

The Leader.

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

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News of the Week.

THE head of the British Government has declared for a prosecution of the war to extort effectual security from Russia; the declaration was made within a few hours after the electric telegraph had asserted that Russia had sent to Vienna an acceptance of the Austrian propositions, and while the despatches from the East continued to report the progress of the Russian defeat and the evacuation of the Principalities.

The telegraph was most likely false. It told us, some days past, that the purport of the Russian reply was, that in deference to Austria, the Principalities will be evacuated. We have yet to learn whether the reply is so or not. If it were, the message would be the most impudent pretence of which even Russia has been guilty. The Principalities are in course of being evacuated in deference to the valour of the Turkish arms, commanded by Omar Pacha, and supported as they are by France and England. Austria cannot possibly regard herself as more than the last feather—a weighty one, no doubt—which has broken the stout back of Russian endurance. Should the despatch be a verity, we have yet to see whether Austria would, in consequence of so impudent a pretence, retract from her position, or whether she will not go forward in alliance with the Western Powers, and put upon Russia that restriction which the conduct of Nicholas has rendered necessary for its moral effect as well as military safety.

With respect to Lord Aberdeen, we have no disposition to copy the carping spirit of Lord Clanricarde, or to call the new speech a "retraction." We have still our doubts whether Lord Aberdeen, a minister with peace in his mouth, is the best suited for the present time; but that question may be said to be placed out of the field by the unhandsome party attack upon him, which condescends to misrepresent his language. The new speech was not a retraction; and we cannot, consistently with the trust which gentlemen must place in the words of gentlemen, receive it as anything more than a complete proof, that while the language of the venerable nobleman was imprudent to the last degree, rash in the mannerism of moderation,—while he approaches the Turkish question from a different point of view, his meaning and purpose are identical with those at present contemplated by Lord John Russell, Lord Clarendon, and by the English public generally. Russia, he says, having once declared war, must be compelled to feel that the power of the allies is greater than her own; and she must yield a security that she will not again attempt the invasion of Turkey. Whether or not Lord Aberdeen and his colleagues are prepared to aim, boldly and unflinchingly, at the only tangible means for

securing the objects they have in view, we must judge by the sequel. But that is a subject which we have discussed in a separate paper. We still suspect Lord Aberdeen of moderation at a time when moderation would be as inopportune as reflection in the mid-career of a charge of cavalry.

The despatch which Lord Aberdeen produced, as written by himself in 1829, after the treaty of Adrianople had been concluded, cannot be rejected as evidence to his character. He was at that time the Foreign Secretary of a Tory Ministry; Russia victorious, she might have dictated terms at Constantinople; and Lord Aberdeen was obliged to confine himself to criticising the terms of pretended moderation which Russia had extorted. In this despatch he shows that, although she had taken no territorial acquisitions, she had secured the keys of military entrance into all the territories of Turkey, and had, by false pretences, established herself in the position of a conqueror; that the Russian war was declared against Turkey as intended only for the purposes of redress, professedly with objects of the most moderate compensation, and with the fixed condition of not injuring the territorial independence of the Ottoman Empire. Now that he is chief of a Liberal Ministry, Lord Aberdeen has a right to bring forward this despatch, written in so totally different a position, as a proof that the opinions avowed by anti-Russian parties at the present day are the same with the opinions which he had formed even then; and we say it would be an outrageous exaggeration of just suspicion, it would be a violation of the feeling even of the poorest chivalry, to suspect a statesman who can bring evidence to character like this. We agree with Lord Lyndhurst that the true policy of Englishmen is to persevere in "jealousy," rather than in "confidence," not because we suspect English statesmen of treachery, but because we may reasonably suspect them of mistaken judgment at a critical moment, of too great timidity, and, most chiefly, of sympathising with the governing class of any state rather than with the people of their own country, still less with the people of any foreign land.

Whatever may have been Lord Aberdeen's mistakes in language, or in policy, he has now been straightforward and outspoken; and such bearing has its usual effect. Undue suspicion and reproach are at once disarmed. Mr. Layard withdrew the motion of which he had given notice for Thursday last, for demanding an explanation in the House of Commons, and he declared himself satisfied. The cheers with which this announcement was received showed that he was correct in anticipating the wishes of the House. We have reason to know that influential persons amongst the public, who heartily shared Mr. Layard's desire for explanation, have been for the time equally satisfied. In Newcastle, for example, men of all parties were prepared to come forward with such a demand for

explanation as would have been a formidable protest against the supposed meaning of Lord Aberdeen's language; but his second speech has allayed the storm, and Mr. Layard's withdrawal of his notice is learned with approval. Government must not suppose that, because the people are not assembling at public meetings, they are indifferent or asleep. Any serious misconduct on the part of Ministers would soon arouse a correction of any such mistake.

