several long and interesting speeches, resolutions were adopted in the terms of a series adopted on the previous day by the magistrates for the hundred of Salford, in favour of Government providing reformatory institutions for juvenile criminals.

Dr. Richards, rector of Exeter College, Oxford, died on Tuesday, at Bonchurch, Isle of Wight.

Colonel Sykes has been elected Lord Rector of the University of Aberdeen for the ensuing year.

The Senate of the United States have rejected the nomination of Mr. G. Saunders as consul for London.

Walker, the filibuster, is not put down as reported. He is still in Lower California issuing proclamations as president of that republic.

On Friday night the village of Clare and the surrounding country was illuminated by bonfires and tar-barrels in honour of the pardon of Smith O'Brien, announced on Wednesday night in the House of Commons. In Ennis the demonstration was more limited.

Reports from Ireland dwell on the large amount of land under tillage, and the favour with which the farmers regard wheat crops. Nevertheless the national esculent will be planted in greater quantities than last year.

The Lord Provost has just returned from London, where he has had interviews with the Earl of Aberdeen, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the President of the Board of Trade, on the subject of a grant for a Scottish National Museum. His lordship pressed the claim of Scotland to such a grant very strongly upon those members of the Government, and we trust that his representations may have some effect. We learn that the Highland Society are about to send a deputation to London on the same subject.—*Scotsman*.

The *Law Times* contemplates that the coming change in

the Poor Law will strike another blow at the bar, by depriving it of the profitable business litigation on removal and settlement. What a pity!

Money-order offices have just been established at Bollington, in Chester; Lund, in Yorkshire; Newquay, in Cardigan; Calton, in Glasgow; Barrhill, in Ayr, and Lilliesleaf, in Selkirk.

One of the Bristol pilots reports that there is a Turkish barque and a Russian barque in Penarth roads, ready loaded, and each bound to their respective countries; that the captain of the latter fears to proceed to sea, as his antagonist has nine guns ready to play upon his enemy as soon as he can catch him clear of the roadstead.—*Shipping Gazette.*

The 50-gun screw frigate, *Carlo Alberto*, built for the Sardinian Government, left the Tyne on Tuesday, in the presence of an immense concourse of people, who thronged the banks of the river. She is the largest vessel ever built in the north, and is looked upon with great pride by Tyneside people. She is manned by Italians; and goes to Woolwich to take in her armament.

Mr. Jeremiah Smith, Mayor of Rye, has been convicted of perjury before the Recorder, sitting at the Central Criminal Court. The offence was this. In giving evidence before the Rye Election Committee, Smith swore he did not pay for a certain dinner given on behalf of the candidate in 1852, Mr. Mackinnon. Subsequently he contradicted that statement, and said he was sorry for having made it. Mr. Mackinnon was called as a witness, and caused great merriment by saying that he had put notes to the amount of 280*l.* under a sofa cushion in the Red Lion Inn; that he did not know why they were to be put there, but that he put them there because desired to do so. Another witness was then examined—Mr. Reeves, farmer. He said: "I do not know of any notes being given to defendant. I did give him a roll of paper.—Do you call notes paper at Rye? It was like a bundle of notes.—Was it? where did you find it? I found it upon the sofa. Buller was there, and said it was desirable it should be given to Smith.—That was very kind; where was Smith? He was at the Red Lion.—Did he seem surprised? No, not at all. I swear I do not know what the bundle contained.—Have you no belief as to what was there? No, none.—After some hesitation, and being pressed very closely by the Recorder, he admitted that he believed the bundle was a roll of notes. It was proved that Smith had ordered the dinner, and had paid for it. Verdict of guilty; sentence: twelve months' imprisonment.

In an affray at Bristol, between the crews of a Spanish and a British ship, a sailor named Murphy has been stabbed to death. The lower orders of Irish, who made common cause with their countrymen, were restrained with difficulty from carrying the Spanish ship by assault.

A strange story has come a long way—in fact, all the way from Umballa, in the Punjab. An officer dismissed his bearer; but for some reason again sent for him. When he arrived, it is said, the officer had him tied up and killed him by repeated blows with a riding whip. The officer says the bearer and six other men robbed him, and that he unfortunately killed the man. He was placed under guard.

Martha Gandy, aged 36, the daughter of a solicitor at Liverpool, has shot herself with a pistol. She left behind the following letter:—"My dear Father,—Forgive me for the rash act I am about to commit. I cannot live in misery. Adam [her lover] will not come when he promised us. He never performs it. Whenever I see him he treats me with the greatest cruelty, and I have not had a happy home for the last two or three years. Never mind. Grieve not after me. I shall be far happier in heaven than being in this world. All that I have to name is not to allow Ned [her brother] to follow me to the grave. The Almighty will reward him for his conduct to me. Adieu for ever.—Martha Gandy." The jury returned a verdict of "Suicide under temporary insanity."

Two men entered the house of Mr. Delany, 139, York-street, Hulme, Manchester, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon of Monday, and finding Mrs. Delany alone, they tied her hands behind her, tied her legs together, coiled a rope rather tightly round her neck to stop her cries, and left her lying on her face whilst they robbed the house. They obtained upwards of 6*l.* in money, and got safely away. Mrs. Delany was found soon afterwards by some neighbours frothing at the mouth, and nearly strangled.

Manchester suffered from a terrible conflagration on Wednesday night. One warehouse was completely destroyed, value 120,000*l.*, and several were injured to the extent of 40,000*l.* more. The fire, it is supposed, arose from the carelessness of packers, who were working late; and it was stimulated by the firing of the gas at the main. There were plenty of engines and abundance of water. The warehouse destroyed belonged to Messrs. Rylands, and was situated between New High-street and Bread-street. It was 300 feet long, 42 feet wide, and in one part three, in another four stories high.

No fewer than sixteen cottages, inhabited by labouring people, were destroyed by fire, near Blackwall, on Thursday. They were thatched with straw. In exploding a lucifer a curtain ignited, and in a moment the roof was in a blaze.

Last Saturday morning the cotton factory in the occupation of Mr. W. Warburton, Giggs, near Bury, Lancashire, was destroyed by fire. The building was four stories high, 150 feet long and 42 feet wide. The property was insured in the Royal Exchange and the Royal Liverpool Insurance offices. It is not known how the fire originated.

The glass manufactory of Mr. Apsley Pellatt, M.P., has been partially destroyed by fire.

An emigrant ship, the *Staffordshire*, recently went into the rocks off the Seal Islands, Nova Scotia, and went down with 175 human beings on board, including the captain. The four mates, twenty-one seamen, and twenty-five passengers, including only one woman, were saved.

Railway accidents have not been so frequent of late. There was one, however, on Monday. A goods train, disregarding a signal, ran into a passenger train near to Stockport. Fortunately the passengers escaped with bruises.

The inquiry into the explosion at Wigan is proceeding. As yet no satisfactory account of the accident has been given, and the inquest is adjourned.

The sixth anniversary of the Whittington Club was celebrated on Thursday evening by a grand concert, ball, and supper, given in the rooms of the Society, Arundel-street, Strand.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, March 4th.

FURTHER proceedings with the Reform Bill were postponed last night until the 27th of April. This announcement gave rise to a spirited debate.

Pursuant to notice, Lord JOHN RUSSELL moved the postponement of the bill to that day, giving his reasons. He commenced by saying that the bill was brought in in conformity with the declaration on the subject of the representation of the people. Soon after the Hon. Member for East Kent gave notice of an amendment on the second reading, which seemed rather one of hostility to the Government than to the bill itself. After the introduction of the bill, the Government had to consider both the state of public business and the state of our foreign affairs before fixing the time for the second reading. With regard to the state of public business, the estimates which it was so necessary to have passed had been dealt with in a most devoted manner by the House; but the budget by which the ways and means for the supplies granted were to be obtained would come on on Monday.

The exigencies of the public business would therefore prevent his moving the second reading of the Reform Bill so soon after the financial statement. But a stronger reason was to be found in the aspect of our foreign relations; for unless the final demand to Russia, to evacuate the Principalities should be complied with, it would be the duty of Government to come to Parliament with a message from the Crown, equivalent to a declaration of war. The answer to that demand might be expected by the end of the month, and the present would not be an advantageous moment for the discussion of the measure of Parliamentary Reform. The second reading of the Bill would therefore be postponed until the 27th April, and in the mean time the Reform Bills for Scotland and Ireland would be introduced.

Sir JOHN SHELLEY in very strong terms expressed his disappointment at the postponement of the measure, and expressed a fear that its introduction was only a sham.

Sir E. DEXING did not intend by the notice he had given to interfere with any measure of Reform, for he was a strong advocate of a comprehensive measure of that kind; but while war was impending over the country he could not think it a fitting time to discuss such a measure. If the second reading was moved on the 27th of April, he should move an amendment for its postponement.

Lord A. LENNOX said that Lord J. Russell had pronounced a funeral oration over the Reform Bill, at whose obsequies he was chief mourner, and Lord Palmerston a mute.

Mr. LABOUCHERE supported the course taken by Ministers, and expressed his belief that the honour of the country was safe in their keeping.

Colonel SIBTHORP vigorously hoped that this was the last time they should ever hear any more of Parliamentary reform.

Mr. PHINN, though an ardent reformer, agreed that it was advisable, under existing circumstances, to postpone the bill, which at a more convenient season he was inclined to support.

Sir J. PAKINGTON denounced the course taken by Ministers in introducing the Reform Bill, and stigmatised the position of the Government as discreditable and humiliating. He accused them of something like deliberate deception in the course they had taken, for they must have known, when they brought in the Bill just as well as now, that they would not be able to proceed with it.

Mr. HUME warmly defended Ministers, expressed his strong confidence in them, although he regretted that they did not press the Bill, which had been accepted by the country at once. If they did not go on with it at the time to which it was postponed, they would be abased, and lose all character for honour and good faith.

Sir GEORGE GREY ardently vindicated the Government from the attack made on them by Sir J. Pakington, who ought not, if he was sincere in his opinion of the character of Ministers, to have entrusted them with the supplies for carrying on the war, but rather to have made his refusal of so much confidence in them the Parliamentary test of his sincerity.

Mr. DISRAELI characterised the reasons given for the delay of the measure as unsatisfactory, and deprecated the course taken by Lord John Russell in stating the details of his measure, if, as he believed, it was not intended to proceed with it this session. He retorted on Sir George Grey his strictures on Sir J. Pakington, ridiculed the overweening confidence of Mr. Hume in the Ministers;

doubted whether the fact of Lord J. Russell having by his Reform Bill stigmatised many members of the House as unqualified to sit in the House, might not be turned to his advantage if, in the course of the war, supplies were not voted with the same alacrity as now, and unpopular taxes were carried by small majorities consisting of the very men whom he had thus denounced. He drew a picture of the four principles on which Lord Aberdeen's Government had been formed—namely, the extension of free trade, which had not been extended; the maintenance of peace, which had not been maintained; the extension of education, when no bill had been introduced for the purpose, and the only educational measure of the session had been opposed by the Government; and a comprehensive reform in Parliament, which was carried out only by the introduction of a bill which was to be abandoned.

After an energetic reply from Lord J. RUSSELL, the motion first put forward was agreed to.

On going into Committee of Supply, Mr. LUCAS drew attention to the inadequate provision of Roman Catholic priests in the army and navy.

Sir J. GRAHAM and Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT expressed themselves inclined to promote the object which the honourable gentleman had in view, but there were some difficulties in the way. They were in communication with the Roman Catholic hierarchy on the subject.

In Committee an addition of 15,000 men to the army was voted, and a sum of 500,000*l.* for their pay and victualling granted. Sums were also voted for additions to the staff and commissariat.

Early in the evening Lord J. RUSSELL gave notice that on Friday next he should move for leave to bring in a bill for the reconstitution of the University of Oxford.

The only matter of importance in the House of Lords was an inquiry by the Earl of DERBY whether it was true that the Reform Bill was to be postponed, and if so, until what time—was it a real postponement, or an abandonment of the Bill for the session?

The Earl of ARBUTHNOT stated that in his opinion the country approved of the Bill, and considered it just, liberal, honest, and fair; but the Government thought it best to proceed with the financial measures which the provision for the impending war required to be gone through as soon as possible. The Bill would therefore be postponed till the 27th of April, when it was the intention of the Government to proceed with it.

We deeply regret to announce very serious riots at Preston yesterday, in consequence of the introduction of large bodies of strangers, in pursuance of the masters' notification. The Riot Act was read, out-door meetings prohibited, and 100 policemen ordered from London. The aspect of the town is alarming.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In the "News of the Week," in our last number, a typographical error represented the cavalry regiments ordered abroad as "the 8th and the 9th." Our information stated "the 8th and the 17th." In the last paragraph of the article on "The Progress of India," the final word "Britain" was accidentally dropped out.

In the article on the Belgian girl abduction, for "Lord Skene" read "Lord Selkirk."

Several papers are unavoidably omitted this week.

The Leader.

SATURDAY, MARCH 4, 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.*

HOW REFORM BILLS ARE SECURED.

THE Reform Bill was held out to the English people by Lord John Russell. It was not all that we required; it was more than we expected, and such of us as cared to move for anything short of a national franchise declared that so far as it went we should like to have it; and Ministers wanted to give it us. But there is a "false medium," which has stood between, and deprived us of the gift. It could not have been done if certain

"Liberals," as they call themselves, had not turned traitor and helped the Opposition to balk the English people. It reminds us of the moral of certain facts related in our news this week.

We have repeatedly called attention to the sturdiness of the Cape colonists in insisting upon their rights—their right to be free of convicts, and their right to have self-government. The present Secretary of State for the Colonies fulfilled the wishes of the colonists by accomplishing the "English constitution" which had been long promised by Lord John Russell, and long hindered by the fastidious perversities of Lord Grey; and a colony left in a state verging on rebellion is now quietly going through its elections, and ringing with praise of "Newcastle," as the best statesman of the day.

How pleasing and loyal the English people would become if the Duke of Newcastle were free to place them on a level with the colonists at the Cape. But then the colonists themselves rebelled, and the English people have not for many generations done anything so striking to deserve the consideration of English statesmen.

Close by the Cape of Good Hope was the settlement of the Anglo-Dutch colonists, whose history we have repeatedly revived. They were ill-used by the Cape Government, especially in having their hands tied against chastising the Kaffir marauders; they became discontented; they emigrated, and English soldiers were sent after them to bring them back to British territory; they were conquered, in a military sense; but they held out, in a rebel sense, and would not come home; and they established the settlement beyond the Vaal, they continued to be contumacious, but peaceable. The Kaffir war broke out, and they abstained from the base policy of siding with the savages against the British. Government took a more favourable view of their pretensions; they were allowed to remain out on sufferance; they were recognised; Pretorius, the rebel leader, was acknowledged as the ally of the British; and now we see Mr. Potgeiter quietly succeed Pretorius as "President" of "The South African Republic." The English reader will perceive that these Anglo-Dutch colonists had the courage and the obstinacy to assert and to maintain their rights, in the teeth of the powerful British empire, and also that they had the generosity not to disgrace themselves by a base complicity with savages. In short, they have earned the independence which they have taken, and which the English Government has recognised, by being independent.

English statesmen give to rebels what they let English "Liberals" intercept from the English people.

HOW THE WAR IS TO BEGIN.

ACCORDING to the explanations which have been given of the last communication made to Russia, it is not an appeal which can give her any opening for new delay, but it is really a summons to surrender. It was necessary to make that summons formally before resorting to final measures. The very nature of the position on the part of Turkey's foremost allies hitherto, the desire to preserve, an opening for peaceful accommodation, has prevented the Western Powers from taking up so peremptory a tone as would have rendered this formal summons unnecessary. The object of securing peace, if possible, was too consistent with the feeling of this country to be neglected, and Ministers are right in saying that the growth of opinion at home was necessary; we wanted time to develop our warlike machinery to its fullest strength, after so long a repose in peace, as well as to permit the same development in Turkey, and to give room for Austrian and Russian opinion to turn round in.

We now stand in this position. The Czar has been called upon to declare whether or not he will evacuate the Principalities. In either event England and France have agreed upon joint action. Turkey has accepted their alliance upon a convention. Austria and Prussia have also joined the alliance, so far as to unite in the demand for the evacuation of the Principalities. Should Russia refuse, it is a case of war. In that event England and France possess a fleet in the Black Sea, and they will, we believe, possess one in the Baltic; though the third French squadron has not been specifically mentioned as destined for that quarter. The French and English contingents will be in Turkey—a body of 65,000 at least. The distribution of this auxiliary force has not yet been explained, but it will be, no doubt, of a kind to bring the Russians to a stand, unless they should

fall back upon Austrian territory. Austria already has a numerous army on the frontier, to observe and to maintain at least the neutrality of Austria; but it is well understood that Austria intends to do more than to be neutral, and to assist in suppressing any internal disorder in Serbia, Bosnia, or the Slavonian provinces of Turkey—in other words, to keep down the domestic allies of Russia, in Turkey.

So much for the first stage. And if Austria has the strength to carry out her intention, she may succeed in curbing that power which restored Hungary to the Austrian empire, and may so fulfil the promise of Prince Schwarzenberg that some day he would astonish Russia with "an immense ingratitude." There is, however, no probability that Russia would fall without resistance. A distinguished diplomatist, who had excellent opportunities of observing, has said of the Emperor Nicholas that he would not yield, though all the powers of Europe were against him; they might destroy him. But even if he succumb thus to an inevitable fate, he will strive to sell his existence dearly; and he has the means.

Unfortunately for the German Powers, they have not kept clear accounts politically, and they do not always stand well with their own subjects. Besides, all the German Powers are not with Austria and Prussia. The chief Ministers of Saxony and Bavaria have accepted decorations recently sent to them by the Emperor; they now belong to the knightly order of Saint Alexander Newsky, patron Saint of Russia, and they have received those decorations at a time when the Czar has threatened to erase the names of Austria and Prussia from the honorary position which they occupied in his military roll. Hungary, too, has been infinitely more offended by Austria than by Russia, since Austria has betrayed a trust and an oath, while Russia was only a foreign foe—a foe, too, whose warfare was conducted with comparative politeness. Whether Hungary will join the arch-enemy of freedom or not, we have yet to learn. Her decision cannot be prejudged by Western ideas. But whatever may be the decision of any particular community, there is no doubt that Russia will seek allies wherever she can find them; she will find them, too often, amongst malcontent States and parties in the South of Europe—amongst the Greeks, the Slavonians of Austria as well as Turkey, and amongst those minor States of Germany which feel their inferiority invidiously, and burn with the desire of rising superior to the Duchy of Brandenburg. It is scarcely possible, therefore, that Russia should be without the power of mischief, and there is no reason to suppose that the European alliance will be formed with such completeness, or its work executed so nicely, as to keep Russia in a state of absolute isolation, and to finish the war by chastising, and perhaps reducing her.

