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The Leader.

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

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VOL. V. No. 220.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 10, 1854.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

FROM the Baltic, the Black Sea, and the field of war in Asia, we continue to receive reports on the whole favourable to the progress of the allied forces against Russia. The telegraph gives us late and hopeful news from the Danube, and the *Gazette* supplies the details of the affair at Hango Sound, with an episode highly creditable to the men engaged. Not only is it true, that an experimental attack was made upon the guns of a detached fort, and that the trial of artillery showed a striking superiority on the English side; but the commanders of two ships, the *Arrogant* and *Hecla*, had an opportunity of making a dash inland, and cutting out some merchant vessels where they were supposed to lie in safety under the Russian guns.

On the 30th of May, Silistria, regularly invested by the Russian army, was still defended, with no prospect of being immediately reduced. On the contrary, the defenders had made more than one gallant sortie, had, it is said, spiked some of the enemy's guns, and had inflicted great carnage. The telegraph of the 8th inst. confirms the Russian determination to continue blockading, and their abandonment of any hopes to take it by storm. The French as well as the English troops have proceeded by sea to Varna, in order to arrive more speedily to the relief of Silistria. The right wing of the Russians is on the Aluta river, which flows from the Carpathians southwards to the Danube. The Turks appear in the main to occupy that lower eastern quarter of Lesser Wallachia. Should Silistria be relieved, it appears probable that the Russians may be driven back eastwards on both sides of the great river, towards Bessarabia. It will be remembered that the reconquest of that province from Russia has already been mentioned as one of the "costs in the action" to be exacted from the great trespasser.

The Turkish army at Kars, its spirit reinvigorated by the intelligence from Constantinople, proves to be in a better state than had been supposed, and it evidently furnishes a good nucleus for operations on the south side of the Black Sea. The work against the Russians is proceeding in good earnest.

Sweden is showing stronger signs of adhesion to anti-Russian alliance. The Swedes begin to speak favourably of restoring the Poles to nationality and self-government; and however difficult it may

be for the official mind in England to grasp the idea of a great act of political strategy, there is no doubt that the re-establishment of the Army-Nation would effect a great saving for the moveable armies of the Allied Powers.

The Vienna correspondence appears to place the application of Austria to Russia beyond doubt. The Austrian note refers to the effort of the German powers to obtain a peaceful solution of the Eastern question; "stern necessity," however, is urged as justifying Austria in insisting upon the evacuation of the Turkish Danubian territories; and hope is expressed that the Emperor of Russia will even now relieve Austria from the consequences of his refusal. This looks as if Austria were in earnest; but whether Prussia has endorsed the note or not we do not yet learn. But, as if Austria could do nothing unqualified by something else, the Emperor is to meet the King of Prussia at Teschen, in Saxony, for a conference. It is remarked, as an adverse sign, that M. Gerlach, the high-monarchy adviser, accompanies the King as an "assistant" at the interview. On his side the Emperor is aided by Count Buol.

Considerable doubt still hangs over the conduct of the Greek Government. The King has received the representatives of France and England, and has made to them a speech declaring that he will preserve neutrality. Coupled with the conduct of which he has been so recently guilty, the speech fills one with contempt and mistrust of a man who can make these professions under coercion, and avow that he is virtuous by force so soon after he has endeavoured to be vicious by evasion. To mistrust the Greeks, even when they are bringing promises, is still sound policy.

It will be well if the Emperor of Austria has the same kind of regard towards Frederick William, who is meeting him at Teschen, in Saxony. The Emperor is accompanied by his trusty Ministers, Count Buol and Count Thun; the King of Prussia by the flexible Manteuffel and the Russian Gerlach. The King, who has made such courteous professions to England, has concluded an alliance with Austria, and continues in friendly communication with Russia, has recently been contributing to an English church at Berlin. The man, we believe, would accommodate anybody with his countenance and assistance, in a small way, but he is too weak to be trusted.

The war is the only topic that creates any active interest at home. In Parliament the leading subject is the newly-determined appointment of War

Minister. That is now settled; and it is, we believe, equally settled that the Duke of Newcastle is to retain the duties which he has conducted thus far. The appointment of the Colonial Secretary is not yet settled. The War Minister will have to control all the offices which now carry on the administration of military affairs; and he will likewise be charged with the duty of conceding and putting into effect successive reforms of these departments in order to bring them into a more united action. Such was the substance of Lord John Russell's statement in the House of Commons on Thursday. By another reform the Secretary-at-War has, with a stroke of the pen, abolished the "clothing colonels;" and we learn also that the British Guards have paraded at Scutari without their stocks. Reforms, therefore, are already in progress; and there is a spirit, we are inclined to believe, in the army, as well as in Parliament and the public, which will lead to still further improvements, especially in matters of detail.

Birmingham and Sheffield have come forth in support of a movement that has been considered with much favour in these active places. It is well known that a number of Poles have settled in that part of the country; and that, indeed, the Englishmen of Yorkshire and Warwickshire have felt a more abiding sympathy with that wronged nation than our countrymen in other parts have retained. Hence it was proposed, some time back, that a meeting should be held at Birmingham on the subject; Sheffield took part, and the meetings have been held. The original design, however, appears in some degree to have been departed from, and to a certain extent, so far as we can construe the outward appearances, without any private communications whatever from any town,—we are particular in noting that fact,—we are inclined to fear that the actual turn of the movement is less thoroughly English than it should have been. It may, perhaps, be thought that a considerable gain to the Polish cause would be effected by procuring the co-operation of Kossuth, and we are not prepared to deny that there may in future be an advantage in having the pledge of the Hungarian leader to that alliance. Nevertheless, there are two circumstances connected with the meeting which we regret—the absence of some men who more especially possess the confidence of the Liberals in both places, and the apparent advocacy of Russia even as compared with Austria. We have no

Austrian sympathies, but never shall we prefer an avowed enemy of our national flag to an ally who is, for the time at least, standing on our side. Kosuth delivered on the occasion masterpieces of his oratory. He showed, most completely, that the partition of Poland, at which the constitutional states connived, has been dangerous for the interests of every country in Europe, and conducive only to the advantage of the Absolutist dynasties. We have, however, dealt with this subject in a separate place.

The intelligence from the United States is very interesting, although at present it is in too fragmentary a condition for us to say much about it. The Nebraska Bill has been carried, not, however, without serious opposition, and it has undergone modifications which are described as having rendered it comparatively harmless. The attempt to disturb the Missouri compromise, however, cannot fail to have injurious effects upon the tranquillity of the Union; and the continued rebellion of the Abolitionists against the Fugitive Slave Law, which has given rise to another riot at Boston, suppressed by the military, proves to us that those who desire to secure domestic quiet, and preserve for the consideration of the slavery question that coolness which so painful a problem really requires have been wrong in yielding an inch to the agitators on the other side.

With regard to Cuba, the reports are various. It is said that the President is about to issue a proclamation against the Filibusteros at New Orleans, who are drilling and preparing for a new expedition. This subject we have also touched upon in a separate paper; for, indeed, representations on the point crowd upon us. With regard to a report that two aids are to be appointed to Mr. Soule, we receive the story with much doubt. We do not think it likely that President Pierce would supersede an American Ambassador, since it would be a more direct and easy course to recall him. There might, however, be objections to recalling a statesman who has so energetically and so fearlessly represented a feeling in the United States which we believe to be as much too strong for the Government to withstand, as it is too strong for the taste of certain English politicians.

Another report also we receive with equal caution—that there is any idea of entertaining Russian propositions for a new treaty with commercial advantages to America, and the use of Prussian ports. Russia may propose anything, but we cannot believe that the republicans can really consort with the great enemy of freedom and independence throughout the world.

The general prosperity of trade is somewhat disturbed, here and there, by disputes between employers and employed; but there is none that is more peculiar than the contest between the engineers on the North-Western Railway Company and the directors. The company have recently set going a new system of working the line, a foreman of engine-drivers contracting to do the work with the assistance of certain hands, whom he pays. It is said that the peculiar arrangement makes him vigilant to keep the company up to its duty in repairs, while it renders the men more attentive and punctual. It is possible that the men may be too suspicious of an attempt to screw them; but we must say that we mistrust these efforts at placing the highest possible strain upon the attention and exertions of working men. That strain, both in respect of length of time, and close attention, is already too great; and the hands on railways are overworked. Medical men have already pointed out diseases to which engine-drivers are liable, through the demand upon their nervous energies; and this plan looks to us like a new arrangement for squeezing out of the man, as from a sponge, the last drop of his working blood in the prime of life. The working classes, we think, are strictly right to hold in their hands the power of "striking;" we only wish that they had an organisation amongst themselves more elastic and better capable of directing their efforts in those matters. We believe that such an organisation is possible; but its

possibility depends upon the power of the working men to put trust in each other, and to sacrifice their own interests to each other. At all events, they are right to show that they can be independent if they please; and having shown that independence, they will be right to treat each case upon its own merits.

The City is much moved just at present by a proposition to take away its churches. Once upon a time citizens lived within the walls; now the chief residents are the goods, the hawker, the shopkeepers, and the working or serving classes. Well-to-do citizens reside out of town, and the established churches are mainly for the well-to-do class of persons—the poor having too little regard for each other in wealthy districts,—it is proposed to discontinue the sustenance of these empty churches, and to use the means for rearing churches in the suburbs where there are people to fill them. Some leading people in the City resist the removal of the ancient temples, and we can sympathise with the resistance to purely utilitarian removals. For example, it is, we think, a proof of a contemptible spirit in the public that the stone which traditionally marked the resting place of Whittington on Highgate-hill has recently been removed. But the sound reasons for letting churches be where people are, and not wasting the wealth of the corporation upon churches where people are not, are too obvious to be successfully resisted.

The Inkle and Yarico case has again been before the magistrate at the Thames Police-court this week, without any variation of the circumstances, except an offer to take charge of the children, if they be separated from their mother! At this new hearing Mr. Yardley said:—"I have no sympathy with you at all, but I do sympathise with that young woman. You promised her marriage; you seduced her; and she has become the mother of your three children. All her hopes, her character, and her prospects, are blighted for ever, and by you." Such is the magistrate's opinion. The press has noticed the case, and Mr. Emmott complains that its comments are calculated to do him injury, and he threatens to prosecute. He cast off his children and their mother—the press gave voice to the indignation at the simple facts of the case, as they were admitted by himself, and he thinks of appealing against that indignation to twelve good men and true!

PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

On the re-assembling of Parliament after the Whitsuntide recess, Lord John Russell gave the promised explanation of the intentions of the Government as to the appointment of a

MINISTER OF WAR.

The statement was made on the motion for going into committee of supply, by Lord John Russell:

"Sir, in moving that you leave the chair, I will give an answer to the question which the honourable member for Montrose addressed to me before the recess with respect to the administration of the affairs of the army. I imagine that there are two questions upon this subject which engage the attention of the House—the one is the question of giving more immediate vigour and efficiency to the war department, and the other relates to the arrangements to be made respecting the administration of all the various departments connected with military affairs. Now, sir, with regard to the first point, namely, the more efficient administration of military affairs in time of war—it is, I think, to be collected from the general feeling, and it is the opinion of her Majesty's Government, that a Minister having the charge of the Colonial Department, bearing in mind the manner in which the business of that department has increased since the last war, is both physically and morally unable to give to the affairs of the war department that great amount of attention, time, and labour which those affairs in time of war absolutely require. It is, therefore, the opinion of her Majesty's Government that the affairs of the War Department, instead of being united to the administration of the Colonies, as they at present are, should be separated from it. The next question regards the administration of the various departments which are connected with military affairs. The House is aware that those departments are several in number, and it knows, likewise, that one of the principal Secretaries of State, as Secretary of State for the War Department, takes the Queen's pleasure with respect to the amount of forces to be kept up for the year—takes the Queen's pleasure, also, with regard to any considerable augmentation to be made, and generally takes from her Majesty those directions by which the military affairs of this country are regulated. The Secretary-at-War administers the financial affairs of the army; the Board of Ordnance has, in the first place, the management of the artillery and the engineers, but it has likewise various other duties to perform which from time to time have been added to it; the commissariat is a department by itself, and its duties are well known; and there are various other departments which are more or less concerned in the military affairs of the country. Now, sir, in the year 1831-32 there was a committee of the Government appointed, of which the Duke of Richmond was the head, and of which I

had the honour of being a member, and that committee was of opinion that there should be a general board, which should have the affairs of the army under its control, but divided into different departments—one to lodge the army, another to clothe the army, a third to feed the army, a fourth to furnish arms, and so on. Some time later a commission was appointed, of which Earl Grey, who was then Secretary of War, was the head, and of which, also, I had the honour of being a member, and that commission was of opinion—at least, Earl Grey suggested, and the members of the commission concurred in the recommendation—that there should be a greater concentration of departments, and that the Secretary-at-War should exercise many of the functions which are now discharged by the Secretary of State. The plan which I have first mentioned did not meet with the approbation, if I recollect right, of Earl Grey, who was then at the head of the Government, and it certainly was not persevered in any further. The second plan was laid before the Duke of Wellington, who stated to Lord Melbourne, the First Minister of the Crown, such grave and, I think, such reasonable objections to the placing in the hands of the Secretary-at-War a control which properly belonged to one of her Majesty's Secretaries of State, that that plan likewise was not proceeded with. Sir, under these circumstances, her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the best thing to be done for the present would be to confine ourselves to the change of making a separate Secretary of State for the War Department, confiding to him a superintendence over all those matters which fall under the administration of military affairs in time of war. Having been a member of both commissions, I have no hesitation in saying that I was not at all satisfied, after hearing the objections of Earl Grey and the Duke of Wellington, that either of the proposed plans would have ensured the efficient and complete working of all the various departments connected with military affairs in this country. But a Secretary of State would have these departments under his immediate superintendence. He would have the control of the whole of them, and could say from time to time what improvements ought to be introduced, and could either introduce these improvements singly, or prepare some plan to be afterwards submitted to the consideration of the Government as a more general reform of the various military departments. This, I think, is all that it would be advisable at the present moment to attempt. To introduce greater changes—to derange and put into a state of confusion all those various departments at a time when we have but lately entered into a war—would, in my opinion, be a very rash and dangerous undertaking. I have been told, with respect to the most beneficial change which was made by my right honourable friend the present First Lord of the Admiralty, when he abolished the Navy Board more than twenty years ago, that it took upwards of two years before that alteration could be made so as to ensure the harmonious working of the new system. If that be so, it is obvious you cannot adopt in the first instance an entire plan, without the risk of producing probably a great deal more confusion than at the present time, instead of ensuring that harmony and unity which are so much desired. There are certain principles which I think should guide us with respect to this subject. It is easy to say, 'Unite the various departments.' But while there is the greatest benefit in having one head which can control departments and branches of the same kind of service, there very often will be very great disadvantage in uniting in one department what ought to be divided amongst several. The progress which has been made in society in general has been a progress made, not by uniting, but by separating different mechanical arts and manufactures which in early times were united together. Is it not the same with regard to the immediate subject under our notice? If we were to desire the infantry to do the work of the cavalry, and the cavalry to be as complete as the artillery, that, evidently, instead of improvement, would rather produce disorganisation, and prevent the efficient working of those different branches. At the same time, everybody sees that it is unfit that the commander of the cavalry should have a separate command, or that the commander of the artillery should have his own mode of conducting operations, and that it is desirable all should be under one head and one commander. With respect to certain things, unity is desirable. With respect to others, separation is the best way of attaining that end. It appears to the Government better to allow the Secretary of State who is placed at the head of this department to consider from time to time what is the best arrangement, and how improvements can be introduced. It certainly appears that there are defects, which have been pointed out by my honourable friend the member for Montrose, and by others, in the other as well as in this House, and no doubt very considerable improvements can be made. There is one change, however, which I must say I do not think we can consider in the light of an improvement—that the patronage exercised by the commander-in-chief without political considerations should be abolished. I do not think that would be likely to give satisfaction to the public. It seems to me far better that the patronage should continue to be exercised as for a long series of years it has been and is now exercised, having regard to the benefit of the army, totally apart from any considerations of which party is in power or in opposition. These are the only remarks which I wish to make on this subject. It will not be necessary to have recourse to Parliament for any bill to separate the departments of war and the colonies. That can be effected nearly in the same manner as the Home Department was separated from that of War and the Colonies. There will be, of course, some increased expenses; but the establishment now found to be sufficient for both departments will be nearly sufficient for them when separated. An estimate will be proposed for defraying the charges of the Secretary of State for the War Department; and the Secretary of State for the War Department, having his undivided attention given to the affairs of that department—never more important than at the present moment, or requiring more vigour and decision—will be able to serve his country in the manner it deserves." (Cheers.)

Mr. Home was glad the Government had made a beginning, but hoped they would define what the plan was before any estimate of the expenses was

brought forward. What he chiefly desired to see was the appointment of one head, a member of the Government, who should have under his care the whole affairs of the army. He wished to see the artillery and ordnance made a part of the army, and thought the present system of having the commissariat in the hands of the Treasury open to very great objection.

Mr. ELLICE qualified his approval of Lord John Russell's statement, by saying that it stopped short of what he thought necessary. If the office of the new Secretary of State was to be permanent, there was no reason why he should not be responsible for the whole administration of the army.

Mr. RICH wished to see both the ordnance and civil departments placed under the control of one head. Colonel DUNN agreed in this view; but that head, he thought, ought certainly to be a military man. After some remarks from Mr. Williams on the civil estimates, the House went into

COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.

On the vote of 135,863*l.* for public buildings and royal palaces, Mr. WISE objected to the item of 2000*l.* for replacing the decayed farm-buildings at Windsor, because, as he was informed, Prince Albert paid neither rent nor taxes for the farm. Mr. WILSON and Lord SALISBURY explained that there were two farms, one was the dairy farm, which was an appendage to the castle, and to be maintained by the public just like the kitchen or any other department connected with the royal residence. It was for that purpose this vote of 2000*l.* was taken. For the other farm Prince Albert paid the same rent as the last tenant, and the expenses of improvements were borne half by him and half by the public.

On the vote for 142,294*l.* for the new Houses of Parliament, Mr. HUME hoped the Treasury would pay Sir C. Barry nothing until his accounts were made out. He had received money on account amounting on the whole to 40,000*l.*

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER regretted that Parliament had never effectually committed the responsibility of these works to the executive Government. Last year the Treasury had called for a final estimate, but it has not yet been furnished in consequence of Sir C. Barry's serious illness. It might be thought at first sight that 40,000*l.* was an extravagant remuneration to the architect, but a little consideration would show that that sum was greatly below what he was entitled to claim. The work had been spread over twenty years, during which Sir C. Barry had been subject to very heavy expenses; his outgoings in the new Houses of Parliament for establishment and assistants averaged from 1200*l.* to 1500*l.* a year.

Mr. WILLIAMS complained that the charges for fuel and lights for both houses amounted to 14,000*l.* After great expense had been incurred unsuccessfully on ventilation, they found that for a sum of 80*l.* the house had been made healthy and comfortable in that respect.

Sir W. MOLESWORTH, in reply to Mr. Kinnaird, stated that the new bridge had been entrusted to the engineer of the Department of Works. No agreement had been made with Sir C. Barry, but he had furnished a design, so that, if possible, the architecture of the bridge should be in harmony with the Houses of Parliament.—Mr. H. D. SALISBURY thought it a great pity that, having laid out 2,000,000*l.* on the Houses of Parliament, they should build an iron bridge instead of a stone one in the immediate neighbourhood, merely to save a few thousand pounds.—Mr. H. HERBERT expressed a similar opinion.—Sir W. MOLESWORTH said it was found that the bridge estates would not furnish sufficient funds to build a bridge of stone. The committee, therefore, determined that it should be of iron; but it would be the widest bridge in London, and he believed it would look very well.

The committee then divided on the vote, which was carried by 57 to 35.

On the vote of 68,000*l.* for the salaries and expenses of the Privy Council, a discussion arose respecting the salary of Mr. Greville, the Clerk of the Council. In 1853 he had received a salary of 2000*l.*, but for the present year it was put down at 2500*l.* It was explained that the larger sum was the original salary; but Mr. Greville only received 2000*l.* during the time he held the appointment of agent for Jamaica; on the extinction of that office, he again received his full salary, according to express agreement with the Treasury.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE BILL.

Mr. AGLIONY, in moving the second reading of this bill, explained its object to be, by allowing prisoners accused of minor offences to plead "Guilty" and receive their sentences at petty sessions in open court, to spare prosecutors and their witnesses the trouble and expense of attending at the assizes, and to rescue youthful offenders from the contamination to which they were exposed in the weeks and months which they were not unfrequently obliged to pass in goal between their committal and their trial. All the objections which had been made to the bill could, he thought, be dealt with in committee, and he hoped,

therefore, that the House would now give its assent to the second reading.

Mr. CONNELL admitted that the object of the bill was good, but urged various objections which he thought could not be removed in committee. He moved that the bill be read that day six months.—Mr. ARTHUR seconded the amendment.

Mr. T. PHILLIMORE supported the second reading. Lord PALMERSTON thought that the imperfections in the bill might be amended in committee, and recommended the House to consent to its second reading.

Mr. HENLEY did not think the bill would work, or would save expense. He should vote against it.—After a short debate, the amendment was negatived by 59 to 9, and the bill was read a second time.

THE STONOR CASE.—The committee appointed to inquire into the charges brought by Mr. G. H. Moore against the Duke of Newcastle for the corrupt appointment of Mr. Henry Stonor, has made its report. The Committee say that "at their first meeting, Mr. Moore, at whose motion the House had granted the committee, attended, and stated his inability to prosecute the inquiry, and declined the responsibility of so doing, unless he were placed in a position to conduct it himself; in which case he would undertake positively to prove that persons 'having the ear of the Colonial Office must have been cognisant of Mr. Stonor's corrupt practices.' Four committee instructed their chairman to move the House, in conformity with the course adopted in the Oglethorpe Election Committee in 1836, that Mr. Moore be added to the committee to conduct the case, and one other member to watch the proceedings on the part of the Colonial Office, but without the power of voting. This was done, and Lord Elphinstone and Mr. Moore were added. The substance of the allegations which form the subject of the inquiry submitted to your committee appears to be, that Mr. Stonor received the appointment of a judge in the colony of Victoria as a recompense for political services at Irish elections, at which he had been reported to the House to have been guilty of corrupt practices; that this appointment was made, not in ignorance of such practices or in spite of them, but because of them, at the instance of Irish members having influence with the Colonial Department."

They then give a résumé of the evidence already placed before our readers, and they sum up thus:—

"Your committee, after careful consideration of the foregoing evidence, have come unanimously to the conclusion that it altogether fails to establish the charge brought forward by Mr. Moore with reference to the motives which influenced the Duke of Newcastle in the appointment of Mr. Stonor; and, while they think it due to Mr. Moore to state that he has withdrawn, in the fullest and most unqualified manner, all imputation of political corruption on the Duke of Newcastle, they deeply regret that, upon grounds so insufficient as those which appear to have led to this inquiry, so serious an accusation should have been preferred. At the same time, your committee are also unanimously of opinion that in filling up the vacancy which had occurred in the office of a judge in the colony of Victoria, a want of due caution and discrimination was evinced by the Colonial Department, and that no sufficient care was taken to ensure compliance with the wishes of the lieutenant-governor of the colony, or to satisfy the requirements of the public service."

THE NEW SUGAR DUTIES.—On Saturday the new Sugar Duties Bill was printed. From the 28th ult. the new duties will be as follows:—On every hundred weight—16*s.* on candy brown or white refined sugar; 14*s.* on white clayed; 12*s.* on yellow Muscovado and brown clayed; 11*s.* on brown Muscovado; and 4*s.* 6*d.* on molasses.

CLOTHING COLONELS.

At length the great anomaly of clothing colonels has been abolished. They have received their quarters at the hands of Mr. Sidney Herbert. The following circular and warrant explain the arrangement:—

War Office, June 6, 1854.

I have the honour to enclose to you a royal warrant regulating the future position of colonels of regiments in regard to the clothing of their regiments, and the emoluments which they are to receive, and extending to the rest of the army the system in use in the Household Cavalry, by which the colonels clothing these regiments receive a fixed annual payment in lieu of varying profits derived from the off-reckonings.

In adopting this mode of payment, which is in accordance with the principle which ought to regulate the issue of all public money, and will put an end to much misrepresentation to which the colonels of regiments have been unjustly exposed, I am anxious that the change should be so effected as not to injure the interests of the officers who will be affected by it.

In cases, therefore, in which the colonels of regiments, having but lately issued accoutrements to their regiments, have either had very reduced profits, or have been exposed to a loss for which they have not been compensated by higher profits in previous years, or for which they would have been reimbursed by a surplus in subsequent years, I shall be prepared, upon a statement of accounts of past years, since the colonel has had the regiment, being forwarded to me, to make compensation for such loss, assuming the rates of profit to be, on an average, those laid down in the enclosed warrant.

I have the honour to be,
Your most obedient humble servant,
SIDNEY HERBERT.

Victoria R.—Whereas it has been found expedient

to alter and revise the warrant and regulations regarding the supply of clothing, accoutrements, and appointments to our army, so that the colonels of the respective regiments shall in future receive a fixed annual allowance in lieu of deriving any pecuniary emoluments, as heretofore, from the off-reckonings, we are, therefore, pleased to direct, that, in future, the following allowances shall be made to the colonels of the respective corps, in lieu of off-reckonings, viz:—

Grenadier Guards.....	£1000 per annum
Coldstream Guards.....	1000
Scots Fusilier Guards.....	1000
1st Dragoon Guards.....	800
Other Regiments of Dragoon Guards and Dragoons, each.....	400

1st Regiment of Foot... 1200

60th do. (1st Battalion)	£600
2nd do. (2nd Battalion)	£600
Buffs Bri. (1st Battalion)	£600
2nd do. (2nd Battalion)	£600
Other Regiments of Infantry of the Line and West India Regiments, each.....	£600

To be reduced to £1000 in the event of a vacancy occurring.

If appointed before the 1st of June, 1854, but if appointed subsequently, only £500 per annum.

The clothing, accoutrements, and appointments will in future be provided by the colonel, the public only paying the cost price of such articles; the payment will be made under such regulations as the Secretary at War may hereafter determine.

The engagements already entered into by the colonels of the respective corps will be taken over by the public in such manner as the Secretary at War may hereafter direct.

Given at our Court at St. James's, this 6th day of June, 1854, in the seventeenth year of our reign.

By her Majesty's command,
SIDNEY HERBERT.

KOSSUTH AT SHEFFIELD.