The Russians being undoubtedly in retreat, both on the main road from Kalarasch to the Sereth, and through the Dobrudscha, the most interesting question is the next line of operations on both sides. For a new Power has entered into the quarrel, and for good or evil the Austrian army will march down the left bank of the Danube and occupy Wallachia. What the effect of this will be is matter of much speculation. Austria, it is said, is acting in collusion with Russia, and will dictate a peace from Bucharest. Let us see. First, so far as we can learn, the Russians show no symptoms of abandoning the mouths of the Danube; nor even of abandoning Moldavia. On the contrary, recent intelligence indicates rather a design to stand on the Sereth, and hold the Lower Danube than a design to take post behind the Pruth. Secondly, the march of Russian troops upon the Austrian frontier shows an intention of drawing down to the support of the army now in retreat, and menacing Galicia at the same time. Should the Russians stand at the Sereth, and the Austrians cross the Turkish frontier, that would amount to a declaration of war against Russia. In point of fact, Austrian collusion is not necessary to account for the Russian retreat. Beaten at Silistria, with a storm gathering on the Balkan, the Russians had no course open but to retreat; and the line of the Danube once abandoned, Wallachia offered no position, and the line of the Sereth was the only alternative. The entry of the Austrians, it is said, is intended to check the pursuit of the Turks. But how could the Turks harass the Russians when the former were miles in the rear? And how could Austria shield the retreat when not a bayonet or sabre had crossed the frontier? Assuming that Austria is sincere she will be useful enough in the Principalities, because her presence will set free the allies for ulterior operations; such as the reduction of the Crimea. Supposing the Austrians do not fire a shot upon the Russians, still a Russian army will be needed to watch these new troops, to secure the left bank of the Lower Danube below the confluence of the Pruth; for it is confessed that Austria aims at the freedom of the Danube. We have no means of judging of the sincerity of Austria; we affirm nothing on the subject; we only say that collusion with Russia is not needed to account for the Russian retreat or the Austrian occupation. As to the reported reinforcements which are to be sent to

the Crimea, where are they to come from? Certainly not from the retreating army. The Crimea does not cover Odessa and the line of the Pruth.

The position in which the Oxford University Bill has been placed is very unusual. It will be remembered that of the two clauses moved by Mr. Heywood last week, one abolishing the oath on the admission of students to Oxford University, was carried by a decisive majority, while the other, abolishing the oath on the taking of degrees, was negatived. On Monday night, the bill having come to the third reading, Mr. Heywood reproduced the second resolution, so modified as to preserve its essential part, but not to include necessarily the admission of Dissenters to professorship and other posts in the University, which are in the general acceptance supposed to be essentially connected with the Church of England, as by law established. Lord John Russell, who was disposed to waive resistance to the second resolution last week, now declared that Government would positively support the amended resolution; but he claimed two or three days to consider the subject, and Mr. Heywood willingly gave him till Thursday. The delay did no disservice; after a brief debate the resolution was carried by 233 to 79.

The debate on the law of limited liability in partnership, is an example of those "discussions" in the House of Commons which are becoming frequent. It does not enlarge the knowledge of the subject in the slightest degree, nor does the result of the successful passing of a resolution in favour of the measure constitute any practical advance. This was shown by the willingness on both sides to avoid a division. Why? Evidently because the opponents of the measure would have been beaten for a time; and yet, because the advocates of the measure would have shown that the zeal which brought them down to the House, had not been able to secure them a strong muster. The so-called debate consisted of a series of lectures by the friends of the measure, with a few systematically expressed doubts from its opponents, whether the change could be safely introduced into our trading system, and a formal representation from the President of the Board of Trade and the Home Secretary, that in the divided state of public opinion, Government could not be expected to declare which side was right; because we suppose Government always discovers that that side is in the right which can contribute to sustain the Government by numbers or influence. If, indeed, the new debate should allay the apprehension which so often prevents Ministers from deciding upon any subject, it will not have been in vain. Like many other propositions for the benefit of a considerable number, the law of limited liability stands over until some Government can be honest and resolute enough to do what the people want.

The bill by which Sir Thomas Wilson is endeavouring to set aside the will of the last Lord of the Manor, forbidding building upon the Hampstead estate, has passed the second reading in the House of Lords, and Hampstead is threatened with the bricklayers. The subject is one important to all parties of a country where the inhabitants, especially the humbler classes, retain any common lands for purposes of recreation. However it may be fashionable amongst the vulgar part of "the silver-fork school" to sneer at Hampstead Heath as a Cockney resort, it is a piece of broken ground of singular beauty, and its destruction would be an irretrievable loss to the metropolis. The pretence that Sir Thomas Wilson has some kind of equitable right to build upon it is counter to the fact, and the public have shown far too little jealousy of this invasion of common lands. The titles of landowners must be construed strictly, since they are all of them in the position of invaders. Let us remember that the land-owner is an encroacher upon the national rights representing the old land-lord, who held land in occupation, not ownership, on condition of performing suit and service for it. The purchase-money really represents the goodwill of the occupancy; and landlords now perform no suit and service for their lands. What moral right have they, then, to claim the lands expressly belonging to the public because they have by encroachment established a formal hold upon land which they formerly held in fealty to the Crown?