Should the contest grow larger, Austria might find new circumstances to justify a new counsel, and might turn from the Western to the Russian alliance. It would be false policy; but there are circumstances under which States as well as individuals want either the insight, or the fortitude, or the strength to be wise. In that case Austria would be against Western Europe. It would be a war, not for opinions only, but for existence; and Russia would contend not only to defend herself, but to avenge herself and to aggrandise herself; fulfilling three ambitions with one war.

In such a case it would be idle to fight for any pedantically definite object; to abide by a ridiculous moderation, and to be content with the evacuation of the Principalities. Other journals have talked about "compensation," but more would be at stake than that. If it should be a war of principles, they would not be abstract principles. If there is such a thing as evil, it is embodied in its most solid form and in its largest proportions in those powers which have sustained the absolutist principle in Europe,—have deprived mankind of rational freedom, have habitually kept whole communities under their rule in affliction by retaining in the prison an enormous representative draft from the population. The Neapolitans mourn more than 20,000 prisoners, lingering in hopeless confinement so long as the throne upholds a Bourbon. Austria has made whole states feel that they were slaves, and has taught them to know that which is the most humiliating and shocking form of state enslavement—they are used to keep up each other's slavery. Russia prevents that commerce which our Peace party declares to be the most valuable of material blessings. If Europe be thrown open by a war,

some of these long-standing grievances must be cured. It will be necessary, not only because justice requires that Russia should give compensation for the war which she has brought upon Europe, and that Austria should give compensation for the immunity which she is allowed in being admitted to the European alliance, but also because the contest will be one for entire existence, and if freedom be not fairly established, conquering and triumphant, on the field of Europe—if the contest be not commenced with the purpose of making freedom thus absolutely dominant—then the stronger purpose will prevail, and Russia will crush Europe in a rule of political slavery, commercial suppression, and religious barbarism.

The safety, therefore, of the states representing national independence in Europe demands that Russia shall be effectually conquered and laid prostrate by a grand counter-action, raising influences and powers the very opposite. Commercial justice demands that mankind shall be repaid for the afflictions which Russia has drawn upon them, and which the tyrant monarchs, with all their power, have been unable to avert; and civilization demands that the great occasion for a new step in progress should not be lost. It is time to have done with 1815; we want a new map of Europe, more just, more beneficent. The *status quo* would be a ridiculous end to all this contest. The virtuous states should be rewarded, and the lowly should be exalted on the ruins of the downfallen.

How has Russia held her possessions, except by rapine and force; and if she forfeits that bad tenure, on what other title can she retain them? Why should she keep Poland, which never offended Europe, but only served it, and which has never ceased to exist nor to protest? If Russia be not the prosperous and irresistible power which she has pretended to be, Lithuania will remember her own independence. Finland will ask why she has been wrested from Sweden. The maritime powers of the world will ask, by what right a conquered power should exercise any veto upon the Baltic or the Euxine. The corn-eating world will ask why Russia should possess the granaries of Odessa, or the mouth of the Danube, only to frustrate the fertility of the corn-growing countries and the commerce of the world. Bessarabia, as Lord Ponsonby says, would be freer to enjoy her fertility, if freed from Russian control.

But if, for the retribution of the offending power, and the benefit of the world, this iniquitous distribution of the map be amended, other states will ask to be promoted in the new régime. Whatever immunities Austria may earn by good faith in the opening struggle, the claim of Italy to political existence, if not independence, can scarcely be silenced. The real independence of Switzerland will be asserted, and those countries which have actually conquered the field of Europe by their powers and activity, by their foresight and resolution, will be unable to refuse the claims forced upon them by trust in their higher rule. As to now forswearing new territorial distributions, after that war, which no one can forecalculate, shall have swept Europe, it is nonsense. The true principle is, to resolve beforehand, that the re-distribution shall be an honest one, and shall benefit all countries, without undue gain for any power, and still less to any family. "It is," as the ingenuous Lord Carnarvon said, in seconding the address, "that the petty feuds of families should give place to the interests of nations."

THE SCOTTISH EDUCATION BILL.

OUR Scotch friends may perhaps consider it a proof that their nation is of less importance in the eyes of Englishmen than an English province, that the Manchester-and-Salford Education Bill should, in the first place, receive more attention in Parliament than their own, should in the next be honoured by a leading article in the *Times*, and discussed by the leading London journals, while that to which themselves looked forward so long and anxiously was introduced to a House three-parts empty, and finally passed over in "contemptuous" silence by the press. Let us suggest that Scotland is a "terra incognita" to many writers to whom the "Manchester Condition Question" is a familiar subject; and that nothing could be more complimentary to Scotchmen than a silence which implies that they are fully capable of looking after their own interests.

Had the Home Secretary of 1843 been actuated by the same liberal principles as the Lord Advocate

of 1854; the condition of Scotland would not now be an insuperable objection to the Scottish Education Bill. At that period the country from Tweed to Naver was in the throes of a politico-ecclesiastical revolution. Nearly all the talent, energy, and piety of the Presbyterian Church, was arrayed in favour of reform in the administration of patronage. The Evangelicals, fighting ostensibly for the headship of Christ, were striving to substitute a priestly for a constitutional tyranny. They maintained that the State was bound to support the Church, and, in the same breath, that the State had no business to interfere with the Church. As is usual, when parsons lay themselves out to produce popular excitements, the bulk of the people were enthusiastically in their favour; and, as the event proved, were ready to secede, rather than submit to the powers that be. No better opportunity could have occurred for settling the question of Establishments in Scotland. The moderate party were lukewarm about all but the loaves and fishes, and quite ready to give up the rights of the future for a guarantee of their continuance during their own life time. The Evangelicals, on the other hand, although they advocated the principle of the Establishment, were on the eve of quitting their connexion with it, and would no more have been sorry to see it sink than would rats a ship they had deserted. In fact, if the present proposal to disconnect the old parochial schools and the Scotch Kirk has a chance of acceptance, the attempt to set the Church of Scotland on a new footing, in 1843, would have been as acceptable, as meritorious, and politic. But Sir James Graham did not see that the time had come. He neither attempted a settlement of the Establishment on a new footing, nor stooped to a compromise with the Evangelicals; he vindicated the rights of patrons and the authority of the Crown; he divided the Presbyterian Church against itself, and thereby sealed its fate,—too weak in state craft to succeed in reconciling parties, and too conservative in principle to attempt an organic change in the Church government, he let go his hold of the bone of contention, and permitted the belligerent divines to fight it out in their own way.

They have done so, and, as usual, enthusiasm has triumphed at least for the while. If it is a peculiarity of religious enthusiasm to believe in miracles, it is its privilege to perform them. The Free Churchmen, relying on the co-operation mostly of the poorer and the middle-class, entered on a competition with the old Kirk, with all its privileges and appointments. They matched church against church, manse against manse, and stipend against endowment, in every parish in the kingdom. They founded and endowed theological schools and colleges. They endowed professorships in Humanity, the Sciences, and Arts; and, going beyond the mere machinery for educating their pastors, largely contributed by bursaries and exhibitions to the maintenance of such deserving students as forfeited the bounties of Royalty by adhering to the cause. But there was one class of their followers for whom, within the first few years of their progress, they were unable to make provision. A large number, if not a majority, of the parochial schoolmasters of Scotland, giving up their connexion with the Church for "conscience sake," had thrown themselves on the generosity of the seceders. Many of these men suffered so severely, that, although an educational system had no part in the original scheme, for the evangelisation of the country, formed by the Free Church, it was at last found necessary to include it. An agitation was set on foot, and the land overrun with agents and orators, who demonstrated the duty of "lending to the Lord" so efficiently, that, within a year, five hundred schools and schoolmasters' houses were erected and paid for. Nor was this all; provision was made for expanding the school-system, and a Sustentation Fund formed, from which, since 1846 till now, the teachers have regularly received such stipends as, with the assistance from the Government grant for Education in Scotland, has made their position materially better than it was in the old connexion. In the interval of seven years since the formation of the Free Church educational scheme, the number of these schools has so multiplied that now almost every parochial school in Scotland has a young and vigorous rival; while in all the large towns model institutions have been founded for the training of teachers—a kind of institution which the Establishment does not possess, except in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Every care has been taken to increase the efficiency of their masters,

and it is a proof of their success that the Government grant—candidates for which must undergo examination—has been much more extensively useful to the Free Church than to the Establishment. Add to this that in many country parishes the site of the old school, well chosen as population was distributed a century ago, is now such as to make it inaccessible to those for whom it was intended, and that the Free Church school is set down in the position most convenient for the present population, and it will be seen that there exists in Scotland an educational system co-extensive with the old parochial one, provided with younger, more energetic, better trained, and also, and in consequence, better paid teachers; at the same time that their schools have the advantage in structure and position over those of the rival establishment.

Such is the case. Whatever difficulties stood in the way of a national scheme of education in 1843 are doubled in 1854. The failure of the Home Secretary is a legacy to the Lord Advocate. Now how does his lordship propose to deal with the question? He is so far free of conservative qualms, that he professes not to believe in the divine right of old and bad institutions to grow older and worse, and proposes to dis sever the school and Church establishments in Scotland. But why, we ask, has he confined his attention solely to the old system, while a new and better should at least have divided his attention? By raising the qualifications and salaries of the schoolmasters he will at best only put the old system into condition to conduct the rivalry on a footing of equality. Such rivalry, however good in some of its results, being connected with and dependent on the continuance of religious antagonism, is to be deplored. Besides, outside the large towns there is no room for the rivals. Where one school fills another empties. Even when the qualifications of the teachers are equal, the Free Churchman has the advantage, since the poorer classes, whose children attend such schools, are mostly of his persuasion. Now we are not doing battle for Free Churchmen (for whom, however, in their proper sphere we have a proper respect), but would it not have been more in keeping with the terms of the compromise in favour of a national system of education lately come to at Edinburgh between the leaders of all denominations in Scotland, if he had proposed a grant in aid, not to rival seminaries, but to such of the existing schools of all kinds as from position and structure are best suited to meet the public wants. There would no doubt be great difficulties in the way of such Eclectism. But they might be overcome. Free Churchmen would throw no obstacles in the way of such an arrangement if we may judge from their recent professions. Their school system is no essential feature in their scheme, and only when the people had to be heated up to subscription-point was it maintained that it was such. If a true national system of education is to be founded in Scotland, let it by all means be founded fairly on the existing systems.

One, and the strongest, reason for attempting some such arrangement is its justice. Although the Lord Advocate has omitted to mention it, there can be no question that when the present Bill comes (if ever) into operation, all other grants for educational purposes will be withdrawn. Royal gifts for such purposes to a country like Scotland are highly pernicious. They tend to perpetuate sectarian rivalries in a matter into which sectarian feeling cannot enter without prejudice to national interests. Relying on such assistance, every petty little schism, since the days of Fisher and Fletcher, may lift up its head and meditate a school system for its children. There must be an end to these whatever happens, and we cannot well see how, in justice, Government aid is to be wholly withdrawn from Free Churchmen without the compensation which a scheme based on theirs as well as the old parochial schools would be calculated to afford.

NICHOLAS AT HOME.

It all depends upon the point of view. Viewed from Milan or Spielberg, Francis Joseph is a species of hereditary fiend, whose function it is to torment men for entertaining honourable and patriotic motives, or even natural affection for their kind. Viewed from the drawing-room in Munich, he is a fine soldierly fellow—an engaging lover, the very picked specimen of "a dear man." Viewed from Bucharest, Nicholas is a lawless invader, a trampling tyrant, a superstitious canter,

adealer in intrigue, fraud, and falsehood. Viewed from the Foreign Office, in Downing-street, he is an unprincipled violator of his word, an invader of European law, a shame to the royal order, and an offender to be resisted; but viewed only from the standing place of the Peace deputation, in his own drawing-room, he is an attentive host, an affable great man, a candid but misunderstood prince, a *monarque incompris*, a humane sovereign, anxious for peace, yearning to be re-united to England, a practical Christian, a gentleman who can appreciate the first lady in our own land, "not only as a sovereign, but as a lady, a wife, and a mother."

There is no mistake in the matter. Joseph Sturge, Robert Charleton, and Henry Pease must be able to make affidavit of what they saw; and what they saw was most creditable to the Emperor. Although there was the greatest disparity in their social stations, he condescended to make to them a speech prepared especially to convince their hearts; telling how his feelings had been wounded; how he had risen superior to insults and invectives; how he held out his hands to his enemies in a true Christian spirit. They saw his hand, and there was no blood on it; they saw his countenance, it was truly Christian; they saw his drawing-room, it was a model of calmness and peace. They saw his Empress, a gentle German lady. They saw, in fact, the gentleman in his home, they shared his hospitality, they received his confidence, and altogether they witnessed a scene that must have been to them truly charming.

For, we repeat, it all depends upon the point of view. We have formerly mentioned an old gentleman, eminent among Parisians for having actually known the revolutionists of 1793—among them the chief of all those revolutionists, Robespierre. It had been his singular felicity to regard M. de Robespierre from the charming point of view. He had gone to him on a mission not unlike that of J. Sturge, R. Charleton, and H. Pease, namely, to ask a reprieve for a man, perfectly innocent, under sentence of death at nine o'clock next morning. Robespierre promised to reprieve the man, and he did so, only regretting that his working late of nights made him rise late. "And he must have worked late that night," said our oldest inhabitant, "since my poor friend—" A guillotine gesture supplied the event. "For," continued the living memoir, looking back with delight to that charming interview, "he was most amiable in society!" And it is in society, where a man's real heart comes out, that the triple broad-brim has viewed the Autocrat of all the Russias.

RELIEF FOR POOR LORDS.

A curious scene occurred in the Encumbered Estates Court, at Dublin, this week. Lord Gort appeared to invoke the protection of the Commissioners, in order that he and his family might not be turned out of his dwelling-house by the purchaser of the land, of which not long since the Irish Peer was the nominal lord. There have often been ejections in Ireland, and some classes, like the eels, have grown used to the infliction; but now, it appears, the hardship is rising to inflict its sting on classes who had formerly been the agents rather than the sufferers.

One cannot but feel regret even for a Lord; the more because he is a Lord. For it is all nonsense to say that past habits make no difference. We will not fall into the cant which would justify the ill-treatment of a poor man, because he has been used to privation and hardship; nor as little will we fall into the cant of pretending that the same hardship is equally grievous to the man hardly brought up, and to him who has been brought up in luxury. The traveller knows better. He knows that the youth who has never encountered storm and shipwreck, frozen desolation, or starvation, destined to traverse a remote horizon before food can be reached, will undergo a torture, moral as well as physical, to which the hardened adventurer is callous. That must be a hard and vitiated heart which can see without sympathy a Lord, whose lands are passing from him, petitioning for forbearance, lest he be ejected like a common "sans potato."

But there are more Gorts in the United Kingdom than some philosophers reckon. If there are Lords bankrupt in wealth, there are Lords also bankrupt in health, in social utility, in political influence—Lords who are a reproach to their order, and whose title is a badge of disgrace to themselves; Barons to whom obscurity would be

a charity, but whose names oblige them to be judged from the point of view of Runnymede; senile Marquises, who are tracked in the solace for their misanthropy to abodes, where a kidnapped girl is prostituted to their servile profligacy. If the order has fallen in the estimation—if their very House of Parliament has lost its importance—if their local influence is threatened by newer influences rising around them, the fault lies, not with Chartists, with the commercial competitors, or the purchasers under an encumbered estates court, but with the order itself. It does not lie only in their bankruptcy, for Lords are not traders; the pith of it is, that they have often become such.

A satirical tale is told of the heir to a noble title, who, being disowned by his father, took a house opposite to the lordly mansion, opened a shoemaker's shop, and put his name over the door with the addition, "heir to Lord — over the way"—a sturdiness of appeal to public opinion which secured his return to the paternal favour. Some French writer relates a different case—that of a Marquis, who gave up his sword and his title, in order that he might go fairly into a common trade, and by honest industry repair the broken fortunes of his house; on accomplishing which he received back his sword, and resumed his title. The example might be of some use in Ireland, but, morally, it might be still more useful nearer to the metropolis. If our Peers without power, our Lords who deplore a waning influence, would descend from their born altitude to do something useful, they might really make themselves esteemed. To speak prophetically, they might save off or supersede their commercial bankruptcy; might save themselves from being compelled, like poor Lord Gort, to pray for forbearance. There are many things useful which even a Lord can do, as some of them have proved. A wealthy Duke of Bedford may render himself a blessing to the cottagers whom he helps to live; an Ashburton may teach the science and art of common life; an Ebrington may be an official worker in the public interest, and may prove sincerity by his hard work, and by resigning office when the public interest suffers from what he cannot sanction. And the country just now is calling its sons to the field, where many an idle lordling may find an opportunity of rendering himself useful as well as ornamental.

REVIVAL OF CHIVALRY.

All artists have observed that, notwithstanding the value of "practice" in developing skill, there is a considerable advantage in repose. Bad habits have an opportunity of subsiding; the zest of the intellectual impulse, which is an essential part of practice, acquires new life, and with all the accumulated experience of the past, the student begins afresh from a new starting point. It is to be hoped that the long peace will have furnished that species of repose to the art of war, and that those who have to take up arms, will do it with fresh spirit, increased intelligence, and also, let us add, with higher motives. We do not believe that peace could have been indefinitely protracted. Peace, like all other blessings, must be earned; but if peace doctrines, as people boast for them, have obtained a firm hold of the public mind, if a higher sense of natural and social rights has been attained, if Christianity has been brought more out of the theological study or the clerical shop into practical life, then we may expect to see war pursued in a spirit more consonant with the wise, the Christian, and the benevolent character of our day.

Already there are some signs that those who are responsible will strive to give to war even greater elevation. We do not, indeed, expect the improvement from broad-brims or from sentimentalists, who deprecate fighting altogether. The real improvement must come from soldiers and statesmen who know what war is, as a moral and political necessity; who do not altogether dread and abominate it, but who do desire to mitigate its evils, and to render it consonant with true nobility of thought and action.

Indeed steps have already been made in advance. The United States have done much to put down the practice of granting letters of marque—a species of piracy. Turkey has done much to enlarge the privileges of commerce during war, having granted indulgence even to the ships of her enemy. Inquiries are made as to the rights of neutrals, which indicate a disposition in our Parliament to put a very tight limit upon the

licence of war as bearing upon peaceable, unoffending, and unconcerned states or individuals.