SHEFFIELD has demonstrated on behalf of Polish nationality; and M. Kossuth has had an opportunity of laying a statement of his views before the public. Monday was the day fixed on for the demonstration, and a triumphant affair it was. The proceeding originated with the Polish and Hungarian exiles and their friends, and it was publicly announced that M. Kossuth would arrive by railway from London at twelve o'clock, proceed from the station to Paradise Square, there address an open-air meeting, and that another meeting would be held in the Music-hall in the evening, at which the Hungarian patriot would also speak. On his arrival M. Kossuth and his friends proceeded from the station in carriages to the residence of Mr. Alderman Solly, at Low-fields, and after breakfasting there returned to the station at twelve o'clock. Before that hour a concourse of people, to the number of many thousands, had assembled around the entrance to the station. On M. Kossuth appearing he was received with most enthusiastic plaudits. A resolution of hearty welcome, moved by Mr. R. Leader, junior, and seconded by Mr. Councillor Broadbent, was passed by acclamation; and Kossuth delivered a speech, the main argument of which was that England should shun the Austrian alliance, and help Poland to reconstruct herself. He worked out the theme fully at the subsequent evening meeting; and we have, in justice to him and to our readers, printed a full report of that great oration below. In the course of the morning speech in the open air, however, occurs this passage:—

"Gentlemen, if you will consider the origin, the progress, and the rational issue, of the present war, you will come to the following conclusions:—It is the partition of Poland by which Russia has grown dangerous to the world. It is the partition of Poland which brought Russia down to the Danubian Principalities, and hence to my own Hungary; and it is the oppression of Hungary by Russian interference which was the stepping stone to the present ambitious daring of the Czar. Every child in Europe is aware of these facts. (Cheers.) Had England not neglected her duty in those former instances—had England not allowed the spoliation of Poland—had it protested against Russian interference in Hungary, instead of having encouraged it—yes, encouraged, by declaring solemnly, officially, that 'England has no opinion to express on the matter'—you would have been spared the dangers and sacrifices of the present war, without the spending of one English shilling, without the shedding of one drop of English blood. (Cheers.) And is Turkey necessary to Europe's security, and is Turkey to be maintained, and is Russia to be checked? Then either there is no sincerity in the profession, or no political meaning in the design, without Poland reconstructed an independent nation, and Hungary independent and free. (Loud cheers.) Let any one reflect upon the nature of the evil and its remedy—the name of Poland and the name of Hungary must be present to his mind. The quartered limbs of the former and the pale bleeding image of the second must rise like the spirit of Banquo, with a warning finger, before his eyes. (Cheers.) And yet these, in the misty atmosphere of secret diplomacy, before the rising spectre, shut their eyes and strive to lull their conscience in the belief that blinding their own eyes will make the warning finger disappear. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, there are strange anomalies to be met with here in your England. Who is the humble individual who has the honour of speaking now to you? Humble and unpre-

standing as I am—still, by what I have done, and by what I have been, and by what I am, I certainly am a living protest against Russian encroachment and Austrian despotism. (*Cheers.*) And who is Francis Joseph of Austria? He is the man who holds in his bloody hands one of the quartered limbs of Poland. He is the man who betrayed every province of his empire by holding up before their eyes the solemn promise of a constitution, and then abolishing every letter of it; he is the man who attacked the laws and existence of Hungary by conspiracy and by arms; who spread fire and death and desolation over the land, and called in the forces of a foreign despot to subjugate it. He is the man who raised scaffolds by hundreds, and immolated upon them patriots by thousands. He is the man who murdered Hungary and Italy. (*Loud cheers.*) Now the world has seen the millions of the people of England cheering my humble self, and cursing Francis Joseph of Austria sometimes—as with the honest draymen of Barclay and Perkins—(*cheers and laughter*)—there has been even something more than a curse; the world has seen mayors, and aldermen, and corporations, and delegations, and societies, and whole communities, and the people of England, expressing, in some 120 addresses, their approbation of my course of resistance to Austrian aggression, and their sympathy for my country's wrongs; bidding me to be of good cheer, and to trust that the day of retribution will come. (*Cheers.*) On the other hand, we have heard Francis Joseph praised as a magnanimous Prince, the young hope of his country; we have heard exalted the noble soundness of the high-spirited young Emperor; and we have seen grave men, Englishmen, fawning on him, and courting his favours and amity. And both these things happened in the one and the same England. Were it but a difference of individual opinion, it would be no matter anyhow. But such is not the case. It is England which is brought to the point that it must act either in the one or the other of these two opposite directions. Against the oppressors or against the oppressed act it must—that's certain. (*Cheers.*) Now I believe England's action must answer England's will. The question therefore is, which is England? Is it that which sympathizes with freedom and with the oppressed, and which execrates despots and oppressors? Or is it that which is plotting against the resurrection of the oppressed nationalities, and is courting the friendship and the alliance of the oppressors? Which of these two be England? That is not a question for me to decide. But so much I know, that the people of England is England. (*Cheers.*) Beside the people, I know of dignitaries, representatives, of magistrates and servants of England; but I know of no England else. England—that is the nation. From which England even her Majesty, your Queen, never thought to separate herself. Yes, it is the people which is abiding and immortal; it is the people which, by its anti-like industry, made, in the sweat of its brow, this country what it is. (*Cheers.*) It is the people whose shillings and pence make up the millions of the treasury of England; by which England is held up, and England's battles fought, and England's policy carried out; and it is the people which furnishes those stout arms and brave hearts, who fight England's battles by land and by sea, and who bleed and die for England's honour and England's interest. (*Loud cheers.*) If that be the case, then I am of opinion that if the people of England be England, if it be the people which has to pay and to bleed, the people's voice should be heard, and should be respected in the decision of what is England's will. If that be not the case, then you are no constitutional people; your constitution is despotism in disguise. Yet, if I be not mistaken, there is, in the declaration of war, something about proclaiming it in conformity with the people's will. Therefore, I say, it is high time for England, it is high time for the world to know, what is the people's will about this war. Gentlemen, I have not the pretension to form your opinion on the subject, but I am glad to have this opportunity to witness what your opinion is, and to learn, whether I be mistaken or not, about the people's intentions. I am led to believe that, as well as from a natural sympathy for liberty, justice, and right, as also from the instinctive knowledge of the fact that the welfare, interest, and honour of England go all that way, the people did and does not shrink from all the dangers and sacrifices of a great war, by the only reason, because it means to fight for freedom, because it believes that a real advantage to the cause of approved nationalities will be the issue. I am led to believe it is by this reason that the war is popular with the people of England. Is it so, or is it not so? Please answer me. Am I right or am I wrong in my supposition? (*Loud cries of 'Yes.'*) You say 'Yes,' and, upon my soul, a brave yes it was. I thank you for the word."

On the motion of Mr. Wostenholm, seconded by Mr. Harvey, a petition was adopted praying that the war might not be discontinued until Poland is re-established.

The evening meeting in the Music Hall was not so numerously attended, a fact accounted for by the large prices paid for admission, half-a-crown, two shillings, and eightpence. Mr. Alderman Solly presided; and before Kossuth spoke a resolution was agreed to, declaring that the wiser course for England would be to avoid Austria, and take her allies from among the nationalities. M. Kossuth then spoke as follows:—

"I felt it my duty to accept the honour of your invitation, because I thought it due from me to do what I could for Poland. I considered it a solemn duty on my part to bear testimony by my presence of the community of the cause of Poland and that of Hungary; to bear testimony, by my presence, that I take our cause to be the same. Nothing else would have induced me to rise once more before an English assembly. I get a fever at the very idea of making speeches again; but if you command me, sir, to submit to the habitual rules of the occasion, then you must give me authority to be rather free and true than to be flattering. I will speak calm words, but I will speak of faults in the past and of present duties. Still, I am glad, sir, to see that you have carried three resolutions, without

interference on my part. What is there remaining for me but to try if I can establish sympathy, and it may be strengthen you in the determination to act energetically and consistently, according to the spirit of those resolutions which you have carried spontaneously.

"Sir, there has been, perhaps, never a political problem the solution of which would be so clearly and completely defined by historical precedents as the Oriental question. In this you will agree with me if you will recollect that the supremacy of Russia against which, and the independence of Turkey for which, you have taken up arms, is not a question sprung up over-night. It is an old one, remounting to centuries, but especially to the battle which the heroic Charles XII. of Sweden lost at Pultowa, in 1709; and to the second fact that the Grand Vizier, Mehmet Baltadahi, bribed by the blandishments and the diamonds of Catherine, let escape Peter the Czar at Falez, in 1711. Since that time, there has been a continual concatenation of the same drama going on. The partial conquest of Turkey, the subjugation of the independent Tartars of the Crimea, the dismemberment of Poland—Finland torn away from Sweden—Napoleon's campaign to Moscow in 1812—the occupation of Moldo-Wallachia in 1848, and the invasion of Hungary in 1847, are all acts of the same drama. The history of those events offer such a clear indication of the policy required on the occasion of the present war, that if its monition be disregarded, we may predict with perfect certainty that your cause must be unsuccessful and that your sympathies will be in vain. Gentlemen, in the public life of nations never anything is accidental. There everything is cause and effect; and whereas like causes produce like effects, it is only from the practical lessons of history that we may learn what faults we have to avoid, and what means we have to employ, and what course we have to adopt. Now, there are two axioms especially pointed out for the present occasion by the precedents of the great political drama in the East. The first is, that the duty of an act of political morality never can be neglected with impunity—that every such neglect is fraught with the necessity of atoning it, with sacrifices increasing step by step, which, however, never will remedy the evil, unless the wrong occasioned by that neglect be redressed. (*Cheers.*) In politics a fault is equivalent to a crime, and therefore no false political step can ever escape punishment. The second axiom is, that not every alliance is advantageous; that sometimes to have one enemy more is the surest way to victory; and sometimes to have one ally more the most positive way to ruin—that to entangle oneself with an unnatural alliance and to neglect natural ones is equally dangerous.

"Allow me to illustrate these assertions by some pertinent facts. From the time that Russia commenced to grow, it became an hereditary maxim of western policy that Turkey is necessary to Europe. But England and France committed the mistake not to comprehend that a free and independent Poland, and a free and independent Hungary, in their turn are indispensable as well for the existence of Turkey, as also for that higher European aim for which the existence of Turkey is thought to be necessary. (*Cheers.*) Instead of comprehending that truth, they have erred in two things: that the despotic ruler of that anomalous compound called, collectively, Austria, is to act as a barrier against the preponderance of Russia. From that error Austria became the pet of many of England's Ministers and Parliament; but not of the people. Of this I myself, my own humble self, am a living testimony. And happily Ministers, whatever be their personal merits, and M.P.'s are passing; the people remain. (*Cheers.*) The question is, which are right—the people or the Government? In my opinion, facts are the best criterion of the soundness of a policy. If a certain line of policy had full and free scope to exert all its efficiency, then, if we see that the proposed aim has been attained, we may say that the policy has been a sound one. But when we see that just the contrary has happened, we must judge that the policy was a wrong one. That is clear, I think. Now, I ask, did all the fondlings and pettings of Austria prove efficient for the aim of securing the independence and integrity of Turkey, or of checking the preponderance of Russia? No, you are now compelled to go to war for this very purpose. There is the answer. Now, for God's sake don't allow your Government to persist in a course which has had such a fair trial, and which has proved so eminently wrong; nay, which has proved itself subservient to the growing supremacy of Russia. Right about, gentlemen. Let your policy turn upon its heels. That would be good sense. But to persist obstinately in marching in that direction that would be something other. And again, I say, it is a fact that Poland had to be quartered and the very constitutional existence of Hungary had to be abolished to make that overwhelming preponderance possible. These two unjustifiable crimes have been the stepping-stone to the growing ascendancy of Russia. If that be a fact, then it is likewise a fact that if Poland would still exist, and if Hungary were free, neither Turkey would be in danger now, nor Russia would be over-powerful. (*Cheers.*) Now, if that be a fact, then help Poland and help Hungary to be what they ought to be, and your point is gained. (*Cheers.*) If not, not. There is no shuffling off the inexorable logic of events. There is the finger of the Almighty in it. Turkey alone—the acknowledgment is due to her perspicuity and good sense—Turkey alone did comprehend that truth both as to Poland and as to Hungary. As long as the Sublime Porte was left free to follow its own impulses, there never has been a constitutional and anti-Austrian movement in Hungary which the Turks have not supported. And as to Poland, so much was Turkey anxious for the maintenance of the Polish nationality, that, up to the partition of Poland, there scarcely was one treaty concluded between Turkey and Russia whereby the Turks did not stipulate for the independence of the Polish nation. Look to the third article of the treaty of Falez, to the first article of the first treaty of Constantinople in 1712, to the twelfth article of the second treaty of Constantinople of 1720, and you will see what care Turkey took to have it stipulated that the Czar never should appropriate to himself anything of the Polish territory, nor in any way interfere with the affairs and government of the Polish nation, but unite with Turkey for maintaining the rights and indepen-

dence of that republic. (*Cheers.*) This is a memorable fact, gentlemen, worthy to be remembered just now when you have yet a choice in fixing upon a course for the present war. Had this policy always been acted upon consistently and reciprocally Russia would never have grown dangerous to the world, nor would Turkey have been in danger now, and Europe together with it. Unfortunately, both Poland and Turkey departed once from that wise policy. Poland at the time when the Turks, supporting one of the national movements of Hungary, advanced so far as to besiege Vienna, in 1683, then it was Sobieski, the gallant King of Poland, who saved the dynasty of Austria in that war. Wee to the memory of that woeful day! On that very day the fate of Poland was sealed, and the basis laid for the decay of Turkey, and for the growing ascendancy of Russia. Had Sobieski then taken the Hungarians and the Turks for allies, instead of allying himself with Austria, Poland would be existing, living, free, and independent, and Hungary also would be free, and both, in my opinion, would be Christian not less than now, probably more, because—I speak these words now upon calm reflection—the crescent has always proved more Christian as respects Christian toleration and freedom of conscience than the cross in the hands of certain dynasties—(*loud cheers*)—who call themselves Christians, but whose religion is not the gospel, but despotism. (*Cheers.*) However, Sobieski, resorting to the unnatural alliance with Austria against Hungary and Turkey, then deprived Turkey of the strength necessary to make effective her solicitude for the independence of Poland. As to the House of Austria, whose history is but a record of lies and broken oaths, and violent ingratitude, it rewarded Poland by assisting in the crime of the partition. Turkey also did once depart from that wise policy. It was in our own late struggle in 1848. Then it not only did not support us, it did not even maintain the neutrality of its territory. It rather allowed the territory of the Turkish provinces to be usurped, and the means of transport and provisions to be made subservient to Russian aggression. And look, scarcely five years have passed since, and for that one fault Turkey has now to atone by a supreme struggle of life and death. You may see by these two facts what it is to make unnatural alliances, and what it is to neglect natural allies. Yet, as no fault in politics ever can escape punishment, England itself is obliged to share in the retribution, because in 1848 England also had its share in the fault, if it be not more than a fault, as you will presently see. The Czar did occupy in 1848 Moldo Wallachia—he did violate the integrity of Turkey—he did trample upon its independence. In a word, he did everything which his having repeated now again has aroused, alas, even too late, your indignation—into war. Nay, he did more, he carried on war against the very Turkish territory, and yet the English Government advised Turkey then not to go officially—these are the very words—not to go into any hostile collision with its stronger neighbours for the maintenance of its neutrality. (*Cheers.*) Oh, I have seen the wisest and the best of Turkish patriots tear their hoary beards in despair, and weep bitter tears over the fatal necessity of having had to yield to this advice of England. (*Cheers.*) Had that advice not been given, you would have been spared all the dangers and sacrifices of the present war, for on that very day that that advice was given, the present war was born. And yet England did not even stop at that one step of unfortunate impolicy. When the Czar of Russia had accomplished his ambitious crime of armed interference in Hungary, he did it by not only advancing one gigantic step in his ambitious career of supremacy over Europe, but especially prepared his present blow by usurping Turkish territory. You remember in what manner the English Government met that tremendous blow. It declared solemnly, officially, that her Majesty's Government did not consider the occasion one that would have called for any formal expression of the opinion of Great Britain on the subject. Why, the imperious necessity of the present war shows that not for any sympathy for Hungary, but in the interest of England, it would have been the duty of England to prevent that dangerous encroachment by arms. (*Loud cheers.*) Instead of that they had no opinion to express on the subject. Why, in my humble opinion that was a manifest encouragement—it was a letter of impunity granted to the Czar for encroaching upon the liberty and independence of Europe. But, gentlemen, you are now wondering, when you hear that the Czar finds somewhat strange and unexpected the affected solicitude of England for what it now calls 'the independence of nations.' Why he has done all these things before. He had done worse things, without having met the opposition of England—nay, having further the encouraging assurance that England had no opinion to express on the subject. And yet, gentlemen, the danger, and the present war with it, could have been prevented without any sacrifice on your part. At an early period of our struggle, I sent a government agent to England to apply for the mediation of England. England had but to speak thus to Austria—'We desire you to settle on equitable terms your quarrel with Hungary; we cannot allow the neutrality of the Turkish territory to be violated, and its provinces to be usurped by Russia,'—and the question would have been settled at once. Austria could not have helped yielding, and we, who were certainly a modest and peaceful people, would have been then well contented with keeping our laws such as they were. And I had even a precedent for my application for the mediation of England. England had already, on a similar application from Hungary, in revolution, negotiated peace between my nation and Austria. It was in 1711, and England's honour was pledged in guarantee of the rights and constitution of Hungary. That has been done in a mere domestic struggle. Ours in 1848, according to the statement of Lord Palmerston, had the character of, and the import and the proportions of an important European transaction. And still, do you remember what was the answer of England's Government to my application for the mediation of England in our time of need? The answer was, 'her Majesty's Government can receive no communication respecting Hungary only by the diplomatic organ of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Austria at the court.'—(*Cries of 'Shame.'*) Thus has been treated by England that Hungary in whose battles the freedom

of the world, your own peace and position up to to-day, had been at stake. (*Cheers.*) And mark still that progress. When I, as chief magistrate of Hungary, applied to England for mediation, I presented an opportunity to your Government to spare you the inevitable dangers of the coming war, did I ask your money—did I ask your blood? Not a shilling; not a drop—only one word—(*Loud cheers*)—one word, which, without the sacrifice of one shilling, and without the shedding of one English drop of blood, would have spared you the present war. (*Cheers.*) That word was refused. We were sent insultingly to the doors of the Austrian Minister. It was certainly a signal compliment, but you have now to pay for it in your blood in torrents, and your money in innumerable millions. The storm has come home to yourselves, and it hangs like a black cloud over Westminster Hall and Downing-street. (*Cheers.*) Now, I would ask you, gentlemen, shall it be recorded in history that it has been the hereditary policy of England to share in the guilt of Austrian despotism? With these warning facts of history before your eyes, will you persist in the false policy of courting Austria—that Austria which already has been so mischievous, and the alliance of which, be ye victors or vanquished, could be but fatal to you? Only please to consider how this mischievous policy embarrasses the activity of England's course already at the present moment. If there ever was a truth striking beyond any doubt, undisputed, such is the truth, that, except Finland, it is only in Poland, and by Poland, that Russia is vulnerable. Bombarding Odessa, Sebastopol, Cronstadt—taking Russian prizes, burning the Russian prizes, burn the Russian fleet, if you can get at them; nay, burning St. Petersburg itself, may be all very noisy, good food for newspapers, but merely palliative, nothing of permanent effect. The Russians may perhaps themselves burn St. Petersburg, as they burnt Moscow once. You will be none the better for it. If your purpose is to fight and vanquish Russian despotism—if your aim is to check the ascendancy of Russia—if your aim is to reduce the overwhelming preponderance of Russia, it is in Poland; it is by Poland that you must act—(*Loud cheers*)—or else you will never attain your aim. To you the reconstruction of Poland into an independent nation is not an act of compassion lurking somewhere behind the screen of future diplomatic arrangement at the end of the war. To you the resurrection of Poland is an urgent, pressing, strategical, tactical necessity at this very moment. To you the resurrection of Poland is not only a rational aim in this war—it is a means indispensable to attaining any rational end at all. Now you are at war with Russia; therefore, it is certainly not for any fond indulgence for Russia that England has not yet done that which justice, right, the expiation of former faults, and the wisdom of present necessities advises to do. Such an indulgence would be weakness bordering on collusion; madness bordering on ridicule. How is it then that these gentlemen are still standing here (pointing to the Polish refugees present) to plead for the cause of Poland before a Sheffield audience, instead of being landed from English war steamers in Samogitia, and calling from their native soil brave Poland to resurrection and liberty? (*Cheers.*) Why is it? It is out of sheer complacency for Austria and Prussia. Your Government knows very well that the pulsations of a national resurrection cannot be restricted to a toe, or any other limb, but must spread to all the national body. Your Government knows well that the mere reconstruction of what is Russian Poland now would be mere moonshine, and as Austria and Prussia hold part of the plunder which will have to be disgorged to make again an independent Poland, then out of regard for them, but chiefly for Austria, you still neglect to do that without which you cannot succeed in your war.

"Be forewarned, people of England, be forewarned. Look to history. There in the mirror of the past your own future is dangerous. Remember the campaign of Napoleon in Moscow in 1801. My brave friend here, Colonel Jhasz, was there. (*Cheers.*) Napoleon undertook to check the growing ascendancy of Russia, just as you do now. And with all due regard for the Lords Raglan and Marshals St. Arnaud, be it said the little corporal knew something about war. He knew that Russia, though not formidable abroad, is anything but weak in defence. He prepared a large army. The forces which he employed amounted to 610,000 men, 182,000 horses, and 1372 guns. What is the combined Anglo-French army in the East when compared to this? A Chobham camp parade. (*Laughter.*) Napoleon knew that it is not on the sea that a decisive battle can be fought against Russia. He went on by land. He knew—and he marked well this fact—that without a large cavalry, there is no possibility of holding a bivouac for twenty-four hours against the Russian army, and he took care to have much of cavalry. The cavalry of his centre alone was 40,000 strong. How much have you, by-the-by, in the East? He did not even neglect the pitiful expedient to substitute for Polish nationality the idea of Polish legions just as you begin to do in the East. Besides, he also looked for alliances just as you do, only less a politician than a soldier, he addressed himself to wrong quarters. He addressed himself to whom? To Austria and Prussia precisely as your Government does. Only he had stronger claims on the fidelity of Austria than you have. Having had to dispose of the very existence of Austria, he just pardoned or saved her, and to make the alliance sure, he married the daughter of the Emperor Francis of Austria. Both Prussia and Austria yielded to the courting of the mighty Caesar, became his allies, and sent two auxiliary armies to aid him in his campaign against Russia. You know the rest of it. Napoleon lost 552,000 men, 167,000 horses, and 1,222 guns. One of his dear allies betrayed him on the battle field, the other compromised him by inactivity, and then both—one of them being his father-in-law—turned against him, and sent him to die, a fettered giant, on the rock of St. Helena. (*Cheers.*) You have been told by superficial professors in your schools that it was Generals Frost and Famine which defeated Napoleon. No; he was defeated by having taken Austria and Prussia for allies against Russia. You will not doubt this fact if you will let yourselves be re-

minded only of the truth that without Poland being a reconstructed and independent nation, no expedition against Russia can succeed, the aim of which is to reduce the power of Russia to proportions innocuous to European freedom. I repeat that without Poland being reconstructed an independent nation, no expedition against Russia can succeed, the aim of which is to reduce the power of Russia to proportions innocuous to European liberty. (*Cheers.*) Now, would you think that Napoleon, with his comprehensive genius, did not understand that truth? Certainly he did. How, then, came it to pass that he advanced against Russia without having, in the very onset, reconstructed the independence of Poland? Why it was simply a tacit but necessary consequence of his having taken Austria and Prussia for allies. To reconstruct Russian Poland has been till now, and will be in all future, a ridiculous compromise between heaven and hell, by which no soul is to be saved. It would be a second edition of the Cracow republic, doomed at the very hour of its creation to foreign dependence and reiterated absorption. Napoleon knew this—he did profess it. But to reconstruct Poland without Galicia and Posen, its vital limbs, he could not, because he was allied to Austria and Prussia. Thus this unnatural alliance deprived him of the possibility of realising that measure without which, in my humble opinion, and I have studied history, there was and there is a madness in believing that Russia is to be vanquished. Mark this striking lesson of history well. You are in the same predicament; the situation is the same, the conditions indispensable to success are the same, the dangers of unnatural alliances the same; the only difference in the situation is, that Russia has grown stronger in the mean while by your own fault, and that you have not an army of 600,000 men in the field. If, with all these evident practical warnings of history, England still persists in courting the false favours of Austria, and thus persists in paralyzing those two nationalities, without the co-operation of which neither Turkey can be conserved, nor Russia's power reduced, nor a solid and durable European peace gained, England will step by step entangle herself in increasing difficulties, tumble from one false situation into another, as she has been tumbling from the very beginning up to the present day, and the end will be vain sacrifices, ruin, and shame.

"Gentlemen, I have lately read in the fast-day sermon of the Rev. J. Crompton, of Norwich, these words—'The sins by which Poland, Hungary, and Italy have been sacrificed, doubtless are now come down upon England. Let us not disguise the fact, nor flatter it into unmeaning phrases and lipworship, but acknowledge that we have sinned by seeing in silence injustice done; and our brethren crushed and liberty broken. Let us pray God that for our sins of national policy and neglect of public duties, we may not be punished by freedom suffering defeat in our hands.' (*Loud applause.*) Believe me, there is profound wisdom in these truly Christian words. The sins of the past are come down upon England. In the case of Poland it was the sin of neglect of the duty of political morality, the result of which had grown to such an extent that without redressing the wrong done, you can entertain no prospect of success in your war. In the case of Hungary, that neglect has already drifted England to a most unjustifiable impolicy. You have already to lament that effect; yet I, strong in my right, and speaking to freemen, who will know how to bear the truth, I exclaim—'Proud England, mind! five years ago, from sheer complacency for despotic Austria, thou didst prevent the alliance between Turkey and Hungary, historically proved to be natural to both and necessary to Europe's liberties, take care not to commit the same error now again. Look to the warnings of history; mind that a fault repeated with conscious premeditation becomes a political crime. And no fault in politics escaped punishment and none ever will. Remember that inexorable fate, which presides over the logic of events, will not always be content to limit the expiation of political errors to mere pounds, shillings, and pence. For the unsound and false policy of hindering natural alliances and courting unnatural ones, there may be yet other evils in store of retribution than a doubled income tax, or an augmentation of the national debt, though this already be not a slight matter any how.'

"And really, gentlemen, to no people has the course to be followed been more clearly traced, by precedents, than to England on the present occasion. All you want is to fix in your minds with scrupulous precision, the aim which you desire to attain by this war. Be not content to shout—'We fight against despotism; we fight for justice; we fight for the liberties of Europe.' That's all very well said, but if your national policy does not answer that saying, it is mere lip-worship. Liberty is a high and sacred name; still not so high and sacred as the name of the Almighty, and yet this very name is taken often in vain. Define what you mean by that liberty which you intend to fight for. You wish to maintain the independence of Turkey. You wish to reduce the inordinate ascendancy of Russia. That's all very good, but how? In what manner shall this be achieved? This you must define. Have you defined this? Then you can but come to the same conclusions to which I come, and they are the following. If you mean to fight for freedom you cannot side with Austria. He who sides with despotic Austria sides with despotism. (*Loud applause.*) If you mean to fight for the rights and independence of nations, you cannot side with Austria. Austria is the impersonified violation of the rights and independence of nations. If you desire to vanquish despotism, oppose liberty to it and not Austria. Austria is despotism. (*Loud applause.*) If you desire to secure the independence of Turkey do not hinder the independence of Hungary; and as a means to this effect mind not to prevent Turkey from taking the Hungarian nation for an ally as your Government was and is preventing at Constantinople. (*Cheers.*) If you mean to check the preponderance of Russia, you must help Poland to reconstruct itself an independent nation, or else Russia's preponderance will not be checked. But I do not say 'reconstruct Poland,' I say 'help Poland to reconstruct herself.' There is an essential difference. Nations manu-

factured by diplomatic treaties never have lasted, and are of no use. (*Applause.*) A gift of to-day may be retired to-morrow. 'Who would be free themselves must strike the blow.' (*Loud cheers.*) Therefore, if you desire to see Poland reconstructed an independent nation, help Poland by fighting for it. To adjourn the question to some future diplomatic manufacture at the end of the war, would be a great mistake. It would compromise, not only the issue, but also the operations, during the war. Besides, who knows how matters will stand at the end, should England neglect the means indispensable to success? And I was saying help Poland to reconstruct itself an independent nation. She whose existence is depending on foreign protection is not independent. Nations must know to stand by themselves, and by having friends for neighbours, united to them by community of interest—neighbours with whom they form, one for another, a reciprocal barrier against foreign aggression. Therefore please to mind this: a patch of land invested with the name of Poland would not be a reconstruction of the Polish nation. It would be a mere fiction—nothing else. Only Poland can be Poland—nothing less. (*Applause.*) Whoever remembers 1848, will acknowledge my right to say that if there be one man all over Europe who may boast of having proved himself to be a friend of Poland, I can say so much. (*Applause.*) Now, I know, backed by some English statesman, there are some pretended diplomatists, with Polish names, who are now fawning on Austria, at Constantinople, with the purpose of gaining her over to their scheme of patching up some portion of the quartered limbs of Poland. I don't know for what aim. Well, let them fawn! As to the form of government of reconstructed Poland, I have certainly no right to interfere. It is the Polish nation alone which must be left free to decide this. It is meritorious in the party to which these gentlemen belong, that by calling itself democratic, it means solemnly to acknowledge that it is the nation at large which has exclusively to regulate its own domestic affairs. (*Applause.*) But though I have no right to interfere with the domestic affairs of any foreign nation, still, as a true friend of Poland, I may say so much, that such an idea of patching up one portion of Poland might well suit, perhaps, some personal or party purposes; but the idea is neither Polish nor national. We have all heard of Poland being partitioned by foreign powers; but I trust to Polish honour we never shall hear that that nation has lent her own suicidal hands to a partitioned body. (*Cheers.*) No, Poland only can be Poland; any miserable substitute would not even be an advantage to Europe, as, without foreign protection, it absolutely could not stand. And, again, please to consider that if even such a Poland, as it should be, were patched up between the three great despotic powers—Russia, Austria, and Prussia—a free country it never could be, and would soon perish again for want of free air. But Poland, reconstructed with its national territory, and having for its neighbour, Hungary, free and independent—such a Poland thus placed will be secure, independent, free, and an insurmountable barrier against Russia's encroachments upon Europe. Thus only is Russia's power to be reduced—thus only is Turkey to be secured. If you wish Russia to re-cross the Pruth and patch up some miserable *status quo* paper treaty, and then come home to sleep upon your laurels; if you were better to go to sleep at once without any laurels. But if you are in earnest in the profession of your better aims, then in my humble opinion what you want is—first, to have the war popular with your own people.

"Now, either I am grossly mistaken, or else the case is all over England the same as we have to-day witnessed in Sheffield; the war is popular with the people of England because it means to fight for freedom, and it hopes that some real advantage may be brought about by the war for the oppressed nationalities. I have taken great care in ascertaining that fact, and I am perfectly convinced that it is only by this reason that the war is popular among those who do not measure great objects with the short yard of small party purposes; with all those who know of some wise and noble aims than to help either the Tories or the Whigs to make political capital out of whatever object; and with all those who bear not a sordid piece of coin but a sound heart in their true English breasts. (*Loud cheers.*) Now, if England is joined by despotic Austria, and thus England sacrifices Poland, and Hungary, and Italy, in my opinion, in the long run, it would be impossible to throw dust in the eyes of the people. It will be clear, and the war will have ceased to be popular. (*Cheers.*) What you further want is the support of public opinion abroad. You will lose it by taking despotic Austria for an ally, because he who fights side by side with Austria, fights for Austria; and to fight for Austria is to fight against liberty. However we may call the word, that is the issue. (*Cheers.*)

"What you further want is, if not co-operation, at least the good-will of the Christian provinces of the Turkish empire. Now, if you draw Austria to yourselves, you will drive Serbia, Bulgaria, and, in all probability, also Wallachia, to the Czar. No European statesman who pretends to know anything about the real condition of the world can deny the fact that, in all those Turkish provinces, Austria is by far more hated than Russia is. I want not to reason on this subject. I can point to the declaration of the Servian Government, addressed to Reschid Pacha, on the 17th April last. There I find these words. The Government of Servia writes to the Sultan's Government:—'Even admitting that the Czar should attempt to enter Servia, we can boldly affirm that the entrance of Austrians would be a very unfortunate measure. Any auxiliary force whatever would be preferable to those of Austria. The Servian nation entertains so great a mistrust, not to say pronounced hatred, of Austria, that the whole action of the Servians would be turned against the Austrian troops, and all the energy of the nation would be employed against this enemy, in whom we behold the personification of a grasping ambition.' Now is that clear enough? And recollect, it is the Government which speak this; and Governments use always, of course, some reserve in expressing popular sentiments. But certainly I know that the Servian can speak calmly of the Czar, whilst he cannot even pronounce the name of Austria without a curse. And that Servia is there, on the theatre of war, and can

raise 150,000 men, is certain. Now will England, by taking Austria for an ally, force the brave Serbians to fight against Turkey, by forcing Turkey to have Austria for an ally? What you further want, in my opinion, is to enlist on your side, heart and soul, the Polish and Hungarian nations—Poland, without which the power of Russia is not to be reduced; Hungary, without which neither the integrity nor the independence of Turkey is to be secured! Now, of course, you will lose them both if you take Austria for an ally.