This week again the Reverend Joseph Brown, Rector of Christ Church, Blackfriars, led forth his parishioners to their annual picnic. Last year the anniversary was marred by a domestic calamity

which had visited his home, but this year exhibited continued progress. We observed that the number was greatly increased—it was somewhere about 3000. The place selected was Sir Culling Eardley's grounds, near Erith—a beautiful park-like enclosure. At the subsequent out-of-door collation given to the more influential parishioners, several facts were stated which show how completely Mr. Brown is reconciling the opinions of a divided parish; not by controversial zeal or by asserting clerical supremacy; but by inducing fellow-Christians to unite in the common work of doing good. Here we find a gentleman of the independent persuasion offering the grounds in which an established clergyman leads his parishioners, of all sects, to pass a day in the enjoyment of nature, not without worship for their common faith.

PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

LORD ABERDEEN is the hero of the week. As our readers know, he determined to anticipate Mr. Layard, and to explain his speech of the 19th on Monday—three days before Mr. Layard's menaced motion. It is an evidence of the great interest taken by the public, and even the House of Lords in this Eastern question, that not only were there crowds gathered outside the House of Lords, on Monday evening, but that the Peers themselves mustered in great force, that "ladies" plentifully garnished the galleries set apart for them, and that the strangers' gallery was rather too full for comfort. In addition to this, it is remarked that the House postponed private business, in order to get at the main question of the day.

LORD ABERDEEN moved for a copy of a despatch addressed by himself to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, anent the treaty of Adrianople. As the occasion was great, and the speech of unusual interest, we give it verbatim, from the admirable report of the *Morning Chronicle*.

"My lords, I have taken a somewhat unusual course upon the present occasion, but perhaps your lordships will not think it altogether unjustifiable or unreasonable that I should be desirous of availing myself of the earliest opportunity to remove the misapprehensions which have taken place, and which have led in consequence to great misrepresentations of some observations which I addressed to your lordship in the course of the last week. My lords, I could wish that those who express an opinion upon the observations in question would take the trouble to read the report of that speech. I have done so myself; and although I declare that I have nothing to retract or to contradict, nevertheless, I readily admit that, from the imperfect manner in which I always address your lordships, there may probably—there may undoubtedly—be reason for some explanation, and some further development of that which I intended to address to the House, with a view to bring fully and clearly before your lordships the views and opinions which I entertain upon the subject to which my observations referred. My lords, I feel that I can do so with great ease, and, fortunately, in a very short time—otherwise, from the indisposition of the moment, I should not attempt to address your lordships upon the present occasion. My lords, the despatch for which I intend to move was first referred to in this House by the late Lord Grey, very shortly before he became minister. It has been mentioned at other times, both here and in the House of Commons. It has also been moved for, but it has been hitherto withheld for various reasons. It was likewise referred to by myself not very long ago, and I have now resolved to produce it, because I understand there has proceeded from a very high authority in another place the astounding declaration that I have recently claimed the honour of framing the treaty of Adrianople. Now, my lords, the production of the despatch in question will show you how far I was instrumental in framing that treaty, and what was my opinion, and the opinion of the Government whose organ I was on that occasion, of that unfortunate and disastrous treaty.

"My lords, it has been said—or, at all events, it has been inferred from what I said a few days ago—that I regarded the treaty of Adrianople with approbation, or, at least, with indifference. Now, my lords, the fact is, such was the impression produced by that treaty—such was the alarm excited by its conclusion—such were the supposed dangers which we dreaded to the existence of the Turkish empire, that the whole policy of the British Government was changed on a most material point in consequence of that treaty. I have already, I think, referred in this House to the fact, which your lordships well know, that at the beginning and during the progress of the Greek revolution, Mr. Canning never contemplated the existence of Greece as an independent kingdom, neither did the Duke of Wellington ever contemplate the existence of Greece as an independent kingdom, but solely as a vassal state under the suzerainty of the Porte, somewhat similar to the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia. When, however, the treaty of Adrianople was signed, it appeared to me, and my noble friend at the head of the Government at the time agreed with me, that the condition of the Turkish empire was so perilous in itself that it would be extremely unwise to create a state and to place it under the protection and suzerainty of an empire which itself was exposed to extreme peril, and whose existence was prolonged for a time only. Therefore we agreed to propose to our allies to convert that vassal state into an independent kingdom. Our allies agreed with, and the Porte at last assented to our proposal. Hence the existence of Greece as an independent kingdom is due to the impressions produced upon us by the terms of the treaty of Adrianople. My lords, what I have now said shows at least what were our impressions; and although they may be thought by some to have been erroneous, I can assure your lordships that at the time they were unquestionably honest