But we must have more. Considerable improvements have been made, of late years, in the treatment of the soldier: the use of the lash has been reduced almost to nothing; the brutal method of lodging has been greatly reformed; the diet has been rendered more consistent with health, vigour, and comfort; the soldier has been permitted, and taught, to read; and lately we learn of officers who are lecturing to their men on the nature of the Russian position in the East, and on the fallacious show of strength in that power. In other words, soldiers are treated as men, with moral rights, including the right of thinking.

But soldiers who are thus treated will be expected to view their fellow-creatures, even on the field of battle, in a higher spirit than they have once been taught to do. Officers who can recognise reverence for manhood in the British soldier, cannot, without a practical impiety, refuse to recognise it even in the enemy. How much more should the rights of humanity be recognised in those helpless classes, who, whether they are in an enemy's country or not, cannot be regarded as the objects of hostile alarm or rancour. We expect of states that they will no longer indulge those licences in war which are involved in granting letters of marque, in making free with the property of neutrals, in playing the bully over peaceable traders; but in that better conduct on the part of leading statesmen we expect also to see an example that will not be lost on soldiers, and, while fully sustaining the honourable fame of their country and their race by bravery in the field, and by resolution throughout a campaign, we hope they will prove that a wiser intelligence, a more civilized Christianity, a truer religion, are their guides in the treatment of those whom nature has prevented from being enemies. The General commanding will still be required to make any requisite use of surprises, to cut off armies, of stormings, to take towns; but the truly generous officer, the truly manly soldier, imbued with the right spirit, will seek to war on soldiers, and, as far as possible, on soldiers alone. Nay, the soldier himself has rights so long as, by his bravery and his trust in an adversary's generosity, he shows that he merits generosity, or so soon as by his captivity or his wounds he is transformed from being an enemy into being a ward. If the statesman must forego letters of marque, appropriation of prizes formerly permitted, and coercion of States not morally involved, the soldier in active service will be expected to forego the wanton massacre, the pillage, and the indulgence in hideous debauches, which have disgraced some of the most "gallant" actions in the annals of British victories. Let the resisting fort be battered down, destroy whom the splinters may,—let the soldier on the field with weapon in hand be slain where he stands,—let the spy be hanged where he is discovered; but let the soldier's hand be stayed at the sight of womanhood or of infancy; let virtue, or even timidity and womanly reluctance, be respected; let unprotected property cease to be a temptation for converting the British soldier into a thief; in short, let a true chivalry govern the actions of officers, and be by them encouraged in the men, and war will then become a manly contest for power, divested of its worst evils, a mortal struggle not attended with disgusting crimes; and then chivalry will be not irreconcilable with the most catholic religion, not irreconcilable even with the continuance of those peaceful pursuits which it should protect, but never outrage.

This is an enterprise in which Englishmen may honourably challenge the competition of their French companions. People talk of the effect of a war in promoting discord and savage passions; but is it not apparent that it also calls forth more generous feelings than those deadened by peace? We are not alone in this sentiment. An eloquent writer in the *Sheffield Free Press* sees the effect of trade in throwing a nightmare coldness and individualized selfishness over society, and hopes better of war:—

"Principles of chivalry and honour will replace the grovelling greed for gain that now pervades the trading classes. They who desire to see Labour prostrated at the feet of Capital, are the same who would sacrifice Turkish independence and English honour to the Russian Autocrat. War will generate a more generous spirit—a manlier feeling—a nobler sympathy with Right."

A speaker at Bedford, Mr. White, the editor of a local paper, contrasted "the active, sharp,

and bloody" campaign of the soldier with the "chronic, slow, wasting war," which tyranny may wage upon a subject people, as in Naples; and, let us add, which commercial tyranny may wage upon the poorer classes, and call it "the blessing of peace." It has been danger and the challenge to arms that have called forth the most generous feelings of Englishmen; it was resistance to tyranny that made Englishmen know what they could do in taking their Magna Charta, in sustaining Hampden, and in securing that Bill of Rights which, under this apathy and sophistication of peace, we have been suffering to slip from our grasp. But what is the first effect even of the prospect of war? Is it not that Englishmen and women are hastening forward to extend sympathy and help to soldiers' wives left behind; is it not that the English and French Governments are instructing their representatives abroad to treat English and French as the same race; is it not that a sense of right is rousing itself over Europe as superior to a sense of profit with connivance in wrong? War has moved the blood in the English heart, and it is free from the nightmare of trading deadness?

A "STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

SHAKESPEARE, who was observant, puts great truths into the mouths only of madmen and fools. Certainly the House of Commons only hears awkward facts from men who are above or below the contests of "common-sense" parties, made-up of "men of the world." Thus, last night, it was Colonel Sibthorp who blurted out the rough allusion to the introduction of the Reform Bill as a swindle, and it was Sir John Shelley who suggested, with odd ferocity, that the postponement of that enlightened measure was a sham. You will read a long debate and much courteous affectation, if you wish to know what the greatest Senate in the world was about last night; but, be sure, the private opinion of that public body found its clearest expression in the speeches of the distinguished senators I have named.

The House of Commons, which is composed, in a large degree, of men who take to it as to the best club in town, likes to be interested; and a considerable proportion of its members, who are not of the slightest importance, are partial to scenes in which they are actors, as chorus, and in which they may conceive that they have become of some consequence. Hence exclamations, in every corner of the West-end, of "By Jove," when, on Thursday night, the clubs learned, by electric telegraph, of Lord John's advertisement, somewhat in the Ady style, that the House would on Friday hear of something to its advantage. And hence the rush of Broughams and Hansoms down Parliament-street towards half-past four yesterday afternoon—a "great House" was being collected to be instructed by Lord John Russell whether it was the intention of the Government to persevere in the attempt to obtain an extension of the franchise in this free, self-governed, and enlightened country. In the month of March our representatives have no distinct occupation from dusk till dinner-time: and it is not to be wondered at, that, something exciting being guaranteed, so large a number of those conscript fathers of whom we are so proud should have taken their places so early as half-past four; privately having made up their minds that they wouldn't stand it more than an hour or two. In our excellent House of Commons, which is the model for the representative institutions of Europe, there are at least 100 young lords, or honourables, of a youthful turn of hair, pronounced ties, and vague expression of countenance: they never appear ordinarily to participate in the business of governing us, before eleven at night: last evening they were all in by five—much paler than they usually are at eleven. Can a better evidence be suggested of the extent of interest excited by Lord John's advertisement?

Everyone was there: assuredly all the hon. gentlemen who are in Schedules A and B. All the Ministers were there, thronging the Treasury-bench, and endeavouring, with the vigour of a strong Government, to look unconcerned. All the Opposition was there: Mr. Disraeli very quiet and watchful; Sir John Pakington arrayed with elateness, and looking triumphant, for he had got Lord Derby's permission to tell the House a bit of his mind. All the

safe and steady supporters of the Coalition were there: avoiding Ministers' eyes, lest they should betray too much contentment; but secretly gloating that Lord John was being forced to back out of a bad business—"excessively inconsiderate" to those who had given the Coalition place. Manchester was there (minus Mr. Bright), cunningly triumphant over the other Radicals, who had been in a hurry, and who had committed themselves without profit. And Mr. Hume and his Radical friends were there, nervous and confused in manner, and dreadfully sorry that they had not got up so much history as would enable them to judge better of the moves of contemporary politics. Mr. Hume, generally speaking, was "dratting" his old friend Aberdeen, for having misled him into an inconsequent campaign, analogous to that of the French King, who took the supererogatory march to the top of the celebrated hill.

"Questions" were galloped through, and the clerks at the table got slovenly with excess of haste—knowing that the young members were "cussing" them for slowness: nobody was listened to, not even Lord Palmerston, a personage of many current rumours, when he was informing Mr. Pellat, in his rich, aristocratic voice and style, that "ah—persons, ah—parties,—in point of fact bodies of deceased—ah—parties" were not to be removed from certain cemeteries without the consent of "ah—the bodies, ah—the parties,—related to those—ah—deceased bodies—ah." The young members were humorous: they laughed at everything: they particularly grinned when the petitions were being presented to them,—the idea of a grave, serious, solemn country petitioning them to take anything into consideration being, no doubt, hilarious. There was for half-an-hour the buzz and confusion of the House when it is clearing for action. At last the Speaker boomed the name of Lord John Russell; and Lord John rose, and the House was, in a second, as quiet as the grave; the young members looked, impromptu, the humility of Lord Palmerston's "bodies—ah." The strangers, including the "intelligent foreigner," must have been astonished at such an effect by such a figure: petty, mean, morose, somewhat ludicrous, undoubtedly dirty. And as the great Lord John Russell spoke the surprise would have increased. He had risen to make, to a nervous Senate, and, through its gallery, to astonished Europe, the important policy of a great Government; and he spoke as though he were introducing a turnpike bill and were thinking of the toll. You could hardly hear him; what you heard was so loose that you could scarcely understand it. But one word came which explained all—the word postponement. It was at that word the House breathed; and at that word one of the young members, below the gangway, burst out into a conspicuous "ho—ho"—a joyous stupidity that was nearly contagious—the Speaker did not roar order with much composure—and you could see plenty of men screwing their countenances down. Lord John heard it; but if the Speaker laughed at him, Lord John didn't mind; so he went on invoking his muse—it is always "Sar—ah," for thus Lord John speaks, as he opens each sentence, producing a comical impression even on *habitués*. Lord John held his head down, and spoke low; Lord John was not happy; he was constrained, ashamed; he spoke, in short, like a man coerced—and was apologetic and unhappy. In ten minutes, passed in a dead silence, only broken by his own twittery voice, he had done; and I think in those ten minutes he had taken his revenge on the Coalition which had coerced him—he had destroyed its proud position. He had, in effect, thrown up the Reform Bill. Schedules A and B chuckled at one another: several of "the talents" breathed hard.

At a moment such as that, when, however anticipated, a great suspicion has become a great fact, there is a sort of conversational consternation seizes the House, and the leaders always wait to watch, and think, and hear hints, growls, or whispers. At such a moment, however, there is always some one—that is the advantage of a mixed Constitution—to fill up the time with an unpremeditated silliness. In this instance that daring man, Sir John Shelley, shot himself up with confidence, and he was hailed with roars of applause from the young Tories, who know

Sir John's weakness, and don't believe in the Radicalism of a well-acred baronet. Sir John, with his hand on his hip, and his eye on the reporters, rose to proclaim his liberal grief that the coalition was in a Conservative funk. "I call upon the noble lord, in the name of the Reformers of England"—a comprehensive conceit which tickled beyond all further reserve the young Tories, who, if they were equal to an historical parallel, would have thought of Anacharsis Clootz. But Sir John had gained his point; Sir John was sure of applause in all the Saturday tap-rooms of the enlightened city of which he is the fluent representative: and Sir John despises young Tories, who for the sake of being conscientious and comfortable, drift into Schedules A and B. Well, Sir John had given the tone to the debate,—a lucky one for Lord John; for Lord John's unhappiness had been noticed, and Lord John has no enemies; and Sir John had, by his stern severities, got up sympathy for the Minister. Mr. Labouchere and Sir George Grey volunteers on the Coalition staff, and who are above the malignancy which has marked such men as Lord Grey and Lord Clanricarde,—ferocious because they were left out,—made vehement speeches, in which they demonstrated their affection for their noble friend, and their extreme indifference to the career of a Reform Bill. Mr. Labouchere and Sir G. Grey are intensely eloquent men. Mr. Labouchere always speaks as if his countenance were suffused with tears, and Sir George Grey as if he were bursting a blood-vessel; and they were tremendously and pathetically impressive on this occasion, in sneering at the innocent Shelley, and in appealing to the "Reformers" to trust Lord John—whom they evidently thought (they spoke of him as "our Captain") was a better general in a retreat than in a march.

The Radicals, too, their hearts touched, and naturally not anxious to confess to a blatant blunder, rushed to the rescue. Mr. Hume had "faith" in Lord John; at which all the Ministerials cheered with the sharp, ringing cheer of men well pleased: and Mr. Phinn, who remembers how Cockburn became a Solicitor-General, went in with abundant sympathy, and enormous trust, and risked Bath,—but won the Government—and deserved; for his speech was good, hearty, and honest. Then, there was nothing further to be said on *that* side: the matter was a Reformer's affair; and the Reformers were willing that the unenfranchised should be—sold. As to the Opposition, it was exultant! What but a sudden prospect of a great change could have so excited Lord Alexander Lennox to speak—and, more—Lord Alexander Lennox to joke? They were Mr. Disraeli's jokes; you saw, at once, that they were Mr. Disraeli's conversation, as he had walked down to the House; and they were very passable, though seriously delivered by one of that class who, being men about town, are invariably sermonic and solemn when they speak in public; and they were roared at by the gleeful young Tories. What but delirious exultation could have made Sir John Pakington epigrammatic: and Sir John was epigrammatic, and used a phrase which will live at least a session—the phrase that the Reform Bill which was to be postponed is a Reform Bill which should never have been introduced. What but a new and feverish hope could have lifted Mr. Disraeli out of the decorous dignity of manner he has lately affected. Mr. Disraeli was himself again: witty, happy, light, laughing,—almost boyish. There was the old easy manner—and the old stabbing matter—the graceful bravo. It was an impromptu speech: it was a speech the points of which obviously arose out of the debate: and as it was one of the best I ever heard Mr. Disraeli deliver,—best in the sense of perfect suitability to the occasion, and perfect completeness in attaining the object sought—it may be adduced as a proof that he does not always prepare his extempore sarcasms. It delighted the House: the enjoyment of the young Tories was hysterical; and I think the logical argument which ran through its apparently careless jocosity will last in damaging the Government. Lord John's reply was not good; it was a sobbing reply; and it was hardly worthy of Lord John to be so angry with a Sir John Shelley, and particularly as Lord John, plainly in a

passion, said that he would treat Sir John's inuendos with indifference. It was also unnecessary for Lord John to remind England, with such emphasis, that he had been a Reformer in 1832: the appeal to his past, as a guarantee for his "honour" now, was not dignified; and the forced cheers of his followers, when he enumerated his virtues, were somewhat pitiful. The House broke up in a hurry, when he had done: the young Tories in immense spirits, the old Liberals somewhat pained. And the few members left immediately set to, Mr. Bouvier in the chair, to vote millions; they were in supply. It occurred to no one that the preceding debate had been about a bill which was to give representation to the people whose money was being dropped into the Black and Baltic Seas.

The whole formality of the Ministerial announcement last night was a matter of the utmost indifference to all parties but that Radical party which has exhibited such eccentric enthusiasm in welcoming a limited Reform Bill, and such profound simplicity in believing that even such a measure would be gone on with. The Radical, indeed, is just at present, a very incoherent personage; and his embarrassment last night, wavering between his traditional cant about "Reform," and his fear that nobody cared about the Bill, arose entirely out of the circumstance that your Radical is just now your only Ministerialist. The Radical party has completely abnegated the only position to which, as a party, it can pretend—the position of opposition; and the result of his getting behind the Treasury bench is such a scrape as he has got into in being deluded into firing salutes, in vague "organs" and inaccurate addresses, for a still-born Reform Bill. It is odd to see the Radical becoming claqueur, among an otherwise cold audience, to a Government which is entering on a war, in alliance with French and Austrian despots, unfettered by the slightest condition—and it is still odder to see the Radical cheering convulsively for a Reform Bill which does not concede a single Radical point. The Radical cannot be expected to resist supplies, but he might be required to be cautious—cautious for Lord Ellenborough's reasons, and for reasons that would occur to a Liberal who remembers that Lord Aberdeen, not an enthusiastic sympathiser with struggling nationalities, will guide secret diplomacy during a war in which 1848 is quite possible over again. You couldn't ask the Radical to vote against the Reform propositions taken *seriatim* (the silliness of the minority representation clause being left out): but you could suggest to the Radical, that when a Reform Bill is proposed, a Reformer would seek to make it as good as possible, and that it is not the best way to improve it, to shout out in advance in derision of those who warily stop to criticise it, and who are true to their principles in expressing their indignation at the attempt to palm upon the supposed "free" people a measure, which at the very utmost would only add 500,000 voters to the existing constituency, which, at any rate, would leave the House of Commons precisely what it is at present, a House within the control, except at revolutionary periods, of the caste who are properly denominated the governing classes. You could, in fact, ask the Radical party, as a great chapter in history, which may offer great chances to peoples, is opening up, to adhere strictly—in presence of a Conservative Government, and before an apathetic people, permissive of anything to a strong Government—to the rôle of opposition. And you could with the more confidence ask the Radical not to be so ardent a Ministerialist as at present the revered Mr. Hume is found to be, on the ground that the Radical is not quite sure of which Minister, in this Coalition Government, he is the Ministerialist. He is an incoherent personage because, with a severe amount of attachment to the Treasury bench, perfectly prepared, he does not know, with precision, of which occupant of that bench he should be fondest. Of course the Radical knows nothing of the "secret history" which in Downing-street and Buckingham Palace governs this self-governed nation. But he is sure, from common rumours and Haytor's winks, that there is chronically a split in the Cabinet; and when a Reform Bill is being played with, in a farce hardly creditable to a conscientious Senate, he ought to be very indignant

with somebody, and he is perplexingly ignorant whom he should hate. The Bill is the Cabinet's—a compromise—and the thoughtless Radical who thinks Mr. Hume a safer guide, in statesmanship, than Mr. Bright, loved the Cabinet accordingly, until last night. But whom is he to blame now? The Radical has most probably been a subscriber to the Palmerston portrait; and it hurts the Radical's feelings to believe that it is Lord Palmerston who has put Lord John in a ridiculous position, and who has beguiled the ardent Radicals, and who threatened to break up the Ministry if the Bill were not dropped—dropped as Mr. Walpole dropped his Reform Bill for the enfranchisement of Militia—as a joke the joker has to explain. After last night, and its revelations of the sham liberalism of a Cabinet of old Lords, who are safe in a dull and cold country, the Radical may perhaps be inclined to hark back to his function—operating upon the flank of the Government; and very likely such a tendency will be increased by the suggestions of the Budget, next week, when the Coalition will take advantage of the *carte blanche* they got for entering on a war, of the character or proposed results of which nobody has been informed. The Radical has been going wrong since the Session commenced; for, though it was at the outset admitted that the country has been plunged into a great war by the idiotic arrangements of secret diplomacy, and though he also found, what had always hitherto been denied, that Prince Albert was his chief governor, yet, upon the plea that it was necessary to carry a Reform Bill, which no one ever intended should be carried, and which the country did not want, and which would leave unaltered the aristocratic character of the House of Commons, the Radical has been doing all in his power—to strengthen the system of which a war is the consequence, that system preventing such a war leading to a real peace—and to incline the Court more and more to forget that the constitutional theory of England is, that England governs herself. When Prince Albert finds the chief of the Radicals, the wise Mr. Hume, devoting his days and nights to hit upon a plan for facilitating the despotism of bureaux, by instituting a Ministry of War, which, dealing with the army, would of course be controlled by the Crown, what is Prince Albert to think of Radicalism? What would Russia think if she heard that this “great question,” as Mr. Hume called it, of the great Liberal party, was debated, on Thursday night, to a House of twenty-three members? Mr. Hume, however, may be consoled: when Lord Ellenborough was sketching a campaign in the Baltic, and appealing, with solemn vigour, to the nationality of the governing classes, there was an audience of eleven Peers. In fact, during the follies of Monday night and Wednesday afternoon, when the chatterers were criticising, with ingenious impotence, the votes of supply, not fifty of our representatives were present. Very properly; for when a Government has got *carte blanche*, why have a Parliament at all? Is it to present the splendid spectacle of which the French papers were speaking the other day—the introduction of a Reform Bill contemporaneously with the declaration of war—said bill being dropped a fortnight afterwards?