“And what you further want is the alliance of Sweden (Cheers.) In my opinion there is no existing government, the alliance of which in the present war would be more natural and equally advantageous to you than that of heroic Sweden. (Cheers.) Now what is it you want, in order to attain that end? You want to give Sweden a palpable pledge that you are in earnest in your intentions of reducing the overwhelming power of Russia, so as not to leave it exposed to the ravages of an overpowered neighbour. That is not a vain apprehension. Sweden has already once trusted its fortunes to England. It stood by you to the last at your worst moments, and in reward England left her in the mire, she satiated the loss of Finland. Now, in what manner can you give this pledge to brave Sweden? Bombarding Odessa, Sebastopol, Cronstadt? That you may do to-day, and make your peace notwithstanding with the Czar to-morrow, leaving Sweden exposed to his avenging grasp. There is only one means, gentlemen. Call Poland to arms—(loud and prolonged cheering)—and by calling it to arms, you will give a pledge to Sweden that you are in earnest in the intention of reducing the power of Russia. (Cheers.) Call Poland to arms, and you will have secured the alliance of brave Sweden. Without such a palpable pledge, Fat-léat believe that King Oscar will have a right to reflect before he trusts his fortunes to England.

“But there may be, perhaps, some who flatter you with the idea that for the loss of all these you will find an ample compensation in the active co-operation of the Austrian armies, while they warn you that Austria, though prone to side with the Czar, will be dangerous to you. Now, the Austrian compound of armies is certainly conspicuous by bravery and intelligence. I would never wish to have a better army to lead, provided they were heart and soul enthusiastic for the cause for which they were left to fight. But precisely there is the rub with England on the present occasion. If the dynasty of Austria will be against you, the nation subject to Austrian oppression, and pining for deliverance, will be with you. (Cheers.) If Austrian despotism will be against you, the freedom of the national allies will be with you, the opinion of the world that you are really fighting for the freedom and independence of Europe, and not for the security for the principle of despotism on the continent in one of its worst shapes. Oh, there is an immense power in that opinion. (Cheers.) No Austrian alliance can compensate for it. With this, and such allies on your side, you cannot be earnest in thinking Austria dangerous. Only look to Poland, and from Poland across Hungary and Croatia, down to Italy, and from Italy back to Switzerland. Mind Switzerland, gentlemen! (Cheers.) No danger, gentlemen. The Austrian dynasty, within three months, would vanish like a dream, amidst the exultation of all humanity, and to the lasting advantage of European liberty, incompatible with that dynasty. (Cheers.) No, the danger is just the other way. Suppose Austria should dare to join you sincerely—I repeat the word sincerely—against the Czar, her saviour, her deliverer. Why in justice we must own it would be the most monstrous ingratitude, after all. The worst of bandits, whatever they may be towards the rest of mankind, are at least faithful one to the other. But vile ingratitude is the leading feature of the character of the Hapsburgs. Poland saved them—partition was the reward. Hungary saved them—the abolition of religious liberty and the suppression of her constitution was her reward. Napoleon saved them, and he was sent to St. Helena in reward. I myself saved them. Yet, gentlemen, in March, 1848, and having had the power thus to speak to them, within the very walls of their own imperial palace at Vienna, ‘Be just to Hungary, and I will give to the House of Hapsburg peace and security here at Vienna.’ (Loud cheers.) Having had the power thus to speak to them—I, unattended and alone, and they tremblingly accepting the offer of my generosity—who can doubt of my right to say I had their existence in the hollow of my hand? and from an excess of loyalty, I saved them—woe the day!—and look to my country, what is the reward? (Cheers.) Some months later, as I have explained in the beginning of my humble speech, Lord Palmerston’s diplomacy saved them—hated to the very heart, in reward. The hangman Haynan saved them—driven away in reward. The Czar saved them—now, suppose they fight him in reward. You must acknowledge that that monstrous ingratitude cannot fail to push the Czar to double his energies in doing what, as Czar, would be lawful for him to do according to the acknowledged laws of war: he will address himself to some of those nationalities, and offer his aid and chain their concurrence for punishing Austria. A strange concurrence you will say. Strange indeed. I tremble at the very idea of the possibility. But still not a bit stranger than England pretending to fight for the freedom and independence of Europe, and still taking Austria for its ally. (Cheers.) Now, will you think it so strange that if by England’s impolicy, driven to extremes, there shall be no choice left but to compare Russian and Austrian despotism. Perhaps there are to be found some who will think that if Russian despotism resembles the bold violence of a political highwayman, certainly Austrian despotism might be compared to the miserable business of a political pickpocket, who occasionally gives a stab from behind. (Laughter and cheers.)

“Be forewarned, people of England—be forewarned. Though you cannot fathom all the depths of the terrible feeling of seeing oneself betrayed by those who ought to have helped, if England, by taking Austria as an ally shows that it is not fighting for the liberty and independence of European nations, but for making Austrian oppression and despotism on the continent sure, if it is England that takes from the lips of the oppressed the ripe fruit of deliverance—if it is England which prevents Turkey from recurring to its

natural allies so necessary to Europe, and if it is thus that England drives some of the oppressed nationalities to despair, then England will certainly have no right to blame them, if some of them accept the concurrence even of the Czar in delivering themselves from Austria. There is the real danger. Oh, it would be madness to believe that the oppressed nations will in passive submission let pass such an opportunity—the providential opportunity—of such a complication as the present is without trying to break their chains. One way or the other they must do it. They will do it. It rests with England to decide the direction. (Cheers.) Save despotic Austria you ought not. You cannot. There is no help for that ‘sick man.’ (Laughter.) But in one case, the fall of that execrated dynasty would profit freedom; in the other it might profit Russia. There is yet another danger which England cannot escape if it takes Austria for an ally, and that is the danger of Austria’s insincerity. But of this danger I will not speak now. Perhaps I may do so soon in another place.

“The subject which has occupied our attention this evening, is too great and too comprehensive to be disposed of, on one occasion in all its bearings. And besides, I feel confidence in your own penetration, that you will understand that Austria, which stands in history as the personification of faithfulness and insincerity, even when it had the choice to be faithful and sincere, in the present emergency, must prove faithless and insincere to England, not only from its hereditary nature, but from necessity. My words are not required to prove that which time and space and heaven and earth testify. Besides, it was not on the ground of Austrian insincerity that I desired chiefly to place my argument of to-day. My argument is, that an alliance of Austria with England would be unsound, unnatural, and subversive of any rational aim, which England might rationally contemplate to attain by this present war; and I have only to add, that the worst of all possible alliances is that which must prove a sheer embarrassment in case of victory—must prove a certain danger and ruin in case of defeat, and which besides is fraught with the danger of faithlessness and insincerity; and such is the alliance of Austria—such would it be to England on the present occasion. (Cheers.) Sir, I have humbly to thank the audience for the generous attention they have honoured me with for more than an hour. I certainly would wish you to be warm and enthusiastic for the cause of poor oppressed Poland, and for the cause of oppressed liberty in general. Still I claim credit that I have not endeavoured to overtake your reason by stealing into your heart. It is by the light of reason and by reasoning that I try to find my way into your hearts. (Loud cheers.) I may have been dull and tedious. (No, no, and cheers.)—but, if I have succeeded in affording some material for comprehensive reflection, I shall bless the hour when we met. Sir, I have done. I have not recited a lamentation over my own country’s sufferings. I have spoken of England’s honour and England’s interest. As to myself I certainly am full of confidence; happen what may, liberty shall rise from the immortal grave. (Loud cheers.) Remember that the Saviour once rose murdered, but not dead; so I would, in conclusion, repeat the very words which Sheffield has told me in one of its addresses in 1851—‘There is a future for every nation which has the moral greatness to love national virtue in corrupt times.’ (Prolonged cheering.)

After this truly great oration had been delivered, and the applause which greeted it had subsided, M. Kossuth proposed, and Mr. Worrell seconded, a vote of thanks to the chairman, and the proceedings were brought to a close.

A correspondent adds another general account of the meeting; fresh and graphic, it tells something more than the ordinary reports.

“The opinions of an ordinary individual, unless that individual shall represent a class, are of little value; but as the observations of an eye-witness are sometimes suggestive, I send you the following:

“A residence of some time, counting by years, entitles the writer to the credit of some knowledge of the place and people; and the point from which his observations are made, in this instance, may be judged when he proclaims that he beholds in two individuals now existing the representatives of all that is great and good, and far-seeing—the leaders, in fact, of the age; the men are Kossuth and Mazzini. Powerfully impressed by the general character and splendid eloquence of Kossuth, combining as it does the grand and comprehensive views of a practical statesman, inspired by the prophetic insight of genius, I hailed with delight the opportunity I had so long desired of seeing and hearing him. My anticipations were not disappointed; and my admiration, great as it was, is increased to an amount of veneration which I am proud to feel.

The people of Sheffield are a hardy and by no means timid race, possessing an extraordinary amount of self-esteem, and that sort of sagacity, or cunning, which is indeed the characteristic of the county. A people who would be found difficult to deal with, having once made up their minds—having those general characteristics which were embodied in the person and poetry of their bard Elliott—straightforwardness, amounting to malignant rudeness—plain-spoken to a degree which rendered him a positive bore while he lived, and even now a man not to be mentioned without caution amongst the rose-water order of Sheffielders, if anything so sweet-smelling could exist here; rather we should say, that order which is diluted with the waters of dissent; the order is not a small one. The Mayor did not dignify by his presence the reception of the illustrious Kossuth. The greeting he received was most enthusiastic, but the mob was characterised by a Sheffielder to me as the ‘lowest riff-raff.’ The crowd was, however, very numerous, and my belief is that they were by far the greater portion of them drawn together by sincere admiration for the apostle of liberty; for so much are the respectables now-a-days horrified at the idea of any one who presumes to doubt the wisdom of the acts of our lady the Queen and her ministers, that what little curiosity they might have felt to see so cele-

brated a man, would, I feel confident, be negatived by the more proper feeling. There were few of them there. ‘Have you seen Kossuth?’ ‘No, I would not go across the road to see him—he is a humbug.’ Again—‘Not I; I would have gone some time back, but now when it is so necessary that there should be unity of opinion—its shameful, sir,’ and so on.

“Paradise-square—or the ‘Pot-square,’ as it is more popularly called, from a crockery-market which is held there weekly—is a dingy, disagreeable-looking place, within four sides of smoky brick houses, in not the best part of Sheffield. There is a rapid declivity in the ground from one side to the other, and on this lower side there is a large house occupied as a school, the entrance-door being in the first story above the ground-floor, and the top of the flight of steps leading up to this door forms a conspicuous station for a speaker. The space is somewhat inconveniently small for the large party who generally contrive to occupy the landing and steps. There have been many stormy meetings in this square, in times of political commotion. It was here that the Corn-Law Rhymer publicly prayed that the Duke of Buckingham might come to want, that he might be taught to feel, and it was up these steps that Kossuth ascended on the arm of Alderman Solly. All eyes were anxiously desirous for the moment when the exile turned, and the impression seemed alike to all to be surprised, at seeing a man much older than was expected. It was evident, however, that the ravages are much more of age than years. He was suffering from indigestion too, from which, God speed him! Did the square ring with acclamations? Did that sentiment of admiration for the man who opened his large heart and expended his energies to right his country, expand into an open, generous expression of heartfelt gratification? It must be admitted—No—distrustful—siftful—but not irrepressible. Verily, England boasts of its ‘hearts of oak,’ and oak is not the most impressionable material for a heart—but it is certainly not ‘on the fleshy table of the heart’ of Englishmen that enthusiasm for true greatness is inscribed in these days. Of his speech, which was short, as he reserved himself for the evening in the Music Hall, I shall say nothing further than that it realised the reputation which he has everywhere earned himself. The fluency and copiousness of his language—at all times singularly apt—his subdued but noble voice, and the remarkable simplicity of his demeanour, must, and I believe did, strike every one forcibly.

“The numerous attractions in and around this neighbourhood at the holiday-time—fairs and excursions—accounts for the Music Hall not having been so full as I have seen it. (Garazzi can crowd it to suffocation, but then there is no end of Dissenting congregations who will assemble to listen to his subject); nevertheless, Kossuth’s reception must have been, and was, I feel sure, highly gratifying to him. The audience were unanimous—their applause and cheers came from the bottom of their hearts, and there were few—very few amongst that assembly, who left the hall without feelings warmer than admiration for that man whose intellect is as lucid as his heart is generous and unobscured, or without thorough conviction that there is but one way to a true and lasting peace, and that is by an inflexible assertion of the divine right of freedom for Poland, for Hungary, and for Italy.

“It’s all very fine, and very true,” was uttered in my hearing after the meeting, ‘but nothing comes of it—nothing can be done.’

“Truly the ‘heart of oak’ is a first-rate heart for—a nation of shopkeepers!”

“A VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS.”

HOW THE QUEEN’S BIRTHDAY WAS KEPT AT SCUTARI

HONOURABLE to the British nation as a splendid military spectacle, the celebration of her Majesty’s birthday by her troops, encamped at Scutari possesses a still more solemn and ennobling import. It was the last and most impressive attestation, on a bloodless field, of the spirit that animates 17,000 “brave hearts, to Britain’s pride now so faithful and so true,” numbers of whom before the summer is past will have sealed with their death their devotion to the cause of England and the right. The scene of the display is thus described by the correspondents of the *Morning Chronicle* and *Daily News*:

The ground upon which the British army at Scutari is encamped (three regiments occupy the barracks) is an undulating green tract of land, some six miles in circumference. It can scarcely be called a plain. Towards the middle there is a dip, leaving a flat meadow about half a mile in breadth between the two heights, on which the troops have pitched their tents. The line, Highlanders, and Rifles, occupy the rising ground on this side of the little valley; whilst the three regiments of Scots Fusilier and Coldstream Guards are encamped on the gently rising hill opposite.

To complete the picture, we are to imagine the encampment of the various regiments on the summits and sides of the hills overlooking Stamboul, and the calm brilliant sea between the two continents, the Prince’s Island, distinct and yet mysterious in its veil of sunny haze, the blue mountains of Asia, and the high peaks rising above them, snow-capped, with their summits lost in the clouds—shady trees on the shore, where the bands play and the soldiers congregate when off duty, to lie on the grass full length and look out on the dreamy waves at their feet, or join the Turks and Greeks at the *cafés* close by—then the streets of tents, with their crowds of soldiers in the most picturesque variety of undress, while the sentinels, walking to and fro, with coat

and shako, musket, bayonet, and knapsack, show that this wild and seemingly irregular life, is leave not license, and that a few notes are but wanted from the bugle, a few rolls of the drum, to convert this tumultuous mass into companies, battalions, and regiments of the neatest, cleanest, and best-disciplined troops in Christendom. But while the bugleman waits and the drums are silent, camp leave is the law of the camp, and the ease and carelessness of the soldier's household in barracks is transplanted on the greensward and into the open air. Camp furniture, clothes, and blankets are piled up in front of the tents amidst the stands of arms, where the hot sun keeps them dry, and the fresh sea-breeze airing them keeps them sweet and clean. Tables near the officers' tents, loaded with eatables, show that breakfasting and dining at fresco, as they say at Cremorne, is the order of the day. Gentlemen holding commissions in her Majesty's Guards walk about in flannel shirts and loose trousers—a costume which would somewhat astonish their fair partners of the ball-room and their grim partners of the écarté table. Soldiers' wives stand on the beach washing clothes in the waters of the Bosphorus or congregate in the cypress groves of Scutari, where they fix their lines to the monumental trees, and hang up the clothes to dry, while half the shirts and white trousers of the camp lie spread out on the grass bleaching. There is music and merriment everywhere; shouts of laughter and cheers burst out from one encampment after another; the band on the beach is answered by the distant strains of a march played by a band in the cypress grove; there are bugle calls from Selimieh, and the deep booming of guns from over the water, where the forts salute some vessel come in from the fleet. A small fleet of steamers and transports—twenty sail—lies off Selimieh, warning all beholders that this scene of life and merriment is but a passing vision, and that the day is at hand when the city of tents will be swept away—not leaving a trace behind.

Here on the 24th of May, (we quote from the *Times*) at a quarter to 11 o'clock, all the regiments in barracks and camp were paraded separately, and afterwards marched to the ridge which bounds one side of the shallow but broad ravine of which I have already spoken as separating the camp of the brigade of Guards from the camp of the other brigades. The regiments then on the ground were the 2d battalion Grenadier Guards, 1st battalion Coldstream Guards, 1st battalion Scots Fusilier Guards, 7th Fusiliers, 19th Foot, 23rd Welsh Fusiliers, 30th Foot, 33d (Duke of Wellington's) Regiment, 41st (Prince of Wales's) Regiment, 47th Foot, 49th Foot, 55th Foot, 77th Foot, 88th Connaught Rangers, 93d Highlanders, 96th Foot, and the Rifle Brigade first battalion, and a battery of six pieces of artillery. The total force on the ground consisted of about 15,000 men, and for weight, stature, and strength, could not be matched probably by a similar body of any troops in Europe. As they marched from camps and barracks in dense columns, converging on the ridge, the eye refused to believe that they could be condensed into so small a space as that they were ordered to occupy. The brigade of Guards, crossing the hollow, took up their position in columns of companies on the crest of the hill on the right flank, then came the 93d (the 42d and 79th regiments are still wanting of this brigade), completing the Duke of Cambridge's division. Sir De L. Evans' division, consisting of the 34th Foot, 41st Foot, 47th Foot, 49th Foot, 55th Foot, and 96th Foot, was formed next on their left, and Sir George Brown's (the light) division composed of the 7th Fusiliers, the 23d Fusiliers, 19th Foot, 33d Foot, 77th Foot, 88th Foot, with the Rifle Brigade attached, formed on the flank, three of the regiments being drawn up at right angles to the rest of the line in consequence of the narrowness of the point. The continued apathy of the Turks, which becomes absolutely disgusting to any more excitable race, was astonishing on this occasion. There were some three or four gentlemen on horseback, with their pipe-bearers in attendance, and two or three native carriages full of veiled women on the ground; but though Scutari, with its population of 100,000 souls, was within a mile and a half, it did not appear that half a dozen people had been added to the usual crowd of camp followers who attend on such occasions. The Greeks were more numerous, and Pera sent over a fair share of foreigners, all dressed in the newest Paris fashions, so that one might fancy himself at a fashionable field day in England but for the cypress groves and the tall minarets glancing above them in the distance. At 12 o'clock, Lord Raglan, attended by Sir George Brown, the Duke of Cambridge, Sir De Lacy Evans, the Earl of Lucan, the Generals of Brigades Bentinck, Sir C. Campbell, Pennefather, Airey, Adams, Buller, their Aides-de-camp and Majors of Brigade, and Lieutenant-Colonel de Lagondie and Chef d'Escadron Vico, to the number of thirty or forty, appeared on the ground in a perfect blaze of gold lace and scarlet and white plumes. They were received by the bands of all the regiments striking up "God save the Queen," but not with that unanimity which would be desirable in order to give a perfect effect to the noble strains of our national anthem. Lord Raglan having ridden slowly along a portion of the line, wheeled round and took his post in front of the centre regiment. After a short pause, just as the guns of the Niger were heard thundering out a royal salute from the Bosphorus in honour of her Majesty's birthday, the bands struck up the national air again, and down at once fell the colours of every regiment drooping to the ground. The thing was well done, and the effect of these thirty-two masses of richly dyed silk encrusted with the names of great victories, falling so suddenly to the earth as if struck down by one blow, was strange and inexpressible. In another minute a shout of "God save the Queen" ran from the Rifles on the left to the Guards on the right, and three tremendous cheers, gathering force as they rolled on with the accumulated

strength of a thousand throats from regiment after regiment, made the very air ring, the ears tingle, and the heart throb. Some of the regiments pulled off their shakos, and waved them in the air in accompaniment to the shouts, others remained motionless, but made not less noise than their fellows. After the cheering had died away, leaving, however a strange sensation in many an English bosom, as we thought how soon their voice might be stifled for ever, the march past began in quick time. The Guards, who were in great good humour, possibly because their necks were free and all prisoners had been let out as an act of grace, marched magnificently. The Highlanders were scarcely a whit inferior, and their pipes and dress created a sensation among the Greeks, who are fond of calling them Scotch Albanians, and compare them to the Klephtic tribes, among whom pipes and kilts still flourish. Some of the other regiments did well, others not so well, and on leaving the ground all marched off to their respective camps; and the proceedings of the day were brought to a close, so far as the authorities were concerned. The Guards, however, had their games, racing in sticks, leaping, running, &c., in the afternoon, and the regiments played cricket, and indulged in other manly sports, in spite of the heat of the day. In the evening, a handsome obelisk, erected in the centre of the Guards' camp, and crowned with laurel, was surrounded by fireworks.

Another observer (*Daily News*) says:—

When proceeding along the line from right to left, the Commander-in-Chief had reached the centre, the troops presented arms, and the bands struck up "God save the Queen." The solemn strains filled all hearts with an indescribable feeling of pride and sadness. And when cheers, hearty, loud, and deafening, burst from the mass, even the stoutest of those that were to remain behind felt moved almost to tears. Many ladies wept and sobbed outright. This cheering the Queen on foreign soil on the eve of a long and hazardous campaign, suggested, nay forced upon the bystanders the thought of the danger and hardships which are in store for these gallant men, near 20,000, and yet a mere handful to the myriads that are under arms to oppose them. How many of those that bear the brunt of the campaign will come back to recount its history? Those cheers were for "Mortuis et saluatis" the farewell of brave men and true and loyal hearts.

When the last strains of the national anthem had died away, the various regiments, commencing with the artillery and the guards on the right, marched past the Commander-in-Chief, who saluted each regiment as it passed. Again the sound of national melodies filled the air, and the "British Grenadiers," "The Band of Old England," and "Cheer, boys, cheer," recalled to the mind visions of that mighty island in the western sea, the mother of many nations, who has now entered into the great war for her own existence and the rights and liberty of the European nations.

When the regiments had returned to their various quarters the Commander-in-Chief's orders were read, which break up the camp on Haydar Pasha. The light division—seven regiments, 6000 men—will from to-morrow morning commence leaving for Varna. The rest of the troops are to follow as soon as possible. It is now anticipated that in less than a fortnight our outposts will be in sight of the Russian lines.

Four weeks of camp life in the healthy air of Scutari have done wonders for the troops. Never were soldiers in better condition. Never did a small army commence a campaign under better auspices, as far as the physical powers and the morale of the men go. Hardly any sickness has prevailed in the camp; and whatever cases there were, were slight. The Fusilier Guards, for instance, about 1000 men, had never, at any one time, more than sixteen men off duty on account of sickness. The troops had been well conducted, sober, and scrupulously attentive to their duty. That is the assertion of all the officers, and of all those who had dealings with the camp. There has not been a single scandal for the Greeks to take hold of. The people of England may rest assured that such troops will do their duty under any circumstances and wherever they are; and as the Turks will long remember the "strange red-coated soldiers with the smooth chins," so will the Russians, in a very short time, learn to tremble at the approach of our unconquered battalions.

Lastly, we have from the pen of a Prussian officer the following most gratifying account of the grand display:—

In a valley, which divides the encampment of the Guards from that of the other regiments, on a green meadow, and under a brilliant eastern sky, two batteries of artillery took up their station at half-past eleven o'clock on the 24th of May, the anniversary of the Queen's birthday, in order to celebrate that event by an imposing military spectacle. The superbly mounted artillery formed the right wing. The Guards took their ground adjoining to them; next came the infantry and Highlanders; and the Rifle Brigade formed the extreme left. The infantry stood in columns, with the bands in the intervening space to the right wing of each regiment—the flag to the front.

Lord Raglan, the British Commander-in-Chief, rode down the front, accompanied by his superbly mounted staff, the soldiers presenting arms, and all the bands playing "God save the Queen." The flags that had seen so many victories sank, proudly saluting their distant Queens; and three hearty thrilling cheers rang through the air, proceeding from 17,000 British throats.

I have witnessed many fine military displays, but never did I see a more stirring sight than this; and the loyal and hearty shout, under the present circumstances, rang through the air like a solemn oath to spend blood and life for the honour of Old England. The bold Britons stood like walls of stone, and waved their hats in glee. I could well appreciate the enthusiastic exclamation of my neighbour, an officer of the Banashie, "I am proud of my nation," and felt the tears that dimmed the eyes of the English ladies around me. Whoever has seen the self-confidence of these troops, and their enthusiasm, will agree with me that they may expect fresh victories. After this enthusiastic cheering, the troops began to defile in companies. The Guards, who

were led past by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, looked splendidly. Their upright bearing and quiet step were superb. After them I especially admired the light company; but they were all wonderful troops.

The English soldiers do not march on parade with the same mechanical precision as the Prussian or Russian guards, but they have a more natural and at the same time very exact movement, and do not leave you with the impression that they are only ready for parade, and dressed and drilled for that sole purpose, as is the case with the latter. The Prince of Prussia was heard to say in England that British troops did not know how to march, but I think he was wrong; they have a way of marching which smacks more of marching to action than marching to be looked at.

Immediately after parade all the troops returned to camp. I think it very proper to say a word about the consideration shown towards British soldiers on these occasions. Instead of (as is the case in the armies of the Continent) plaguing them for two or three hours before the parade by the inspection of corporals, lieutenants, captains, and commanding officers, they give the signal for parade just before the hour fixed upon, and they get ready at once and march out. The regiments and battalions are formed in ten minutes, and go straight to their place of meeting. Until the signal was given yesterday, nothing would have led you to believe they would stir; there were no signs of a parade of 17,000 men being reviewed. The soldiers were all laughing, joking, cooking, as usual in camp; whilst I, knowing for a fact, from personal experience, that in some continental armies, officers, sergeants, and soldiers, are set into such a state of weary twenty-four hours before that, they can scarcely eat, drink, or sleep.

This lenient system does not in the least make the men slovenly. They are the picture of neatness and cleanliness; and yesterday's review their aspect little led you to think that they had had so short a notice.

It was a mercy that our men could let out their brave breath freely on that 24th of May, or it would have burst them. On the day before, we are told by the writer in the *Times*—

The brigade orders for the Guards were distinguished by a great novelty. Her Majesty's Guards were actually commanded to parade "worn-out socks," and to march with unrestricted windpipes.

This great boon of "no stocks" was granted to the Guards to celebrate her Majesty's birthday, and I am certain that never since they were formed did the regiments give more more ringing, thundering cheers, than issued from their throats, when they marched on the ground as erect and upright as ever, but not "caught by the throat," as before, to be inspected by Lord Raglan. While talking of orders, I may observe that the eccentric wide-awake hats, shooting coats, and trousers, in which officers delight to appear when enjoying the pleasures of "Mud," have received a severe smothering from Sir George Brown, and he has expressed his dissatisfaction at the officers of the light division going across the water to Pera and Galata in dresses which, he conceives, would not be tolerated in England. There certainly have been some curious costumes, quite calculated "to astonish the Browns" of Stamboul and Pera, visible about the streets, but if "Mud" is allowed at all (and our uniform is so "muddy" in appearance, and so heavy and uncouth in dress, that men fly from mud and coatee the moment they can), it will be found very hard to enact any satisfactory summary laws respecting it; for the "English gentleman," who is the very proper model adopted by Sir George Brown in all matters of attire, does certainly delight in sporting such varieties of cut and colour in hats and clothing for rowing, shooting, cricketing, and "out of town" generally, that he may be regarded by all kinds of Scutari delinquents as affording some authority for their garmental excesses. The general is equally averse to the white linen cap covers found so serviceable in India; they are not becoming, but they certainly are very useful and pleasant this hot weather, and it is to be hoped that officers and men will be permitted to wear them. A few coats of mail would be unwelcome arguments in their favour. One word more on this point, and I have done. I believe that the experience we gained at Chobham was unfavourable to the white duck trousers of the Guards. They are most charming to look at, but the trouble of washing them, the smell of putting them on wet, and the difficulties of pipe-cleaning them, more than counterbalance the advantages of their clean and showy appearance, even in England. It may easily be conjectured how all these difficulties will be increased in the Dobrudcha, or in the snipe grounds round the arms of the Danube, when the men are engaged in actual campaigning, and cannot deile to avoid a ditch or pick out the dry places, as they would on a review-ground. Nevertheless the white (soon to become whiter-brown, and then very brown) trousers are still retained. The new furage-cap has as many enemies as friends, but the opinion of the better judges appears to be, that it is quite unsuited to this country in warm weather, as it is too close to the head, and does not defend the skull or face from the sun. Under other circumstances it is useful enough—in all it is, *me judice*, stupendously ugly.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

THE WAR.

THE intelligence of the week does not carry us far beyond the telegraphic announcements received last week. The fruit of the conference of the generals at Varna, and of the review of the Turkish army at Schumla by Marshal St. Arnaud, is seen in the immediate advance of the French troops from Gallipoli and of the British from Scutari. The first transport with French troops on board sailed up the Bosphorus on the 25th, and the Light Division of British left Scutari, under Sir George Brown, 7000 strong, on the 29th of May. By this time the whole, or the greater part of the troops, 25,000 French and 17,000

English, must be in a position to operate effectually on the Russians in Bulgaria for the relief of Silistria.