and sincere. I fully admit that the apprehensions which we then felt have turned out to be greatly exaggerated. However disastrous the treaty of Adrianople, and however mischievous its conditions, nevertheless we have the experience of the last 25 years to assure us of the continued existence of the Turkish empire; and more than that, we have had proof of the vigour, of the energy, and of the courage and perseverance with which the troops of that empire have maintained the integrity and independence of their country. (*Cheers*.) It is obvious, then, that we were under the most exaggerated alarm for the consequences of the treaty of Adrianople. Now, my lords, I do not mean to say, although fortunately we were somewhat mistaken as to the amount of the danger to be apprehended from the treaty of Adrianople, that that treaty was not, in the highest degree, dangerous and prejudicial to the interests of Europe. I have never said so, either here or elsewhere. My noble and learned friend (Lord Lyndhurst) called it, I think, an 'unfortunate' treaty. My lords, that is not a word sufficiently strong to describe the character of that treaty.

"True, my lords, I have said that, disastrous as the treaty of Adrianople was, Russia has made no great territorial acquisitions in consequence of that treaty. I said so as the simple truth. I was induced to say so, perhaps, at the moment, in consequence of a declaration, most exaggerated and most unfounded, that my noble and learned friend had made, that the Russian empire had doubled its territory in Europe in the course of the last fifty years. That I hold to be completely incorrect, and, with the recollection of the treaty of Adrianople before me, I certainly did refer to it in proof that no such extension of territory had taken place as that asserted by my noble and learned friend. But, my lords, although I knew perfectly well, and indeed I think there can be no doubt of the fact, that no considerable extension of territory has taken place in consequence of that treaty, nevertheless I was not at all less aware of the importance of the acquisitions that have actually been made since 1829. I know perfectly well the importance of the acquisitions which Russia has made with respect to the navigation of the Danube, and I am equally sensible of the importance of the posts which she has acquired in Asia. Although small in extent, those acquisitions, from their character, are of the highest political importance. My lords, as the despatch for which I intend to move is long, and will be immediately upon the table of the House, I will not fatigue your lordships by reading it *in extenso*, but I must trouble you with a single extract, to show that, although I dwelt strongly the other evening upon the limited extent of the territorial acquisitions made by Russia, I did not in the slightest degree mean by that to invalidate the political importance of the acquisitions actually made by Russia. The passage is expressed in these terms:—'It may not be easy to accuse of want of generosity the conqueror who checks the unresisted progress of success, and who spares the defenceless capital of his enemy. Nevertheless, the treaty in question—certainly not in conformity with the expectations held out by preceding declarations and assurances—appears vitally to affect the interests, the strength, the dignity, the present safety, and future independence of the Ottoman empire. The modes of domination may be various, although all equally irresistible. The independence of a state may be overthrown, and its subjection effectually secured, without the presence of a hostile force or the permanent possession of its soil. Under the present treaty the territorial acquisitions of Russia are small, it must be admitted, in extent, although most important in their character. They are commanding positions, far more valuable than the possession of barren provinces and depopulated towns, and better calculated to rivet the fetters by which the Sultan is bound.' (*What is the date?*) The despatch is dated the 31st day of December, 1829. My lords, the extract I have read shows that the small extent of the acquisitions made by Russia did not blind me to the importance of their character; and, therefore, when the other night I dwelt upon the absence of any very great territorial acquisitions, of course it was with a view to contradict the assertion of my noble and learned friend, and to state what may be termed a geographical truth, but without the slightest reference to the undoubted political importance of those acquisitions which have actually been made. My lords, the conclusion of the treaty of Adrianople was the commencement of a change of policy on the part of Russia. It is highly probable that if that treaty had been made by the Empress Catherine, great acquisitions of territory would have taken place.