Is it to have a debate on the expediency of examining the linen of Catholic ladies in nunneries in this kingdom? Or to get a vote from an enlightened dozen Liberals, at one in the morning, that because newspapers are for the public the public ought to be made acquainted with the private affairs of newspaper proprietors? Is it for objects such as these that the magnificent machinery of a Senate is put in motion? Are votes like these worthy of an English House of Commons? Look at the division list on the Convents' Inspection motion; and you will see that the very men who would vote against a Reform Bill for its inopportunities, voted for an impertinence to Roman Catholics, though at this moment England is dependent for soldiers on Catholic Ireland, and will be indebted for her preservation from annihilation in the Baltic to the fleet of a Catholic power. At the same time, it must be admitted that the bigots did not carry the division. In the first place, Mr. Chambers got his majority because Mr. Hayter was remiss: because the Government was careless whether beaten or no—safe, even if beaten, that the Tories would thus provide it with a character for

liberality. In the next place, the speech which got the majority was Mr. Robert Phillimore's. A mild, moderate man, looking extensively wise and incalculably good, Mr. Robert Phillimore would influence, on such a question, the class of waverers who flinched from their common-sense conviction under the pressure of the white neck-cloth interest of the provincial towns; and Mr. Robert Phillimore, while repudiating the mover, sanctioned the motion, for the technical reasons of a constitutional lawyer—such reasons as would do capitally for Liberals, afraid of white neckcloths, to mention in their vindictory correspondence with the editors of their constituents' Radical newspapers. Of course, these reasons were very false, and fallacious, and foolish; the reasons of the Robert Phillimore class of men are always absurd. Your constitutional lawyer is invariably weak. Mr. Robert Phillimore is an identical intellect and character with Mr. Walpole; temperate, accomplished, elaborate, eloquent; and that is exactly the man who would write or talk a tome of sagacity, and then go down to the House and propose a militia franchise. They represent, these men, the class that demands an educational franchise: excellent persons, and clever persons, in abstract controversy, but supremely silly when they get into the coarse politics of a common-sense set of men. Yet Mr. Robert Phillimore's was a very pleasant speech to hear: the Pecksniffism entreaty that no one would take offence, pacifying the Irish members—even those who sell themselves to the Government, and at a poor price, since they cannot buy protection to their creed. Mr. Robert Phillimore was, in fact, a success: and that sort of man always will be a success, so long as educational franchises are talked of, and so long as it is not perceived that an Apsley Pellatt or a William Williams is a really wiser man, as a legislator, than a doctor of laws. In the same way, Mr. Edward Miall was a success, as Lord John, who is always generous in his encouragements to new men, handsomely acknowledged; and as the Dissenting Protestant interest is, on Popery questions, even more luridly ludicrous than the well-established Churchman, who is only aesthetically malignant, doubtless Mr. Miall led away several members into decent contempt for the white neckcloth interest—the neckcloths of that interest being generally rather yellow and badly washed. The only other noticeable speakers were the Irish Members, who did not speak with great effect pending a Parliamentary inquiry into general charges of corruption against Irish memberdom: and, indeed, they never speak with great dignity on such subjects: for they answer such impertinences with a whine rather than a defiance—the defiance they might have offered in this instance being a declaration that they would appeal to the Catholic priests of Ireland to stop the Irish enlistment. To be sure, there was a speech from Mr. J. Phillimore, who, of course, opposed his brother, as brothers in Parliament or elsewhere always do—*vide* the Peels—and Mr. Phillimore's speech was noticeable for the boldness of his appeal to the uncouth and bilious Mr. Craufurd, that if that gentleman was anxious, as a Christian Protestant, to serve Christian Protestantism, it would be more discreet and more decent to leave nunneries alone, and seek to obtain a Parliamentary return of the Puseyites, who take the State Church pay, while working to sap the State Church's somewhat shifty foundations. Mr. J. Phillimore speaks too often to speak with weight, or that suggestive hint would have attracted more attention than it did from the yawning House. Parliament should never be permitted to give itself airs of Christianity and morality; and if the Protestants and Catholics would more reciprocate in showing one another up, we should less frequently see the Spooner in the ascendancy. The only grievance Mr. Chambers was able to establish against the nunneries was, that girls were occasionally kept in such places against their will—an assertion no one will be likely to deny; and it might be worth while to inquire why the House of Commons, insisting on investigations into nunneries, does not take up cases such as that of “the Belgian girl?”

Who can doubt but that the son of the “old Marquis” voted for Mr. Chambers's motion? Mr. Chambers carried his dismal motion on Tuesday. On Monday, one of the questions raised on “Supply”

was, whether it was quite proper, in our alarmingly moral land, that soldiers' wives, in barrack, should undress themselves, and go to bed to their spouses, in presence of all the spouses' comrades? Mr. Monsell, for Government, regretted that such was the fact; but, &c., &c.—Mr. Monsell didn't mean to trouble himself; and the Christian House didn't trouble Mr. Monsell. These are contrasts that cannot but occur; and the contrast might be amplified. For instance, how many men voted for the Protestant motion of Mr. Chambers who owed their seats to bribery and intimidation,—to the votes of those whose poverty only consented to such members? Is it not alone sufficient to raise suspicions of the honour of such a vote, that the name of Mr. Disraeli appears in it? The man who created “Sybil” votes for an insolence to Catholic ladies! Mr. Disraeli never wearies of inconsistencies; but his friends must weary of them. Will the Tory journalists renounce their adulation of him now that he has forced Mr. Gladstone to expose the limited power of Tory newspapers? Or, as Mr. Disraeli says that what professes to be an organ of public opinion should make public its commercial affairs, will the Tory journalists begin to remark on the income and expenditure, tailors and perfumers' bills, &c., of the leader of the Tory Opposition,—who is surely, therefore, an organ of public opinion?

Saturday Morning.

A STRANGER.

THE DUTY OF ENGLAND.—Our national life has been swooning under the hands of divided doctors, instead of gathering vigour in wrestling for the liberties of the world. It is not yet too late. Turkey is not yet put down, and the Russians are not yet within sight of the Mediterranean. We must not depend on the Ministry; the Russian Ambassador at Paris teaches us that. We must not depend on Parliament;—everybody admits that it is below the moral sense of the country. We must depend on ourselves—on those “meetings” which Russia censures, and in which we recognise our old Saxon privilege of enlightening the popular mind, and warming the general heart. When Parliament meets, we must make known our collective will to be informed of all that has been done and said in the name and on behalf of England, and to do what the conscience of the foremost nation on the earth requires. If the present servants of the Crown and nation will not do their duty, we must get others who will. The crisis of the civilised world is upon us; and if we mean to bear our part in it as our forefathers did in the smaller crises of their day, we must speak as they did—by burning words, by cheerful sacrifices, and by heroic deeds—the inextinguishable fires in which Greek churches and Russian autocracies are destined to perish like “wood, hay, and stubble.”—*Westminster Review*

The *Norwich Examiner*, an United States journal, gives the following account of a lecture delivered in that town by a Mr. Jackson Davies, the founder of a new sect of “Spiritualists.”—“God, be it known, never made anybody, according to the new philosophy—and the first pair did not make themselves. Whence, then, came man? Mrs. Stowe's ‘Topsy’ was not far out of the way, after all, when she said she was not made, but grew. The first settlers, the very first pairs of every living thing, man and all, actually did grow out of this ‘terrestrial ball’! Fact—if the old theologians don't admit it. The philosophy, you see, is this. Matter is progressive. The finer qualities rise to the surface, and go into business—sublimate, and become intellectualities. The molten mass of fire at the earth's centre furnishes the motive power. Thus, the particles that day before yesterday were a grain of wheat, yesterday were nerve and muscle, and to-day are sparkling thoughts! Capital, is it not? Man, to be more particular, got along in this way. The better part of matter came out from the grosser by a natural law—was warmed or steamed out—and coalescing with water at the beds of the oceans, formed a gelatinous compound like brains—gluey, gummy. This slush, though much purer than ordinary matter, was no more than raw material for the new article. Then, by a further natural process, this glutinous mass underwent fermentation, and evolved a—what do you think? Why, a life principle, as steam from boiling water; which steam or principle made a living thing of whatever absorbed it! Hence life! Hence oysters, and all other folks! Or, rather, hence the first pairs of all living creatures; for after life became existent, this process was voted a humbug, and the world was peopled in a happier way. The lecturer said that at one time, long before animal life was in the world, the beds of the ocean came to be immense masses of glutinous matter, resembling brains—that the warmth of the earth generated a fry, and that the steam that came up vivified whatever it got into, making it live and cut about. We cannot be mistaken that the gluten was the stuff—that gum was the foundation, and that in a general effervescence life was evolved—though we may have failed in other respects to grasp his full theory and discourse. This we did look into. Jelly and gum! Transporting conception! And it must be so. Davies says it; we believe it; and the extreme facility with which men may still be gummed ought to satisfy our orthodox friends that ‘it isn't anything else.’”

When peace was proclaimed in 1814, certain persons living in the vale of Todinorden resolved to erect a pillar on the crest of the hills dividing Yorkshire from Lancashire; and at the fall of Napoleon it was completed. Last week, strangely enough, this pillar of peace suddenly fell down! Is that an omen?

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.*

THIS week France has had to deplore the loss of one of her glories: LAMENNAIS is dead. The great writer, the democratic priest, the pride of a nation, the glory of a cause, and the "scandal" of a Church which could not retain its splendid advocate, but forced him into antagonism—LAMENNAIS is no more! He was in his sixty-second year, his body worn out with long suffering, his spirit saddened but not discouraged by defeated hopes. A biography written by one competent would be a work of immense value; let us hope that such a text will not be spoiled by incompetent treatment.

A few words are all we can give our readers relating to this extraordinary man; but the present occasion demands them. FÉLICITÉ ROBERT DE LA MENNAIS (to give him his full title—friends and disciples still call him affectionately by his school name of FELIX) was born at St. Malo on the coast of Brittany in June, 1782. His family had been ennobled by Louis XVI. for their generous assistance given to the people during a famine. The noble title of DE LA MENNAIS was thrown aside by him when he passed over to the ranks of democracy, and DE LAMENNAIS was substituted for it. FÉLICITÉ, as a child, exhibited the qualities of the man—vehemence, liveliness, impatience, bodily and intellectual, tenderness and piety. To keep him quiet on his bench at school his master was forced to tie him to it with a rope. At the age of eight or nine he had turned his restless activity to study, and in his uncle's library read novels, classics, history, philosophy, science, anything and everything that fell under his hand; he never went to bed without a volume under his pillow. At the age of twelve he taught himself Greek. His piety was remarkable even then; but having been placed under the care of an old curé, the attempts to convince him intellectually roused the intellectual spirit, and then all the arguments he had read in DIDEROT, ROUSSEAU, and Company, came to his aid. Hence his first communion was delayed till after the age of twenty-one, when he had returned to the faith of his ancestors. But, although he had relinquished his scepticism, he had not as yet become fervently devout. He accepted Religion as the world usually accepts it. At this time he had a great passion, for sword exercise; for his was a combative nature from first to last. He had also BYRON'S passion for swimming to excess; and ALFIERI'S delight in violent horse exercise. But although thus prelude for a life of "society," in 1811 he received the tonsure, and in 1817 was ordained a priest.

It is thought by those who know him intimately that the cause of this entrance into the church was one which has sent many a wounded spirit there for solitude and consolation, one which a nature, ardent and tender like his, could not easily have escaped—profound sorrows waiting upon a profound passion. Religion cicatrised his wounds. Religion became his passion. There was work for him to do such as would task the strongest. He rose up to do it, a second SAVONAROLA.

It was in 1817 that the first volume of his *Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion* startled Europe. DE MAISTRE and DE BONALD had already moved believers by their theological and metaphysical superiority in treating Catholicism; CHATEAUBRIAND had touched those to whom the other writers were inaccessibly repulsive, treating as he did the artistic side of the subject, and making Christianity a thing of *bon goût*. But LAMENNAIS saw that the real disease was less intellectual than moral—it was not bad logic, but *indifference*, which under various forms corrupted the heart of society. In this age, "terrified at scepticism, yet destitute of faith," he saw immense languor, death-like indifference in priest and potentate, in noble and artisan. He had touched the seat of disease, and the cry which responded was immense.

We should have said that two years before this he was an exile in England. This was in 1815, during the Hundred Days. We remember a noble article by MAZZINI in one of the numbers of *The Monthly Chronicle* (unfortunately not at hand just now), wherein LAMENNAIS is appreciated by a spirit earnest as himself, and almost as eloquent; in this article it is said that LAMENNAIS presented a letter of introduction to Lady JERSEY, but we forget whether it was she or another who procured for him a situation as teacher in a school.

As we cannot here follow the series of his works, a few broad outlines must suffice. Passing over all intermediate writings, we come to his rupture with Rome. It may be imagined that whatever aid his eloquence and logic may have given the Church when fulminating against the world, the aid might also turn out a danger to the Church when it became evident that this SAVONAROLA was, as KEMBLE said of KEAN, "so terribly in earnest." We will not in a sentence venture to appreciate so complex a question. We will not say that the fault lay with Rome. But the fact remains, SAVONAROLA was forced to break away from the Church he had attempted to reform. He withdrew his allegiance from the Pope, and gave it once and for ever to the People.

Shallow thinkers accuse him of inconsistency, not to mention worse things, in this change. They have not penetrated the real meaning of his life and doctrine, which was to rescue society from its indifference and "materialism,"

to the earnest spiritualism of real Christianity, as he understood it. And how did he understand it? Not by any means as Christians in general, and every Protestant sect in particular, understand it, namely, as a purely *individual* thing, the salvation (not to say coddling) of our own souls, with "pity" for those unfortunates who must perish, and with Exeter Hall flanked by formidable regiments of black coats and white neckcloths to "convert" the heathen. Not so, at all; but as the great influence which was to elevate Humanity. He viewed it in its social aspect—how it affected the mass, how it organised society. Hence he was logical and superior in his proclamation of the immense benefits of Roman Catholicism and its great Popes. "Jesus Christ," he said as early as 1826, "did not change the religion, nor the rights, nor the duties; but in developing the primitive law, and in fulfilling it, he raised religious society into a State, he constituted it externally by the institution of a marvellous police." LAMENNAIS, therefore, considered Christianity as *humanitarian* more than as individual. This will help the reader to an explanation of his writings. It will explain also his passing from papacy to democracy. The great constituted authority at Rome would not attend to him. He turned to the greater authority on the other side—the People. His object being to spiritualise society, and the Church declining to aid him, he appealed directly to society. Hence that biblical outpouring, *Les Paroles d'un croyant*. Hence, also, *Le Livre du Peuple* and *Le Livre de la Religion*.

Let it be added that not even the acrid ardour of polemics has ever denied to LAMENNAIS an unblemished reputation as a man. He was loved and respected by all. As a writer he ranks among the very highest. We may conclude this scanty notice with two trifling details. He was an unmistakable Breton, retaining to the last the Breton accent, saying *segrète* for *secrète*, retaining to the last the Breton pertinacity of purpose which no vivacity of temperament could swerve. It will interest many to know that he had been for some time engaged on a translation of DANTÉ. It will not be uninteresting to the readers of the *Leader* to know that among our continental readers he was one: he differed greatly from us, but, while differing, encouraged and applauded. The fate of the Soldier of Thought and that of the Soldier of Arms is strikingly contrasted in this passage, which we copy as it stands from the telegraphic news of the *Times*:—

"Paris, March 1.

"The interment of the Abbé LAMENNAIS took place this morning without the least disorder. In accordance with the wishes of the deceased, his body was carried straight to the cemetery, without being taken to any church.

"The funeral of Admiral ROUSSIN was celebrated to-day with great pomp; twelve battalions of Infantry, two squadrons of Gardes de Paris, one of Chasseurs, and a battery of Artillery, escorted the remains of the Admiral from the Madeleine to Père La Chaise."

Blackwood this month is gayer and more amusing than usual. It opens with a thorough-going defence of DISRAELI, assailing the anonymous author of the recent *Political Biography* in language which is too unmeasured to be telling. There is, moreover, this inconsistency in it: namely, an anonymous critic assails a writer for assailing another man under the shield of anonymity. The critic gravely doubts whether such biographies of living men are justifiable. So do we. But he adds, that if such party spite and party criticism is to be perpetrated, at least let the writer boldly avow it. So do we. Anonymous libels should be treated like anonymous letters. It is not, however, for anonymous critics to fulminate against anonymous critics.

A very serviceable survey of the *Russian Church* will be read with interest just now, that the Christian pretensions of the Czar afford a cloak for his aggression. The writer establishes these points:—

"First, that the homogeneity of the Russian and Eastern Churches, on which the Czar lays his strongest claim to the protectorate he demands, has no foundation in fact, and that the Christian communities on which he would impose his protection deny the orthodoxy of his faith, and regard him as the usurper of spiritual power; second, that the doctrines of the Synod of St. Petersburg are denounced by Russians themselves, and the establishment opposed by a formidable sectarianism, and that that Church is itself rather in a condition to require protection against its internal enemies than to afford it to others; third, that even supposing the Russian and Eastern Churches to be identical, the protectorate in question would, in consequence of the temporal privileges preserved by the Patriarch of Constantinople, as already noticed, be the positive introduction of a dangerous foreign influence in the domestic administration of the Ottoman empire, and that the Sultan would thereby become the vassal of the Czar; fourth, that as there are numerous Christian subjects of the Sublime Porte who do not belong to the Greek communion, their protector, where protection is needed, cannot be the Czar; and, fifth, that the semi-independent Moldo-Wallachians also disavow the doctrines of the Russian Church, and reject her protection."