That fortress at the latest dates held out against the Russians. It is estimated that there were 100,000 men around Silistria and at Kalarasch; 30,000 had been hurled upon the fortress, but every attack had been effectually repelled up to the 30th. On the 29th, indeed, the latest and fiercest attempt to storm was repulsed with great slaughter, the eldest son of Count Orloff being among the slain, or severely wounded; and on the morning of the 30th, before day-break, the Turks made a rush upon the besiegers, and slaughtering them in the trenches, they spiked many guns. It is affirmed that General Schilders has persuaded Prince Paskewitch to abandon all idea of storming the place, and to trust to the slower but surer process of the sap and mine. So much for Silistria. There is now reason to believe that a portion of Lüders' corps has entered Bulgaria, and communicated with the besiegers; and that the advanced patrols of the Cossacks have gone so far south as Bazardschick.

In Lesser Wallachia the Turks, it appears, made a triumphant march to the Aluta with 30,000 men, beating the Russians in one or two encounters, notably near Radovan, where a Cossack regiment was literally cut to pieces, and in front of Slatina, where 600 Russians were left dead on the field, and four guns were taken. The stone-bridge over the Aluta, at Slatina, is guarded by Russians; it is the high road to Bucharest, and Omar Pasha has sent strict orders to Ali Pasha, commanding the Kalafat army, to press on the flank of the Russian right wing. At present, then, the storm is gathering on the front and right flank of the Russians.

In the Black Sea the squadron returned to Baltchick on the 20th. On the 21st Admiral Hamelin forwarded to Paris this *résumé* of the operations of the fleets:—

"On board the ship *La Ville de Paris*, Baltchick, May 21, 1854.

"Monsieur le Ministre.—Having left Kavarna on the 17th of April to commence their operations of war in the Black Sea, the two combined squadrons cast anchor on the 20th of May before Baltchick, where they immediately set about taking in the necessary water and provisions.

"It has not depended upon us that the acts of war with which the cruise of more than a month has been sown were not more numerous or more important; but the Russian naval forces have kept themselves so completely shut up in Sébastopol, under the shelter of the thousand cannon of that port, that during twenty days passed in cruising at a little distance from that point, we have not been able to bring a single one of the enemy's ships to fight—not even with our scouts.

"On the other hand, our steam cruisers brought in from all parts of the Black Sea vessels carrying the Russian flag, which constitute a sufficiently large number of captures since the commencement of hostilities; and finally, the division of steam-ships and frigates sent on a mission along the coast of Circassia have ascertained that the Russians themselves have abandoned the forts arranged during more than half a century, and after so much labour and so many combats, over the 200 leagues of coast which separate Anapa, near the Sea of Azoff, from the port of Batoum, in the neighbourhood of the Turkish frontiers—a new check, it appears to me, to the Muscovite power.

"In short, Monsieur le Ministre, if your Excellency will well consider that the imperial port of Odessa has been completely destroyed by our steamers; that the Russian fleet, defied in its ports, has not dared to leave them for the purpose of avenging that check; that it is interdicted, under pain of capture, to the Russian flag henceforth to plough the waters of the Black Sea, which hitherto the Czar has put forth the pretension of making a Muscovite lake; if one considers, in fine, that all the Russian possessions on the coast of Circassia have been destroyed or abandoned, and that, consequently, the flank of the Russian army in Asia finds itself uncovered, one cannot help acknowledging that the first phase of the operations of the squadrons has already produced results which are pretty notable, all to the advantage of the Western Powers, and all to the detriment of the Russian influence in the Black Sea.

"I am with respect &c.,

"HAMELIN,

"Vice-Admiral, Commander-in-Chief of the Black Sea Squadron."

The actual fact about the Circassian forts appears to be this:—Sir Edmund Lyons with his squadron had steamed down the coast as far as Soujah Kaleh. That fortress and Anapa were the only forts remaining in the possession of Russia. All the forts south of Soujah Kaleh have been evacuated. Officers of the squadron have established communications with Schamyl. The squadron also captured three brigs—two with a living cargo; 200 soldiers were retained prisoners of war; 200 non-combatants, women, children, sick, and wounded, were landed at Soujah Kaleh under a flag of truce.

According to very good authority, Austria has forwarded an "impressive note" to St. Petersburg. On the same authority it is stated that the contents of this note may be summed up as follows:—"Austria therein formally communicates to Russia the recently concluded Austro-Prussian treaty of alliance, and states that this treaty was the natural consequence of the principles to which Austria and Prussia have given their adhesion at the Vienna Conference, and pledged themselves to the Western Powers from the beginning of the Eastern complication, namely, that the military occupation of the Danubian Principalities by Russia was an

act committed in defiance of all international rights, and that the evacuation of these provinces of the Ottoman territory must be regarded as a *conditio sine qua non* with the four Powers represented at the Congress, whose firm resolve it was to maintain the independence of the Sultan and the integrity of the Ottoman dominions. Furthermore, reference is made to the unceasing exertions of the German Powers to bring about a peaceable solution of this unhappy Eastern complication; and profound regrets are expressed at the present disastrous disturbance of the peace of Europe, which has haplessly resulted from the natural development of events, that were easily to be foreseen as the inevitable consequences of a policy deprecated by all the other great Powers, and counselled and remonstrated against in the most friendly and devoted spirit by them all, but more especially by Austria and Prussia. The document then adverts to the stern necessity of the case, which renders it incumbent upon Austria, in the rightful defence of her own interests and those of Germany at large, to insist now upon the evacuation of the Turkish Danubian territories. Finally, a hope is earnestly and impressively expressed, that the Emperor of Russia will, even now, and ere it be too late, acquiesce in this just demand, and thus relieve Austria, and all his allies in Germany, from the painful consequences which the alternative—that is, a refusal—would undoubtedly entail upon them for the future. It is therefore suggested that the Czar should fix a period within which he will engage to evacuate the Ottoman territory in question. The whole note is couched in the most friendly and considerate terms; but there is an unmistakable earnestness and resolution in its tone, highly creditable to the Austrian Government, and one which cannot fail to make a deep impression at St. Petersburg."

The answer to this note, it is expected, will arrive at Vienna between the 20th and 24th of June.

The *Moniteur* has published the text of instructions sent by the Divan to the commanders-general of the provinces of Janina, Tricala, Herzegovina, Bosnia, Scutari, Albania, and Salonica; as also to the Pacha of Belgrade, to the Imperial Commissary in Epirus, Fuad Effendi, and to the Governor of Roumelia. These functionaries are thereby informed that the Austrian Government will send some vessels to support the cordon established on the frontiers of Greece by the Western Powers, and will also cause to advance towards Albania a portion of the troops which are in the district of Cattaro, to prevent the insurrectionary movement extending to the north of the province, and to prevent the Montenegrins joining the rebels, should they feel inclined to do so. These measures have been concerted between the Porte and the Court of Vienna; and the Turkish authorities are directed to recognize the Austrians as friends, and treat them with all possible attention.

The Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia were to meet yesterday at Chemnitz or Tetschen, on the Bohemian frontier. Counts Buol Schauenstein and Alvensleben from Vienna, and Count Thun, ambassador from Berlin, have been suddenly summoned by telegraph to attend this unexpected conference. Baron Manteuffel accompanies the King. Count Arnim has been also summoned, but illness prevents him from attending. The object of this meeting is totally unknown, but it is conjectured to have some relation to Russian proposals.

Prussia has forbidden the export of ammunition of every description.

The affairs in Greece seem to be in a fair way towards settlement, and the Anglo-French intervention seems to have borne some fruit. On the 26th May King Otho invited the French and English Ministers to meet him, and addressed them as follows:—

"I declare that I will faithfully observe a strict neutrality towards Turkey; that I will without delay take all the necessary measures to effect it, and that for this object I will call to my counsel new Ministers, who, by their character and their intelligence, are the best calculated to carry this engagement of mine into execution."

Mr. Wyse, as the senior Minister, replied:—

"Sire,—We shall hasten to report to our Governments the words which your Majesty has addressed to us, and we doubt not that, by giving your support to the new councillors whom your Majesty has deigned to call to your aid, we shall have no longer to transmit to our courts any information but what will be very satisfactorily as regards Greece."

The latest telegraphic despatches state that a new Ministry has been formed; but we are not in possession of the names. The statement in the papers is that the chief minister is to be Mavrocordato, with General Kalergi as Minister of War. Several other Greeks are mentioned, whose characters are not so much superior to those we have named.

The *Moniteur* of Thursday states that the insurrection in Epirus has been put down, but that the accounts from Thessaly are not so satisfactory. The *Patrie* of this evening states, in a semi-official way, that the account given by private telegraphic despatch from Thessaly was greatly exaggerated, and that reinforcements have been sent against the insurgents, which will render all further success by them impossible. The same journal mentions an instance of tyranny on the part of the Russians which is scarcely credible. It has already been stated, that previous to some of the assaults upon Silistria the Greek priests with the army were ordered to put up prayers for success, and to administer the sacrament to the soldiers. On one of these occasions, says the *Patrie*, two Polish sub-officers refused, on the ground of their being Roman Catholics, to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Greek Church. For this refusal they were tried by a court-martial and shot.

A slight change has taken place in the *personnel* of the Turkish Ministry. Mehemet Pasha, formerly Minister of Marine, becomes Grand Vizier, vice Mustapha Pasha, and Hail Pasha, brother-in-law of the Sultan, succeeds to the post of Minister of Marine.

The *Presse* has a letter of the 21st ult., from St. Petersburg, by which we learn that the inhabitants of that capital

know little or nothing of what is going on in the world. The official reports have all along been so favourable that the St. Petersburgers are somewhat astonished that the army is not yet at Adrianople. The blockade of the Baltic ports has caused a great falling off in the Customs. In 1853 the receipts from January till the end of May were 15,000,000 silver roubles, but in the first quarter of the present year they have only amounted to one-fourth of that sum. The Emperor, who writes a great deal, is assisted by his sons, and particularly by the Grand Duke Constantine. The general impression in the Russian capital is, that the war will be a long one, although it will be carried on with the greatest energy. Both sides of the mouth of the Neva are strongly fortified, and the police has issued orders for the guidance of the inhabitants of the capital in case of attack. If Cronstadt is taken, the old men, women, and children, are to quit St. Petersburg immediately, the pavement pulled up, and the consecrated bells and pictures conveyed to Moscow. It is, however, confidently asserted in the proclamation that the rocks and artillery of Cronstadt will be the ruin of the hostile fleets.

The *Moniteur de la Flotte* says, that "A letter from the Gulf of Finland gives some details relative to the late visit of the Emperor of Russia to Cronstadt, in company with the Grand Duke Constantine. After having passed in review the 12,000 men of the Imperial Guard sent to reinforce the garrison, the Emperor ordered a representation of a defence on the part of the forts Constantine, Alexander, Peter I., and Cronstadt, which command the entrance of the pass. They fired for an hour, but did not, it appears, give much satisfaction to the Grand Duke Constantine, who is considered a good judge of such matters. The Emperor afterwards visited three screw steamers, the Czar, the Constantine, and the Viborg, which are now being terminated, but whose machinery, ordered in England, is still wanting. He then went to see a new apparatus for obstructing the passage into the port, and which was invented by an American engineer, consisting of a square wooden framework filled with enormous stones, and presenting sharp stakes sticking out and coming to nearly the level of the water. It is said that the immersion of these machines is a difficult matter, and that they do not answer. The Emperor seemed out of spirits during his visit to Cronstadt. That circumstance did not tend to remove the disquietude of the population; and the next day great terror was excited by the fact of the general and the colonel charged with the direction of the artillery, as well as the colonel of engineers, being sent off to the Caucasus, to serve in the army in their grades, but at the bottom of the list for each. Every person has been forbidden to quit Cronstadt for fear of augmenting the public disquietude."

The *Moniteur* announces the organisation of camps in the north and south. The Emperor will be Commander-in-Chief of the camp in the north. Baraguay d'Hilliers, Guesviller, and Carrelet will command three *corps d'armée*.

General Hautpoul will be Commander-in-Chief of the camp in the south.

The *Moniteur de l'Armée*, correcting the public journals, informs us that the actual sites of the camps have not yet been determined on.

Admiral Baudin died this week at Paris. He was much respected in the service.

Marshal de St. Arnaud has sent bitter complaints to Marshal Vaillant, the Minister of War in Paris, of the conduct of Prince Napoleon since his arrival in the East. He declares that the *entourage* and intimate friends of the Prince, consisting, as they do, of the most violent of the refugees, may seriously embarrass the commanders of the armies, and disturb the plan of the campaign. These complaints were on Saturday last brought by Marshal Vaillant before the Council of Ministers held at the Palace of St. Cloud, when the Emperor authorised Marshal Vaillant to say, that if Prince Napoleon's presence was a real source of embarrassment, he would be recalled.

The constitutional festival was held at Copenhagen on the 5th inst. by 50,000 persons. It passed off without accident or commotion. The court was absent.

The programme for the day included the publication of an important document, the draught of which had received many influential signatures. This was a proposal for the formation of a league or association for the protection of the fundamental law or constitution of the monarchy. In their address the promoters say:—"We are induced to publish this invitation in consequence of the unsatisfactory result of the negotiations of the last Diet. The manner in which the Government endeavoured to carry out the constitution for the whole Danish monarchy granted by his Majesty and promulgated by the royal decree of the 28th January, 1852, has been hitherto so very far from giving a favourable solution of the problem, that there is every reason to fear it may eventually lead to fresh complications, and not impossible to an ultimate dismemberment of the different integral parts of the kingdom. We are therefore inclined to believe that the difference of opinion which exists between the responsible ministers of the crown and the constitutionally elected legal representatives of the people, as to the mode of settling this important question, is of a nature to call forth the most serious and well-grounded apprehensions for the future in the minds of all true and loyal Danish men, lovers of their country and of liberty."

Further on they say:—"It appears to us of the greatest importance to invite all good and true Danish men to unite themselves firmly, in the noble cause of defending the fundamental law from any direct or indirect attack. The legitimate ways and means for such a defence are contained in the fundamental law itself, and the people are not only allowed, but enjoined, to make full use of these constitutional means. The only thing to take care of is to ensure the needful peace and order, and the organisation of a powerful executive organ, to demonstrate and enforce the will of the people. This can be effected by the formation of the association we propose to found. . . . The central committee must necessarily have its seat in the capital, where the Diet (Riksdag) is also convened; provincial committees can be

formed in those parts of the monarchy, where independent and patriotic Danes see the importance of such branches, and are willing to place themselves at the head of the movement to secure the objects in view. It is not by revolutionary convulsions, but by the most perfect confidence and unanimity between the Sovereign and the people that our beloved fatherland has arrived at the happy state of numbering itself amongst the free and civilised countries of Europe. But, in order to preserve intact the benefits granted us by our free constitution, it becomes doubly needful to keep a watchful and jealous eye on any attempts to undermine it. This is our duty to ourselves and all succeeding generations."

Orders to prosecute several Danish opposition papers have been given by the Minister of Justice, who states officially that the representations made by the Diet to the King to induce him to dismiss his ministers constitute an offence of a very grave nature!

The Governments of France and England have informed the Court of Morocco of the state of war existing between them and Russia, and the obligations resulting therefrom for neutral States. The Emperor Muley-Abder-Rhaman, through his Minister Sid-Mohamed-el-Katib, has expressed to the Charges d'Affaires of the two Governments at Tangiers the satisfaction which that communication has given him, and he has declared that no Russian vessel, or vessel bearing a flag friendly to Russia, shall be received in the ports of his empire during the war.

The financial report of the Federal Government of Switzerland has made its appearance in thirty-six folio sheets. The revenue of the year 1852 was 300,481*l.*; in 1853 it amounted to 349,378*l.* The receipts of last year were 567,499*l.*, exceeding the former estimate by 69,499*l.* The expenses were 514,447*l.*; thus leaving a balance of 43,052*l.* The highest item is that of the military department, being 57,132*l.*, or 12,917*l.* above the original budget. The whole federal administration cost 11,764*l.*; the National Council cost 3414*l.*; the Federal Council, 2100*l.*; the Federal Chancery, 5000*l.*; and the weekly *Federal Service Gazette* (*Bundesblatt*), 763*l.*

Austria has resolved to raise the military cordon on the frontier of the canton of Tessin, the Swiss Federal Council having given satisfactory assurances for a future good understanding.

THE WHITE SEA SQUADRON.

THE Eurydice, 26, Captain Ommanney, and the Miranda, 14, screw-steam sloop, Captain E. M. Lyons, arrived at Lerwick, in the Shetland Isles, on the 24th of May, and the Brisk, 14, screw sloop, Commander F. B. P. Seymour, arrived there on the 25th; these being three vessels of the squadron intended for operations in the White Sea. The two first-named left Lerwick for their destination on the night of the 26th, and the latter at 5 A.M. on the 27th. From Plymouth we have a report that the Mariner, 12, sailing sloop, Commander F. E. Johnstone, was to leave that place for the White Sea, on the 8th inst.

AMERICAN NOTES.

THE last intelligence from the United States bears date May 27. The Senate had passed the Nebraska Bill by 35 votes to 13; and it only awaited the President's signature, which it was sure to receive. Though regarded as a gain to their cause by the slave-holding states, and looked on with proportionate disfavour by their northern opponents, it is thought that the law will be practically inoperative, as it is not probable that slave-holders, or those who sympathise with them, will become settlers in Nebraska and Kansas. On the other hand, the very existence of the law is of serious moment, as annulling the old Missouri compromise, according to which slavery could not be admitted into any new territories or states north of the line 36 deg. 30 min.

A quarrel has taken place near San Juan, Greytown, between the authorities and Mr. Borland, U. S. Minister to Nicaragua, the former attempting to arrest one Captain Smith, who was charged with murder, the latter resisting them on the alleged ground that "no authority recognised by the United States existed at Greytown to arrest any American citizen." A riot ensued, and Mr. Borland was for some time under a kind of duress, and was struck by a glass bottle thrown at him from the crowd. No one else was hurt. The whole matter is to be laid before the Government at Washington.

Queen Victoria's birthday was celebrated at Washington by an extremely brilliant entertainment, at which Lord Elgin, all the foreign Ministers, the President, Cabinet, and nearly the entire Congress were present; and also by most of the consuls in the larger cities. On all occasions of the kind it is gratifying to remark the interchange of good feeling between John and Jonathan.

The *Washington Union* continues its advocacy of Russian interests in opposition to those of England and France in the Turkish war; and men naturally inquire, What does it all mean? Why is the Russian organ patting Russia on the back? The *New York Evening Post* states that Mr. Webb, the ship-builder, has, on reflection, concluded to give up his contract for building a frigate for the Emperor of Russia.

Under the heading, "Our Relations with Europe," the *New York Herald* of the 27th May has the following:—

"Mr. George Buchanan, an intelligent young gentleman of Maryland, leaves to-day in the Atlantic for Europe, to assume the duties of his appointment as consul at Rochelle, in France. We understand, however, that he is charged in the first place with certain official despatches to our ministers upon the continent, including Mr. Mason at Paris, Mr. Soule at Madrid, and Mr. Seymour at St. Petersburg. He will probably touch at the Hague, at Berlin, and Vienna, in the course of his tour, to enlighten our ministers at those places in respect to the exact interpretation at Washington, at this crisis, of the circulars of June last, on the subject of diplomatic costume. Of course we are not apprised of the purport of the advices to Mr. Soule, but it is safe to say that they relate to the Cuba question, and to some sort of Gadsden treaty arrangement for the acquisition of the island, in preference to the hazards of a rupture with England and France. Ours is a very warlike administration upon its foreign policy, according to its newspaper organs, but in action it is even more harmless and inoffensive than that of Captain Tyler or that of General Taylor. The information which Mr. Buchanan will take to our minister at St. Petersburg may turn out to be of some practical importance. It is reported here that overtures have been submitted, in behalf of Russia, to our Cabinet, proposing a new commercial treaty between the Czar and the United States, of a highly advantageous character to us—comprehending a great reduction of duties upon articles entering Russian ports from American vessels, and such arrangements with the neutral ports of Prussia in the Baltic, as will secure the transfer of legitimate goods between the two nations without the risks of seizure and confiscation by the allies. It is very certain that Russia, pending this struggle, is extremely desirous of keeping 'right side up' with the United States; and if, in doing it, she is willing to confer upon us certain extraordinary advantages in trade, why should we not accept them, as far as they may not involve us in her quarrel with England and France? Mr. Spence will probably be recalled from Constantinople. The administration, it is well understood, disapproves his unqualified declarations to the Sultan as the representative of the United States Government in behalf of the cause of Turkey and her allies. It is equally well known that there is a plentiful supply of candidates at Washington for foreign appointments, who will be ready to accept the Turkish mission, the mileage and the salary, when the vacancy shall be made. The semi-official tour of Mr. Buchanan, as we are advised, will be limited to the great capitals from Madrid to St. Petersburg, including especially these two cities; and we doubt not that his observations and conversations on the way will result in largely illuminating Marcy upon continental politics, the latest phases of the war, and the true policy of our Government upon a grand scale."

The British Government has notified to the State Department of the United States, that a British naval force will take possession of Sitka, and all other Russian ports on the Pacific coast.

Lord and Lady Elgin are treated with much consideration at Washington. People will have it that his lordship is commissioned by the Home Government to aid Mr. Crampton in perfecting a treaty on the fisheries and a reciprocal trade with the colonies. It may be so, but nothing is really known of the matter, except by the parties diplomatically engaged in the negotiations.

The despatches from Spain are said to be more moderate and pacific than had been anticipated, although the Government at Madrid refuses to yield to the demands of Mr. Soule. But the whole affair is likely to take a new turn, for it is now confidently stated at Washington that there will be two special envoys sent to Madrid to settle all the points of difference between the two countries; and the Hon. George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, and the Hon. Lyman Cobb, of Georgia, are named as the gentlemen likely to be appointed on the important service. And it is added, that the President will soon issue a proclamation against filibustero and lawless expeditions of all kinds, whether destined for Cuba or other coveted countries. It is a known fact, that men are nightly drilled at and near New Orleans, where a powerful secret expedition is said to be preparing against Cuba. Nay, it is supposed that George Law's barque *Grapeshot*, now lying at the Belize, at the mouth of the Mississippi, filled with arms and munitions of war, has some connexion with the enterprise.

Eleven barrels and a half of ball-cartridges and a large quantity of gunpowder have been seized in New York, in an old house. For what purpose this ammunition was provided is unknown.

MAURICE'S LECTURES.

THE first lecture of the course on "Learning and Working," which we announced to our readers a fortnight since, was delivered by the Reverend Frederick Maurice on Thursday last, at Willis's Rooms. The audience was sufficiently numerous to fill the room without crowding, and was composed chiefly of ladies and gentlemen, the class to whom the lectures are especially addressed, and not of working men, the class for whose benefit they are designed; although a few of these latter—men of mark or likelihood—were sprinkled among the former. A more attentive and quietly sympathetic audience we have seldom seen. Some well-known clergymen were present, and many persons, both male and female, who have taken interest in the cause of education—practically, in Harley-street and elsewhere.

To those who know and are accustomed to the

style of Mr. Maurice's lecturing or preaching, we need say that his delivery of the lecture on Thursday was *more suo*; to those who never heard Mr. Maurice lecture, we can only say that they lose nothing by reading instead of listening to his earnest and able compositions. His voice is neither powerful nor melodious; as a female admirer of his doctrine once said, "he tries to speak so loud that you can't hear what he says." He reads the whole lecture—and reads it in a monotonous, preaching tone—without any fire or variety of emotion. But although his manner of lecturing is not happy, Mr. Maurice could not fail to impress any person hearing him for the first time with a sense of his profound and earnest desire to make them know and feel any truth as he knows and feels it. His purpose is single, though he may compass it by divers and complex methods; such as his far-piercing and subtle intellect would naturally suggest.

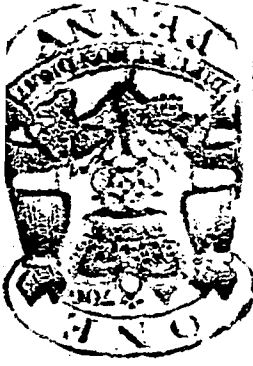
The opening lecture was full of useful and interesting matter not very obviously or immediately connected with the foundation of a college for working men. But the succeeding lectures will show that it was a sort of *reculer pour mieux sauter*. The history of scholastic education, not only in England, but in the rest of Europe, was rapidly and effectively sketched, in such a manner as to illustrate his two main positions—viz., that the ecclesiastical machinery of any country has never been found adequate to the complete intellectual and moral education of its people; and, that, in no instance will it be found that the education of a people has begun with primary and elemental teaching, or with the teaching of children. He showed that in the earlier ages of its instruction every people has endeavoured, so to speak, to attain the hidden springs and sources of the vast river of knowledge, to understand the most difficult and recondite subjects. He instanced the wonderful popularity of Abelard's controversy with the Archbishop of Paris on the doctrine of universals, and subsequent lectures of that divine, which attracted larger audiences than were ever assembled to hear a Parisian singer or actress.

He spoke on the present question of University Reform, and proved gently but clearly that it must come from without, and even with a somewhat rough hand, if need be. "The lion," he said, "was not the most fitting guardian for Uua, but if the Red Cross Knight neglected her to go astray after any false Duessa, she might be glad of the lion's rough paw to open difficult doors for her, and to guard her, or else she might not be able to teach the savage tribes."

He spoke in praise of the education which has been given to girls and boys of the poorer class during the present century; especially he praised the system of infant schools. These were moves in the right direction. But he intimated that there was generally no connexion between the teaching of the school-room in these cases, and the requirements of the world's work to which the pupils are born. Then came the consideration of the difficulties of teaching. Even in the case of children mental and moral training is found a very hard task. What then must it be in the case of adult working men, with fixed and hardened habits, with sluggish intellects and stubborn wills? He concluded by showing that education can never really begin with infants, although many sanguine educationists had hoped that when education had at last reached the cradle, it had gained a point from which it could move the world. Infants cannot be taught by infants, adults must teach them, and adults must begin by teaching themselves. To have children well trained, the grand first necessity is the education of mothers.

THE REVEREND SYDNEY TURNER ON REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.

MR. TURNER, who has long been favourably known to the public by the share he has taken in the reformatory experiment at Red-hill, has written a valuable letter to the *Times*, embodying the substance of a report from M. de Persigny, Minister of the Interior in France, on the official experiment made in France with youthful delinquents. It appears that by the Code Napoleon all children under sixteen years of age are held to be only imperfectly responsible for their actions; and any offenders of this class are to be detained by magistrates and subjected to correctional discipline until they are twenty-one. But it so happened that the Code made no provision for the erection of reformatories, and consequently the children were confined in common gaols. In 1839 it occurred to M. Dumelz, that this was a blunder; and he founded an establishment at Mettray, now grown famous. Other towns, Rouen, Marseilles, Amiens, among them followed the example set by Mettray, and in 1850 the success of these establishments induced "the French Government and Legislature to pass a law recognising the reformatory treatment of young offenders as a matter of public policy, sanctioning the principle that, as being a work in which religious zeal must be mingled with official ability, it would be best achieved by enlisting private and benevolent exertions in aid of and in subordination to the agency of the Government, and decreeing that the State should



invite and assist charitable individuals or associations to form reformatory asylums under Government superintendence and inspection, in which the young offenders should be placed under a sentence of detention to be morally and industrially brought up—the State defraying the cost of each child's food and clothing. The law declared further, that, if the requisite number of charity schools were not provided by private effort in five years, the State should undertake the work itself, and form such a number of 'penitentiary colonies' as should be needed.

M. de Persigny's report gives an account of this great experiment, and it is not so favourable as might have been anticipated:—

On the one hand, indeed, there has been no want of private and charitable zeal to meet the views and answer to the call of the Government. M. de Persigny states that 35 reformatory schools have been founded and set in action by individual and benevolent associations, sheltering on the 31st of December, 1852, 3,525 young offenders (2,912 boys, 613 girls), for whose food and clothing the Government gives a fixed sum of 100 francs. On the other hand, so great has been the increase in the number of *jeunes délinquents* to be thus provided for, that seven 'colonies,' seven departmental (or county) schools, and a ward in each of three prisons (Fontenay, &c.) specially assigned to the industrial training of juveniles, have to be entirely supported, in addition, by the Government, containing a juvenile population of 2,490 boys and 528 girls, so that at the end of the year 1852, no less than 6,015 young offenders were under sentence of detention for reformatory purposes, and more or less supported by the State, of whom 1,085 were under 11 years of age, 1,828 between 11 and 17, and 3,102 between 17 and 21. The number would not perhaps be so startling, as compared with the population of the French empire, if this alone were to be regarded. But M. de Persigny states that the class of juvenile delinquents thus placed under the care of, and made a charge upon the State, has most rapidly and seriously increased. In 1837 the number was 1,393; in 1842, 2,262; in 1847, 3,276; in 1851, 5,407; on December 31, 1852, 6,015. He adds that, although the number of young persons thus placed in the central class has so greatly multiplied, there has been no corresponding increase in youthful crime. Serious offences remain at about the same average amount of from 810 to 815 per annum. It is in the lighter classes of delinquences that the increase is so apparent. The number of children charged with simple *délits* and *fautes peu graves* has doubled, and the sentences consigning such offenders to detention for correctional training have multiplied eightfold. 55 per cent. of the 6,015 *jeunes délinquents* had been guilty only of vagrancy and begging, 55 per cent. of dishonesty and theft, the remaining ten per cent. of assaults. M. de Persigny seems to expect that this increase will continue, and that the number of children thus handed over to the State for moral and industrial training and support will become more and more embarrassing, and new refuges for this population constantly be very soon required. That the means adopted to diminish and arrest juvenile delinquency should thus appear to have stimulated and increased it, is certainly very discouraging. It is not wonderful that it has forced the French Government to pause in their course, and to carefully consider the working and results of the Law of August, 1850, by which the reformatory system was instituted. M. de Persigny seems to trace the result mainly to three causes:—

"1. The tendency of depraved and needy parents to make their children criminal or leave them to become so, for the sake of being wholly relieved of the burden of their maintenance and education during their childhood and early youth.