"But, as I have said, at that time Russia commenced a change of policy which has been carried on to the present day with ever-increasing vigour, and which accounts, to a certain extent, for the absence of those territorial acquisitions which in other circumstances would no doubt have been made. That change of policy consists in this—Russia, instead of pursuing the policy which was followed in the preceding century, has, since the conclusion of the treaty of Adrianople, looked to the extension of her political influence rather than to the acquisition of territory. A very prudent and politic change it has been. We have all heard that

'Satan's grown wiser than of yore.'

and, perhaps, the line is not inapplicable to the Emperor of Russia, in having determined to pursue the same objects by different means, and means calculated not so greatly to alarm the European Powers. I believe this is the secret of all that has taken place in recent years. Take, for example, the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, concluded when a Russian army was in possession of Constantinople. There can be no doubt that if the former policy of the Empress Catherine had been followed upon that occasion great territorial acquisitions would have been made, and they could not have been resisted in the relative positions of the two powers at the time; but in consequence, as I believe, of the change of policy commenced by the treaty of Adrianople, the demands of Russia at the conclusion of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, though they were unquestionably of the highest importance both to Russia and the Porte, did not assume the character of territorial aggrandisement. So with the mission of Prince Menshikoff himself. Russia was in a position in which she might have made demands of the most pressing nature upon Turkey. She had some reason for adopting that course;

but, instead of exacting anything like territorial indemnity, she at once pressed for additional privileges, and if she had obtained those additional privileges for her co-religionists in the Turkish empire, I have no doubt that the invasion of the Principalities would never have taken place, or would immediately have ceased on the Sultan complying with her demands. But of course we felt—Europe felt—that the independence of Turkey would be as much endangered by the cession of such rights and privileges as were claimed by Russia as it would have been had she made a positive demand for territorial indemnity; and therefore it was that the pretensions of Russia were resisted.

"Now, my lords, I have been supposed to say also that I desired, or did not object, to a return to the treaty of Adrianople, because I stated that if we could obtain a peace which should last for twenty-five years we should not do amiss. (Hear.) Nor should we; but when I said that I never for a moment meant to convey the impression which it seems my words have produced. I never said a word to imply that I desired to return to the treaty of Adrianople. What I said, or intended to say, was, that the treaty of Adrianople has given us peace for twenty-five years, and that if by any treaty which the fortune of war might enable us to make, we should secure peace for an equal length of time, we should not, considering the instability of all human affairs, do so very far amiss. Therefore, my lords, I am quite at a loss to conceive upon what ground any one should dare to say, first, that I have claimed the honour of making the treaty of Adrianople, and next, that I approved of or was indifferent to its conditions, and was ready to renew it without reference to the present posture of affairs. I have explained to your lordships how it came that I insisted the other evening upon the limited extent of the territorial acquisitions which Russia has made in consequence of the treaty of Adrianople. My statement upon that point is perfectly true; it is incontrovertible; but it was intended to be qualified in the manner which I have now stated to your lordships. I feel, therefore, that I have nothing further to say of the treaty of Adrianople.

"It has also been said that I recommended a return to the status quo, or, at least, that I would not object to it. Now, my lords, this statement surprises me more than anything, because I thought I had taken special care to explain that point in my answer to the observations of my noble and learned friend. I stated that that might be the cause of some apparently ambiguous expressions used by Austria and by Prussia, as compared with the expressions used by ourselves, and I said that Austria and Prussia might be desirous to restore the status quo; but, at the same time, I made the specific declaration that that was by no means applicable to us—that is, to England and France. You are aware, my lords, that before the declaration of war the status quo was all that we hoped for—all that we desired—all that we attempted to obtain, and that was the condition which the Turkish Government signified its willingness to agree to. The treaty of Vienna was framed upon the understanding agreed to by all the four powers, that the relations between Russia and Turkey should revert to the status quo. We thought that was quite as much as the Emperor of Russia could expect us to offer, and much more than he had any right to expect. But, my lords, we proposed that in the hope that we should be able to preserve the state of peace, and that we should be able to avert our entering upon a course where all the evil passions that war engenders would be let loose. But the instant that war was declared, the state of the question was entirely altered. (Loud cheers.) From that moment everything depended upon the war itself, and we are left free to exercise our own judgment—to do that which we think will best suit our own interests and policy in framing the terms of peace. From that moment the status quo was entirely at an end. (Cheers.) Very well. I also said, as to the terms of peace, that however desirable, however necessary we might think certain terms to be, still it would be unwise in us now, in the present state of the war, to lay down any conditions of peace as those to which alone we will accede. These must depend upon the events of the war; and in the debate to which I have already referred I recollect I did say that the conditions of peace would be very different if we found the Russians at Constantinople from what they would be if we found ourselves at St. Petersburg. Well, my lords, within these points lies the whole scope of the variance from the status quo. How far we may deviate from the status quo no man can at this moment say, because that must depend upon events which are not within our power absolutely to control. But, this we can say, that the independence and integrity of Turkey are undoubted conditions—they constitute the sine qua non—that must be secured, and secured effectually. (Cheers.) But how this is to be done must again depend upon the progress of events, in the course of the negotiations which may take place at the moment. But that security must be taken—security for the independence and integrity of Turkey, so far as depends upon Russia, is really the object from which we are determined not to depart. (Cheers.) But again, I say, how that is to be obtained neither I nor any man in this House is able to say. We know what our object is—our main object at least—and of course by one mode or another we will obtain that without which peace is impossible.