In a criticism on MATTHEW and EDWIN ARNOLD, the writer humorously and opportunely indulges in reflections on the evils of the lavish admiration so frequently given to verse-writers. The following capital bit of burlesque is not to be passed over:—

"Accordingly, scarce a week elapses without a shout being raised at the birth of a thin octave. "Apollodorus, or the Seraph of Gehenna, a Dramatic Mystery, by John Tunks," appears; and we are straightway told, on the authority of Mr. Guffaw, the celebrated critic, that:—"It is a work more colossal in its mould than the undefined structures of the now mouldering Persepolis. Tunks may not, like Byron, possess the hypochondriacal brilliancy of a blasted firework, or pour forth his floods of radiant spuma with the intensity of an artificial volcano. He does not pretend to the spontaneous combustion of our young friend Gander Reding (who, by the way, has omitted to send us his last volume), though we almost think that he possesses a diviner share of the poet's ennobling lunacy. He does not dive so sheer as the author of *Festus* into the bosom of far untelligibility, plummet-deep beyond the range of comprehension, or the shuddering gaze of the immortals. He may not be endowed with the naked eagle-eye of Gideon Stoupie, the bard of Kirriemuir, whose works we last week noticed, and whose grand alcoholic enthusiasm shouts Ha, ha, to the mutchkin, as loudly as the call of the trumpet that summons Behemoth from his lair. He may not, like the young Mactavish, to whose rising talent we have also borne testimony, be able to swathe his real meaning in the Titanic obscurity of the parti-coloured Ossianic mysticism. He may not, like Shakespeare, &c. &c." And then, having occupied many columns in telling

as whom Mr. Tunks does not resemble, the gifted Guffaw concludes by an assurance that Tunks is Tunks, and that his genius is at this moment flaring over the universe, like the meteor-standard of the Andes!"

The writer also touches on the evil of indiscriminate praise in cases where the poet shows some promise amid much that is defective. We have an allusion to this in another column.

There is another critical paper in this number—one on ALEXANDER SMITH, which, although not worthy of *Blackwood* as a deliberate estimate of a poet whose works have been so much canvassed in public and private—not worthy of the fame of "Old Ebony," as respects novelty of view, or exhaustiveness of treatment, does, nevertheless, put its mark upon the qualities and defects in a sort of rollicking, toddy style.

Fraser is various as usual. The article of the number is a review of an *Essay on the Plurality of Worlds*, admirably done. The *Essay* is generally attributed to Dr. WHITWELL, and attempts to prove by a series of scientific inductions that if there are other planets than our own, they are not inhabited like our own. On this point we may observe that all such accumulation of proof is unnecessary. In the absence of direct evidence that the planets are inhabited by men, the argument that they in all probability cannot be inhabited by men may rest contentedly on this general basis:—Men are the latest products of a vast series of changes, which have been going on for thousands and thousands of years; the arrest or deviation of any one of these changes would have prevented human life; the slightest variation in the gaseous condition of the planet would have rendered life impossible. Even now a slight increase of life-giving oxygen in the air would render life impossible; an increase of carbonic acid or nitrogen would do the same; a decrease or increase of temperature would do the same. For life to be possible, the conditions of the planets must be as they are. But these conditions are themselves the result of thousands upon thousands of preceding conditions. Our planet has grown to be what it is. It is no more like what it was than the man is like the gelatinous microscopic mass with which his growth begins. And as in the development of the embryo we see a gradual series of changes, the one bringing about the other, so that the series must fall into a given order, or else development is arrested; in like manner geology—which is the embryology of the planet—shows us a series of changes following and followed in determinate order. If any of the necessary and complex conditions are wanting to the embryo, its development is distorted or arrested. All must be present, and present in a determinate proportion, in a determinate succession. So we say of the planets: unless the development of Jupiter, Venus, Uranus, &c., has been precisely the same as that of ours, the results will not be precisely the same, i.e., life will not assume the same forms there it does here. Now we have abundant facts of direct observation to show that, in some respects, the conditions of the planets are not those of our planet. The difference of temperature; the absence of an atmosphere; the very difference of form; each and all of these suffice to indicate necessary and profound differences in the results. Ergo, the planets are not inhabited by men. This, however, is not saying that other forms of life as wondrous and as complex as our own may not people the planets.

We have outrun our space, and must leave the other magazines till next week, merely mentioning, in a line, that the first part of MACAULAY'S *Essays* is ready to tempt all who have a shilling to spare; and that in *Orr's Circle of the Sciences* our great philosophical anatomist, OWEN, has commenced a treatise on the *Principal Forms of the Skeleton*, illustrated with woodcuts. OWEN for twopence—is not that cheap literature?

DEFINITIONS OF LIFE.

A Text Book of Physiology. By Dr. G. Valentini. Translated and edited from the Third German Edition, by William Brinton, M.D. With upwards of 500 illustrations on wood, copper, and stone. Price 25s. Renshaw.

It has always been felt that a good definition of Life would be a very useful thing, and in all times the ingenuity of men has been tasked to produce one. We seem to know so well what Life is, that when baffled in our efforts to define it we are disposed to throw the blame on the nature of definitions, to call them idle or impossible attempts. Nevertheless the want incessantly recurs, and to meet it fresh attempts are incessantly made.

Much of the difficulty has arisen from the initial error of not drawing the boundary line of knowledge. We have sought to know the mystery of Life, instead of seeking the formula of its law. Newton would never have given us the invaluable definition of universal attraction, if, instead of ascertaining the law of its action, he had puzzled himself with the nature of its essence. He did not tell us *what* attraction is, but within what limits it operates. When we seek a Vital Principle we are wandering from the paths of positive science, into the formless void of dream-peopled metaphysics. There may be a mysterious principle superadded to the atoms of organic matter and endowing them with Life, and there may be an equally mysterious "attractive principle" independent of and superadded to the atoms of matter; but as we cannot know them we may leave them entirely out of the question, and confine ourselves to what we can know.

There are two schools in Physiology, each claiming eminent disciples. The one declares, *Life is a principle*; the other declares, *Life is a result*. One says that Life is the cause of organisation; the other, that Life is the result of organisation. Neither one nor the other explains the mystery—neither makes the subject less dark than it was before. The one school will have to answer: what is this principle? The other school: wherein does organised matter differ from dead matter? The spiritualists—or "animists"

as they are called—ask their rivals how it is—if life be the result of an ensemble of organs—that it pre-exists before the heart, brain, liver, lungs, &c., are formed; how it is that an amorphous germ, a mere drop of mucus, in which no organ is discernible, can nevertheless be living, and will presently develop itself into a complex organisation. Nay, more, take two ovules in all ascertainable respects identical: the finest microscope reveals no differences, the most delicate tests show no chemical differences; yet from one of these will issue an elephant, from the other a mouse. What is it then which determines these results? The animists boldly tell you it is the "vital principle" which pre-exists, which creates an organism.

Unless we considerably modify the vagueness of current ideas on organisation, we cannot easily meet that objection. But if we say that the phenomena of life are the special phenomena manifested by matter under certain special conditions, we have no need of any metaphysical entity in the shape of a "vital principle," but have only to endeavour to ascertain what the special conditions are which bring about these special phenomena. We can then say to the "animists" that if Life precedes the organs, it does not precede organic matter—the ovule is a plastic mass, possessing the property of developing itself under special conditions through definite cycles of change into a specific animal. If some of these conditions be withheld, the development will be prevented; if some others be withheld, or are present in insufficient force, the development will be arrested; in the one case you have no life, no animal; in the other you have a deformed animal, a monstrosity.

What organic matter is, that is to say what it is as distinguished from inorganic matter, we have elsewhere endeavoured to show (*Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences*); and having defined the special forms of matter which are susceptible of manifesting the phenomena of Life, it only now remains to give the formula of Life itself in its most abstract expression.

But first, let us see what are the most celebrated definitions already offered. Aristotle, as may be anticipated, gives a purely metaphysical explanation. He believes the vital actions are regulated by a number of vital principles—*psyche*—each distinct, but all subordinate to one supreme principle. This idea has been reproduced under a more absurd form by Prout.

Kant defines Life, "An internal principle of action." But this applies quite as well to fermentation, and is just as vague as the phrase "vital principle."

Erhard calls it, "The faculty of movement destined to the service of that which is moved."

Treviranus, "The constant uniformity of phenomena with diversity of external influences."

Dugès, "The special activity of organised beings."

Béclard, "Organisation in action."

Lamarck, "Life is that state of things which permits organic movements, and these movements which constitute active life result from a stimulus which excites them."

As to Bichat's celebrated definition, "Life is the sum of the functions by which death is resisted," it has, besides its metaphysical character, the unpardonable fault of entirely overlooking the essential relation of an organism with a medium (i.e., the circumstances in which it lives), and of supposing that the bodies which surround us conspire to destroy us. It is true that oxygen burns our tissues, and if we do not repair the breach, oxygen will destroy us; but it is also true that without this destructive oxygen our death would be far more rapid.

Richerand: "Life is a collection of phenomena which succeed each other during a limited time in an organised body." This approaches nearer to the required end than any of the foregoing; but it is open to many objections, one that it applies equally well to digestion or fever.

Two other definitions remain: one by De Blainville, adopted by Comte, and his disciples Charles Robin and Béraud,—"Life is the two-fold internal movement of composition and decomposition at once general and continuous"—which is admirable as a definition of *Nutrition* the most fundamental character of Life, but is not wholly satisfactory.

The other definition is that by Herbert Spencer: "Life is the co-ordination of actions." The value of this is its containing within it the measure of the complexity of life, for the simpler the organism the fewer will be the actions co-ordinated, the higher the organism the greater will be the co-ordinating power.

But against both it may be objected that they do not include all the fundamental characters of which our idea of life is composed. The three biological laws of Nutrition, Development, and Reproduction are not implied in these definitions. To meet this we propose the following:

Life is a series of definite and successive changes, both of structure and composition, which take place within an Individual without destroying its integrity. Vital activity moves along the stepping stones of change; permanence is death. But through all changes of composition and structure the Individuality is preserved. Now, with inorganic matter to change the substance and to change the structure, is to change the individuality. Oxidise a metal, or fuse a crystal, and you destroy their integrity. But Life is an incessant change within a persistent individuality.

In support of this definition, and of this article generally, let us glance at what may be called the beginning of life. We have pollen and ovule—or spermatozoon and ovum—two microscopic atoms of organic matter. Are they alive? No. If left to themselves, or to any other treatment but one, they manifest none of the phenomena of life (the motion of spermatozoa is mechanical not vital) they are ready to live, but are not living. They meet, under certain conditions, and lo! a flower, an animal result. Life is before us. The phenomena of change continuous and successive, begin to manifest themselves. Separate, they could not live; united, they are living. Life then results from two unliving germs? Even so. What gave them this sudden endowment? Electricity—caloric—chemical affinity—what are we to say? As Von Baer in the introduction to the second part of his great work (*Zur Entwickelungsgeschichte*) well reminds us, people are always eager for some such physical explanation, delighted if they can satisfy themselves that life is a thing, and always expecting it to be revealed to them as a flash of electricity or a chemical precipitate. But as he also reminds us "a beginning is nowhere seen in nature; nothing but endless change; and it is only man's tendency to be always seeking an absolute beginning."

Life then is not a thing, but a series of conditions, a collection of phenomena, peculiar, definite.

We close this survey of the attempts made to define life, with the following passage from Valentin, whose *Text Book* has been our text and pretext:—

"The independence of organised creatures has frequently led to the notion that the arrangement of the organism is based upon a peculiar vital force, which imparts to it properties differing from those of inorganic nature. It was thought that the vital functions could only thus be possible. Either this force was represented as an attendant upon a machine, who arranged at will inert substances with given properties; or it was presumed that combinations otherwise inanimate received a higher grade of activity by the communication of vital force. When this was again withdrawn, they became subject to the laws which hold good for the inorganic world; and thus after death, underwent putrefaction.

"But the assumption of such a vital force is neither useful as affording a clue to a series of phenomena otherwise unknown, nor even harmless in its influence upon our ideas. It impedes a correct recognition of the fundamental principles on which the existence of living creatures is based; and leads to results which are decisively opposed by more exact physiological investigations. It separates the physical and chemical phenomena of dead and living nature by a line of demarcation which does not really exist. And although it captivates us at the first glance, by claiming a higher influence for these vital appearances, yet a more careful examination soon teaches us, that this supposition, so flattering to our vanity, prevents all insight into that much more remarkable manner in which nature accomplishes the most peculiar as well as transitory operations, by the bare use of forces everywhere present.

"We have but to imagine that the vital functions are the result of an infinitely wise plan of organisation, to comprehend all this from a simpler, more accurate, and even higher point of view. We can first of all suppose, that the embryo includes a number of conditioning causes, by means of which structures corresponding to the general objects are extracted from fitting nutritive materials. In this way, for instance, vesicles or cells are produced, the properties of which react on the elements already present, and assist to determine the mode in which the subsequent food is consumed. This process is continually repeated by the physico-chemical conditions of the several parts once formed; and their fluctuating influences operate in such a way that an organism conformable to its object is continually present. The sum of the particles existing at any particular moment excites the vital phenomena then present, and at the same time conditions those which appear in the time immediately following. And if limb be properly arranged, on limb the embryo grows on, conformably to rule; and results in a vigorous being which corresponds to the perfect plan of organisation. While on the other hand, if imperfections appear at any early date, the young being is crippled by a deficiency in the number and development of its organs: that only is effected which the general mass of existing structures can accomplish by means of their physico-chemical powers. So that we get imperfect, mis-shapen, or sickly creatures, whose capacity of life depends on the amount of opposition between what is required and what can be effected."

A few words will serve to characterise this translation of Valentin. It is an admirable treatise for the advanced physiologist, but of little use to the beginner. Unphilosophic in arrangement, crabbed in style, it must yet be consulted by all who desire to have the best information on the subject. Crowded with facts and profusely illustrated with woodcuts, Dr. Brinton has made it acceptable to the profession by a very careful translation, and by notes which make us regret they were not more numerous. Valentin is an experimental physiologist of the highest rank; but as a writer he is—a German.

MODERN POETS: RAZZIA THE FIRST.

THE number of claimants to the laurel crown awaiting judgment from us increases daily. We must make a razzia among them. As Goethe says, it is easy to weave a laurel crown, but difficult to find a worthy head to wear it. We have not lately found such a head; but what our descent among the numerous volumes of verse has discovered shall now briefly be indicated.

For the most part, these poems had better have remained unpublished; better for all sakes—printers excepted. The "accomplishment of verse" is an elegant and agreeable accomplishment, which we would by no means discourage; but the publication of verse is a serious mistake. We applaud the sketches of our cousins, and the singing of our sisters: John is implored to add something to our album, and Julia is entreated to favour the company with *son virgine vizzosa*. But we never think of John sending his water-colour to the Exhibition; we should be aghast at hearing of Julia's intention to appear in the Hanover-square Rooms. Why, then, should John and Julia brave with their verses a public ordeal never dreamt of with their sketches and polaccas?

There is this excuse—this only: Literature has of late been growing more and more like printed Talk, and in the feverish desire of publicity, young gentlemen and ladies hope that if printed Talk will be accepted, printed Humming may not be unacceptable. We doubt that inference, but suggest the excuse. Of course in his heart of hearts each Hummer devoutly believes himself to be a Singer—the very Mario of the tuneful choir. Perhaps he may find listeners to credit the pretension, for

"Ainsi qu'en sots auteurs
Le siècle est fertile en sots admirateurs;"

it was Boileau's complaint, and may be echoed now, that "the age is as fertile in absurd admirers as in absurd writers."

Admiration pushed to absurdity, instead of limited within due bounds and expressed so as to have been useful to the poet, we find in the *Athenæum*, apropos of Gerald Massey's volume, *The Ballad of Babe Christabel; with other Lyrical Poems*. (D. Bogue.) If, as Sydney Smith used to say, among the minor duties of life is that of withholding praise where praise is not due, so also among these duties is that of preserving something like proportion in praise. The critic in the *Athenæum* seems to us to have preserved no proportion. He has raised expectations which the volume will disappoint, and he has given the poet a warrant for considering all criticisms harsh and ungenerous which do not take the same tone. For ourselves, we have already recognised in Gerald Massey a poetical faculty, capable, perhaps, of developing through study and experience into permanent excellence; we have praised him in these columns; in these columns we have given publicity to several of the poems. But we have not as yet woven a laurel crown for his head. This volume will not move us thereto.

That he has something of the poet in him few will deny on reading the many passages felicitous in music and imagery scattered through this volume. We will give a specimen or two:—

"With her white hands clasped she sleepeth, heart is hush, and lips are cold;
Death shrouds up her heaven of beauty, and a weary way I go,
Like the sheep without a Shepherd on the wintry norland wold,
With the face of Day shut out by blinding snow."

"O'er its widow'd nest my heart sits moaning for its young that's fled
From this world of wail and weeping, gone to join her starry peers;
And my light of life's overshadow'd where the dear one lieth dead,
And I'm crying in the dark with many fears."

"At last night-tide she seemed near me, like a lost beloved Bird,
Beating at the lattice louder than the sobbing wind and rain;
And I call'd across the night with tender name and fondling word;
And I yearn'd out thro' the darkness, all in vain."

"Heart will plead, 'Eyes cannot see her: they are blind with tears of pain';
And it climbeth up and straineth, for dear life, to look and hark
While I call her once again: but there cometh no refrain,
And it droppeth down, and dieth in the dark."

That has his characteristic merits, and few of his characteristic defects. Here again is an image charmingly expressed in the line italicised:—

"In this dim world of clouding cares,
We rarely know, till wildered eyes
See white wings lessening up the skies,
Angels were with us unawares."

Elsewhere he speaks of Freedom:—

"For O! her softest breath, that might not stir
The summer gossamer tremulous on its throne,
Makes the crown'd Tyrants start with restless looks!"

which, though politically not in the least true, is wonderfully well said. Here is a song with many defects, but with considerable merits too:—

"TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW."