"2. The mistaken philanthropy of the magistrates, who have unconsciously met the views of such parents, by passing those sentences of detention too readily and unreservedly.

"3. The relaxed discipline and bad organization of the reformatory colonies 'more recently founded.' [He appears by this expression to except Mettray.] These have become in many cases rather *colleges de pauvres* than schools of correctional discipline; nay, instances are to be found in which they have been a job, planned and carried out for the purpose of improving some proprietor's land, at the expense of the Exchequer, by the forced labour of the young prisoners.

"It is satisfactory to find that, with this strong conviction of the abuses which the reformatory system has been made the means of, and this clear perception of the sources they have sprung from, the French Government do not propose to abandon the system or to materially alter the law on which it is now founded.

"While confessing a partiality (most natural in a Frenchman) for purely official institutions, wholly founded, supported, and managed by the State, in preference to those which private zeal and charity have formed and moulded, M. Persigny simply proposes that more circumspection and greater reserve should be used, in future, in agreeing to any proposals to found such private or charitable establishments; that such as are framed and managed by 'religious institutions' should have the preference; that a more strict and repressive discipline should be introduced into the reformatories; and that to check the depraved parents who abandon their child during its period of dependence, with the view of claiming it again when grown old enough and sufficiently instructed, at the public expense, to be useful to them, the *jeunes délinquents* should be retained in the reformatories up to their twentieth year, and thus the tie between them and the unnatural relatives be effectually severed.

"The girls are already mainly in schools connected with convents and superintended by their inmates. This is to be more fully carried out. M. de Persigny seems to anticipate that this arrangement will provide for them economically and effectually for life. The majority of the boys, as they become fitted by age, strength, and improvement for military service, will be draughted into the army, a measure which, considering that they will be nearly twenty years of age before they will be discharged from the school, and will be

brought up on the military principle, will, probably, be successful in providing for their disposal in the world."

Mr. Turner commends this authentic statement to the close consideration of the public. He does not see in the comparative failure of France any reason for despair; but only for circumspection. The French system he thinks was deficient in two principles: the young criminals ought to have met with suitable punishment; and their parents should have been forced to contribute somewhat towards their expense. His own experience, confessedly great, leads naturally to these conclusions; and he thinks it would be found that in a great many instances the profligate parents of young offenders would be well able to pay for their maintenance. At any rate these points must not be overlooked.

DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE AND ART.

The first Report of the Department of Science and Art has just been published. It shows the results of the working of the department during the year 1853.

It appears that arrangements have been completed, by which the working, progress, and cost of some of the most important public institutions, chiefly supported by Parliamentary grants, for the promotion of science and art, will be ascertained and submitted to Parliament periodically, upon the responsibility of a Minister of the Crown; and that the foundation of a system has been laid by which every district and school in the United Kingdom may participate equally in the advantages which the department offers. These consist in the purchase, at a very moderate price, of models, diagrams, and apparatus for teaching; in the purchase of examples for museums; in borrowing specimens from the central museum; and in obtaining the services of teachers properly trained for any schools of science and art which each locality may think fit to establish for itself.

Summing up the actual results of the last year's working in the number of persons who have participated in various degrees in the benefits offered by the department, the total numbers—excluding results in Ireland, for which the data are insufficient—may be estimated at upwards of 53,000 persons. 218 schools, chiefly for the poor, in different parts of the United Kingdom, having 35,794 scholars, have purchased copies and models, &c., for drawing, at an average amount of 51. per school, being half their prime cost to the State, and probably one-third of the price which otherwise would have been paid. Most of these examples have been produced expressly for the department, and are also widely distributed by the channels of trade without further expense to the State. 86 public schools, having 7313 children, chiefly of the poorer classes, have obtained the services of masters of the department to teach elementary drawing—which is beginning to be recognised as necessary to all handicrafts. In concert with the Committee of Council on Education 921 candidates as schoolmasters, educating in the several training schools in England and Wales, have been examined in elementary drawing. 1050 schoolmasters and pupil-teachers in public schools have availed themselves of the means of learning geometrical and free-hand drawing in the schools of the department, with the view of teaching it in their own schools; whilst the various kinds of students—chiefly artisans—in the several schools of art (now amounting to 43 in number) who have obtained instruction in advanced art applicable to the improvement of industry, have reached 11,000 persons during the year. In addition to these numbers, 4500 applications have been made to consult the library of art, at Marlborough House; and upwards of 155,900 visits have been made to the central museums of science and art.

The working of the central institution has been made subservient to the wants of the United Kingdom, and ultimately the action of the department in the metropolis will differ from that in the provinces chiefly by having a training school for masters, and being the college for examinations. As the central museum becomes developed, it will become the depot for similar museums throughout the country, for the loan, purchase, and exchange of specimens. Already local schools of art enjoy the privilege of borrowing articles from the museum of ornamental art, and of purchasing specimens at reduced cost. By these several means above stated, and by collecting and publishing useful experience on the subject, it may be hoped that the department will be instrumental in raising the character of our manufactures as well as the intellectual appreciation of those who have to produce and consume them.

THE CITY CHURCHES.

LONDON City has too many churches; so says the Bishop of London and many other persons. The population have quitted the old city for the new suburbs, and ministers preach to empty benches. The Bishop of London therefore proposes to take power from Parliament to remove the churches from where they are not wanted, to places where they are

required; at least that is his plea—to make the church, or rather the revenue, follow the people; and the House of Lords has sanctioned a bill to carry out the plan. But there is an opposition of course. A numerous meeting was held on Wednesday, at the London Tavern, at which Mr. Hubbard, the Governor of the Bank of England, presided, to consider the provisions of the proposed bill "to amend the Church Building Acts," and the law respecting the union of benefices. The chairman, in opening the proceedings of the meeting, said that the bill in question was introduced under false colours, and it would hardly be imagined that the object of it was to interfere between the parishioners and their churches, and carry off the latter whether the former would or not. Mr. Henry Sykes Thornton moved the first resolution—"That this meeting has learnt with deep regret that a bill has passed the House of Lords empowering the Bishop of London, with the consent of the patrons and the Church Commissioners, to unite benefices irrespective of their population or value, and desecrate and pull down, on obtaining an order in Council, a large and indefinite number of churches in the city of London, and to sell the sites of the burial-grounds, without asking the consent or consulting the wishes of the parishioners." This resolution was seconded by the Rev. J. Teagood (rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn), who gave his opinion that there was no church in the city without a congregation sufficient to occupy a clergyman, and it was carried. Another resolution was also passed by a large majority as follows:—"That the destruction of edifices, not only venerable for their sacred purposes and their monumental records, but interesting as memorials of architectural skill, would be a serious detriment to the appearance of the city of London, while its healthiness would be impaired by the substitution of lofty warehouses—excluding light and air from the churchyards and burial-grounds, which would be then subjected to a painful desecration." A petition to the House of Commons founded on these resolutions was also agreed to. There was some stout, but ineffectual opposition.

HEALTH OF LONDON.

(From the Registrar-General's Return.)

The weather has been colder than is usual at the beginning of June, and the rate of mortality has been high, and is still above the average. The present return, however, exhibits a reduction in the deaths; the numbers in the two previous weeks having been 1188 and 1143, and that of the week that ended last Saturday, 1090. During the six weeks that have elapsed since the 22d of April, the mean weekly temperature has been always below the average.

In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1844-53 the average number of deaths was 915, which if raised in proportion to increase of population becomes 1007. The actual number of last week, therefore, exceeds the estimated amount by 83.

In comparing the present with recent returns, whilst there appears a decrease in the mortality of diseases generally, the epidemic class shows a tendency to become more fatal. The deaths included in this class were last week 309, whilst the average is 212. Fatal cases of measles were 46, those of scarlatina rose to 72, whooping-cough carried off 53 children, typhus 57 persons at various periods of life; diarrhoea was fatal in 22 cases, which but slightly exceeds the usual amount. Two deaths from cholera were registered in the week.

Last week the births of 789 boys and 735 girls, in all 1524 children, were registered in London. In nine corresponding weeks of the years 1845-53 the average number was 1392.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.658 in. The barometer rose to 29.84 in. by 9 h. p.m. on 31st May. The mean temperature of the week was 52.3 deg., which is 4.1 deg. below the average of the same week in 38 years. The mean temperature was below the average throughout the week; it was 7.3 deg. below it on Monday, and 5.3 deg. and 6 deg. below it on Friday and Saturday respectively. The highest temperature in the week was 70.3 deg. on Thursday; the lowest was 40.8 deg. on Monday. The mean dew-point temperature was 48.4 deg.; and between this and the mean air temperature the difference was 3.9 deg. The wind blew from the south-west in the first four days, and from the north-east the rest of the week. The amount of rain that fell was 0.91 in., more than half of which fell on Monday.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ROYALTY has been much busier this week. The arrival of the King of Portugal and the Duke of Oporto, on Saturday, would seem to have been the signal of new gaieties. On that very evening, the Royal couple and their Royal guests visited the French plays, and subsequently twice attended the Italian Opera. They also were present at a grand ball given by the Marchioness of Breadalbane. The royal Portuguese have lost no time in going over the Tower, the Wellington Barracks, the British Museum,

and the Houses of Parliament. On Monday the Queen and Prince Albert took them to the Philharmonic Concert, and on Tuesday they went with Prince Albert to the Eton Speech day.

At a Privy Council, on Thursday, the Marquis of Anglesey was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Anglesey; and Lord Hatherton, Lord-Lieutenant of Stafford.

We remark that the new Royal guests have visited the refugees, the Duke and Duchess d'Aumale, and have received a visit from the Duke and Duchess de Nemours.

It is understood that the Duke of Newcastle has elected to retain the Ministry of War; and it is reported that Sir George Grey will take the Colonial Office, and that Sir William Molesworth will be elevated to the peerage. Lord John Russell has accepted the post of President of the Council, and a new writ has been ordered.

The United States Senate had adopted a resolution offered by Mr. Clayton, to the following effect:—"That the Committee on Foreign Relations be instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing by law for such restrictions upon the power of American consuls residing in the Spanish West India Islands as will prevent the abuse of the American flag in protecting persons engaged in the African slave trade."

Mr. Everett, one of the most prominent Whig statesmen in America, has resigned his seat in the Senate in consequence of physical infirmity.

The young King of Portugal and his brother arrived at Southampton on Friday week, with a squadron of three ships. He comes to visit the Court of Victoria. Being a Coburg, of course, much will be made of him. He is about seventeen years of age, and in 1855 will become king. At present his father is regent.

On Saturday evening Colonel Stanhope presided at a banquet of the officers of the Grenadier Guards, at the London Tavern, his Royal Highness Prince Albert being, from the arrival of the King of Portugal, unavoidably absent. The following were among the distinguished guests:—Lord Harewood, Lord Downe, Lord Stopford, Colonel Thornton, Colonel Bousie, Colonel Astell, Colonel Torrens, Colonel Knollys, Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay, &c.

Mr. John Hatchell, some time Member for Windsor, and Whig Attorney-General, succeeds the late Mr. Baldwin, as Commissioner in the Dublin Insolvent Court.

The Duke of Devonshire has been attacked by paralysis, and is now seriously ill.

When about to quit St. Petersburg, Mademoiselle Rachel made a signal *repas*. She was entertained at dinner by the Imperial Guard, and one of the officers had the discourtesy to propose as a toast, "to our meeting in Paris, where we shall drink the health of the great artists in champagne." "Champagne," replied the actress, "is very dear, gentlemen—for prisoners."

Lord Palmerston has addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Educational Committee of the Privy Council, submitting to them that "one great fault in the system of instruction in the schools of the country lies in the want of proper teaching in the art of writing. The great bulk of the middle and lower orders write hands too small and indistinct, and do not form their letters; or they sometimes form them by alternate broad and fine strokes, which make the words difficult to read. The handwriting which was generally practised in the early part and middle of the last century was far better than that now in common use; and Lord Palmerston would suggest that it would be very desirable that the attention of schoolmasters should be directed to this subject; and that their pupils should be taught rather to imitate broad printing than fine copper-plate engraving."

The seventeenth anniversary of the association of popular educational institutions was held at Bradford on Wednesday last. There was a conference in the morning, presided over by Mr. Edward Baines, of Leeds; and a *soirée* in the evening, of which Lord Beaumont was chairman. Mr. E. Baines was re-elected president for the ensuing year; and the next anniversary was fixed to be held at York. At the public meeting in the evening there was a large attendance, and addresses were delivered by the Chairman (Lord Beaumont), Viscount Goderich, Mr. J. D. Dent, M.P., Mr. Milligan, M.P., Mr. Wickham, M.P., &c. The whole proceedings of the anniversary passed off most satisfactorily.

Dr. Newman was inaugurated as Rector of the Irish Catholic University, on Sunday, with much solemn observance and formality. Dr. Cullen and a host of bishops were present. Dr. Newman made a solemn profession of faith, commencing—"Ego Henricus Newman, firmā fide credo, et profiteor omnia et singula quæ continentur in symbolo fidei, quæ sancta Romana ecclesia utitur, viz., &c."—then proceeding to proclaim his firm faith in the great truths which the Catholic Church teaches, reciting as his true faith and belief each article of the Nicene creed; also receiving as the truth and embracing as such all the apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions, observances, and institutions; receiving the sacred Scriptures according to the sense and interpretation thereof, always held and taught by the Holy Catholic Church; proclaiming his faith in the seven sacraments of the new law as instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and his belief in all things appertaining to their administration; declaring his firm faith in the sacred doctrines of the Church, of the real presence of the body and blood, soul and divinity of Jesus Christ—in the sacrament of the eucharist offered up in the holy mass—an offering true, proper, and propitiatory for the living and the dead; also declaring his faith in the communion of saints—that the saints reigning with Christ are to be venerated, and their intercession invoked, and that due honour be paid to their

relics; also that the images of Christ, and of the Mother of God, and of the saints, are to be preserved and honoured," &c.

Something like a strike has taken place among the drivers on the North-Western line, arising out of the new plan of working the line by contract. The plan originated twelve months ago, but those drivers who assented to the terms did so voluntarily. No sort of coercion was employed. Apprehensive of such an influence, however, the drivers seem to have resolved on a strike; and it was met by a public statement that no intention of the kind existed. The men then made a demand for an increase of wages; and that is now pending the decision of the directors.

For a long time it has been a matter of speculation whether Western Australia shared the golden gifts of its sister states. All uncertainty has been removed by the discovery of gold near Fremantle, in fair quantities.

A Shields sailor, writing home from Callao, under date of April 18, says that an English frigate had just taken a Russian seventy-four into a port on the coast there; and that they themselves, in turning up the harbour at Callao, were accompanied by a Russian double-banked frigate. In the harbour were two English men-of-war, two French, and two Peruvians, the number and variety being increased by the arrival of an American frigate on the following morning. The day after, one of the English and French men-of-war left, intending to cruise about Callao—not a very favourable prospect for the Russian frigate, in case she might leave the port shortly afterwards.—*Shields Gazette*.

Mr. William Town, of Sandwich, was fined 100*l.* before the magistrates in petty sessions, on the 29th ult., for letting a house without a license. Mitigated to 25*l.*, and 4*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* costs, on immediate payment.

According to a statement just published, the number of ships wrecked in the month of May amounted to 101. The record for April contained a list of 99 ships, making a total of 200 losses in the two months.

The "Lumley and Gye case" in re Wagner has now, we trust, been finally disposed of. Last week the opposing counsel were heard on the rule to show cause why a new trial should not be had; but after hearing each side, the same evidence and the same statements being adduced over again, the judges of the Court of Queen's Bench decided unanimously against a new trial. The only point was whether Mr. Gye knew, at the time he engaged Miss Wagner, that her contract with Mr. Lumley still existed. That question the jury decided at the last trial, and the judges saw no reason to doubt the propriety of their verdict.

A small property in the county of Meath was sold in the Encumbered Court yesterday in two lots, one of which realised thirty-seven, the other fifty-two years' purchase. What is more remarkable, the estate was only held in part in fee simple, the remainder being for the residue of ninety-nine years from 1778. The second lot was subject to a headrent of 22*l.* 2*s.*, leaving a net profit rent of 83*l.*, which, nevertheless, sold for 4,500*l.*, equal to fifty-two years' purchase.

The other day a fellow, in want of a night's lodging, gave himself out as a deserter from the Forty-fifth Regiment. At the police-office, next morning, he said it was not true; he had never been a soldier. But the magistrate, to his great dismay, informed him that by the Mutiny Act all persons who give themselves out to be deserters are, *ipso facto*, deemed enlisted! So he was handed over to the Horse Guards.

A young man named Brodberger, aged 21, of Schwein-lea-Garrafel, Moselle, was sent the other day to look for his father, who had gone to fetch flour from the mill. Neither father nor son returned. In the evening the dead body of the latter was found lying in a pool of blood by the roadside; and near him a large stone with which the dead had been done. Search was successfully made for the son; he had changed his clothes, and secreted those he had worn in the morning. There was no doubt he had committed the murder, his motive being that he had been drawn for a soldier, and that as the son of a widow he would be exempt from serving.

Paris pickpockets are a class apart. They could not exist in England, although we have not got a secret police and a passport system. For instance, a lady thief—nicknamed Main d'Or, on account of her dexterity—has just been arrested. She married at fifteen; the god of thieves so smiled on her and her husband, that they lived in an hotel and kept a carriage and pair. Since his death she has been the mistress of several "eminent thieves." We suppose her hand was not so delicate as of old. She was caught in the fact.

A widow named Murray, who kept a lodging-house at No. 2, Mead's-place, Newington-causeway, was murdered on Thursday morning. Some of the inmates, roused from their beds by her cries, found her lying at the foot of the stairs, and Henry Simons, who is now in custody, beside her. He exclaimed on seeing them, "The great bear is dead." And afterwards said voluntarily, "I have done it." He was searched by the police, and a large Spanish clasp-knife was found in his pocket, apparently covered with blood. The body of the deceased was horribly cut and hacked; the immediate cause of death was a deep wound in the thigh, which severed the femoral artery. The prisoner apparently had no motive for the dreadful deed. He has been in a state of habitual intoxication for the last five months; and the witnesses, who resided in the house with him, state that during the last two months his manner has been strangely excited, and his language incoherent.

An old man named Wingfield, long time valet in the family of the Earl of Coventry, was killed by lightning last week while angling in the Severn, near Kempsey, Worcester-shire.

Mr. Arthur Thomas Willemont, a commoner of Christ Church, Oxford, was thrown from his horse on Monday and killed. The horse was walking when it stumbled; Mr. Willemont went over its head, and the horse rolled on to him.

The capital of San Salvador has suffered a great calamity. An earthquake has nearly destroyed every edifice in it; and

it is estimated that 600 families have been buried in the ruins.

An Irish magistrate, Mr. George Stevenson, was riding home from dinner, when his horse threw him, and broke his neck. The horse ran riderless into Callan; the body was speedily found.

In a law case before a Dublin court last week, in which the Marquis of Sligo and Sir James Donohoe were litigants, counsel read the following letter, written by Sir James to his solicitor, Mr. Jeffers:—"June 30, 1853. Dear Jeffers—I enclose a letter which I have this day received from the noble marquis. Did you ever see such a shallow-pated fool? We must squeeze him. Warn Sutton not to sell one penny worth of his royalties without our consent. We can use his seals as well as his lordship.—Yours, &c., J. Donohoe." This letter was sent by mistake to the marquis, who replied as follows:—"Dear Sir James—I this day received a letter from you, but found it to be incomprehensible, until I discovered that it was addressed 'Dear Jeffers.' You should take care not to write so of me, nor direct to me. In these things happen on the stage, they are not a little rare in reality. However, I dare say you will not mind the mistake much, though it may make you feel a little awkward when you next write to me. It is truly difficult to explain to a man that you have a polite or courteous meaning towards him in calling him a 'shallow-pated fool,' or that you are possessed of the most 'open' intentions when you express a wish 'to squeeze him.' I read your letter—that is a fact; and as it was directed to me, it is your fault, not mine.—Yours, &c., SLIGO."—*Globe*.

A private letter from Madrid states that Lord Howden was to take his departure for London on the 1st instant, probably not with the intention of returning, an important command in the East having been placed at his disposal. Mr. Otway becomes *Charge d'Affaires*.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, June 10th.
Both Houses assembled last night. The House of Commons was chiefly engaged in continuing the discussion of the details of the civil estimates in Committee of Supply; but before that wearisome business began, some interesting proceedings took place.

The first thing done indicates that the new arrangement of the Cabinet is proceeding to completion. On the motion of Mr. HAZARD, a new writ was ordered for the city of London, Lord John Russell having accepted the office of President of the Council.

Mr. M. GIBSON asked what course the Government meant to take in consequence of a vote of the House that the "laws in reference to the periodical press and newspaper stamp are ill defined and unequally enforced, and that the subject demands the early consideration of Parliament?"

Mr. GLADSTONE said that since the resolution the state of the law had been taken into consideration, and it was still under the consideration of the law officers.

On being further pressed by Mr. GIBSON and Mr. BRIGER, Mr. GLADSTONE said that he thought it was proper and desirable that a speedy determination should be come to on the subject.

The House then went into Committee of Supply on the Civil Service Estimates.

In the House of Lords, in reply to the Earl of HARDWICK, the Duke of NEWCASTLE stated that the ambulance for the wounded destined for the East would be dispatched on Sunday.

The Earl of DERBY, referring to the moving of a new writ for London in the other House, in consequence of Lord John Russell's acceptance of the office of President of the Council, asked for an explanation of the precise duties of the Minister of War, lately created.

The Earl of ABERDEEN said that though Lord John Russell had accepted the office in question, he would continue in the House of Commons. The separation of the functions of Secretary for War and the Colonies would be carried into effect before the next meeting of the House; the powers of the Secretary for War would be the same as that now exercised by the Secretary for the Colonies; but he would have nothing to do with the financial department of the war.

Lord PANMURE expressed his satisfaction at the steps which had been taken, and hoped that the Minister of War would be really at the head of a department embracing the Army, Commissariat, and Militia.

The Earl of DERBY asked whether the duties of the War Minister were to be only such as would make his appointment an active one in time of war, but a sinecure in time of peace.

The Earl of ABERDEEN said he would have the entire control of the administration of the army and the war department, which would be quite sufficient during war to occupy him fully, and as to his functions during peace, the noble Earl would perhaps wait until that period arrived before he required an answer to his question. If that time ever came, it would be for the Government to consider what arrangements were necessary.

The Earl of ALBEMARLE then moved for a Committee of inquiry into an alleged appropriation by the Dean and Canons of Windsor of funds which were originally granted by the early sovereigns of this country to the Poor Knights of Windsor.

The motion was opposed by the Lord CHANCELLOR, Lords CAMPBELL and BROUGHAM, on the ground that the only means of redress was by a suit in Chancery, and it was withdrawn.

Several bills, among them the Income-tax Bill, were advanced a stage.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication.

No notice can be taken of anonymous communications. Whatever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer; not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of his good faith.

We cannot undertake to return rejected communications. All letters for the Editor should be addressed to 7, Wellington-street, Strand, London.

Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.

The Leader.

SATURDAY, JUNE 10, 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.

SURVEY OF THE WAR.

SINCE we last took a survey of the respective positions of the Turks and their foes, there has been a considerable change in the aspect of the war-field. At that date the Russians had completed the occupation of the Dobrudzsch, gaining thereby full command of the Lower Danube, and the means of marching upon the eastern face of Silistria. Prince Paskiewitch and General Schilder were beginning to throw up batteries and to concentrate troops at Kalarasch; and with the view of strengthening his centre, and contracting his line of operations, the Russian general had hastily withdrawn his right wing from before Kalafat, and had posted it in observation on the left bank of the Aluta. On the other hand, Omar Pacha was concentrating his troops at Shumla, while the British and French brigades were gradually arriving at Gallipoli and Scutari.

Since that date both parties have assumed the offensive. The Russian general has laid formal siege to Silistria, throwing a considerable body of troops across the Danube, and effecting a communication with the advanced posts thrust forwards by General Luders. The Russian army has changed its centre from Bucharest to the ground about Kalarasch, keeping, however, strong bodies in observation upon the Turkish positions at Turtukai, Rustchuck, and Nicopolis. The first object of the Russian general appears to have been the capture of Silistria, whereby he would gain possession of two main roads, both leading to the Balkan, the one by Shumla, the other by Pravadi—this line of advance being supported on its right by the division held in hand at Giurgevo, to be thrown forward on a third road leading from Rustchuck also to Shumla. At present, the stout resistance of Silistria has frustrated Prince Paskiewitch; and it is quite obvious that he can make a forward move only by fulfilling two conditions: first, by the capture of the fortress; secondly, by masking the fortress with a sufficient force, and at the same time having in hand a sufficient force to throw into Bulgaria.

The change in the Turkish position has been operated with the view of counteracting that advance, should it be attempted by masking the fortress; and of raising the siege, should the fortress hold out sufficiently long. To effect this, the British and French divisions have been rapidly conveyed to Varna, and by this time 25,000 Frenchmen and 17,000 Englishmen must have effected a junction with Omar Pacha, and be prepared to commence operations. It is probable, therefore, that the allied army will march upon Silistria and offer battle. The British troops will form the right wing, marching along the hilly country known as the Taban Dene, covering the road to Pravadi, and showing front with its right to the left of the Russians under General Luders. The Turkish troops will probably form the centre, and descend from the stronghold of Shumla, taking the direct road which leads thence, in nearly a straight line to the beleaguered fortress. The French will probably form the left wing, supporting the centre, and showing front on the extreme left towards Rustchuck, thus communicating with the Turkish troops stationed in that place.

Meanwhile the army of Kalafat, which has marched through Lesser Wallachia, reached the line of the Aluta, and advanced direct upon Slatina, will probably assist the main operation by pressing hardly upon the right flank of the Russians. The army of Kalafat is 30,000 strong; and the road from Slatina, leading direct upon Bucharest, its occupation in force commands the rear of the Russian army. If these conjectures should prove to be correct, it is clear that the Russian generals will have small cause for congratulation.

There has also been a change in the relative positions of the Turkish and Russian armies in Asia. By the abandonment of the forts on the coast, south of the Soujak Kaleb, the Circassians are left perfectly free to sweep down from the mountains upon Tiflis. The line of communication along the sea coast, between the Crimea and the Russian army in Asia, is snapped in two, by the operation of the fleets, and by the communication established between the fleets and the Circassians. It is true that the Turkish army at Kars is weak in numbers, badly supplied with provisions, and on the whole not well officered; but its commander, General Guyon, seconded by General Kmety, and other daring foreign officers, will know how to make the most of them. At best, the Russians will be compelled to act on the defensive until more perfect measures are devised for their capture or expulsion.

Looking on the war, therefore, from a purely military point of view, we have no reason to be dissatisfied with its progress. In less than three months since the declaration of war, France and England have thrown not less than 50,000 troops upon the shores of Turkey, and have brought the greater part of those troops into line on the northern slopes of the Balkan. The Russian fleet is cooped up in Sebastopol, and the flags of the allies alone float over the Euxine. On land, the offensive has been fairly assumed, and we must now wait patiently the result of those operations which must bring victory to the arms of the allies.

SETTLING DAY AT EPSOM AND CORNHILL.

SETTLING day was a joke after the Derby and after "the operations for the fall" on the Stock Exchange. A joke, except to the sufferers. Men, however, create these vicissitudes for themselves. The very zest of the gambling, the profit of it, would be less, if there were not the risk of the dreadful blanks.

It was an old dogma on the turf, that "the favourite never wins"—a dogma, however, which recent experiences had reversed. It is restored; the judges, favouring Autocrat and Dervish, failed to appreciate the faculties of a third horse. So much wiser is practice than theory. Wisdom, however, which is bought at so great a cost as that felt on settling day for Epsom, is apt to look at its bill in the hope of discovering some set off; and so it is now. The fact is that Andover got the stakes; but those who are wiser than fact have a shrewd suspicion,—indeed now, with the quickened eyesight of annoyance, believe that they saw how Dervish was held back. As Lord Derby went out of office to spite the Free-traders, so he caused his horse to lose for the discomfiture of various strangers whose names probably are totally unknown to him!

The lesson from the Stock Exchange is infinitely more severe. The true race there was between Fact and Prejudice. Prejudice was the favourite, and the odds ran high against Fact. Now on the Stock Exchange the favourite does sometimes win. Pitt ran a winning race, at least for a long while; and then he left the nation to pay the odds; so that the jockeys in that famed temple still regard his memory with affection. Chancellor of the Exchequer at twenty-two, sparing in his own personal expense, he had a heaven-born gift of handling national money, and ran in debt by inspiration. Mr. Gladstone could plead no such sacred source for his financial wisdom. Mr. Disraeli used to say that his vocation, as Protectionist Minister, was to reconcile our financial system to our commercial system: Mr. Gladstone has done it. He found free-trade developed during peace; he had to raise taxes for war purposes, and he had to do so without disturbing the commerce developed under free-trade. He saw the possibility, before the war broke out, that the immense command of wealth, coupled with the long ascertained security of the English funds, might enable the State to secure its means on lower terms than those hitherto given; and he established Two-and-a-Half per Cent. stock. He saw the necessity of procuring a command of cash, not as a permanent loan, in the ordinary sense of that word, but without the obligation for repayment within the year. It was, indeed, a genuine anticipation of accruing income, exactly such as commercial men render the basis of the bills by which they anticipate their future receipts and save the necessity of pressing upon their correspondents. The Exchequer Bond, besides being convenient for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is also convenient for the public, which can thus deal in the funds without coming up to the Stock Exchange in London for the purpose. The experienced sages on the Stock Exchange, however, take Mr. Gladstone's policy to pieces: they find that his Two-and-a-Half per Cents. were below the "natural" rate of interest; they discover that his Exchequer Bonds might be called a loan, and would not have the public confidence; they complain that he did not restore protective duties, instead of contriving new ones which avoid pressure upon commerce; they discover that Pitt could raise large sums of money at the commencement of a war, and only get into hot water at the end of the war; they find that the City men, who profited by the loans,—getting sometimes nearly cent. per cent. for their money,—were always willing to support Mr. Pitt; and they predict, on these grounds, that the Two-and-a-Half per Cents. will be despised, the Exchequer Bonds will be at a discount, commerce will go distracted, the money world will be in a panic, and Consols, already as low as 87, must go lower and lower—even

as low as 70, as some predicted. So wise were the theoretical turfmen who betted upon Prejudice against Fact.