"I think, also, exception has been taken to some expressions of mine, as if I expressed doubt or disbelief of any danger from Russian aggression. Now, I wish here to say that I have the greatest alarm as to Russian aggression against Turkey. But against that aggression in any shape—whether in the shape of influence, whether in the shape of conquest, or in any other mode—we are prepared to protect her. But, with respect to Russian aggression upon Europe, independent of her designs upon Turkey, I certainly did express no great alarm, because I feel no great alarm, and I am inclined to feel less and less every day. (Laughter.) If Russia, indeed, could be supposed to be in possession of Constantinople, if she had made good her aggression upon Turkey, if she were in possession of Constantinople, then indeed I should feel alarmed for Europe, because I think Russia would acquire then the means of becoming formidable and dangerous to Europe. Without that, my lords, I cannot pretend to say that I feel any great alarm. I consider

France to be more powerful than Russia and Austria put together, and it is, therefore, impossible for me to look upon Russia with any great alarm out of her own frontiers, or in such a light as would induce me to think that it would be better to enter at once into a state of war in order to repress dangers which I do not feel. Danger from Russia against Europe appears to me mainly, if not entirely, to depend upon her power in Turkey and in the East. If that power be checked—and it is to be hoped that we shall succeed in keeping her entirely free from exciting further alarm in the Turkish territories—then I cannot possibly think that there need be any very great alarm as to what she may do to Austria, or Prussia, or France, or England. (Cheers.) This, however much it has been misunderstood, was really all that I meant to express as to my general incredulity of any danger from Russian aggression. I have now shown your lordships what sort of aggression it is that I am afraid of, and what sort of aggression it is that I am not afraid of. I am not aware that there is any other part of the observations which I addressed to your lordships the other night which requires further explanation. I believe I have already explained everything which, from being misunderstood at the time, appeared to be calculated to excite feelings of distrust in the Government.

"My lords, I wish I could confine myself to this explanation; to the full expression of the sentiments I entertain, and which appeared to me necessary to be explained. I could have wished certainly that I might have been spared the necessity of saying anything about the extraordinary and absurd imputations—the personal imputations—to which I have been exposed. (Loud cheers.) I have no fear that your lordships, who are accustomed to weigh the actions and the sentiments of public men, will fail to comprehend the motives from which I have acted; and the misrepresentation of them has been so ludicrously absurd that I feel—indignant as I am—I feel it would not be worthy of the position which I now occupy—it would not be worthy of the memory of those with whom I have acted—it would not be worthy of my own character, if I were to condescend to enter upon any justification of my personal motives. (Loud cheers.) My lords, it is true that I have more than any other man struggled to preserve the state of peace for this country. I have done so because I thought it my duty to the people of this country—my duty to God and man—to exhaust every possible means of preserving peace, and my only regret is—though I trust your lordships will acquit me on that point—my only regret is, that I should not have done all, and left in any way I should have lost some possible means of averting the greatest calamity that can befall a country, for, however glorious any war may be, the calamities which accompany it are heavy enough greatly to outweigh that glory. I know it has been said if you love peace so much, you are unfit for war. My lords, though peace is so dear to my feelings, still I am convinced of the necessity of this war. But how do I wish to make war? I wish to make war in order to obtain a peace; and I know well that the best mode of making war in order speedily to obtain a peace is to make war with the utmost vigour and determination. (Loud cheers.) My noble friends near me know well enough that, peaceable as I am, I have never shrunk—that, on the contrary, I have given my most ready concurrence to the most active measures of hostility and warlike preparations. Nay, more, I believe I may say they will admit that I have personally been more urgent than perhaps any other man in exhorting the speedy concentration and advance of the allied forces north of the Balkan in support of the gallant army of Omer Pacha, and to extend a helping hand to Austria in order to enable her to carry out her professions. (Cheers.) This, except for the warmth of the feelings under which I spoke, I ought not, perhaps, to say; but it is the truth that, in the course we have taken I have invariably urged the most decided course of action. (Loud cheers.) My lords, I have now no more to say. I wish to confine myself to this subject without entering upon other topics more or less connected with the war—with the events that led to it, or that may follow from it—I wish to remove understandings which I feel to be perfectly erroneous interpretations of what I said, and I now declare that so far from my former endeavours to preserve peace disqualifying me from carrying on the war, I think, though of course I may be wrong in the particular means, I think we ought to have recourse to the most expedient, the most prompt, the most successful means of carrying it on. (Cheers.) I maintain, and assert, that my very love of peace induces me now to enter upon this war, which I unquestionably believe to be a perfectly just war, and therefore it is that I—so long as I have anything to do with the Government—shall unquestionably carry it on in such a manner as will be most likely to secure benefit to England, and to establish a safe and honourable peace." (Loud and continued cheers.)