"High hopes that burn'd like Stars sublime,
Go down! the Heavens of Freedom
And true hearts perish in the time
We bitterliest need 'em!
But never sit we down and say,
There's nothing left but sorrow:
We walk the Wilderness To-day,
The Promised Land To-morrow."

"Our birds-of-song are silent now,
There are no flowers blooming!
Yet life stirs in the frozen bough,
And Freedom's Spring is coming!
And Freedom's tide comes up alway,
Tho' we may strand in sorrow:
And our good bark, a-ground To-day,
Shall float again To-morrow."

"There! all the long, dark night of years
The People's cry ascendeth,
And Earth is wet with blood and tears:
But our meek sufferance endeth!
The Few shall not for ever sway,
The Many morn in sorrow:
The Powers of Hell are strong To-day,
But Christ shall rise To-morrow."

"Tho' hearts brood o'er the Past, our eyes
With smiling Futures glisten,
For lo! our day bursts up the skies:
Lean out your souls and listen!
The world rolls Freedom's radiant way,
And ripens with her sorrow:
Keep heart! who bear the Cross To-day
Shall wear the Crown To-morrow."

"O Youth! flame-earnest, still aspire,
With energies immortal!
To many a heaven of Desire,
Our yearning opens a portal!
And tho' Age wearies by the way,
And hearts break in the furrow,
We'll sow the golden grain To-day,—
The Harvest comes To-morrow."

"Build up heroic lives, and all
Be like a sheathen sabre,
Ready to flash out at God's call,
O Chivalry of Labour!
Triumph and Toil are twins: and aye
Joy's sun's 't the cloud of Sorrow;
And 't is the martyrdom To-day,
Brings victory To-morrow."

And to close these specimens here is a very characteristic passage:—

"But where was that infant-band,
Went in spring weather
To wander forth, hand-in-hand,
Violets to gather—
Whose hearts, like plumed powers,
Leapt up from the sod—
Ruining music in showers,
As guesting a God?"

Nor this:—

"The silver throbbing of her laughter pulsed
The air with music rich and resonant,—
As from the deep heart of a summer night,
Some bird in sudden sparkles of fine sound
Hurries its startled being into song,
And from the golden gushings of her hair
Unto the delicate pearly finger-tip,
Fresh beauty trembled from its thousand springs."

And yet such passages are frequent, and help with the monotonous repetition of the imagery to make the volume very wearisome.

Our verdict then is plainly this: Gerald Massey has a prodigal command of words, a faculty of poetic expression, and a certain spontaneity of song, which may hereafter develop into poetry worthy to be called by the name; but up to this time promise, not performance, is all we can acknowledge. He wants some of the characteristic qualities of a poet—taste and good sense, for example—either of which would have destroyed three-fourths of this volume as soon as written. He wants experience; or the faculty of transmuting experience into poetic forms is wanting to him. All his sentiments have a factitious tone. Nowhere does the real soul of the man utter itself. He is not terrified at nonsense; he is always lured by a sounding phrase.

Very different is the treatment the English language receives in William Allingham's *Day and Night Songs* (G. Routledge and Co.), thirty-two little

poems, most of which have already appeared in *Household Words*, *Fraser*, &c. A pleasant easy song, often musical and never fantastic, innocent of "Passion's misting Deeps," though passionate enough for the occasion, climbing none of the heights of "Thought's eternal Vast," yet thoughtful too. A sample or so will show this:—

“THE LIGHTHOUSE.”

“The plunging storm flies fierce against the pane,
And thrills our cottage with redoubled shocks;
The chimney mutters and the rafters strain;
Without, the breakers roar along the rocks.

“See, from our fire and taper-lighted room,
How savage, pitiless, and uncontrolled
The grim horizon shows its tossing gloom
Of waves from unknown angry gulphs uproll’d;

“Where, underneath that black portentous lid,
A long pale space between the night and sea
Gleams awful; while in deepest darkness hid
All other things in our despair agree.

“But lo! what star amid the thickest dark
A soft and unexpected dawn has made?
O welcome Lighthouse, thy unruined spark,
Piercing the turmoil and the deathly shade!

“By such a glimpse o’er the distracted wave
Full many a soul to-night is re-possessed
Of courage and of order, strong to save;
And like effect it works within my breast.

“Three faithful men have set themselves to stand
Against all storms that from the sky can blow,
Where peril must expect no aiding hand,
And tedium no relief may hope to know.

“Nor shout they, passing brothers to inform
What weariness they feel, or what affright;
But tranquilly in solitude and storm
Abide from month to month, and show their light.”

The ballad of *Lady Alice*, unlike the *Ballad of Babe Christabel*, is a ballad:—

“LADY ALICE.”

“Now what doth Lady Alice so late on the turret stair,
Without a lamp to light her, but the diamond in her hair;
When every arching passage overflows with shallow gloom,
And dreams float through the castle, into every silent room?

“She trembles at her footsteps, although they fall so light;
Through the turret loopholes she sees the wild midnight;
Broken vapours streaming across the stormy sky;
Down the empty corridors the blast doth moan and cry.

“She steals along a gallery; she pauses by a door;
And fast her tears are dropping down upon the oaken floor;
And thrice she seems returning—but thrice she turns again:—
Now heavily lie the cloud of sleep on that old father’s brain!

“Oh, well! it were that never shouldst thou waken from thy sleep!
For wherefore should they waken, who waken but to weep?
No more, no more beside thy bed doth Peace a vigil keep,
But Woe,—a lion that awaits thy rousing for its leap.

II.

“An afternoon of April, no sun appears on high,
But a moist and yellow lustre fills the deepness of the sky;
And through the castle-gateway, left empty and forlorn,
Along the leafless avenue an honour’d bier is borne.

“They stop. The long line closes up like some gigantic worm;
A shape is standing in the path, a wan and ghost-like form,
Which gazes fixedly; nor moves, nor utters any sound;
Then, like a statue built of snow, sinks down upon the ground.

“And though her clothes are ragged, and though her feet are bare,
And though all wild and tangled falls her heavy silk-brown hair;
Though from her eyes the brightness, from her cheeks the bloom is fled,
They know their Lady Alice, the darling of the dead.

“With silence, in her own old room the fainting form they lay,
Where all things stand unaltered since the night she fled away;
But who—but who shall bring to life her father from the clay?
But who shall give her back again her heart of a former day?”

We object to the image of “the worm” in the last stanza but three, as calling up discordant ideas; so also we think that image of a statue of snow very infelicitous, as depicting the fall of a fainting woman: but the rest is powerful and simple. We should have quoted the *Dirty Old Man*, but our limits are passed; and we must leave the other volumes lying before us for a second razzia.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By Edward Gibbon, Esq. With Notes, by Dean Milman and M. Guizot. Edited, with Additional Notes, by W. Smith, LL.D. Vol. I. John Murray.

Correspondence between the Right Honourable J. W. Croker and the Right Honourable Lord John Russell on some Passages of “Moore’s Diary;” with a Postscript by Mr. Croker, explanatory of Mr. Moore’s acquaintance and correspondence with him. John Murray.

Ainsworth’s Magazine. Chapman and Hall.

Colburn’s New Monthly. Chapman and Hall.

Burns. By Thomas Carlyle. (Reading for Travellers.) Chapman and Hall.

Adams’s Parliamentary Handbook. By E. Morton. H. Adams.

The Eye in Health and Disease. By Alfred Smee, F.R.S. Longman and Co.

Practical Observations on Gout and its Complications, and on the Treatment of Joints stiffened by Gouty Deposits. By T. Spencer Wells. John Churchill.

The English Cyclopædia. Bradbury and Evans.

The Newcomes. Bradbury and Evans.

Writings of Douglas Jerrold. Plays. Punch Office.

The Home Circle. W. S. Johnson.

The Annotated Edition of the English Poets. By Robert Bell. Vol. II. J. W. Parker and Son.

Bentley’s Miscellany. E. Bentley.

Secret and Inedited Documents, connected with Russian History and Diplomacy. Translated by J. E. Morrell. D. Bogue.

The Knout and the Russians. By Germain de Lagny. D. Bogue.

Bentley’s Monthly Review. Piper, Stephenson, and Co.

Chambers’s Journal. W. and R. Chambers.

The Northern Tribune. J. Barlow.

The Mediterranean. A Memoir—Physical, Historical, and Nautical. By Rear-Admiral William Henry Smyth, R.S.P., D.C.L. J. W. Parker and Son.

Hogg’s Instructor. James Hogg.

Purple Tints of Paris—Character and Manners in the New Empire. By Bayle St. John. Chapman and Hall.

The Arts.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY AND AMERICAN DRAMATISTS.

THIS week I have had two manifestations of the American mind in the shape of a wearisome version of *The Corsican Brothers*, and a huge packet of MSS., with the promising title of

ORPHIC FRAGMENTS:

The Musings of a Meditative Mind,

which accompanied a letter from an unknown, unknowable “admirer.”

About the drama little need be said. It is a new version of that piece which at the THEATRE HISTORIQUE and the PRINCESS’S proved itself an effective, ingenious, thrilling melodrama. The novelty consists in making what was effective clumsy, what was ingenious absurd, what was thrilling monotonous. Had the American author possessed more of the dramatic quality than the author of *The Lovelock*, it would at once have occurred to him that when Messrs. Grangé and Montépin took Dumas’s romance, and therefrom constructed their drama, whatever they omitted was omitted with theatrical intent, whatever changes they made were made with an eye to the differences between the drama and the novel. A wise caution, therefore, would be necessary before restoring what they had omitted. But our American only thought of producing a new version; and he produced it. As a sample of utter imbecility consider this one invention of his own: instead of leaving the superstitious sympathy consecrated by tradition between twins, as it stands in Dumas, he must attempt an explanation of it by making the twins originally connected together like the Siamese Twins!

I beg to assure him that this is not only a sheer absurdity as a matter of art, but equally so as a matter of physiology. If he knew anything about those curious examples of what are called “double monsters,” he would know that even when two heads and two trunks are so intimately united that they form one body, with only two legs for the four arms, even then—when the same current of blood nourishes two living individualities—the mental characteristics are not similar, the emotions are not more sympathetic than they would be with two brothers or sisters, and that which affects the one does not necessarily affect the other. Science fortunately possesses a most interesting and instructive illustration of what has just been said, in the case of the twins Rita and Christina, who, with two heads and trunks grafted together on one pair of legs, had certain functions in common, but for the rest were entirely different, and differed in character, one being gay, the other melancholy, one slept while the other was awake, and so forth. When Rita was seized with the bronchitis, which subsequently carried both off, Christina was unaffected. Rita remained without sensation for some hours in the death struggle, during which Christina was full of life, and took the breast as before, only her pulse being accelerated and her respiration troubled; when Rita expired Christina suddenly expired also.

I don’t state this for the benefit of the dramatist. He is a nincompoop with whom I will have no transactions. But beloved readers are informed of the case for their amusement and instruction. Having wasted so many lines on the *Corsican Brothers*, I turn to my American admirer.

He has sent me a huge packet for which I do not thank him. Reading manuscripts is my aversion; and philosophical manuscripts! I, who am as innocent of all knowledge of philosophy as Charles Kean is of Xiphilin! I, who would curl my whiskers (when I had them) with the finest treatise ever composed! But you see what a thing the “bubble reputation” is. In America they accept me as a philosopher, because, I suppose, I sometimes “philosophise” about the drama. And, lo! an Orpheus,—an occult thinker,—a sayer of dark sayings meant to enlighten the world, sends me reams of Metaphysics, with the two modest requests: First, that I should kindly peruse the said reams; Second, that I should introduce them to the notice of the thinking public of England. It is but fair to add that the request is wrapped up in language of the most complimentary kind, from which it would appear that my intellect was at once the most dazzling and profound, while my style was the most profound and dazzling. I say it would appear so, did not the same magnificent eulogy which exalts me into the rank of an august Thinker and a superlative Writer, at the same time, and in the same breath, exalt the flatterer into the rank of an Orpheus speaking the language of “eternal truth.” It is one word for me and two for himself with my correspondent. Now, although I have as ready an appetite for praise as another, and perhaps in the immodest recesses of my heart have my own opinion of my own qualities, nevertheless before one glories in praise one should estimate the praiser. Therefore, before I feel quite sure of the titles so liberally bestowed by Orpheus, I must see what right he has to those he so liberally bestows upon himself. By his standard he measures me. What is my measure of him? That you shall know next week, when, having meditated the Orphic Fragments, I will lay some of them before you.

VIVIAN.

THE BRITISH INSTITUTION.

THE artists who exhibit in the British Institution this year suffer from a kind of rivalry which is not generally recognised as injurious. There are many works on the walls which bear evidences of great pains of labouring, not only in the execution of the particular work, but in the study requisite to acquire that skill of execution. Many of them show a tasteful feeling, and mark that which is considered the English capacity for colouring; and seen separately in the studio of the artist, there is many such a work which would extort at least some mild compliment to its pleasing character. But when a number of such works are brought together,—when, for example, there is not one single young lady set before you without any particular action or expression, simply as a study of youthful womanhood,—not a dozen, not a score, but many dozens or scores of such young ladies gracefully and quietly reposing, fancifully but modestly dressed, with tresses carefully combed and arranged; the utmost sympathy with the sex cannot prevent a certain sense of tedium. One feels that the artists might advantageously vary the theme; and there is, at all events, one branch of action into which they might venture. If so many of them must take for their subjects the Jessica or Juliet of private life, they might at least follow that Jessica or Juliet in the round of experience and sensa-

tion, and give us at least some of the drama of which the most middling life of England is not bereft. But Juliet or Jessica in an incessant state of picturesque holiday costume and bland self-possession, is the prevalent subject in the present exhibition. Next to the same unexcited Juliet come "views" of places which have been viewed ever since the English school established itself. Occasionally, indeed, there is an effort to rise superior to these dead levels. Some artists seek for peculiar effects by smooth water with evening sun; but Branwhite has fallen so much into a peculiar pattern of painting that he cannot give you a summer evening without water that looks like ice and a winter sun. Redgrave began for himself a new manner of painting wood scenery with individuality in the vegetation; and now we see that he has copyists, as in the case of Mr. A. Gilbert. The manner has been admired and the manner is copied; the real subject which the artist ought to bring before the spectator, the living vegetation, being slurred in the execution.

If it is human life out of whose quiet level the artist struggles, ten to one we have some subject rendered tedious by repetition. If it is difficult to see an exhibition without Cologne Cathedral, you are almost sure to find Othello smothering Desdemona. In this instance Mr. Egley furnishes the annual supply of the Moor; the principal variety which he casts upon the subject being an intensity of what linen-drapers call "self colour" in all the objects. Desdemona's lips are as pink as a ribbon new from Coventry.

This universal flatness, or this struggle only into the set vicissitude and passion of the Exhibition, while they tend to render the works of each artist in the level more tedious than they deserve to be considered, give also to those who break away the appearance of greater power than they can really boast. Thus Glass flashes upon you with the force of genius, and Sant, in spite of his laboured execution, derives all the force which is to be got from dealing with real passion. Gilbert, who possesses a strong-handed intellect, deals with a rough subject prosaically enough; but by sticking to human nature as he finds it, and trying to copy its changeable countenance, he also drags life into the composition. Sancho boasting to his wife of his future dignity, and encountered by her vulgar, virago incredulity, is at once easy in composition and forcible in effect. But it is when artists

really break away from indoor scenery or landscape unenlightened by human incident that the picture really becomes interesting.

Glass's picture is in three compartments, called severally "the Rendezvous," "the Return," and "the Rescue." In the first, a party of borderers are setting out to make an assault upon their neighbours—an irregular set of men-at-arms, variously mounted, riding into the morning mist. In the second part, the same band are returning with spoil and captives; one of them is leading by a string a pony, on which sits a girl whom he surveys with a somewhat sentimental air for so rough a capture. In the third, night conceals the main body of marauders, the captives and pursuers; and one only sees two horsemen galloping towards the spectator abreast, dashing headlong downhill, one shooting the other. There is much spirit in the whole triple composition; though the last is too phantom-like and improbable to fit with the others. The first is thoroughly real, and elevates the artist almost to be ranked as an English Salvator Rosa.

Mr. Sant's principal subject is "the Woman taken in Adultery;" and it comprises a single figure, painted the size of life, in half length. It seems to have been painted from a beautiful original, and in some respects the treatment is worthy of the original; but we much doubt the dramatic propriety, both in that treatment and in the selection of the original. Most artists appear to hit the common perception of the brief text, and to regard the woman as an ordinary trespasser, taken *flagrante delicto* without any *circumstances attenuantes*. She is usually represented as a coarse or high-blooded matron, not quite in the flower of youth, and overwhelmed with shame or self-compassion. In the picture before us the woman, with fair hair, slender proportions, aristocratic features, and a carriage that almost exclusively belongs to "high society," is not a Jewess in the middle class, but is an English lady. The dejection not mingled with pride in her countenance,—the working of thought in her eyes, and the swelling erectness of her figure, speak a rebellious spirit, not ignorant of modern ideas, not thoroughly without resisting the judgment of condemnation. The figure seems less appropriate to impersonate the ordinary Jewess sinner than to typify "the wrongs of woman," with some lurking sense of "woman's rights." However, it is a beautiful subject, and Mr. Sant does not belong to the dead level which the walls uniformly present.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

BRIGHT.—March 1, at One Ash, Rochdale, the wife of John Bright, M.P.: a daughter.
COURTOWN.—Feb. 22, at No. 15, Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin, the Countess of Courtown: a son.
MARCHANT.—Feb. 5, at the Government-house, Halifax, Nova Scotia, the wife of his Excellency Sir Gaspard Le Marchant: a son.
VERNON.—Feb. 25, at Marchington, Staffordshire, Lady Harriet Vernon: a son and heir.

MARRIAGES.

BLIGH-NEVILL.—Feb. 1, at the parish church, Birling, Kent, the Hon. Edward Vesey Bligh, second son of the late Earl of Darnley, to Lady Isabel Mary Frances Nevill, youngest daughter of the Earl of Abergavenny.
NELSON-MEYER.—Feb. 27, at the British Embassy, Paris, Horatio Nelson, of Saville-row, Burlington-gardens, London, Esq., to Emma, daughter of John James Meyer, of Rue de la Pépinière, Paris, Esq.
OSLER-PHILLIPS.—Feb. 24, at the Church of the Saviour, Birmingham, by George Dawson, M.A., Clarkson Osler, Esq., of Edgbaston, to Caroline, third daughter of the late Richard Phillips, Esq., F.R.S., &c., London.

DEATHS.