But how did it turn out? As the *Morning Chronicle* states, the Two-and-a-Half per Cents. always stand relatively at a higher quotation than other stocks; Exchequer Bonds are not at a discount, but a premium, and are gradually creeping into the confidence of the public; commerce continues uninterrupted by war or taxation, and Consols continue to rise. Nay, those who had been anticipating the fall, as the *Globe* points out, contributed to stimulate that rise. Bears had been making their bargains, on the expectation that Consols would be at a lower figure; Bears, therefore, would want Consols, and those who had Consols to sell, wholly without sympathy for the Bears, would only sell at prices frightful to think of. Consols had sometimes been above 90; last week they touched at 91, 92, 93, and on the very day when the poor Bears had to settle their affairs, Consols were done at 94! The Bears could not believe their senses. As the jockey was seen to hold in "Dervish," and that eminent animal had no right to lose, so the philosophers now arraign the "greatest fools in existence," and declare that Consols had no right to be at 93 or 94! "For," they cried, "see how people want money—see the discount given for accommodation." True, but cunning folks saw also how Bears wanted Consols, and the Bears had to pay pretty heavily for their Consolation. It is dangerous to bet against Fact, and perhaps "settling day" may give to the punished Bears a better insight into the truth. If Mr. Pitt was heaven-born, there is retribution also in disbelieving Gladstone. In those days Ministers used to rely upon Divine authority, in our days it is safer to rely upon fact and actual circumstance—a difference that may account for the success which attends the present Minister in a policy so totally different from the model fruitlessly held up to him.

THE DUTY ON FIRE INSURANCE.

In the *Times* of Thursday, the 1st, and Monday, the 5th instant, a very interesting return is made of the amount of stamp duties paid during the past year by the fire-insurance companies of the United Kingdom. Our readers are, no doubt, aware that the duty on each fire-insurance policy is 1s. per cent. besides 3s. per cent. *per annum* on every insurance made or renewed: the exemptions being public hospitals, agricultural produce, farming stock, and implements of husbandry, provided the insurance shall be effected by a separate and distinct policy. Having regard to these facts, we find that in round numbers the total amount insured in the London fire-offices on other than agricultural produce, &c., as deduced from the statements of the monetary correspondent of the *Times*, is

About	£575,000,000
Country fire-offices	220,000,000
Agricultural stock (London offices) ..	30,000,000
Ditto (country offices)	20,000,000
	£845,000,000

Some very important suggestions occur in considering this enormous amount of insurance; most important of all, that, great as this sum (equal to that of the national debt) undoubtedly is, it does not represent a tithe of the insurable property of the United Kingdom. It has been well said that if it be the reasonable duty of every man to insure his life for the sake of his wife and children, or those dependent on his health and existence for their maintenance, not less is he exhibiting a necessary prudence in in-

surging his property against the contingency of destruction by fire. Death, it is true, happens to all men; fire affects only a few, but whom it may affect we know not, and the annual expense is so very trifling, being on ordinary risks one shilling and sixpence, or barely one-twelfth per cent. on the value of the property protected, that the neglect of so simple and economical a precaution is truly reprehensible. It is estimated that, on an average, more than two fires take place every night in the city of London. Perhaps no more cogent circumstance could be urged to show the vast importance and obvious duty of fire insurance in large towns; while, at the same time, we need hardly observe that farm property and country-houses have their own peculiar characteristics of risk, and if less liable to the communication of fire, are more exposed to absolute destruction, if once attacked.

But the wisdom of Parliament hath thought meet to tax the prudent man 200 per cent. on the amount of premium he pays to an insurance company to protect his property against losses arising from fire. Of the annual sum (four shillings and sixpence) paid for insuring 100l. of property, three shillings go into her Majesty's gracious Exchequer. This is certainly the perfection of legislative sagacity.

It is strange that a question so interesting, were it rightly estimated, to the careful and prudent among all classes of the community has not been more zealously canvassed and more industriously urged upon general attention, and the consideration of statesmen. To us, living in the middle of this tolerably wise and educated nineteenth century, it does appear matter of wonder that Government should with absolute impunity continue to impose a tax of 200 per cent. upon contributions dictated by a wise and commendable foresight, and towards which—if Government interfere at all—it should rather generously supply a bonus with the view of encouragement. In hazardous occupations, where there is generally a large capital embarked, the disproportion of tax and premium is reduced in a great ratio, as the duty remains stationary, however the premium may increase in amount.

But the ordinary case is the more important, and the hardship there not only more conspicuous, but more universally felt. A tax upon every pound of bread consumed in a family would be less iniquitous and less impolitic. For, however unfair a criterion of taxability the consumption of that prime commodity, in the one case we should have a tax upon a physical obligation, borne by all alike; in the other case we have a tax upon a moral obligation, discharged only by the more economical and provident part of the community. We do not understand why a similarly enormous tax is not levied upon life assurance. Why should the man who pays 1s. 6d. to protect his movable property—sometimes the sole possession of himself and family—from the risk of fire, be taxed 200 per cent. per annum, and the prudent husband, who insures his life to the extent of 100l., and pays 3l. of annual premium, not be called upon in the same manner to pay 6l. a year more to the State for thus mistrusting Providence, by forestalling his legitimate savings? Surely, if the precedent of taxing prudence and virtue be a right one, and a profitable one, it could not be acted upon too extensively; and, perhaps, a duty upon education, in the shape of 10s. per head for every boy sent to school, a tax upon charity and benevolence, a tax upon talent and genius, wherever exercised for the benefit of humanity, might not be unremunerative. But perhaps we do contrive, in one shape or other, to tax all these things.

THE BLADE TO BE FORGED AT SHEFFIELD.

THE appeals which are made from our Government to the English people fill us with hope and regret. We can say that our sympathy is more with the body of the English people than with the governing classes,—more with the patriots of Europe than with our parchment allies,—more with the freedom of the people wherever they may be, than with the salvation of any crowns, however exalted. But we wish that those who are appealing to the English people would consider how far the tribunal to which they carry their cause has a jurisdiction.

At present, the English people has no power over its own Government, no jurisdiction in the contest between England and Russia, no right any more than power to say who shall be the allies of Queen Victoria and who shall not. We know how disagreeable these words will be to some of our friends; but if they could swallow the bitter truth, we believe that it would have a wholesome effect upon their insight,—and would restore that power which the English people wants, and with the power the title which it has forfeited.

When our Government first undertook to dispute the right of Russia in dictating a peculiar hierarchical policy to Turkey, we said that it was something to resist the great enemy of freedom. For let us observe in passing, that although the evil spirit of Austria has been more grievous to the subject nations, her power would have been nothing,—would in fact have been broken down before this time, if she had not been sustained by that Autocrat whose wisdom and whose strength consist in setting one country against another, and in casting aside every scruple. Destroy Russia, and Austria becomes comparatively powerless. We said, however, at first, that a verbal protest was of little use without an enforcement of it in action. The action was begun, but we blamed it for being slow. This country was formally in alliance with Austria, but Austria hesitated to join with us in action, and we said that it would be better if she did not: she changed her view, she joined with us, and we then admitted that no Minister of this country could be expected to incur the responsibility of refusing so important an ally for a specific act. Our Government has permitted its representative at Berlin to draw it into an alliance with German powers, who, in the most marked manner, refused to accept that which is now the principal object of France and England—the abatement of Russia's power to break the law of Europe. A grave responsibility is incurred by our Ministers, and we would willingly arrest them in a course so inconsistent with their own professions, or with the interest of their country. England is laying herself open to a future claim from Austria, or Prussia, or Bavaria, for protection of some antiquated and infamous regal interest, against Prussian, Hungarian, or Italian independence; in fact, England is suffering herself to be inveigled into a league, not for protecting Europe against foreign aggression, but for insuring bad Governments against the consequences of their own crimes. We have in the most distinct manner recognised the necessities of state which obliged our Ministers to adopt a limited and specific alliance when it was offered them by Austria: with equal distinctness, let us protest against suffering England to make common cause with Austria and its policy, with Prussia and its hypocrisy, or with Bavaria and its speculation in dynastic enterprise.

But what have the English people to do with all this? What is the use of Kossuth's making an appeal to them, against the

Cabinet in Downing-street? If he can go to the Duke of Newcastle or to Lord John Russell, and bring either of those statesmen over to his views, he would effect a good service. We do not know, indeed, that he could get an introduction to either, because the English people have suffered their public Ministers to assume airs of exclusiveness, and to treat with contempt any unpopular representations. In this respect the White House at Washington and the 'official residence' in Downing-street present the exact opposites. Kossuth may have the facts and the faculties for convincing audiences at Sheffield; but what then? Any election agent can tell him well enough that his best argument will go a very small way to determine the election of any single Member, even in the highly Liberal town of Sheffield, and it will have no effect whatever on the majority of the constituencies. It will, indeed, have a considerable influence upon the largest numbers of those who listen; but, again we ask, What then? The English people may think what it likes: its wishes are habitually disregarded both in Downing-street and in Parliament.

Kossuth's advice resolves itself principally into three points:—not to make an alliance with Austria; to prefer the alliance with Hungary; and to re-establish Poland bodily. With respect to the first of these points, we may say that the mischief is done for the present stage of the affair. But even if, at a later stage, it should turn out to be against English interests to consort with Austria, again we say, How can the English people prevent it? With regard to the second point, the alliance with Hungary, there could be no question if Hungary were to declare itself, and offer its alliance. Such is not the case yet; but we await the event with impatience and with hope. The third point is a much more distinct and practicable suggestion—to re-establish Poland. Well, the Poles were chargeable with many defects in their constitution; defects, perhaps, not essentially greater than those which have existed in our own country, in Hungary, in Sardinia, and in other countries where they have been abandoned with the concurrence of all classes. But Poland was endowed with two qualities that make her valuable to herself and to her neighbours at the present moment—a strong sense of her nationality, and a military spirit diffused through the whole body of the people. Could such a nation be re-established between Russia and Europe, it would set up an organic barrier against the barbarians; and by thus re-organising a local and indigenous army, England would be saved the cost of increasing her own armaments, and the pressure on the taxpayer would be proportionately diminished. It is, therefore, a question for the English taxpayer.

But once more we say, What then? The appeal to the English taxpayer may have some effect upon the middle class; but in military matters the middle class are essentially timid, and, by their own will, ignorant. They will follow the Government. Austria and Prussia forbid the resurrection of Poland as much as Russia does, and our Government would most likely flinch from doing that which would offend Prussia or Austria. Unless, then, our Government were emboldened to do so by a happy compulsion from the English people, they are not likely to act; and still we come back to the same difficulty: the English people have no influence or power.

The English people are not represented in the representative assembly of the nation. That objection, however, would not be inapplicable to other nations, unrepresented or imperfectly represented,—deprived of any such direct authority over their Go-

vernment as the American people possess, and yet exercising an influence which we in this country have quite forgotten. The free action of an Absolute King in Prussia has its limits; there is a point at which the will of the Prussian people would be roused; and if once that point were attained, the Prussian people, which is a vast army, would soon enforce its will. Louis Napoleon did make an appeal to the French nation. He restricted its voting to a simple question of "Yes" or "No;" he may have juggled the vote; but the sequel has proved that the great body of the French nation acquiesces in his possession of the throne. Why? Principally because his name, his promises, and his performances thus far, induce the public to think that his Government will be productive of that which Frenchmen value infinitely more than political liberty or material prosperity—the national aggrandisement of France. Let Louis Napoleon do anything in France, and all the power that he possesses, in police or armies, could not prevent the French people from going forth and extinguishing him.

English Ministers can do anything un-English,—they often do; but the English people is destitute of power to prevent them. In this respect we are equally contrasted with almost despotic Governments like France or Prussia, and with nations under democratic Governments, like Switzerland or America; and for the same reason. We have not the national representation of America and Switzerland, nor have we the general diffusion of military training and spirit which are common to Prussia and France. We can neither argue nor vote in the national Parliament; nor can we appeal to that which really settles every question of state—material power. It is often a pretence that "public opinion," or that "moral persuasion" may avail; but let any man try. Public opinion is a joke, unless it be sustained by "the strong arm of the law;" moral persuasion itself must stop short at the limit fixed for constituted authority with the strong arm to sustain it.

The help of the English people is asked; the English people is powerless, and no assistance is furnished for enabling it to recover the power which would convert its assistance into a reality. The bill by which the Chartists endeavoured to regain Parliamentary representation for the English people has been dropped, because the millions that supported it found among themselves traitors who adulterated their petitions, converted their claim into a reproach and a joke, and played the game of their enemies. The present Government, which made a fractional attempt towards restoring the representation to the working class, met with more opposition than support; and the attempt has dropped; and the birthright of the English freeman is left in abeyance. The right to retain in the body of the people the military strength of the country has been given up and formally annulled by Parliament. In America the law obliges the people to familiarise itself with military exercise; in England the law forbids it. The class, therefore, which possesses the key of executive power, however limited in number, can dispose of the influence of England at pleasure, and can put down opposition either at home or abroad. In America no party can surprise the state, no party can dispose of the national influence. Even little Switzerland beats us in that respect. The war, then, will be a school which will teach the English people how to regain the self-command which it now lacks.

We cannot expect the great body of the English people to take up that which has so recently been dropped by the Chartist millions and by the Executive in office. Such

work is only to be begun by those comparatively few earnest and active men who understand the dynamics, the natural forces of politics. All great reforms not carried by the acclamation of an entire people have been commenced by organised bands of men, prepared to sacrifice time, substance, and even life in the enterprise. No state in Europe has, we believe, attained to any new step in freedom or power, without beginning in that way; and before we can expect the English people to recover the influence which they once exercised upon the councils of the nation, we must have at work a body of men combined to recover those powers which are said to have been secured to us by the Bill of Rights, but which were really secured by Cromwell, his companions, and successors, recorded in the Bill of Rights, and forfeited by the supineness of the English people.

PALMERSTON ON THE SETTING OF BOYS' COPIES.

WHAT with doing what they ought not to do, and leaving undone the things they ought to do, men in general contrive to run up a pretty long score of offences against religion and morality. But between these sins of omission and commission, as they are called by theologians, there is a neutral territory, peopled with all kinds of mistakes and errors, which scarcely receive the censure they deserve. Take, for example, the much-voiced question of education. Is there any subject in the world of which we ought to know so much, and really know so little? Is there any branch of human activity which fails so utterly of attaining its object? The joiner and the blacksmith learn their trade. They have a clear conception of the end at which they aim. Their instruments are adapted to their work, and success is the result. The schoolmaster pursues a different course. He has to deal with scores of children, who, in a few years or a few months, must be taking different parts in the great business of human life. But he fits them for it by submitting one and all to the same process. The infinite variety of intellect and disposition passes his comprehension,—at all events, he has no time to attend to individual cases. It follows that all are, more or less, neglected; and children leave school without having received any special adaptation for the work they are expected to do. And this is true of the children in the higher classes—true of our universities not less than of our public schools. With remarkable perversity we maintain systems of education that belong to an age universally denounced as dark and barbarous. Hence it happens that young men have to begin their education when they are supposed to have finished it. Whole years are wasted in preparation, and the victims of this foolish system discover that the labour of their youth has been, to a great extent, in vain. To take an instance. It might have been expected that our universities would succeed in training clergymen for the Established Church. Now one of the duties which priests and deacons are expected to perform is that of reading a certain number of prayers; they are spared the trouble of composition, and are not compelled to be in a devotional spirit—they are only required to read the prayers of the Church in an audible tone, and with some intelligence. But these very modest conditions are scarcely ever complied with. Of the ten thousand priests and deacons of the Establishment, how many are there who have ever learnt to read? The rule holds throughout. The classical machine is a decided failure. Surely, then, the system must be bad; and if we come to think of the pernicious effects that are produced by an untaught

indolent priesthood, we shall conclude that education, as carried on in this kingdom, is the root of half our evils. When will the authorities of that Church comprehend their mission, and endeavour faithfully to fulfil it?

We have been led into these remarks by a circular issued from the Home Secretary to the Committee of Privy Council on Education:—

"Sir,—I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to request that you will submit to the Committee of Council on Education for their consideration, that one great fault in the system of instruction in the schools of the country lies in the want of proper teaching in the art of writing. The great bulk of the middle and lower orders write hands too small and indistinct, and do not form their letters; or they sometimes form them by alternate broad and fine strokes, which make the words difficult to read. The handwriting which was generally practised in the early part and middle of the last century was far better than that now in common use; and Lord Palmerston would suggest that it would be very desirable that the attention of schoolmasters should be directed to this subject, and that their pupils should be taught rather to imitate broad printing than fine copper-plate engraving.—I am, &c., H. WADDINGTON.

"Whitehall, May 24."

Lord Palmerston is a vigorous reformer, and he knows that it is of little use to lay down principles unless you attend to details. He is not content with the injunction that English children are to be taught writing, but he announces that the writing which they learn must be adapted to its end. Let authors sin as they please against themselves, let them brave, as long as they dare, the smothered wrath of printers—which will burst some day with vengeance, like that of Achilles—but the children of our farmers and mechanics shall henceforth write intelligibly. There shall be no waste of time, of fancy, of ink, or paper. Every letter shall explain itself, but there shall be no unmeaning flourishes, no shadowy representations of animals that have not survived the deluge, no stroke, no dot that does not serve some definite purpose; the writing shall not be "cribbed, cabined, and confined," nor shall it be extended into luxurious latitude. Bold, compact, and strong, it shall represent the English character. No mean economy of space, no wandering to and fro, without an aim, shall disgrace the copybooks of Young England. Here, then, at last we have a man who understands what education should accomplish, and who is determined to carry out his views so far as he is permitted.

THE PROGRESS OF CUBA UP THE MISSISSIPPI.

No mistake could be greater than to suppose that the ultimate accession of Cuba to the United States depends upon the case of the *Black Warrior*, upon an expedition from New Orleans, or even upon the justice of the rights of possession. We believe that the tenure of Spain is totally vitiated by that which vitiates all political tenure—bad government and want of power. Power is not only the *ultima ratio* of kings, it is that also of peoples; and when a Government cannot hold its own by force, if not by influence, it ceases to retain its title. We can suppose very readily that there may have been another side in the *Black Warrior* case; we can imagine that the United States' journals, too much in the habit of viewing all questions from the Yankee point of view, have given their credit entirely to one side, and attached no weight to facts alleged on the other. We can well understand that some aggressions on America are imaginary, and that some aggressions by Americans are passed over as matters of no importance; but on these grounds we say the case does not rest at all. Infinitely more important than any grounds of wrongs upon Americans (and we always regard the Americans as a people who can well defend them-

selves), there are, as we have constantly maintained, three grounds upon which this subject must be settled—the vitiated title of Spain, the military necessities of the United States, and the wishes of the colonists themselves.

We have information from all these sources, American, Spanish, and Cuban. We have long had access to these sources of information; they have not ceased to us, and we are able to state, not only what was the view some time back, but what is the view at the present moment. With respect to the Spanish tenure we have already said enough. Spain, has perhaps put her title in the strongest and most logical shape when she has sent over a reinforcement of 6000 troops to strengthen her garrisons in Porto Rico and Cuba, in order to resist any invasion of the more important island. If she can retain the island by the help of the 6000 men additional, let her, we say, be welcome to it. Of late years, the two chief consequences of Spanish rule in Cuba have been that the net revenue of the island has been drained to supply the necessities of the most dissolute and degraded court in Europe, and that the favourites of that court—whether its exported favourites or its local favourites—have been the monopolists of power in the island. Even the best measures resorted to by Spain are the results of the caprice or the impotence of the Court of Madrid; for example, the emancipation of the negroes, a measure well intended so far as its English promoters are concerned, but the result in Spain solely of cowardice and impotence, of the incapacity to resist English coercion. As to its working effects, who can tell? The results of emancipation in the British islands under our own Government are very questionable indeed. After a fool's paradise of blue coats with gilt buttons, Coventry ribbons, bottled stout, and gig-driving, the negroes of the British islands have in many cases sunk to penury. The sugar trade is struggling with insolvency, and many of the negroes, we suspect, regret their own emancipation, accompanied as it has been by a falling off in the cupboard. But, conducted as emancipation will be in Cuba, it is likely to introduce social confusion, and the negroes themselves are, in nine cases out of ten, if not ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, totally indifferent to the very name of the thing. Spain is felt principally through the obstructive working of the local taxes and the impertinent oppression of the local favourites.

As to the military necessities of the United States, we have already explained them. Cuba is the Sheerness of the Mississippi, and whatever abstract title or theoretical justice might allege on the side of Spain, it will, in the event of a war passing through the gates of the Baltic or the Mediterranean, be totally impossible for the great Republic to leave the Sheerness of the Mississippi either in possession of a hostile Power or of a Power so perfectly incapable of exercising any responsible control as that of Spain. In such an event, military possession, which will ultimately be political possession, must be taken of Cuba.

And what say the Cubans themselves? There is, we believe, one unpopular interest in the island; unpopular with the majority of its inhabitants and with the Creoles in particular—it is the Spanish Government. It is of course very difficult for Europeans in general to obtain any opinion on the subject of the internal opinion and feeling in the island; it is nearly impossible for an Englishman to do so. It would require the protection of American connexions to secure the channel, and it would also require a perfect knowledge of those who supply the information through an American channel to test its trustworthiness. We are in possession of

such means; we can speak with the same confidence of the feeling of the islanders as if we stood upon the ground ourselves; for although our information comes to us through the Union, we are able to test it, and can vouch its perfect honesty. So great indeed is the dread of knowledge coming out that it requires some peculiar protection to secure its export. Foreigners are compelled to adopt the local allegiance, local citizenship, even the local faith in religion. Letters undergo such an espionage that it may be doubted whether a single one can escape some degree of supervision. Foreigners, however, have no right to complain when the natives themselves are subjected to laws not better. The very aspect of the country bespeaks the vile government that it undergoes. The unpaved streets of the town, the stench that proclaims fever and cholera at every turn, the pools of stagnant water which impede every progress except that of rottenness, the barbarous conduct of the retail business, and indeed of every local custom, all announce a Government oppressive and destructive of improvement. It is impossible to suppose that public opinion can speak in the streets where a foreigner is obliged to conform to the local laws, the local barbarism, and the local silence—but there are Americans on the island; and although we admit the tendency of the American mind to view every fact in a peculiar light, there are Americans as perfectly independent in their view as any Englishman can be. There is also one faculty which the United Statesman possesses in a high degree—the result of conscious power, and it consists in the ability to convey to any one who speaks with him the firm conviction that what passes will never be wrong from the lips of him who listens. Hence the people of the island, although they are afraid to speak, and fear lest their words should reach those high authorities, can, under suitable assurances, speak freely, and then they speak strongly. We believe we are correct in saying that the Creoles of all classes are perfectly willing to join the Union. They do not talk about it, of course; they might, perhaps, owing to the influence of the West Indian blood derived from a Spanish source, leave the initiative to some other race, but they do not disguise from their own rulers their wish that the Americans would come and take them. When such is the state of feeling in the island, and we can assert that it is so, our readers will understand how little it can depend upon the merits of any particular case like that of the *Black Warrior*, upon any abstract right, or upon any French and English notion of expediency. Cuba must be American, it must become so at the first serious disturbance, whatever may be the cause of that disturbance.

Of course this result will be independent of mere casualties of filibuster expeditions, *Black Warrior* quarrels, or rising of the blacks that may be teased and tantalised with such reports *ad infinitum*. Cuba will perhaps go many times to the well, and we shall not be able to distinguish at the first sound whether the crash that reaches us is really its breaking or not; but we may be sure of this, that the spirit which has been nicknamed Young America, and which has predetermined the extension of the Union in its territory and its influence, will constantly make the Government of the United States press forward and advance; while the progress of the Spanish Government in the political as well as pecuniary insolvency to which it is doomed, is announced by every mail from Madrid; and the people of Cuba, as we have just described, are only waiting the opportunity to fall into the arms of their rough wooers in the West.

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*.

EVERY student of French Literature, whatever his opinions, must have been amazed, if not annoyed, at the irreverent way in which GOD and CHRIST are introduced. This cannot always be irreverence, often merely the carelessness and inconsiderateness of habit. We must no more attribute to it any want of religious feeling than we must, for example, to the startling use of *ach Jesus! ach Je!* by German women. But there are occasions when it seems impossible that habit should so have slurred over reverence, when it seems impossible not to suspect a want of religious feeling in the bad taste of familiarity. The most popular writers are the most frequent offenders; thus blame it as we may, we must acknowledge that France accepts it:—

"Tant sots qu'il vous plaira; mais les premiers de France,
Sont les admirateurs de notre suffisance,"

(to quote Sr. EVREMOND).

The other day we met with a passage in a grave work by ISIDORE BOUXPON, the physiologist, which is worth extracting here as a singular specimen of the fault in question. He is speaking of CUVIER's labours and immense renown:—"In a word, his name has acquired such glory that it can be abbreviated without fear of equivocation (C. V.); an honour until now reserved exclusively for Jesus Christ (J. C.), Jean Jacques (J. J.), and Linnaeus (L.)." Is it not astounding? *honneur jusqu'à lui réservé à Jésus Christ (J. C.)!* Note, moreover, how JEAN JACQUES and LINNAEUS are coupled with CHRIST, without a word of distinction!

The new number of the *London Quarterly Review* opens with a paper on *Russia's Place in Christian Civilisation*, an historical survey, which leads to this conclusion:—

"It is now the only people of Europe which retains the theory and the practice of conquest, while experience has taught all the others to give it up, and reciprocally respect their several national existences. Peter showed his successors, by his example, the directions in which they were to march on the career of systematic aggression which his daring, inhuman, and unscrupulous genius traced out for them. He planned the expulsion of the Turks from Europe; though he was himself signally defeated by them, and driven behind the Dnieper; he commanded the Caspian by a fleet, his influence and alliances extended to the banks of the Indus, and he got possession of a considerable part of Persia, though it was soon retaken by the vigorous conduct of Nadir Shah; in the north he wrested Ingria, Livonia, and Esthonia from Sweden, inflicting the first serious wound on the power of that noble people. The foundation of St. Petersburg embodied at once all his thoughts, his purposes, and his faults. It was the triumph of his self-love over the independence of the old Muscovites who wished to resist his innovations: it inaugurated the naval power of a great continental people finding its way to the ocean: its costly edifices, built with Grecian and Roman colonnades, so unlike the national architecture of the Kremlin, and so unsuited to a country of level plains and undefined horizons, were a fit expression of an artificial civilisation that had no roots in the soil. At the same time a capital built upon ground won from Sweden was the proudest emblem that could be devised of the vast and persevering ambition that premeditated raising its greatness upon the spoils of the world. It was a trophy prophetic of the future power of Russia, and, from its erection onward, princes and people have been planning for the future, while the other nations of Europe have been living for the present."

The "mission" of Russia is so antagonistic to that of Europe that the struggle must have come sooner or later, and now it has come we hope it will be decisive. The writer of this article somewhat gratuitously asserts that although the Emperor's "fleets are superior in number of guns and men, they will doubtless be swept from the seas if they show themselves there." In point of fact the fleets are *not* superior; but if they were, the assumption that we should sweep them from the seas will only be tolerated by those who can argue with this writer, as in the following passage:—

"We do not found our confidence on Britain's 'dread arm of floating power,' nor yet on that gallant army whose heroism makes up for the smallness of its numbers, nor yet upon the help of our powerful and chivalrous ally. The real ground of confidence for those who scan the destinies of England in the light of history and human progress is this,—that God has a great work for England to do, and she may not be hindered in its performance; while our adversary would, in principle, bring back the world to the state that preceded the Middle Ages. Russia cannot even stand up before the West as the heiress of Greece disputing once more, after twenty centuries, the supremacy of Rome. No; England and France are better representatives of whatever elements ancient Greece possessed to bequeath to the future. The entire sum of the acquisitions of the old world turned the Alps at our extremity of Europe; they have been preserved and augmented amongst us; the experiences necessary for the future development of the human race have been made and are being made amongst us; while Russia is but the repetition of the despotism and the social corruption that were fatal to the Western and Eastern empires in their turns. Doubtless the day will come when the greatest of the Slavonian nations will contribute largely to the common weal of humanity. We have all something to give and something to receive; and the natural piety, the reverential feeling, the respect for superiority, the wonderful imitative power, and the innate grace of the Russian may make him, in many respects, a model and a helper for his fellows; but it is not as the instruments of Czarism that our Slavonian brethren will ever attain that position."

There is a biographical sketch of the *Duke of Orleans*—written for what purpose we cannot divine—an article on *American Poets*, and one on *Anatomical Science: its History and Progress*, the latter a meagre sketch of what might have been a suggestive essay.

A definition of genius is one of the problems young metaphysicians are certain to attempt. Many and various have been the solutions, all unsatisfactory except to the propounders; we do not remember to have met with a more ambitious failure than the one quoted in an article on *Literature, Genius, and Devotion*, in the last number of *Tait*. We are told that its author, after acknowledging the difficulty of a definition, taunts lexicographers with vagueness, ridicules some common uses of the word, and then defines it as—"brilliancy of mind; a soul on fire; an intensification of the mental faculties!"