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE described the speech of Lord Aberdeen as a "retraction," and was saluted with cries of "No." He repeated the descriptive word, and the dissentient murmurs were renewed. Then he went on to make a general onslaught upon the foreign policy of Lord Aberdeen. It was all very well to write a despatch in December, when the treaty was signed in September, 1829. What had Lord Aberdeen done to prevent the signing of the treaty? Why, when the "disastrous" treaty was proposed, the Minister of Turkey asked England and France, and Austria and Prussia what he had better do, and they said sign. Lord Aberdeen has been "the most constant, the most zealous, the most powerful," supporter of arbitrary government. On every possible occasion he has opposed the recognition of reforms in the countries with which he had to deal. Was he not the mainstay of Dom Miguel? Did he not continually find fault with the Quadruple Treaty? Did he not stigmatise the gallant revolution of Belgium as "the most senseless and unintelligible recorded in history?" Lord Aberdeen did not the other night reply to the luminous speech of Lord Lyndhurst, but to that of the Foreign Secretary. What was its effect abroad?

"He had a very impartial witness to the effect of that speech—he meant a brief telegraphic report of it which had appeared in a paper which had probably the greatest circulation of any on the continent—*L'Independance Belge*. Mark the position which we were in. The noble earl had justified a great deal of the delay, languor, tardiness, apparent vacillation, and hesitation in the whole course of our proceedings on the ground of his wanting to carry with him the Governments of the continent, especially of the German Powers. Then here was a paper published on the borders of Germany, with an immense circulation over the whole of Germany, and what was the statement in that paper? The gentleman who reported for it endeavoured to exercise a very impartial judgment, and in his telegraphic despatch, which gave a very few lines of each speech, that of the noble earl was thus reported—'Earl of Aberdeen a essayé justifier la conduite de la Russie et a plaidé la cause de la paix.' That was the view of the speech which he ventured to say was entertained over the whole of the continent; and he asked, was it a matter of no importance that those opinions should go forth, even though the noble earl was not supported in them by his colleagues? He thought, for a short summary, that that gave fairly the tenour of the noble earl's speech, for he thought that the noble earl had justified the Emperor in some acts which he had adopted, and had pleaded very strongly in favour of peace."

Lord CLANRICARDE attacked the Government for the delay in the preparations for war, and imputed it to Lord Aberdeen; he criticised the appointment of the Duke of Newcastle as War Minister, and declared in favour of Lord Palmerston. Making a general attack on the Government, he remarked upon the number, 330, with which they came into power, the great increase, 400, during last session, and the striking fact that this session they cannot carry their measures.

"Was the reason for this state of things that there was any want of ability in the members of the Government who sat in the other House! He need hardly say anything with regard to the reputation, the ability, and character of Lord John Russell, a statesman respected by all men, followed by many, than whom no one possessed greater practical Parliamentary experience. Was he unaided upon the bench on which he sat? He had upon the one side Lord Palmerston, indisputably the most popular man with the country in either House of Parliament, and on the other side Mr. Gladstone, a most accomplished debater, undoubtedly the most acute logician in either House, whose power of reasoning was almost capable of proving that black was white. The Government consisted of a combination of men eminent for administrative capacity, who were at the head of a great party, and who, besides that party, were supported by a great number of other, although perhaps less attached friends. How came it, then, that they were in the present position he had described, for no one could deny that they had been defeated day after day, and obliged to withdraw measures they had proposed, so that, practically, the servants of the Crown could not carry on the business which they thought it desirable to carry on? He attributed it to the First Lord of the Treasury." (Cheers and laughter.)

Neither the Parliament nor the country has any confidence in Lord Aberdeen; and Lord CLANRICARDE, were it not for the humble position he occupies, would propose a vote of want of confidence!

Lord BEAUMONT admired the moral courage with which Lord Aberdeen had put himself in what some would call a humiliating position, in order that he might explain a speech. Certainly it had removed some suspicions, but was not quite satisfactory. Lord Beaumont then inquired whether a paragraph published in the *Press*—a journal representing Lord Derby in the press—was accurate.

"His Highness Prince Metternich, at the special and personal request of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Austria, has embodied in a State paper his view of the arrangements which, in the present condition of affairs, may conduce to a just and honourable peace. We have reason to believe that these views have been communicated, although not officially, to the Earl of Aberdeen; and that little doubt prevails, from previous communications that have taken place, that they will be substantially adopted by the English Minister."

Lord ABERDEEN'S reply was characteristic.