GUNNING.—Feb. 12, at Whittlesford, near Cambridge, Lydia Gunning, aged eighty-three; and on the 21st, at the same place, Eleanor Gunning, aged eighty-one (sisters of Henry Gunning, Senior Esquire, Bedel of the University of Cambridge, also lately deceased, whose united ages amounted to 250 years).
MAY.—Feb. 25, at his seat, near Kelburn, Longford, Lieutenant-General James May, O.B., Colonel of the Seventy-ninth Highlanders, a most distinguished Peninsular officer.
PEYTON.—Feb. 24, at Swift's-house, near Bicester, Oxfordshire, aged seventy-four, Sir Henry Peyton, Bart.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, March 3, 1854.
VERY slight alteration in the funds has taken place since last week. In the face of a war, the magnitude and duration of which no one can form an estimate, the funds maintain their present firm appearance, and, should nothing very formidable be announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer we may see a rise of two per cent. in them before the next account. In the foreign markets there is great depression. Russian and Dutch particularly are greatly depreciated, Russian Fives having fallen five per cent. The buyers have been on Dutch account, and consequently the Dutch holders have possibly had to bring their own stock into the market to effect purchases. Railway shares maintain a good price, and will possibly improve as long as they pay dividends. Mines are but sparsely dealt in. Nouveau Monde are below par; Anglo-Californians again are better. In Land Companies but little change. This afternoon there has been a considerable fall in Consols and all shares. The second edition of the *Times*, and the rumour of an embargo being laid upon English vessels in Russian ports, has had its effect. Consols close at 91½. Consols, 91½; Caledonian, 55½; Chester and Holyhead, 15½; Eastern Counties, 12½; 13½; Edinburgh and Glasgow, 62; 64; Great Western, 70½; Lancashire and Yorkshire, 67½; 68; London and North Western, 102½; 102½; London and South Western, 80; 81; Midland, 61½; 62; North Staffordshire, 6; 5½; Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, 32; 34; Scottish Central, 88; 90; South Eastern, 63; 64; South Wales, 35; 36; York, Newcastle, and Berwick, 69; 70; York and North Midland, 49; 50; East Indian, 24; 24½; Luxembourg, 7; 7½; Ditto (Railway), 44; 5; Ditto, Pref. 1; 1½; Madras, 1½; dis. par.; Namur and Liège (with Int.), 74; 74½; Northern of France, 204; 204½; Paris and Lyons, 124; 124½; Paris and Orléans, 42; 44; Paris and Rouen, 34; 36; ex div.; Paris and Strasbourg, 234; 234½; Sambre and Meuse, 8; 8½; West Flanders, 34; 44; Western of France, 24; 3 pm.; Agua Fria, 1; 1½ pm.; Anglo-Californian, 1; 1½ pm.; Brazil Imperial, 4; 5; Colonial Gold, 1 dis.; 1½ pm.; Great Nugget Vein, 1 dis. par.; Linares, old, 11; 12; Nouveau

Monde, 1 dis. par. United Mexican, 34; 34½; Wallers, 1; 1½ dis.; Polimores, 5-16 pm.; 5-16 pm.; Peninsula, 1; 1 pm.; Oberhof, 1-16 dis. par.; Port Royals, 1; 1½ pm.; Australasian Agricultural, 41; 43; Peel River, 1 dis. par.; North British Australasian, par.; 1 pm.; Scottish Australasian Investment, 14; 14½ pm.; South Australian Land, 38; 40; Oriental Bank, 44; 47; Union Bank of Australia, 67; 68.

CORN MARKET.

LOCAL TRADE.—The supplies of Wheat, Flour, and Oats during the week have been moderate, and of Barley liberal. At this day's market there is a small attendance of buyers, and the business doing is extremely limited in extent, at prices barely equal to Monday.

FLOATING TRADE.—We have no great arrival this week, nor have we, since Friday last, any great business to report. The cargoes since come to hand are 44. The sales have been, among others, as follows:—A cargo Azoff Ghirka, 71s. net; one hard Taganrog, 87s.; one new Polish, very fine, 75s. 6d.; one Saidi, 58s. 3d.; one Marianople, fine quality, 77s.; one Taganrog Ghirka, 72s. 6d.

We have had a good many Irish buyers here this week, but they have acted with caution, and the business done has consequently been limited.

Had holders been willing to sell at less money, a large business would have been done. There is, however, no pressure to sell; the cargoes now on the way here being few in number, and it being pretty generally believed that the Black Sea ports, with the exception of Galatz and the Roumelian ports, will not long be open for the shipment of Grain, and that, consequently, our supplies from that quarter will soon be completely cut off.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.
(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Frid.
Bank Stock	218½	219	217½	.....	.....	219
3 per Cent. Red.	92½	91½	91½	91½	92½	91½
3 per Cent. Con. An.	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½
Consols for Account	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½
3½ per Cent. An.	93½	92½	92½	92½	93½	92½
New 5 per Cents.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Long Ans. 1880	5-16	5½	5½	5½	5½	5-16
India Stock	.....	240	239	.....	.....	237
Ditto Bonds, £1000	.....	12	12	.....	11	.....
Ditto, under £1000	.....	12	.....	.....	11	12 p
Ex. Bills, £1000	18 p	18 p	20 p	20 p	20 p	16 p
Ditto, £500	18 p	21 p	20 p	20 p	20 p	20 p
Ditto, Small	18 p	21 p	21 p	20 p	20 p	20 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY EVENING.)		RUSSIAN BONDS, 5 per	
Brazilian Bonds	99	Cents 1822	88
Buenos Ayres 6 per Cents.	55	Russian 4½ per Cents.	80½
Chilian 6 per Cents.	.....	Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def.	17½
Danish 3 per Cents.	.....	Spanish Committee Cert.	.....
Ecuador Bonds	.....	of Coup. not fun.	34
Mexican 3 per Cents.	24½	Venezuela 3½ per Cents.	28
Mexican 3 per Ct. for	.....	Belgian 4½ per Cents.	.....
Acc. March 15	24½	Dutch 2½ per Cents.	55½
Portuguese 4 per Cents.	35	Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	85
Portuguese 3 p. Cents.	.....	

ROYAL OLYMPIC THEATRE.

To-morrow, Monday, and during the week, will be presented a New Comedietta, called

TO OBLIGE BENSON.

Principal Characters by Mrs. Stirling, Miss Wyndham, Messrs. Emory, Leslie, and Robson. After which the New and Original Drama, in Three Acts, entitled

PLOT AND PASSION.

Principal Characters by Messrs. F. Robson, Emory, Whit, Leslie, and A. Wigan, Miss E. Turner, and Mrs. Stirling. To conclude with

THE BENGAL TIGER

ROYAL PANOPTICON OF SCIENCE

AND ART, Leicester-square.

The Public are informed that this Institution will be Opened on the 18th of March, in lieu of the 8th. Hours of Exhibition—Morning from 11 till 4; Evening 7 till 10. Admission 1s.; Saturday, 2s. 6d.

WONDERS OF NATURE AND ART!

How marvellous are the works of Nature! Grand! and in their minutiae, inimitable! The nearest approximation to this may, however, be found in Dr. KAHN'S MUSEUM, SALLE ROBIN, 232, PICCADILLY, opposite the Haymarket; where not only are the most beautiful specimens of Human Formation illustrated, but Comparative Anatomy has likewise its representations. Dr. Kahn has just added splendid Models of the BEE, SILKWORM, &c., so as to form a complete epitome of Human and Comparative Anatomy. Go, and see it.—Open for Gentlemen from 11 till 5, and from 7 till 10. Lectures by Dr. Leach at 12, 2, 4, and 8 o'clock. On Wednesdays and Fridays the Museum is OPEN FOR LADIES ONLY, from 2 till 5 o'clock, when Lectures are given by Mrs. Leach—and on those days Gentlemen are admitted, only from 11 till 2, and from 7 till 10.

ADMISSION, ONE SHILLING.

WHITTINGTON CLUB and METROPOLITAN ATHENÆUM—Library, Reading, and

News Rooms, supplied with 30 Daily and 100 Weekly and Provincial Papers; in this respect offering special advantages to Literary Men.—Weekly Assemblies for Music and Dancing, Lectures, Classes, and (Entertainments, Dining, Coffee, Smoking, and Drawing Rooms. Subscriptions, Two Guineas the year; One Guinea the half-year. Ladies half these rates. Country Members, One Guinea the year. No Entrance Fee. New Subscriptions date from the 1st of March. A Prospectus forwarded upon application. Literary Entertainment on Thursday March 9th.—"An Hour with Thomas Ingoldsby," by EDWARD COPPING Esq.—Members Free, with the usual privilege for their friends; Non-Members 1s.

HENRY Y. BRACE, Secretary.

37, Arundel-street, Strand.

WILLIAM STEVENS, Sole Agent for

supplying the Public with the celebrated, unadulterated BOTTLED ALES, PORTER, and STOUT, brewed by the Metropolitan and Provincial Joint-Stock Brewery Company, submits the following scale of charges for the Company's goods in imperial measures:—

Ale or Stout	.....	quarts	6	d. per doz.
Do	.....	pints	3	d. "
Do	.....	half pints	2	d. "

TERMS—CASH.

Country orders promptly attended to.—Money orders on the Strand Office.

The same goods are constantly on draught at the Company's Wholesale and Retail Stores,

13, Upper Wellington-street, Strand, London,

Where all orders must be sent to

WILLIAM STEVENS, Sole Agent.

P.S.—A Single Bottle at the wholesale price, and families supplied with the same beer in casks.

FIVE GUINEAS.—Mr. WM. H. HALSE,

the Medical Galvanist, of 22, Brunswick-square, London, informs his friends that his FIVE GUINEA APPARATUS are now ready.—Send two postage stamps for his Pamphlet on Medical Galvanism.

A NEW DISCOVERY IN TEETH.

MR. HOWARD, SURGEON-DENTIST,

52, FLEET-STREET, has introduced an ENTIRELY NEW DESCRIPTION of ARTIFICIAL TEETH, fixed without springs, wires, or ligatures. They so perfectly resemble the natural teeth as not to be distinguished from the originals by the closest observer; they will never change colour or decay, and will be found superior to any teeth ever before used. This method does not require the extraction of roots, or any painful operation, and will support and preserve teeth that are loose, and is guaranteed to restore articulation and mastication. Decayed teeth rendered sound and useful in mastication.

52, FLEET-STREET.—At home from Ten till Five.

WANTED, ACTIVE AGENTS FOR
THE AMAZON LIFE ASSURANCE AND LOAN
COMPANY, AND SICK BENEFIT SOCIETY. A Liberal
commission and procuration fees allowed. Applications to
be made to

ROBERT GEORGE WEAR, F.R.G.S.,
Manager and Actuary.
1, Ironmonger Lane, London.
Loans on Personal Security.

BANK OF DEPOSIT,
7, St. Martin's-place, Trafalgar-square, London.
Established May, 1844.

Parties desirous of Investing Money are requested to ex-
amine the Plan of this Institution, by which a high rate of
Interest may be obtained with perfect Security.

The Interest is payable in JANUARY and JULY, and for
the convenience of parties residing at a distance, may be
received at the Branch Offices, or paid through Country
Bankers, without expense.

PETER MORRISON, Managing Director.
Prospectuses free on application.

THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL GE-
NERAL MEETING of the SCOTTISH PROVIDENT
INSTITUTION was held at Edinburgh, on WEDNESDAY,
Feb. 15:

JOHN AULD, Esq., Writer to her Majesty's Signet, the
Senior Director, in the chair.
REPORT BY THE DIRECTORS.

The Directors have the satisfaction of submitting a very
favourable report of the business for the year ending 31st
December, 1853.

The new proposals accepted have been 716 in number,
assuring £309,393 1s., with yearly premiums amounting to
£8038 12s. 5d. A further sum of 10,729 2s. 8d. has also been
received for new Assurances by single payment; and several
Annuities, immediate, deferred, and contingent, have been
contracted for. The total Premiums received in the year
have been £4,857 10s. 5d.

The claims against the Institution on account of emerged
policies have been very moderate, the amount, including ad-
ditions declared at the recent investigation, being £23,528 8s.

At the close of the year, there had been issued in all 6602
policies, assuring £2,880,821. The amount remaining as-
sured (exclusive of annuities) was £2,318, 672. The Realised
Fund, arising entirely from accumulated premiums, was
£305,134, being an increase of upwards of £50,000 within the
year.

The report of the investigation of the affairs of the Society,
which was submitted to the last general meeting, and the
working of its distinctive principle, as shown in the first
division of profits, it is gratifying to be able to state, have
been received with entire satisfaction by the general body
of the contributors.

The Directors continue to be guided in the administra-
tion by the rules on which they have hitherto acted—of
avoiding, on the one hand, objectionable methods of increas-
ing the business, such as paying the law agents of applicants
for assurance, and others who have no legitimate claim on
the Society—and, on the other, of making the provisions as
available and secure to the representatives of the members
as prudence will admit. They have found good reason to
approve of the step in this direction, taken by this Institu-
tion five years ago, when the conditions of forfeiture had
been restricted to the case of fraud and wilful misstatement.
And the resolution of the annual meeting of February, 1852,
adopted in concert with other offices, to relieve from restric-
tions on travel and foreign residence holders of policies who,
by a certain term of probation, shall have shown themselves
to be unlikely to entail risk on the Society, has been a
further boon to the members, by enhancing the security and
marketable value of their policies.

By perseverance in the course now indicated, while no
principle has been abandoned, and no concession made either
to disarm opposition or to win popularity, the amount of
substantial business has been constantly on the increase,
and that not by sudden and alternate rise and fall, but by
that gradual and steady advancement which is the best
presage of permanent prosperity. And in this course the
Directors will persevere.

The progress of the London Branch continues to be in all
respects satisfactory, and the Directors are able to report
that they have had the good fortune to secure premises in
one of the most central situations in the City, in which they
will have greatly superior accommodation, without, as they
have reason to believe, increased expense.

A detailed Statement of the Accumulated Fund, and of the
Income and Expenditure during the year was annexed, in
terms of Art. 28 of the Laws.

**BIENNIAL PROGRESS OF THE BUSINESS DURING THE
LAST TEN YEARS.**

In Years.	Number of New Policies.	Amount of New Assurances.	Accumulated Fund at end of Period.
1844-45	658	£281,082	£69,009
1846-47	888	404,784	95,705
1848-49	907	410,933	134,406
1850-51	1269	535,137	207,863
1852-53	1378	587,118	305,134

MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE.

THE SCOTTISH PROVIDENT INSTI-
TUTION combines the advantage of Participation in
the whole Profits with moderate Premiums.

The Premiums are as low as those of the non-participating
scale of the Proprietary Companies. They admit of being
so, not only with safety, but with ample reversion of Profits
to the Policy-holders—being free from the burden of pay-
ment of dividends to Shareholders.

At the first division of surplus, in the present year, bonus
additions were made to Policies which had come within the
participating class, varying from 20 to 54 per cent. on their
amount.

In all points of practice,—as in provision for the inde-
feasibility of Policies, facility of license for travelling or
residence abroad, and of obtaining advances on the value
of the policies,—the regulations of the Society, as well as the
administration, are as liberal as is consistent with right
principle.

Policies are now issued free of stamp duty.
Copies of the last annual report, containing full explana-
tion of the principles, may be had on application.

Head Office: 14, St. Andrew-square, Edinburgh.

JAMES WATSON, Manager.

London Branch: 12, Moorgate-street.

GEORGE GRANT, Resident Secretary.

* After 25th March the London Branch will be removed
to the Society's New Premises, 60, Gracechurch-street, City.

Foolscap Octavo, 4s. 6d.
SIX DRAMAS OF CALDERON, freely
translated by EDWARD FITZGERALD.
By the same Author,
POLONIUS: a Collection of Wise Saws
and Modern Instances. 2s. 6d.
EUPHRANOR: a Dialogue on Youth.
1s. 6d.
London: John W. Parker and Son, West Strand.

French in a Month! The 36th edition, 3s. 6d., boards,
DE PORQUET'S TRESOR, for
Turning English into French at Sight; Secretaire for
ditto 3s. 6d.; Grammar 3s. 6d.; Phraseology 2s. 6d.; First
Reading Book 2s. 6d.; Dictionary 5s.
London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

A list of 40 other Works for Italian, French, and German,
by same Author, may be had.

In 8vo, price 11s. boards, Fifth Edition, enlarged,
ON THE DISEASES OF FEMALES;
a Treatise, describing their Symptoms, Causes, Vari-
eties, and Treatment. With numerous Cases, and a Medical
Glossary. Including the Management of Pregnancy and
Confinement. By T. J. GRAHAM, M.D., F.R.C.S.
"An admirable performance."—*Bath Herald*.
"A mass of information indispensable to those for whom
it is intended."—*Blackwood's Lady's Magazine*.
Published by Simpkin and Co., Paternoster-row; and
Tegg and Co., 85, Queen-street, Cheapside. Sold by all Book-
sellers.

Just published, price 2s. post free, 2s. 6d.
NERVOUS AFFECTIONS: an Essay on
Spermatorrhoea; its Nature and Treatment, with an
Exposition of the Frauds that are practised by persons who
advertise the speedy, safe, and effectual cure of Nervous
Derangement. By a MEMBER OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE
OF PHYSICIANS, London.
London: Aylott and Co., 3, Paternoster-row.

Ready, price 2s. 6d., by post 3s.
THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.
No. XIII.—March, 1854.

CONTENTS:
Art. 1.—Our Juvenile Criminals.—The Schoolmaster or the
Gaoler.
Art. 2.—Phases of Bourgeois Life.
Art. 3.—The Irish Land Question.
Art. 4.—Plunket.
Art. 5.—Limited Liability in Partnerships.
Art. 6.—The Old Masters and Modern Art.
Quarterly List of New Works published in Great Britain,
America, and the Continent of Europe, with their size, con-
dition, and price.
Dublin: W. B. Kelly, 8, Grafton-street, and all Book-
sellers. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

Price 11d.
CHAMBERS'S JOURNAL OF POPU-
LAR LITERATURE, SCIENCE, and ARTS.
No. 9.—SATURDAY, MARCH 4
CONTENTS:
That Lad of Ours.
Things as They are in America: Boston to Montreal.
By W. Chambers.
Wearyfoot Common. By Leitch Ritchie. Chapter IX.
More Unsuspected Relations.
The Russians at Home.
Poetry and Miscellanea.
W. and R. Chambers, 3, Bride's-passage, Fleet-street, Lon-
don, and 339, High-street, Edinburgh; and sold by all Book-
sellers.