REMARKS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINAL LEGISLATION.

Remarks on the Principles of Criminal Legislation and the Practice of Prison Discipline. By George Combe. Simpkin and Marshall.

WE were lately surprised to hear it stated, as the opinion of a man distinguished by his public spirit and devotion to great objects, that discussion as to the treatment of criminals is futile, and that the only advantageous direction of effort is to the general enlightenment and moral elevation of society. As if our mode of dealing with a large body of our fellow-men could be excluded from that general enlightenment and elevation! As if indifference on such a question could be otherwise than demoralising! As if one means towards the moral health of society were not the diminution of the sources of moral infection! We can only find a parallel for this opinion by supposing that a Sanitary Board, knowing it to be inevitable that at the end of no long term a hospital, which enclosed all the worst diseases that have afflicted humanity, would let loose its inmates uncured on the surrounding district, were to say, "It is useless to trouble ourselves about the means of curing the patients in the hospital; let us only care for the health of those outside." While we could rid ourselves of our criminals by despatching them to another quarter of the globe, we can understand that this opinion might have some plausibility, however hollow; but now that the colonies decline to accept our refuse, and we are thus compelled to bear our own burden, we can see no rational halting-place between the indiscriminating extermination of our criminals as if they were so many rats or spiders, and a serious inquiry into the means which will best tend towards their reformation.

The attempt to apply general principles to complex institutions which have grown up under the most heterogeneous influences, must always be attended with immense discouragement. The very friends of improvement will make obstructive details a ground for regarding the statement of a general scheme as chimerical. And this is especially the case in relation to the treatment of criminals. Given a wise plan of reformatory discipline, where are the instruments to carry it out?—where are the governors of gaols, chaplains, and physicians, possessing the wisdom, the acuteness, the moral influence, requisite for the conducting of this most difficult species of education? And when the reformed criminal is again thrown on his own resources and launched into society, where will he find the circumstances friendly to his continuance in the path of rectitude? If, so soon as he gets work, he is to be denounced by policemen as a liberated felon and dismissed by his employer, it is difficult to see what resource is left for him but to steal the first portable thing he can lay his hands on, and get committed again, like the Edinburgh culprit of whom we read the other day. In the face of such difficulties it is no wonder that many turn away from the subject in despair. But those who are acquainted with the subtle and sure operation of ideas in gradually moulding life, will not be hindered from the calm inculcation of principles, by the probability, nay, the certainty, that they will have no immediate practical realisation. "It is not always necessary," says Goethe, "that the truth should embody itself; enough of it hovers about spiritually, and induces agreement; if, like the tones of a bell, it vibrates with solemn friendliness, through the air." But all truth *does* embody itself in the end, and this ought to be the justification of the theorist in the eyes of the so-called practical man.

The pamphlet before us is recommended to our notice not only by the name of the writer, whose extensive acquaintance with prison systems at home and abroad, and his well-known acuteness as an observer, entitle him to especial attention, but also by the names of seven eminent medical and scientific men—Sir Benjamin Brodie, Sir James Clark, Sir Henry Holland, Professor Owen, Sir John Forbes, Dr. Conolly, and Dr. Carpenter, who all certify their adhesion to the fundamental principle maintained by Mr. Combe, namely, "that criminal legislation and prison discipline will never attain to a scientific, consistent, practical, and efficient character, until they become based on physiology, and especially on the physiology of the brain and nervous system." We have a thorough belief in the truth of this proposition, though, as we think is the case with several of the abovenamed gentlemen, we do not agree with Mr. Combe in considering phrenology a complete physiology of the brain, or the Alpha and Omega of psychology. With this reservation we cordially concur with the positions contained in the pamphlet, and are glad to bring them before the notice of our readers.

The discrepancy of opinion concerning the treatment of criminals, and the unsatisfactory results of their treatment hitherto, Mr. Combe refers to two sources: "First, vague notions of the objects which should be aimed at in prison discipline; the consequence of which has been constant vacillation in the public mind between the two principles of severity and humanity, or between *punishment* and *reformation*, as the chief aim in the treatment of criminals; and, secondly, almost a total neglect of consideration of the causes of crime in devising measures for its prevention." It has ceased to be explicitly maintained that the object of criminal legislation is the infliction of vengeance or of retribution (which is but a disguise of vengeance as a sort of poetical justice); it is no longer held, as in Fielding's day, that "to bring a thief to the gallows" is a twin virtue with "doing a service to an honest man." But the notion of retribution virtually mingles itself with the views of many whose avowed theory is that the end of punishment is solely the Prevention of Crime. For, closely considered, what is the opinion so strongly insisted on by Archbishop Whately and others, that this prevention must be sought by heightening the punishment of a culprit, simply in order to "make him an example," but an implicit declaration that because he has infringed the rights of his neighbour, society may—not merely restrain him from repeating the offence, but—retaliate on him by considering him as no longer a person, but a *thing* destitute of all rights—a sort of *corpus vile*, on which it may inflict any amount of suffering, not with reference to his own actual crime, but to the hypothetical crimes of unknown offenders. This theory is in direct antagonism with the reformation of criminals; for to reform an offender is to confer a benefit on him, whereas the principle of "detering by the terror of example" would, in consistency, lead to the infliction of the utmost evil on him for the sake of appalling others. No human being can be justly punished for crimes to which he is not accessory, and since the safety of society can never be dependent on a breach of justice, the only argument on which Archbishop Whately's

opinion is based falls to the ground. Its invalidity is still more strikingly apparent when we come to consider the *causes* of crime, and perceive the slight relation there is between them and the fear of punishment.

Society, then, in dealing with the individual offender, has only to consider how it shall most effectually restrain him from future crime. Transportation apart, there are but three courses open:—putting him to death; locking him up for life; and thoroughly reforming him. Putting him to death is undeniably the most economical plan, but, cases of murder excepted, it is now generally admitted to be unjustifiable. Perpetual imprisonment is an onerous expense, and is besides not practicable for a large proportion of culprits. Hence, every social interest demands that we should attempt to render prison discipline, in as high a degree as possible, *reformatory*.

How far and by what means the reformation of criminals is possible can only be ascertained by an inquiry into the *causes* of crime. In Mr. Combe's view, a defective or ill-balanced brain is the *primary*, and a defective or vicious training and instruction the *secondary*, cause of crime. Here we are perfectly in accord with Mr. Combe. We believe that until it shall be acknowledged that the inherited organisation, and the sum of the influences which act on that organisation from the period of birth, are the two factors which produce character, we shall have no rational system of prison discipline. As long as it is held that there is an occult something, whether free will, the devil's agency, or divine grace, by which a man's character may be modified in spite of his organism, the true means of reformation will be neglected, and there will be a waste of time and effort in appliances which are either ineffective or pernicious. We can make a man really and permanently better only by calling his intellectual and moral faculties into healthy, pleasurable activity, and by forming this activity into a *habit*. Every grain of unnecessary severity—severity not demanded for the maintenance of order—is therefore essentially opposed to reformation; for it inevitably excites hatred and vindictiveness, and the desire to frustrate it by deception, thus strengthening precisely those animal tendencies which require to be subjugated. There is need enough for insisting on this when Mr. Burt, the chaplain of a prison, writes:—"The moral effect upon a man rendered permanently honest by punishment, is not fully embodied in the resolution, 'Crime is what I will not do,' but the feeling, 'The punishment of crime is what I cannot bear.'"

No one who has visited a prison can have failed to receive, at least temporarily, the impression that a considerable number of criminals have a proclivity to crime deeply stamped on their original constitution; the specific characteristics of humanity are hardly recognisable in them; they are wild beasts with the devices of human astuteness and impurity superadded. These are incorrigible, and must ever remain unfit for liberty; they must be borne as an unmitigable evil entailed by the present imperfect and perverted condition of our race. But there is a large surplus of criminals who are in a greater or less degree susceptible of instruction and amelioration. The individuals of this hopeful class vary widely in their organisation, the circumstances of their lives, and the nature of their offences. Yet in the present system of our prisons there is scarcely any discrimination in treatment—any adaptation of discipline to the peculiar character of different criminals, or even classes of criminals. A few imperfect attempts have been made in this direction, and in relation to juvenile delinquents there is now awakened a strong sense of the necessity for special treatment and precautions against their further contamination, but it is too notorious that, as a general rule, our prisons send out their inmates worse instead of better. Mr. Combe forcibly represents that an investigation of the constitution, character, and circumstances of each criminal, and a regulation of his discipline in accordance with these, is an indispensable condition to any beneficial result. For example, the Separate System, applied to one individual, must be attended with entirely different effects from those it would produce in another of a different organisation and temperament, and the species of labour which would be a desirable outlet for the superabundant energies of one prisoner paralyses the faculties of another; truths which seem obvious enough on the statement of them, but which, strange to say, are neglected in practice. The advantages of the Separate System—a most important instrument of discipline—have been made a matter of question solely because it has not been applied with discrimination based on the physiological difference of prisoners. Again, a serious bar to reformation is *committal to prison for short periods*. It can never be too often repeated that virtuous character consists in *habits*. But what new habits can be formed in the space of a fortnight, six weeks, or even three months? As evidence on this point Mr. Combe quotes a table, founded on an average of ten years' experience, and drawn up by the late Mr. Brebner, the excellent Governor of Glasgow Bridewell, a prison where "strict discipline was maintained," but where the "prisoners were trained to industry, and educated with something like a paternal regard to their welfare after liberation." This table shows that the number of recommissions varies in *inverse* proportion to the length of confinement, the number recommitted of those sentenced for fourteen days being seventy-five per cent., and the proportion regularly diminishing as the term of confinement was increased. To those who urge the expense as an insurmountable obstacle to lengthened imprisonment and close superintendence by qualified officers (another grand requisite), Mr. Combe replies thus:—

"Another objection will probably be founded on the expense which the conversion of prisons into reformatory schools would entail upon the nation. We have seen statements made that such establishments would prove positively cheaper; but, having no experience on this point, we meet the objection thus. Given, a certain per-centage of individuals in society afflicted with natural proclivities, or placed in circumstances that tempt them to crime—in other words, to injure their fellow-men in person or property—Queritur: Which method of averting the evils they occasion will be the least expensive—that which accomplishes the end most effectually, or that which leaves it half attained, and the evils ever recurring? Our answer would be: That which is most effectual. If our method be *not* the most effectual, we do not wish it to be adopted; but if it be the most effectual, although still short of perfection, it seems to follow as an inevitable conclusion, that, whatever be its cost, it will really be cheaper than a more imperfect system. An article deficient in quality, or in adaptation to the purposes to which we design to apply it, may be *low* in price, but it is *not cheap*. One double the price, that was *efficient*, would be *cheaper*; and so it will prove in the case of *methods of prison discipline*."

The supremely important point in the treatment of criminals is the sur-

nishing them with employment which will call out intellectual and moral activity. The subject is very fully considered by Mr. Combe, and we will quote some of his remarks upon it:—

"Assuming that they (the convicts) have undergone the reformatory discipline of separate confinement until it has ceased to be useful, what should next be attempted? Again the laws of the organism enable us to answer. The problem is to render the weak in mind and body sufficiently strong, and the naturally energetic, but viciously disposed, sufficiently disposed, sufficiently quiet, self-restraining, and intelligent, to be capable, at their discharge from prison, of taking their places in society without relapsing into crime. To strengthen the functions, their organs must be exercised in conformity with the laws of their constitution, and those laws require that each function should be employed on its own objects. Thus, to give muscular strength, and habits of industrious application, to the criminal of weak organization, he must be supplied with nutritive food in proper quantity, and be employed in a way that will exercise without painfully fatiguing his corporeal frame. To deny him adequate food, or to exhaust his strength by fatigue, for the sake of punishing him, is to use direct means to *unfit* him for returning to society a reformed man. Again, to strengthen the moral and intellectual functions in the weak, and also in the viciously disposed, they must be employed on moral and intellectual objects; that is to say, the labour enjoined must be calculated to exercise the observing and reasoning faculties, and the social circumstances of the convict must be framed so as to call his moral emotions into habitual action, and to avoid rousing his propensities. Let us inquire, then, to what extent these natural conditions of reformation are complied with in our existing systems of prison discipline."

"The tread-mill and the crank-wheel are two forms of labour greatly in vogue with a large portion of the public. On the former the convict is compelled continually to mount the steps of an ever-sinking wheel, which, in many instances, drives no machinery and executes no work; it is simply a *punishing apparatus*. The latter is an instrument of a similar description. The convict, by sheer muscular effort, turns the wheel, the axle of which is tightened by a screw, so as to render it difficult to move so many thousand times a-day. It also is applied to no useful purpose, and ginds only the air. The convicts are sentenced to so many hours mounting or turning per diem, without the least reference to their muscular strength; so that what is easy to one is torture to another. The only part of their frames exercised, are their bones and muscles, and these are *designedly tasked* to such an extent as to produce *painful fatigue*, the pain being regarded as the most valuable element in the treatment; it is the *punitive* portion which is relied on as the means of deterring persons outside the prison, still innocent in the eye of the law, and with whom the convict has no connexion, from committing crimes, and of forcing the criminal himself to exclaim, 'I must not offend again, for this is what I cannot endure.' But what says Nature to this view? She declares that this process converts labour into severe suffering, in some instances into torture, and that it diametrically contradicts our true aim, which should be to render labour *so agreeable* (and under proper regulations this may be done), that the convict on his liberation shall from experience *prefer* it to profligate idleness. Again, Nature declares that labour shall be sweetened by the rewards which she attaches to it when intelligently applied and diligently prosecuted. But here also the tread-mill and the crank-wheel strenuously conflict with her authority: for they impose labour, deliberately excluding intelligence in its execution, and also every shadow of profitable result to sweeten it as reward. Are these the best modes which the science, religion, and morality of the nineteenth century can devise, to induce the convict, when his sentence is fulfilled, spontaneously to prefer industry to crime?"

"Further, exhaustion of the muscular system by hard labour, uses up the whole nervous energy of the body; and when the task is done, it is nearly in vain to introduce the school-master and the chaplain to the prisoner: his brain is too thoroughly exhausted to be capable of attending to them. If the prisoners are locked up in separate cells after such days of exertion, sleep is their only consolation, and it is indispensably necessary to enable them to answer the next day's call on their strength. If they are allowed to associate, they meet when their whole frames, corporeal and mental, are irritated by suffering, and unalloyed by one benefit achieved, one idea gained, or one moral impression communicated. By a law of nature, pain inflicted without a beneficial object rouses all the inferior passions; we hate our tormentors, rebel against their authority, thirst for revenge upon them, and consider it meritorious to deceive, thwart, and baffle them by every device which our ingenuity can invent. Need we feel surprise, therefore, when Mr. Burt informs us that in the second stage of discipline, after liberation from their separate cells, 'with the great bulk of the prisoners the conversation is represented to be, what the conversation of such men ever has been—profane, licentious, and criminal.'—p. 73. The convicts confined in the hulks are employed in labour ashore during the day, but congregate at night in their floating prisons. There, says he, 'it is notorious that every kind of villany is practised, and even unutterable abominations. It has recently been admitted in Parliament, upon the highest authority, that they are *as bad as they can be*.'—p. 74. We again ask: Is this a rational preparation for re-entering society when the sentences are expired?"

In support of his views Mr. Combe brings forward an array of evidence from prison statistics; from the statements of persons experienced in the treatment of criminals, from the results of reformatory experiments abroad, and from the facts which have fallen under his own observation in the prisons of Europe and America. He considers the plans suggested by Mr. Edward Livingstone and by Captain Maconochie, whose admirable efforts are far from having met with a fair appreciation. But we find that we have exhausted our space without having done justice to Mr. Combe's pamphlet, and we can only recommend the reader to consult it for himself. It will not only interest him by its ability, but refresh him by its high moral tone.

RUSKIN'S LECTURES.

Lectures on Architecture and Painting, delivered at Edinburgh, in Nov., 1853. By John Ruskin, Author of "Stones of Venice," "Seven Lamps of Architecture," "Modern Painters," &c. Smith, Elder, and Co.

It is reserved for writers like Mr. Ruskin to treat perpetually the same subjects, and to be ever new and ever interesting. And this is due partly to the intrinsic interest of these subjects, and perhaps mainly to a command of language and illustration, and a charm of style unsurpassed by any living writer, but in part also to his earnest belief in the doctrines he advocates, and genuine worship of truth wherever he recognises its existence. In this sense, at least, his bitterest opponents cannot deny that he has done good service. He may be called the great Protestant of Modern Art; he first exhorted us to think for ourselves, to examine the worth of the old traditional opinions whereby our minds were fettered, and to adopt no creed till we have submitted it to the test of private judgment. Further, he has preached unceasingly to us the great doctrine that no one has a *right* to be indifferent to these things, and that it is a duty we owe to ourselves no less than to one another, to cultivate that love and knowledge of Nature, and that appreciation of Art, which are so conducive to the perfecting of our higher attributes, to the refinement of our baser instincts, and to the development of all gentle and holy sympathies between us.

The lectures now printed were delivered at Edinburgh last winter. They are four. The two first are on the subject of improvement in our domestic architecture, strongly insisting, as ever, on the superiority of the Gothic to the Greek type. The third is dedicated to another cause, for which Mr. Ruskin has often before laid lance in rest,—the supremacy of Turner as a

landscape painter; and the fourth to the latest "mission" of the author,—the interpretation of the Pre-Raphaelite principles. The interest of the book is greatly enhanced by the addition of engravings of the drawings used by Mr. Ruskin, principally to illustrate the two first lectures.

The grounds on which Mr. Ruskin asserts the inferiority of Greek architecture have been already set forth in his former works. We have not space to follow him into its technical deficiencies. But we do most heartily sympathise with his desire to free men's minds from that Greek (worse than Egyptian bondage),—from the theory that a building or an ornament, however ill-adapted to our age, to our climate, to our manners, must be beautiful, must be classical, because it is Greek. Whatever is true in its own time is classical. The art of an era should be the outward and visible expression of the spirit of that era. When the Greek type was classical it was true, with the offspring of its age. Nothing is more pitiable than that want of noble self-reliance in a people which neglects the treasures of their own hearts and minds, in order to recur to a lifeless imitation of extinct form and spirit, and calling incessantly on the heroic Past, is obstinately blind to the heroic Present.

"The forms
Of the heroic alter in all ages;
The spirit in the forms remains the same."

Mr. Ruskin says that the delivery of these lectures "excited, as may be imagined, considerable indignation and controversy." It certainly may be imagined! We can conceive that persons who had never in their lives entertained a doubt that a straight, lofty, uniform frontage, such as constitutes what is generally called "a handsome street," was the *supreme* of desirable town architecture,—may have been rather indignant at hearing their city's chief glory held up as a model—to be avoided—may have been unable at first fully to appreciate advice such as the following:—

"You must expect at first that there will be difficulties and inconsistencies in carrying out the new style; but they will soon be conquered if you attempt not too much at once. Do not be afraid of inconsistency,—do not think of uniformity of effect. Introduce your Gothic line by line and stone by stone; never mind mixing it with your present architecture; your coming houses will be none the worse for having little bits of better work fitted to them; build a porch, or point a window, if you can do nothing else; and remember it is the glory of Gothic architecture that it can do anything. Whatever you really and seriously want, Gothic will do for you; but it must be an earnest want. It is its pride to accommodate itself to your needs; and the one general law under which it acts is simply this,—find out what will make you comfortable, build that in the strongest and boldest way, and then set your house free in the decoration of it. Don't do anything to imitate this cathedral or that, because beautiful. Do what is convenient; and if the form be a new one, so much the better; then set your house free to work, to find out some new way of treating it. Only be steadily determined that, even if you cannot get the best Gothic, at least you will have no Greek; and in a few years' time,—in less time than you could learn a new science or a new language thoroughly,—the whole art of your native country will be reanimated."

These lectures will in some degree answer the charge of inconsistency, which has been so often brought against Mr. Ruskin by some of his critics, who, perceiving that the Pre-Raphaelites paint every object within view, even to the middle distances, with a clearness of outline and a minute attention to detail which is almost microscopic, while in many of Turner's pictures a totally opposite treatment is carried to such a length, that even the immediate foreground is vague and undistinguishable,—have concluded that it is impossible both can be right, and that in admiring Turner and lauding the Pre-Raphaelites, Mr. Ruskin pledges himself at once to two opposite decisions on the same subject. But apparent differences and discrepancies often strike the eye near the surface, while essential resemblances lie deep; and it is possible that in this case Mr. Ruskin may have looked deeper than his critics. The one common principle recognised by him in the system of Turner and in that of the Pre-Raphaelites, is the anxious pursuit of truth, as seen through their own eyes, not accepted in the traditional conventionalisms which during a long era of decadence have grown up around Art, impeding its growth, checking the free and vivifying influence of nature upon it, and rendering its inspired message to men a mere parrot-cry. We are reminded of the saying of a contemporary French author, who, writing of the successive schools through which art has been handed down to us, and quoting the ever quoted image of Lucretius,

"Et, quasi cunctos, vitalis lampada tradant,"

adds, with bitter truth, "Quelques uns Pont porté comme un cierge, mais d'autres comme un cigare." And the illustration, though somewhat beneath the dignity of the subject, aptly expresses the different tone of feeling regarding Art in the 13th and the 19th centuries,—the severe and reverent earnestness of the one, the faithless indifference of the other.

The growth of conventionalism in Art is not difficult to comprehend. To a certain degree, all artistic interpretation of Nature is conventional. The aim of Art, in depicting any natural object, is to produce in the mind analogous emotions to those produced by the object itself; but as with all our skill and care we cannot imitate it exactly, this aim is not attained by *describing*, but by *translating* it into the language of Art. And here arises the danger to inferior workmen; for here begins what Mr. Ruskin calls "the distinction between noble conventionalism and false conventionalism." "Noble conventionalism," he says, "is not an agreement between the artist and spectator that the one shall misrepresent nature sixty times over, and the other believe the misrepresentation sixty times over, but it is an agreement that certain means and limitations being prescribed, only that kind of truth is to be expected which is consistent with those means." And he adds, "Its conditions always consist in stopping short of nature, not in falsifying nature." But no one can translate properly from a language without thoroughly understanding that language; and hence the presumption that the Pre-Raphaelites are in the right road to successful translation of nature, by studying her in her minutest details with unwearied care and fidelity, before they attempt to reproduce her by art. That is an apprenticeship through which all great artists must pass,—must have passed. That Turner did so, the history of his most arduous student life testifies; he mastered detail, before he ventured to rise above detail. And that the Pre-Raphaelites, at present swathed and stiff in the swaddling clothes of their artistic infancy, will one day rise as he rose, become men, and put away from them childish things, is the hope and belief of Mr. Ruskin—a belief founded less on the individual artists than on the eternal principles, whereon they have taken their stand.

At the risk of injuring the force of Mr. Ruskin's interesting defence of Pre-Raphaelite peculiarities, we must present the reader with one extract:—

"You perceive that the principal resistance they have to make is to that spurious beauty, whose attractiveness had tempted men to forget, or to despise, the more noble quality of sincerity; and in order at once to put them beyond the power of temptation from this beauty, they are, as a body, characterised by a total absence of sensibility to the ordinary and popular forms of artistic gracefulness; while, to all that still lower kind of prettiness, which regulates the disposition of our scenes upon the stage, and which appears in our lower art, as in our annuals, our common-place portraits, and statuary, the Pre-Raphaelites are not only dead; but they regard it with a contempt and aversion approaching to disgust. This character is absolutely necessary to them in the present time; but it, of course, occasionally renders their work comparatively unpleasing. As the school becomes less aggressive, and more authoritative—which it will do—they will enlist into their ranks men who will work, mainly, upon their principles, and yet embrace more of those characters which are generally attractive, and this great ground of offence will be removed.

"Again: you observe that, as landscape painters, their principles must, in great part, confine them to mere foreground work; and singularly enough, that they may not be tempted away from this work, they have been born with comparatively little enjoyment of those avanescent effects and distant sublimities which nothing but the memory can arrest, and nothing but a daring conventionalism portray. But for this work they are not needed. Turner had done it before them; he, though his capacity embraced everything, and though he would sometimes, in his foregrounds, paint the spots upon a dead trout, and the dyes upon a butterfly's wing, yet for the most part delighting to begin at that very point where Pre-Raphaelitism becomes powerless.

"Lastly. The habit of constantly carrying everything up to the utmost point of completion deadens the Pre-Raphaelites in general to the merits of men who, with an equal love of truth up to a certain point, yet express themselves habitually with speed and power, rather than with finish, and give abstracts of truth rather than total truth. Probably to the end of time artists will more or less be divided into these classes, and it will be impossible to make men like Millais understand the merits of men like Tintoret; but this is more to be regretted because the Pre-Raphaelites have enormous powers of imagination, as well as of realisation, and do not yet themselves know of how much they would be capable, if they sometimes worked on a larger scale, and with a less laborious finish."

The lecture on Turner has a peculiar interest, an interest which is excited less by Turner the artist, than by Turner the man. We have seldom been more affected than by Mr. Ruskin's touching picture of a deep large heart, crushed and chilled by early repression into reserve and gloom, and concealing its treasures of tender and generous feeling beneath an outward antagonism, which reacted painfully on himself. That Turner was a great artist, we hope and believe few will now be found to question. That a really great artist cannot be other than a great man, is a principle that some of us at least hold with all our faith. But how great a man Turner was may be judged from two or three of the anecdotes it has been a labour of love to Mr. Ruskin to record:—

"You have, perhaps not many of you, heard of a painter of the name of Bird; I do not myself know his works, but Turner saw some merit in them; and when Bird first sent a picture to the Academy, for exhibition, Turner was on the hanging committee. Bird's picture had great merit; but no place for it could be found. Turner pleaded hard for it. No, the thing was impossible. Turner sat down and looked at Bird's picture for a long time; then insisted that a place must be found for it. He was still met by the assertion of impracticability. He said no more, but took down one of his own pictures, sent it out of the Academy, and hung Bird's in its place.

"Match that if you can, among the annals of hanging committees. But he could do nobler things than this.

"When Turner's picture of Cologne was exhibited in the year 1826, it was hung between two portraits, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, of Lady Wallaceport, and Lady Robert Manners.

"The sky of Turner's picture was exceedingly bright, and it had a most injurious effect on the colour of the two portraits. Lawrence naturally felt mortified, and complained openly of the position of his pictures. You are aware that artists were at that time permitted to retouch their pictures on the walls of the Academy. On the morning of the opening of the exhibition, at the private view, a friend of Turner's who had seen the Cologne in all its splendour, led a group of expectant critics up to the picture. He started back from it in consternation. The golden sky had changed to a dun colour. He ran up to Turner, who was in another part of the room. 'Turner, what have you been doing to your picture?' 'Oh,' muttered Turner, in a low voice, 'poor Lawrence was so unhappy. It's only lamp black. It'll all wash off after the exhibition!' He had actually passed a wash of lamp black in water-colour over the whole sky, and utterly spoiled his picture for the time, and so left it through the exhibition, lest it should hurt Lawrence's."

We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of making one more extract, the concluding passage of the lecture on Turner. As a specimen of Mr. Ruskin's magical style, it is charming; but even that gives way before the deeper interest excited by the life-struggle of a great soul, sharing the destiny of its fellows in all ages, the lonely life, the long withheld sympathy, the tardy appreciation, the crown of thorns—living, the crown of laurel—dead.

"Imagine what it was for a man to live seventy years in this hard world, with the kindest heart, and the noblest intellect of his time, and never to meet with a single word or ray of sympathy, until he felt himself sinking into the grave. From the time he knew his true greatness all the world was turned against him: he held his own; but it could not be without roughness of bearing, and hardening of the temper, if not of the heart. No one understood him, no one trusted him, and every one cried out against him. Imagine, any of you, the effect upon your own minds, if every voice you heard from the human beings around you were raised, year after year, through all your lives, only in condemnation of your efforts, and denial of your success. This may be borne, and borne easily, by men who have fixed religious principles, or supporting domestic ties. But Turner had no one to teach him in his youth, and no one to love him in his old age. Respect and affection, if they came at all, came unbelieved, or came too late. Naturally irritable, though kind,—naturally suspicious, though generous,—the gold gradually became dim, and the most fine gold changed, or if not changed, overcast and clouded. The deep heart was still beating, but it was beneath a dark and melancholy mail, between whose joints, however, sometimes the slightest arrows found entrance, and power of giving pain. He received no consolation in his last years, nor in his death. Cut off in great part from all society—first, by labour, and at last by sickness—hunted to his grave by the malignities of small critics, and the jealousies of hopeless rivalry, he died in the house of a stranger,—one companion of his life, and one only, staying with him to the last. The window of his death-chamber was turned towards the west, and the sun shone upon his face in its setting, and rested there, as he expired."

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

Five Years in the Land of Refuge. By Jules Lechevalier St. André.

Pelham Richardson, Cornhill.

THE organisation of industry is a problem yet very far from solution. A somewhat comprehensive proposal in this direction is presented to the public by the author of this volume. M. St. André displays more constructive ability, has larger views, and closer details than the usual run of co-operative writers. What to do for the reformation of industrial and commercial relations we think has not been so well set forth before as by himself in this

publication. M. Lechevalier was for a long time manager of the Central Co-operative Agency, and he has not only written with the advantage of considerable experience to guide him, but he has presented important documents connected with that experiment while in his hands. Persons whose attention has been drawn to the Christian Socialist movement, and to more recent efforts for enlisting the Church on the side of secular improvements in commerce, will find this volume full of instruction and out-of-the-way facts. The documents are little co-operative state papers.

The Sermon on the Mount. Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.
The National Debt, and How to Pay It; or, the Financial Condition of the Nation considered: with Remarks on its Hopes, Fears, and Prospects.

Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.
Memoirs of Celebrated Characters. By Alphonse de Lamartine. 2 vols. Richard Bentley.
Three Years' Cruise in the Australian Colonies. By R. Edmond Malone. Richard Bentley.
The Rubber of Life. By Dalton Ingoldsby. Richard Bentley.
Dante's Divine Comedy. Translated by P. Brooksbank, M.A. J. W. Parker and Son.
Suggestions for the Future Provision of Criminal Lunatics. By W. C. Hood, M.D. John Churchill.

Cyclopedia of Biography. Edited by Eliza Rich. R. Griffin and Co.
Dona Blasco of Navarra. An Historical Romance. By Don Francisco Navarro Villoslada. 2 vols. Thomas Bostworth.

Bokanga. A Novel. By Morton Raa. Hookham and Sons.
Ullima Thale; or, Thoughts Suggested by a Residence in New Zealand. By Thomas Chalmers. John Chapman.

Pictures from the East. By John Capper. Chapman and Hall.
The English Envoy at the Court of Nicholas I. By Miss Julia Cornen. (The Parlor Library.) T. Hodgson.

Russia and England: their Strength and Weakness. By J. R. Morrell. Trilmar and Co.

Quickhands on Foreign Shores. Blackader and Co.

A Treatise on Beliefs. By John Calvin. Johnstone and Hunter.

Janus Discovered. By F. Griffin. Little, Brown, and Co.

The Dondaniel Bank, being the Experiences of a Clerk Therein. By J. Bathiegh. R. Theobald.

Public Works in India: their Importance, with Suggestions for their Extension and Improvement. By Lieut. Colonel A. Colton. Allen and Co.

The Lady Una and her Queensdom; or, Reform at the Right End. By the Author of "Home Truths for Home Peace," &c. Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

Reports relating to the Sanitary Condition of the City of London. By John Simon, F.R.S. John W. Parker and Son.

Trans-Caucasia. Sketches of the Nations and Races between the Black Sea and the Caspian. By Baron Von Haxthausen. Chapman and Hall.

The Young Prima Donna. By Mrs. Grey. (Railway Library.) G. Routledge and Co.

The Industry of the United States in Machinery, Manufactures, and Useful and Ornamental Arts. Compiled from the Official Reports of Messrs. Whitworth and Wallis. G. Routledge and Co.

Chambers's Repository of Instructive and Amusing Tracts. W. and R. Chambers.

The English Cyclopædia, a new Dictionary of Universal Knowledge. Conducted by Charles Bradbury and Evans.

Collected Edition of the Writings of Douglas Jerrold. (Plays.) Funch Office.

Handley Cross; or, Mr. Jorrocks's Hunt. By the Author of Mr. "Sponge's Sporting Tour," &c. Bradbury and Evans.

The Newcomes. Memoirs of a Most Respectable Family. Edited by Arthur Pendennis. Bradbury and Evans.

Collins's Complete Map of Russia and Turkey, showing the Baltic, North, Black, and Mediterranean Seas. H. G. Collins.

Collins's New Map of the Baltic Sea.

Collins's New Map of the Black Sea.

Collins's New Map of the Danube.

The Arts.

THE BRITISH INSTITUTION.

CONSIDERABLE efforts appear to have been made this year to render the exhibition of old painters at the rooms of the British Institution more interesting than it was last time, and the effort has been successful; although with a few exceptions the works are not by the highest hands. We see, indeed, the names of Correggio, Rubens, Giorgione, Rembrandt, and men of similar grade; but the examples of those artists are far from being in their highest style. Even of the miniature oil painters and the landscape painters, the Gerard Douws and Cuyps, the specimens are few and sometimes inferior. Nevertheless the works are in many cases characteristic. Even Correggio's style is, to a great extent, exhibited in the "Saviour in the Garden" (12); Vandyke's in the picture-portrait of a "Lady and Child" (62), or the "Portrait of Rubens" (79); Salvator Rosa's in the picture which occupies the place of honour in the north room, the well-known "Belshazzar." It is a theatrical design, in which the soldierly costume, the venerable beard, and the sleek youthful legs, the whole figure thrown into a ballet-dancer's posture of begging, make it look more like the portrait of some eminent singer in the "part," than like the old Roman commander himself; but it is a great and a characteristic work.

There are, indeed, many specimens in the collection which may be usefully studied in comparison with our own painters at the exhibition of the Royal Academy now open. Salvator Rosa himself has a freedom in the disposition of the limbs which indicates the hand of a man whose eye was familiar with life in action—in unstudied action; not the mere set position of the model. For in spite of what we have just said in regard to the style,—the conception, the feeling, where the vice of Salvator Rosa's pictures always lies,—he had that mastery of life which consists in knowing its most transient forms and shades. His figure is really designed, not copied from the dead-alive model.

It is the same with Cuyp, of whom there are some beautiful specimens. The "Castle and Figures" (33) would alone suffice to show how this master

of colouring could seize with his intellect, as well as with his eye, all the individuality of local colouring, modified by the general tone of a broad and genial light; so as to impart the utmost variety to all the details, with the harmony and unity of which amateurs talk, and which some of them feel; but of which teachers neglect to point out the specific and material means.

Let the student compare the unmannered colouring of Mieris (9) with the mannered still life of our established artists in that line; but, again, let him compare Mieris, who gives a distinct study to each detail, with the higher design of Gerard Douw, who deals with broader light and shadow; although with not less elaborately worked details; and let both again be compared with Rembrandt, even in inferior works like the "Magdalen" (74). The student will perceive that as art rises in power, it deals more closely and more faithfully with the greatest laws of living nature.

Another useful moral inculcated by the present exhibition is the necessity of design to the portrait painter. Here, for example, there are portraits whose vitality and individuality, whose traits of life, in short, would excite the envy of most of our established portrait painters. Rubens, as portrayed by Vandyke, looks as if he were about to speak to you, and in the painted countenance you recognise exactly the same energy of vitality which you see in the man's own works. Even in "Mr. Smith," by Reynolds, there is a certain life and individuality which makes you at once recognise the portrait of that immortal personage; whether it be Mr. Smith, of the Postoffice, or Mr. Smith, of the Tailors, you know not; but the man is alive. Neither Reynolds nor Vandyke was a great historical painter, but in either case the portrait is by a man who has familiarized himself with design, and who was accustomed to contemplate original composition. When you come again to such work as the "Venetian Lady," by Giorgione,—a young girl much like the figure called "Titian's Daughter,"—you see at once that perfect command over the outward signs of the inward spirit, over the emotion of the flesh, which enables the painter to seize every detail of the figure as it might be caught in a moment of breathing life. The portrait is a design; but whether it were considered as a figure belonging to an historical group, or as a figure in some circle of which the spectator himself is one, it is not only a living figure, but it has sympathies with the world around it. The highest emotions of our nature are quiescent, but viable in full force. It is only in the highest work of portraiture that it thus becomes identified with historical painting; but it is only by association with historical painting that the portrait painter becomes master of his subject.

LE PROPHETE.

THE re-appearance of Viardot—at any time an important event in the operatic world—becomes doubly important when the approaching retirement of Grisi makes the possession of a great singer and a great actress more precious than ever to the public. Now that Norma is leaving us, it is some consolation to know that Fides has returned. On Thursday night Meyerbeer's *Prophete* was produced at the Royal Theatre-Opera for the first time this season; and Viardot appeared again before an English audience in the character which it is only the simple truth to say that she has created. The great artist was worthily welcomed, and sang and acted as superbly as ever. We were not able to remain and witness her triumph in the latter portions of the opera, but her performance in the earlier parts was as simply and pathetically beautiful as ever; and gave admirable promise of all that might be expected from her later in the evening. If the operatic ladies, who use their arms as if they were telegraphs, and imagine all the while that they are acting, could only look at Viardot in the scene with her son after he has saved her life by giving up his betrothed, how much they might learn, had they only the power of profiting by one of the noblest practical lessons ever exhibited on the stage! Were we desired to point to any one proof of Viardot's excellence, we should indicate this short scene, which, in its simplicity, depends for its effect more than any other in the opera on the dramatic faculty of the singer. We have seen more than one Fides on various stages abroad who has proved creditably equal to the famous cathedral "situation" in the *Prophete*—we have only seen one Fides, in the scene with Jean, after he has resigned Bertha; and that one is Viardot. On Thursday night her singing in this part of the opera was as sweetly and solemnly pathetic, her acting as quietly mournful in its eloquent beauty, as ever. We would advise any of our readers (united to the stage) who may witness this remarkable performance, to watch her "exit" attentively, when she leaves her son, and casts one parting look at him before she goes. It is the most perfect example that can be cited, now that Regnier and Madame Allan are no longer at the St. James's Theatre, of what genius and study together can do towards producing the most genuine and touching truth of effect, out of the exercise of the most essentially artificial of all Arts—the art of acting.

The opera was admirably performed—Tamberlik being a little nervous at first, but soon recovering all the resources of his magnificent voice, and vindicating the reputation he has fairly and conscientiously earned, as the greatest dramatic tenor now on the stage. In some of the choruses, both the orchestra and the singers struck us as being a little overloud. Possibly, however, the music is to blame for this. Admirable and tunable as it is, it takes the ear too noisily by storm every now and then. Is it always necessary, to produce dramatic effect in "grand choruses," that the stage should be in full roar, and the orchestra in full crash? Remembering some of the "grand choruses" in Rossini's *Mosé*, we venture, in all humility, to think that it is not.

LE BIJOU PERDU.

ON Wednesday night, the Comic Opera Company of the Théâtre Lyrique, at Paris, appeared for the first time at the St. James's Theatre, before an English audience, and, thanks to the attractions vocal and personal of the prima donna, Madame CARREL, achieved a decided and a deserved success. The opera selected for the opening night was the *Bijou Perdu*, by Messrs. De Leuven and Forges, set to music by the inexhaustible Adolphe Adam. Of the story, it is only necessary to say that it is of the conventional (French) kind. We have the traditional booby and dupe of historical

genteel comedy; the rich *fermier général*—we have our old theatrical acquaintance, his friend the dissipated "Marquis"—we have the charming young lady of humble life, who longs to soar out of her lowly social position—and lastly, we have the simple and warm-hearted peasant, who is devotedly attached to her, and who, by turns, presents himself in the briskly sentimental and the vociferously humorous capacities to applauding audiences. Here and there, in the course of the story, these characters are placed in some clever dramatic situations, and the whole comedy is enlivened from beginning to end by music which cannot be criticised piecemeal, which is very possibly not written according to the strict "rules of art," but which is marked throughout by a delightful grace and gaiety, always pleasant to the ear, and always suggestive of good spirits from the first note of the overture to the last of the *finale*.

The acting and singing of the male members of the company—excepting M. Meillet, who played Pacome cleverly, and sang his music with great spirit and geniality—call for nothing special in the way of remark. If we might venture to give M. Leroy (who played the part of the *fermier général*) a friendly hint, we would recommend him to be a little less loud and boisterous in his low comedy. He reminded us, now and then, of a school of comic acting which we have studied elsewhere outside the booths at fairs, and the professors of which are irreverently alluded to in general society under the appellation of "clowns." With the exception of this gentleman, however, the rest of the company acted and sung together neatly and harmoniously enough. But all the great triumphs of the evening (and they were real triumphs) were won by the lady. Madame Cabel has a pretty, round, Watteau-like face; possesses the Frenchwoman's secret of dressing charmingly; acts with delightful grace and vivacity; has the clearest and most flexible of voices, and uses it wonderfully. This last trite word is really the only word to express her singing. Some of her florid passages are absolutely marvels of vocal execution. Nothing like them, as far as our experience goes, has been heard since Persiani has been missed (and never replaced) on the operatic stage. Nor is this wonderful execution Madame Cabel's only attraction as a heroine of comic opera. She sings the simpler passages of her music with rare sweetness and tenderness, and her speaking voice in dialogue is singularly distinct and easy to follow—a great recommendation in an actress who addresses an audience of foreigners.

We very sincerely hope that this new experiment will be so successful as to lead to its repetition every year. The comic opera of France ought to be one of the established amusements of the London season, and these performances at the St. James's Theatre really bid fair to give it a permanent annual place among us. W.

OLYMPIC.

We must not omit to mention the revival of Mr. George Dance's farce of *Hush Money* at the Olympic, which was redeemed from failure by the very clever acting of Mr. Robson. In the hands of an inferior artist the character of Jasper Touchwood would have been simply comic. Mr. Robson has created a new part, by turning to account the tragic elements which ninety-nine actors out of a hundred would never have discovered. The usual faults were visible throughout. The part was overdone—too much excitement, too much strain—but the nervous power, the facility of muscular action, and its obvious relation to the absorbing passion, were unmistakably evident. The performance, therefore, was effective—and that is saying a great deal when we consider that the play is as worthless a production as we ever saw. Mr. Emery acted the Waterman to the satisfaction of the audience, and Mrs. Wigan's Sally was a decided success. But why is Mr. Vincent allowed to personate a young gentleman in a dress which no gentleman would think of wearing?

THE LYCEUM.

THE LYCEUM re-opened its pleasant portals on Whit-Monday. Mr. Charles Mathews received a generous and hearty welcome on resuming the sole leasehold of the theatre, which continues under the direction of Madame Vestris. We believe that not only hosts of friends, but the public generally hail this solution of many doubts and difficulties with cordial satisfaction. Mr. Charles Mathews prefaces the playbill of the new season with a testimony of lively gratitude to his fellow-labourers of every degree, who have stood bravely by his side through good and evil fortune and report. Such a testimony is equally honourable to all.

"Here I am, without a penny in my pocket, and starting the world again!"

Such were the first words with which Charles Mathews met his old

friends, and who did not fling back a cheer? Who did not wish success to the charming actor whose absence for a time had only made us know his value—as our chief heart-lightener? We need only add one word: "*Before Breakfast*" reminds us of old days—its revival is judicious, and was thoroughly appreciated by an audience which we only hope to see much larger.

BURFORD'S PANORAMA OF BERLIN.

It has been said (once or twice in each particular instance) concerning historical pictures, charming landscapes, effective dioramas and panoramas, Marlborough House collections, fireworks, and what not, that they "must be seen to be appreciated;" and the remark is really more significant than a reader of average carelessness would imagine. True it is that the writers who have oftenest applied that phrase are seldom at any great pains to appreciate, or, perhaps, even to see the objects of their vague commendation. But so much the more reason may be theirs for uttering the truth, which is a truth, to our sad and certain knowledge.

Having indulged a foolish dislike to writing on questions of which we are impartially ignorant, and giving unbiassed opinions about objects we have never seen, we now undergo the penalty of weakness in the long list of shortcomings that awaits us, after a month's absence from the field of duty.

The first debt we paid on our return, a day or two since, was to Mr. Burford. His panorama of Berlin is quite in his old style of illusory painting. You look down from the summit of the Cathedral on the Lust Garden, and the Museum, and the Unter den Linden (at least a bit of it), and a succession of public buildings, several of which are quite new,—you look with sensations very nearly resembling those you experience in surveying a real city from a great height; and then you turn round (having seen all you can see by looking towards Potsdam and Charlottenburg, and intermediate sections of an invariable sandy flat), and you get quite a different kind of view—not as regards the distance, which is just as flat, sandy, and invariable—but in the city itself. For you are now overlooking the old town of Berlin, on the opposite bank of the Spree, and though not so pleasant to promenade as the Linden-street or the Frederick-street, it is vastly more picturesque, the descriptive guide-book notwithstanding. But, to speak the truth, Berlin is not a very engaging city to look at. The older portion, with its uniform assemblage of old-fashioned, rather than antique, roofs, may gain by comparison with the detestable classicality of the new buildings at our own West End; but on the whole the attractions of Berlin are "west-end," as opposed to picturesque and historical. If a good opera, a good museum, a good library, and a good academy of arts could make a city, Berlin would then be made one of a thousand. As it is, we would a thousand times rather have had a panorama of Bruges, or any city that few pleasure-seekers would care to visit.

Mr. Burford's painting is another matter. He has seldom produced anything so wonderfully perfect as this work. The gradations of distance, especially observable in looking across the old city, prove him to be one of the most accomplished of scenic artists. One only blemish we would point out; namely, that strangemedium of "duck's-egg green" to which he seems partial, but which he has here exaggerated to a positive fault. By way of compensating for this piece of detraction, we will supply an omission in his guide-book, which does not inform strangers that the ugly basin carved from a mass of pink granite (the well-known "Markgrafenstein") is in reality set out of the level; and that the singular appearance is not a result of bad drawing. Near the "vase"—a curiosity in size, at any rate, for it is about twenty-two feet in diameter—stands, on a pedestal at one end of the flight of steps leading up to the museum, the original statue of the Amazon, by Kiss, familiar in England as in Prussia, from the fac-simile exhibited in Hyde-park, in 1851, and copied in every variety of size and material.

The other panoramas now open at Burford's are Constantinople and the Bernese Alps, from the summit of the Faulhorn. Q.

BUST OF WEBSTER.

MR. J. C. KING has been exhibiting a bust of Daniel Webster, executed in marble for Lord Ashburton. The work is vigorously cut; with the defect, perhaps, of being a little too systematic in the lines, but with considerable firmness and freedom. The countenance well expresses the energetic, almost fierce, character of the great orator; and he who sees the effigy can well understand the influence which the man exercised over his hearers and his countrymen.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

CROFTON.—June 3, at No. 27, Sussex-gardens, Hyde-park, the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Crofton; a son.
DENT.—June 5, at 42, Thurlow-square, the Lady Beaujolais Dent; a daughter.
ROSS.—June 7, at Grosvenor-street, Grosvenor-square, London, the wife of Captain Sir James Clark Ross, R.N.; a son.
SCOTT.—May 31, at No. 24, Royal-terrace, Ramsgate, the wife of Major T. Scott, R.M.; a daughter.
VAVASOUR.—June 6, at 20, Queen-street, May-fair, the Hon. Lady Vavasour; a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

FENWICK—PIM.—June 1, at St. John's, Hampstead, Samuel Fenwick, Esq., M.D., to Amy, only daughter of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Bedford Pim, R.N., and sister of the present Lieutenant Bedford Clapperton Pim, R.N.
GAUDET—PHILIP.—April 22, at St. Clement's Church, Naparima, Trinidad, M. M. Gaudet, Esq., Deputy Assistant-Commissary-General, to Fanny Polham Reed, daughter of the Hon. St. Louis Philip, M.D., of the same island.
LESLIE—STEPHEN.—Jan. 31, at Christ Church, Sydney, George Leslie, Esq., Royal Marines, son of the late Lieutenant George Leslie, R.N., to Jessy Maria, second daughter of Sir Alfred Stephen, Chief Justice of New South Wales.

DEATHS.

MACKENZIE.—June 1, at Boulogne-sur-Mer, Sophia Sarah Geraldine, youngest daughter of Sir John Muir Mackenzie, Bart.
SCHULTZ.—May 30, at Wisbech, Captain George Augustus Schultz, R.N., aged sixty-nine.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, June 9, 1854.

UNDER the influence of the settlement for the account, and the pressure on the Bear party, Consols at one time on Tuesday reached 94; the highest point that they have gone to since the declaration of war. The Bear party has been most heavily smitten, there can be but little doubt; and great anxiety was felt as to the settlement of the account. With the exception of some few small failures—and even some of these will make a satisfactory arrangement eventually—the settlement has passed off very tranquilly. The "House" has suffered, and the public has been the winner. By this time it is presumed that the Bear party must have melted away, and resolved itself, perhaps, into a Bull majority. Prices keep up amazingly high; and

with the certainty of no loan, and the prospect of a more speedy termination to the war, Consols will continue to advance.

Money is easier, and foreign exchanges rather in our favour.

With the rise in Consols, our leading railway stocks have continued to advance, and Birmingham have been again quoted at par. Caledonians have made a start, and should they pay 3 per cent. dividend, are surely well worth their present price, if not 3l. or 4l. per share higher.

Great activity has prevailed in some of the foreign stocks this week. Peruvians, and even Russian Five-per-Cents, are better. Crystal Palaces maintain a premium of 1½ to 1½, and are largely dealt in. Mining shares are singularly flat and depressed. Agua Fria, which so long maintained supremacy at the head of all "gold mines," have been done at a discount.

Carson's Creek have issued a document setting forth the capabilities of this mine and the report of their agent, who has been twice in California, and they conclude by wishing to know the opinion of their shareholders, as to whether they shall wind up the concern, paying 5s. per share, or continue the undertaking?

New Linares and San Fernando (Spain) Lead Mines continue to receive excellent reports; and Peninsulas to send over ore. A meeting of shareholders in Obernhof takes place on the 14th. Brazil Imperial continue firm, and United Mexican have advanced a little.

French Rentes telegraphed 1 per cent. better.

Four o'clock.—Consols close very firm, 91½, 91½.

Consols, 91½, 91½; Caledonian, 58, 58½; Chester and Holyhead, 144, 151; Eastern Counties, 12½, 12½; Edinburgh and Glasgow, 58, 60; Great Western, 76½, 76½; Lancashire and Yorkshire, 61½, 62½; London and Blackwall, 8½, 8½; London, Brighton, and South Coast, 103, 104; London and North Western, 99½, 99½; London and South Western, 80, 82; Midland, 61½, 62½; North Staffordshire, 4½, 4½; Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, 30, 32; Scottish Central, 35, 37; South Eastern, 62, 63; South Wales, 34, 35; York, Newcastle, and Berwick, 69½, 70½; York and North Midland, 50, 51; Antwerp and Rotterdam, 3½, 3½; East Indian, 1½, 2½; Madras, ½, ½; Namur and Liege (with int.), 7½, 8½; Northern of France, 33½, 33½; Paris and Lyons, 16½, 17½; Paris and Orleans, 45, 47; Paris and Rouen, 36, 38; Paris and Strasbourg, 30½, 31½; Sambre and Meuse, 8½, 9; West Flanders, 3, 4; Western of France, 5½, 6½; Agua Frias, ½, ½; Brazils Imperial, 4½, 5½; St. John Del Rey, 30, 32; Colonial Gold, ½, ½; Linares, 10, 11; New ditto, ½, ½; Pontgibauds, 16, 17; United Mexican, 3½, 4; Peninsulas, ½, ½; Australasian Bank, 80, 82; London Chartered Bank, 21, 21½; Oriental Bank, 47, 49 ex bonus; South Australia, 43, 45; Union of Australia, 70, 72; New ditto, 7, 9; Australian Agricultural, 44, 45; Crystal Palace, 6½, 6½; North British Australian, 1, 1½; Scottish Australian Investment, 2½, 2½; South Australian Land, 37, 39; Van Dieman's Land, 13, 15.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday Evening, June 9.

LOCAL TRADE.—Wheat is in moderate supply since Monday, and trade firm at the prices of that day. The supply of Oats is large; there is, however, a good sale at about Monday's rates. Barley without alteration in value—the demand slow.

FREE ON BOARD.—Since our last, there has been little doing in this branch of the trade; the dullness in the English markets having rendered importers unwilling to enter into fresh business. Prices have consequently remained stationary in most of the shipping ports, while in some a little decline has taken place. At Stettin prices have given way 2s. to 3s. At Antwerp some sales have been making recently at low prices of both Baltic and American Wheat; but holders now demand an advance of 2s. per quarter on the prices that have been paid. At Amsterdam also some sales have been made of granary Wheat at low prices for exportation, but within the last day or two there has been more animation in the trade. The French markets continue to improve. The accounts from the United States confirm us in the opinion, we have repeatedly expressed, that the quantity of Wheat and Flour which we were likely to receive from there, had been greatly over-estimated in this country. The stock at the sea board is quite exhausted, and the supplies into New York from the West are inconsiderable.

FLOATING TRADE.—There is so little Wheat offering of fine quality, that we necessarily have but little to report this week. The arrivals off the coast have been almost nothing, but of the few cargoes which remained for sale a few weeks ago, two of Saidi have been sold at 40s. 6d., being 2s. below former prices, and two of Polish Odessa at 65s. There are a few cargoes of Galatz Wheat on passage, the vessels having been liberated about the beginning of last month. These will most likely be the latest to arrive from the Black Sea.

Indian Corn.—There is so little offering, that quotations cannot well be given. Barley remains as before, 27s. to 28s. Beans unchanged.

Rye in better demand for the Continent.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	206	206	206	206	205	205½
3 per Cent. Red.	91	91½	92½	91½	92	91½
3 per Cent. Con. An.	92½	92½	93½	92½	92½	92
Consols for Account	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½	91½
3½ per Cent. An.	91½	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½
New 2½ per Cents.	80					
Long Ans. 1860		4 9-16	11-16	11-16	4 9-16	4 19-16
India Stock				232		236
Ditto Bonds, £1000				4 p	4 p	par
Ditto, under £1000		5 p	5 p	4 p	4 p	par
Ex. Bills, £1000	5 p	5 p	5 p	par	4 p	4 p
Ditto, £500		1 p	5 p	4 p	4 p	5 p
Ditto, Small		5 p		5 p	1 p	5 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Brazilian Bonds	100	Russian Bonds, 5 per	
Buenos Ayres 5 per Cents.	55	Cents 1822	100½
Chilian 6 per Cents.	102½	Russian 4½ per Cents.	86½
Danish 5 per Cents.		Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def.	20
Ecuador Bonds	3½	Spanish Committee Cert.	
Mexican 3 per Cents.	23½	of Coup. not fur.	5
Mexican 3 per Ct. for		Venezuela 3½ per Cents.	256
Acc. June 15	24	Belgian 4½ per Cents.	
Portuguese 4 per Cents.	40	Dutch 2½ per Cents.	61½
Portuguese 5 p. Cents.		Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	89½

THE ROYAL OPERA—DRURY LANE.

ON MONDAY, June 12th, her Majesty's servants will perform (first time) Mozart's Opera, *SERAGLIO*. Cantanze, Madame Rudersdorff; Blonchen, Mdle. Agnes Bury; Belmonte, Herr Reichart; Pedrillo, Herr Castelli; Bassa, Herr Holzel, and Osmin, Herr Formes.

On Tuesday, June 13th, Auber's *FRA DIAVOLO*. Fra Diavolo, Mr. Sims Reeves; Lord Allicash, Mr. Weiss; Beppo and Giacomo, Miss F. Smith and Leffler; Lady Allicash, Madame Weiss; Zerlina, Mrs. Sims Reeves.

On Wednesday, June 14th (second time), Mozart's *SERAGLIO*.

On Thursday, June 15th, Bellini's *SONNAMBULA*. Amina, Mdle. Agnes Bury; Elvino (first time) Mr. Sims Reeves.

On Friday, June 16th, Weber's Grand Opera, *DER FREI-SCHUTZ*.

On Saturday, June 17th, a Grand Combined Entertainment, supported by the entire strength of the Company, being for the Benefit of Mr. J. ARRETT, the Director.

Gallery, 1s.; Pit, 2s. 6d.; Upper Boxes, 3s.; First Circle, 4s.; Dress Circle, 5s.; Stalls, 7s.; Private Boxes, One, Two, Three, and Four Guineas each. Box-office open from Ten till Six, where places may be secured. Private Boxes and Stalls to be had of Messrs. Leader and Coke, 63, New Bond-street.

OPERA COMIQUE, ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.

On Monday evening will be produced, for the first time in this country, the New Opera entitled *LA PROMISE* (the music composed by Clappon) with new scenery and appointments, so highly successful in Paris, having been acted at the Theatre Lyrique for 100 consecutive nights. Madame CABEL will make her fourth appearance in the character of MARIE, as originally sustained by her, supported by M. P. Laurent and the other artistes from the Theatre Lyrique, being their fourth appearance in London. Fifth representation on Wednesday Evening, June 14. Private Boxes and Stalls at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 33, Old Bond-street, and at the Box-office.

ROYAL OLYMPIC THEATRE.

Lessee and Manager, Mr. ALFRED WIGAN. On Monday, and during the week, will be performed *HUSH MONEY*. Characters by Messrs. F. Robson, Emery, Vincent, Eivers, White, Miss Dormer, Miss Stevens, and Mrs. A. Wigan. After which *THE FIRST NIGHT*. Characters by Messrs. A. Wigan, Leslie, Franks, H. Cooper, Vincent, Miss P. Horton, and Miss E. Ormonde. To conclude with *THE MUMMY*. Toby Tramp, Mr. F. Robson.

MORNING DRAMATIC READING.

Mr. WIGHTWICK'S reading of "Henry IV." having met with marked approval, he will read the *MER-CHANT OF VENICE* at Willis's Rooms, on Saturday, 17th June, at 3 o'clock precisely.—Reserved seats, 5s.; ditto for four, 15s.—Unreserved seat, 3s.; ditto for four, 9s. Tickets and places to be had of Mr. Mitchell, 33, Old Bond-street, and at Willis's Rooms, King-street, St. James's.

GLENFIELD PATENT STARCH

(used in Her Majesty's Laundry), and WOTHER-SPONS' Machine-made CONFECTIONERY, MARMA-LADE, JAMS, JELLIES, &c. (which gained the Prize Medal of 1851). May be had of all Grocers; wholesale of Wotherspoon, Mackay, and Co., 66, Queen-street, Cheapside, London.

DUTY OFF TEA.—The prices of all our

TEAS again REDUCED 4d. per pound. Strong Congou Tea, 2s. 8d., 2s. 10d., 3s.; former prices, 3s., 3s. 2d., 3s. 4d.

Rich Souchong Tea, 3s. 2d., 3s. 4d., 3s. 8d.; former prices, 3s. 6d., 3s. 8d., 4s.

Best Assam Pekoe Souchong Tea, 4s.; former price, 4s. 4d.

Prime Gunpowder Tea, 3s. 8d., 4s., 4s. 4d., 4s. 8d.; former prices, 4s., 4s. 4d., 4s. 8d., and 5s.

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