Price One Shilling.
THE NATIONAL MISCELLANY for
MARCH, contains—I. Bosnia—II. The Sunday Roll—
III. Russia and its Resources—IV. The Valleys and Manu-
factories of the Vosges—V. The Country House.—No. II.—
VI. The Writings of De Quincey—VII. Notices—VIII
Poetry.
At the Office, No. 1, Exeter-street, Strand, London.

Ready on March 1st,
NORTHERN TRIBUNE, No. 3.
CONTENTS:
Physical Force addressed to Reasonable Peacemen.
Song—Nature's Gentleman.—W. J. Linton.
History of the Month.
Memoirs of Bernard Gilpin, "the Apostle of the North"
(with Portrait).—Thomas Cooper.
The Evil Spirit, and How to Bind Him.—Frank Grant.
A Traveller's Christmas Eve.—W. J. Linton.
Tyne Seamen of the Olden Time.—R. Sutcliffe.
Our Library—The Peak and the Plain, &c.
My Voice is for War.—Victor Hugo.
How Sunderland is getting on—Sketch of Myth, &c.—
"Willy Carr."
Old Father Tyne—A Letter from a Mouse—&c., &c.
Price Fourpence. Stamped, Fivepence.

Northern Tribune Office, Joseph Barlow, Newcastle-on-
Tyne; Holyoake and Co., 147, Fleet-street, London.

PIGGOTT'S GALVANIC BELT, without
acids, or any saturation, without shock or unpleasant
sensation, for the cure of nervous diseases and those arising
from cold, an inactive liver, or sluggish circulation, and has
been found highly beneficial in cases of Rheumatism,
Sciatic, Dyspepsia, Neuralgia, in all its forms, and general
debility of the system. Treatise on the above, free on
the receipt of a postage stamp. Mr. W. P. PIGGOTT, Medi-
cal Galvanist, 523, Oxford-street, Bloomsbury. At home daily
from 10 till 4.

DOES YOUR HAIR FALL OFF?
If so use the BOTANICAL EXTRACT (an effectual
remedy), 3s. 6d., 5s., 10s. 6d., and 21s. If your hair is chang-
ing grey, use the Restorative Fluid (not a dye), 2s. 6d., 5s.,
and 11s. Prepared only by Mr. TAYLOR, Hair Restorer, who
may be consulted (gratis) on all diseases of the hair, 19,
New Bond-street, removed from 29, Edward-street, Portman-
square.
Private Rooms for Dyeing Hair.

Chapman's Quarterly Series,
PUBLISHED BY SUBSCRIPTION.
FOUR VOLUMES IN LARGE POST 8vo, FOR £1 PER
ANNUM. PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.

*Chapman's Quarterly Series is intended to consist of works
by learned and profound thinkers, embracing the subjects of
THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, BIBLICAL CRITICISM
AND THE HISTORY OF OPINION.*

An endeavour will be made to issue the volumes regularly
at quarterly intervals, viz.,

**IN MARCH, JUNE, SEPTEMBER, AND
DECEMBER.**

Volumes I. to IV. are now ready.

*Subscriptions paid after the 1st of March of each year,
will be raised to £1 1s.*

The Price of each work to non-Subscribers will be an-
nounced at the time of publication. It will vary according
to the size of the respective volumes, but will be on the
average 9s. per volume, so that a large saving will be effected
by annual Subscribers.

The Volumes for 1854 are as follows:—

V. THE PHILOSOPHY OF KANT.
Lectures by VICTOR COUSIN. Translated from the
French. To which is added a Biographical and Critical
Sketch of Kant's Life and Writings. By A. G. HEN-
DERSON. Nearly ready.

VI. THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTI-
ANITY. By LUDWIG FEUERBACH. Translated
from the Second German Edition by the Translator of
Strauss's "Life of Jesus."

**VII. A SKETCH OF THE RISE AND
PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY.** By R. W. HACKETT,
A.M., Author of the "Progress of the Intellect," &c.

**VIII. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE
HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.** By
HEINRICH EWALD. With Additions and Emenda-
tions specially made by the Author for the English Edi-
tion. Translated by JOHN NICHOLSON, B.A., Oxon.,
Ph.D.

*The Volumes for 1853 (Subscription price of which is
now £1 1s.) are—*

**I. THEISM, ATHEISM, AND THE
POPULAR THEOLOGY.** Sermons by THEODORE
PARKER. Author of "A Discourse of Matters pertain-
ing to Religion," &c. A Portrait of the Author engraved
on steel is prefixed. (Price to non-Subscribers, 9s.)

**II. A HISTORY OF THE HEBREW
MONARCHY FROM THE ADMINISTRATION OF
SAMUEL TO THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY.** By
FRANCIS WILLIAM NEWMAN, formerly Fellow of
Balliol College, Oxford, and Author of "The Soul; its
Sorrows and Aspirations," &c. Second Edition. (Price
to non-Subscribers, 8s. 6d.)

* Persons who already possess the First Edition of this
work, may obtain the other three volumes for 1853, by sub-
scribing 12s.

III. and IV. THE POSITIVE PHILO-
SOPHY OF AUGUSTUS COMTE, freely Translated
and condensed by HARRIET MARTINEAU. (Price
to non-Subscribers, 16s.)

The following extracts from an article (understood to be
by Sir David Brewster) which appeared in the *Edinburgh
Review* will give some idea of the aim and character of this
celebrated work:—

"A work of profound science, marked with great acuteness
of reasoning, and conspicuous for the highest attributes
of intellectual power. It comprehends MATHEMATICS
ASTRONOMY, PHYSICS, and CHEMISTRY, or the sciences of
Inorganic Bodies; and PHYSIOLOGY, and SOCIAL PHYSICS,
or the sciences of Organic Bodies.

"Under the head of SOCIAL PHYSICS the author treats of
the general structure of human societies, of the funda-
mental natural law of the development of the human
species, and of the progress of civilisation. This last
Section is subdivided into three heads—the THEOLOGICAL
EPOCH, the METAPHYSICAL EPOCH, and the POSITIVE
EPOCH,—the first of these embracing FETTERISM, POLYTHE-
ISM, and MONOTHEISM."

Referring to the Astronomical part of the work, the Re-
viewer says:—

"We could have wished to place before our readers some
specimens of our author's manner of treating these difficult
and deeply interesting topics—of his simple, yet powerful
eloquence—of his enthusiastic admiration of intellectual
superiority—of his accuracy as an historian, his honesty as
a judge, and of his absolute freedom from all personal and
national feelings. . . . The philosopher who has grown
hoary in the service of science longs for the advantage of
such an historian to record his labours, and of such an
arbitler to appreciate their value."

ENGLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY.

See the *Westminster Review*, New Series, No. IX.

"We should like to see the article reprinted and widely
circulated."—*Nonconformist*.

"A very powerful pleading in favour of armed interven-
tion by Great Britain on behalf of the freedom and nation-
alities of Europe."—*Scotsman*.

"No less vigorous in tone than lofty in aim and masterly
in style."—*Birmingham Journal*.

"This paper is well-timed, and we have no doubt the heart
of England will cordially respond to it."—*Bradford Ob-*

server.

"Brilliant and instructive history."—*Durham Advertiser*.

"A noble article."—*Sheffield Free Press*.

"The ablest exposition of the present state of European
affairs that has ever yet appeared."—*Bradford Mercury*.

London: John Chapman, 142, Strand.

Just published, in 8vo, price 10s. cloth,
AN EXPOSITION of ST. PAUL'S
EPISTLE to the ROMANS. By WILLIAM
 BENECKE. Translated from the German.
 London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

Just published, in post 8vo, price 5s. 6d.,
A DEFENCE of the ECLIPSE of
FAITH, by its Author: Being a Rejoinder to Pro-
 fessor Newman's Reply.
 London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

Just published, price 2s. 6d. cloth, or in Two Parts,
 price 1s. each,
ADVENTURES in the WILDS of
NORTH AMERICA. By CHARLES LANMAN.
 Edited by CHARLES RICHARD WELD. Forming the
 55th and 56th Parts of the *Traveller's Library*.
 London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

In 12mo, with 25 additional Woodcuts by Bagg, price 12s. 6d.,
THE DISSECTOR'S MANUAL of
PRACTICAL and SURGICAL ANATOMY. By
 ERASMUS WILSON, F.R.S. Second Edition, corrected and
 improved.
 London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

NEW WORK BY LADY FALMOUTH.
 Just published, in fcap. 8vo, price 7s. 6d. cloth,
CONVERSATIONS on GEOGRAPHY;
 or, the Child's First Introduction to *Where* he is,
What he is, and *What* else there is besides. By the VIS-
 COUNTESS FALMOUTH (Baroness de Despencher). Uni-
 form with Mrs. Marcet's *Conversations on the Sciences*.
 London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

A New Edition, fcap. 8vo, price 10s. in cloth; 12s. bound in
 embossed roan; or 12s. 6d. calf lettered.
MAUNDER'S BIOGRAPHICAL
TREASURY: A comprehensive Dictionary of Uni-
 versal Biography, Ancient and Modern; Comprising above
 12,000 Memoirs. The Eighth Edition, brought down to the
 close of 1853.

Also, all uniform in size and price—
THE HISTORICAL TREASURY.
THE TREASURY OF KNOWLEDGE.
THE TREASURY OF NATURAL HISTORY.
THE SCIENTIFIC and LITERARY TREASURY.
 London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

COLENSO'S ARITHMETICS.
ARITHMETIC for SCHOOLS, price 4s. 6d. boards.
 Key to ditto, by Maynard, price 6s. boards.

ELEMENTARY ARITHMETIC, price 1s. 9d. cloth.
 Ditto, with Answers, 2s. 3d. cloth.
 *** The Elementary Arithmetic is divided into Five Parts,
 which are sold separately, as below:—
 1. Text-Book, price 6d. sewed;
 2. Examples, Part I. Simple Arithmetic, price 4d. sewed;
 3. Examples, Part II. Compound Arithmetic, price 4d. sewed;
 4. Examples, Part III. Fractions, Decimals, Duodecimals,
 &c., price 4d. sewed;
 5. Answers to the Examples, with Solutions of the more
 difficult Questions, price One Shilling, sewed.
 London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

WORKS RELATING TO RUSSIA AND TURKEY.
DE CUSTINE'S RUSSIA, abridged by
 the omission of irrelevant matter. 16mo, 3s.
 [In a few days.]

The **RUSSIANS of the SOUTH.** By SHIRLEY
 BROOKS. 16mo, price 1s.

BELL'S HISTORY of RUSSIA, from the Earliest
 Period to the Treaty of Tilsit. 3 vols., fcap. 8vo, price 10s. 6d.

MEMOIRS of a MAITRE-D'ARMES; or,
 Eighteen Months at St. Petersburg. By ALEXANDER
 DUMAS. Translated by the MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.
 16mo, price 2s. 6d.

TRAVELS in RUSSIA and SIBERIA. By
 S. S. HILL, Esq. 2 vols., post 8vo, with Map.
 [On Friday next.]

JERMANN'S PICTURES from ST. PETERS-
BURG. Translated by FREDERICK HARDMAN. 16mo,
 price 2s. 6d.

TURKEY and CHRISTENDOM: An Historical
 Sketch of the Relations between the Ottoman Empire and
 the States of Europe. Reprinted from the *Edinburgh*
Review. 16mo, 1s.

London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

This day is published, 2 vols. post 8vo, 21s.,
PURPLE TINTS of PARIS: Character
 and Manners in the New Empire. By BAYLE ST.
 JOHN, Author of "The Turks in Europe," "Two Years'
 Residence in a Levantine Family," &c.
 London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly.

GERALD MASSEY'S POEMS.
 Just ready, Second Edition, with Additions, of
THE BALLAD of BABE CHRIST-
ABEL, with other Lyrical Poems. By GERALD
 MASSEY. In pasteboard covers, 2s. 6d.; cloth, 3s. 6d.

"In him we have a genuine songster. The faculty divine
 is there. Few poems in our recent outgrowth of poetic
 literature are finer than a few of these love-verses."
 We have quoted enough to show that here is another poet."
 —*Athenæum*.

London: David Bogue, Fleet-street.

"Familiar in their mouths as Household Words."—SHAKESPEARE.

NEW TALE by Mr. Charles Dickens, to be published Weekly, in "HOUSEHOLD WORDS."

On Wednesday the 29th of March, will be published, in "HOUSEHOLD WORDS," the First Portion of

A NEW WORK OF FICTION CALLED

HARD TIMES.

BY CHARLES DICKENS.

The publication of this Story will be continued in HOUSEHOLD WORDS from Week to Week, and completed in
 Five Months.
 Price of each Weekly Number of HOUSEHOLD WORDS, (containing, besides, the usual variety of matter,) Two-
 pence; or Stamped, Threepence.
 HOUSEHOLD WORDS, CONDUCTED BY CHARLES DICKENS, is published also in Monthly Parts and in Half-
 yearly Volumes.

OFFICE, 16, WELLINGTON-STREET NORTH, STRAND.

THE SEAT OF WAR IN THE EAST.

Just published, price 1s. each,

PHILIP'S MAP OF THE FRONTIER PROVINCES OF TURKEY, RUSSIA, AND AUSTRIA, THE BLACK SEA, &c.

A New Edition, with a Detailed Map of the River Danube, showing the Fortified Towns, &c. along its course.

PHILIP'S CHART OF THE NORTH AND BALTIC SEAS,

With Plans of the Harbours of St. Petersburg, Revel, &c.

PHILIP'S CHART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN,

With detailed Plans of the Bays of Gibraltar, Genoa, Marseilles, &c.

LIVERPOOL: GEORGE PHILIP & SON. LONDON: WILLIAM ALLEN, PATERNOSTER-BOW. EDINBURGH:
 JOHN MENZIES. DUBLIN: WILLIAM ROBERTSON; AND ALL BOOKSELLERS.

THE NEW POPULAR NOVELS, READY AT EVERY LIBRARY.

THE HEIRESS OF SOMERTON. A STORY OF MODERN LIFE. 3 vols.

THE CARDINAL.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE DUCHESS." 3 vols.
 "An exquisite love story."—*John Bull*.

CHRISTIE JOHNSTONE.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "PEG WOFFINGTON." 1 vol.
 "Especially admirable are these scenes of Newhaven life,
 which have a vividness and reality hardly inferior to Scott's
 pictures in the 'Antiquary.'"—*Spectator*.

PEG WOFFINGTON.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "CHRISTIE JOHNSTONE." 1 vol.
 "Margaret Woffington's infinite fascinations and variety
 are powerfully depicted."—*Literary Gazette*.
 Richard Bentley, New Burlington-street.

In Two Vols. post 8vo, price 21s., with Thirteen Illustrations
 by the Author.

LADY LEE'S WIDOWHOOD. By
 EDWARD BRUCE HAMLEY, Esq., Captain R.A.
 Originally published in "Blackwood's Magazine."
 William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.

Just published, the Third Edition of
THE RUSSIAN SHORES OF THE
BLACK SEA in the AUTUMN of 1852, with a Voyage
 down the Volga, and a Tour through the Country of the
 Don Cossacks. By LAURENCE OLIPHANT, Author of
 "A Journey to Nepal." With Thirty-four Engravings on
 Wood, enlarged Map of the Crimea, and Map of the Author's
 Route. Octavo, 14s.
 William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.

In a few days will be published, price 1s., the 12th
 Number of

HANDLEY CROSS; or, MR. JOBBROCK'S
HUNT. By the Author of "Mr. Sponge's Tour."
 Illustrated with Coloured Plates and Numerous Woodcuts
 by JOHN LEECH, uniformly with "Sponge's Tour."
 Bradbury and Evans, 11, Bouverie-street.

This day, in 12mo, cloth, price 5s. 6d.,
LYRA GRÆCA: SPECIMENS of the
GREEK LYRIC POETS, from CALLINUS to
 SOUTSOS. By JAMES DONALDSON, M.A., Greek Tutor
 to the University of Edinburgh.
 Sutherland & Knox, Edinburgh; Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.,
 London.

Now ready, Post 8vo, price 12s. 6d. cloth.

CYCLOPÆDIA of CHEMISTRY,
 PRACTICAL and THEORETICAL, including the
 Applications of the Science to the Arts, Mineralogy and
 Physiology. By ROBERT DUNDAS THOMSON, M.D.,
 F.R.S.E. &c., Professor of Chemistry at St. Thomas's Hos-
 pital College, London. With numerous Illustrations.
 * This will be found to be at once the most convenient,
 the cheapest, and from its alphabetical arrangement, the best
 adapted for general or popular use of any treatise on
 Chemistry in the language.

London and Glasgow: Richard Griffin & Co.

This day is published, price 21s., a new edition of
THE FOREIGN TOUR of MESSRS.
BROWN, JONES, AND ROBINSON, being the His-
 tory of what they saw and did in Belgium, Germany,
 Switzerland, and Italy. By RICHARD DOYLE.
 Bradbury and Evans, 11, Bouverie-street.

MCCULLOCH ON WAGES AND LABOUR.
 Price One Shilling in boards.

WAGES and LABOUR: being a Treatise
 on the circumstances which determine the Rate of
 Wages and the condition of the Labouring Classes, including
 an Inquiry into the influence of Combinations. By J. R.
 MCCULLOCH, Esq., Author of the "Commercial Dic-
 tionary."
 "A book that at the present time cannot fail to be inter-
 esting to all who take an interest in this momentous
 subject."
 London: George Routledge and Co., Farringdon-street.

Now ready, price 5s.,

HISTORY of the SESSION 1852-3. A
 Parliamentary Retrospect. (Being a Reprint of the
 Articles by "A Stranger in Parliament," in the *Leader*.)
 "Never before has the public had such an opportunity of
 seeing things as they actually are in Parliament, and of
 knowing the physiognomy and habits of that great as-
 sembly. In this respect, the book is worth files of all the
 Parliamentary reports of the last ten years. Add to this
 that, in point of style and literary execution, it is equal to
 the very best newspaper-writing of the day, while yet it is
 distinctly original in its spirit. Shrewdness, sense, and
 satire are its characteristics; but there are touches of some-
 thing higher. The author does not write as a Whig, a Tory,
 or a Radical, but sketches Parliament, as he himself says,
 'from a hitherto unoccupied point of view.'"
 "What Thackeray is to social snobism in general, this
 author is to Parliamentary snobism; and we are much mis-
 taken if the terror of his satires has not already had some
 wholesome effect even within the walls of St. Stephen's."
 —*Westminster Review*.

John Chapman, 142, Strand, and all Booksellers.