"The noble lord has addressed a question to me which I am perfectly ready to answer, and I hope to be able to answer satisfactorily. I observed the paragraph in the paper which he has quoted, and I admired its ingenuity, because, my former acquaintance and friendship with Prince Metternich having been known, it was a very good notion to throw out the idea that I was engaged in negotiations with him in the sense which was endeavoured to be implied by the writer of that article. Therefore I thought it very ingenious. But I can only say this: that what the Emperor of Austria may have done in consulting an old and valued servant, and I hope he may have consulted him, but whether he has or not, I am perfectly ignorant. My noble and learned friend mentioned Prince Metternich the other night with praise, and I took up the same strain. I have seen it reported in some paper, that the Emperor was about to take the advice of Prince Metternich, and that he has done so the paragraph alluded to is, I hope, in that part correct. Whether it be so or not I cannot say. All I know is, as far as I am concerned, there is just the same amount of truth in it as in all the other imputations against me, which I have the happiness of seeing day after day—namely, not a single syllable. (Cheers.) It so happens that since I have been in office, I have not formerly been with Prince Metternich, neither directly nor indirectly have I had any communication with him for the last year and a half until a few days ago, when a lady friend of mine told me she was writing to Prince Metternich, and I said, 'Pray make my best remembrances to him.' (Cheers and laughter.)

Lord BROUGHAM declared that Lord Aberdeen had

not retracted or explained away anything—he had listened most attentively. But he protested strongly against entering into negotiations should Austria demand it, supposing Russia makes some concession; it will never do to be drawn into the game of protocols played with all the resources and skill of Russian diplomacy.

Here ended the matter.

On the following night, Mr. LAFARD withdrew his notice of motion in these words:—

“On Friday last, sir, I gave notice that I should, on Thursday next, submit a resolution to the notice of the House. At that time I did not pledge myself to any particular words for that resolution, but in order that there should be no misunderstanding, I stated that my intention was to elicit the opinions of the House with reference to certain language held by the noble earl at the head of the Government with regard to our present relations with Russia. I understand that, in consequence of that notice, the noble earl stated his intention to make some explanations of that language, and that that explanation has been since given; and I trust that it will have the effect of removing from the public mind a very general (what I hope may be called) misapprehension, and of affirming that policy which has been so ably, and in such an English spirit, shadowed forth by the noble lord the President of the Council and by the noble earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. I therefore think that I shall be acting most in conformity with the feelings of the House if I withdraw my notice, as it was directed against the speech which was the subject of that explanation. But in doing so I hope the House will allow me to express my conviction, looking to the present critical aspect of public affairs, and especially if the news received yesterday should be true, that before we separate for the recess some discussion should take place in this House on the state of our foreign relations. I do not wish to obtrude myself upon the House by undertaking such a duty; but if nobody else in this House will do so, I shall myself bring the subject forward. I shall proceed in no hostile spirit towards her Majesty's Government; but it is my conviction, I repeat, that there ought to be some expression of opinion on the part of this House before Parliament prorogues; and I will leave the naming of the day for that purpose to the noble lord the Member for London.”

So the matter stands for the present.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL (CANADA) BILL.

Upon the motion in the House of Lords for going into committee upon this bill, the Earl of DERBY moved that the committee be postponed for three months. Complaining that no statement of the provisions of the bill had been made upon the first reading, and that at the second reading the papers relating to the proposed changes in the Legislative Council had not been laid before Parliament, though the Government had had them in their possession since the 11th of July, 1853, he contended that Parliament had not had sufficient opportunity to consider a question of so much importance. Alluding to the merits of the bill he said that it would convert the constitution of Canada practically, whatever it may do nominally, into a republic infinitely more democratic in its character, and guarded by infinitely fewer safeguards and infinitely fewer securities than are to be found in the constitution of the United States, which from the wisdom its authors, and the prudence of those who live under it, has protected itself against hasty legislation, and against the preponderating influence of a single legislative body, by precautions which are not found in this bill, and some of which, actually existing at present, this bill professes to do away with.

It enabled the colony to legislate upon a particular question which the Imperial Parliament had hitherto deliberately reserved to itself; and he urged that this was a concession destructive to imperial authority. The question of an elective council had been one of the demands of the Radical party in Canada before the rebellion; but in 1837 Lord John Russell voted in favour of a nominated council. On that occasion the House of Commons divided, when 56 members voted in favour of an elective council and 318 against it. In 1840, when the act passed for the reunion of the two provinces, the same principle was deliberately affirmed, and Lord John Russell repeated his objections to an elective chamber. Lord Melbourne and Lord Durham both held the same views, and were strongly in favour of having somebody to interpose as a barrier against democratic influence. Having read the language used by these statesmen on several occasions, he said the papers laid before the House did not show the slightest necessity for thus altering the constitution of Canada. Reverting to the bill he proceeded to show that it was democratic in its character, and wanting in provisions against hasty and imprudent legislation. Both chambers were to be elected by the same constituency. True, the Legislative Council were to be elected for six years, and the Legislative Assembly for only four; but during those six years the council was certainly not a free and independent body like the Senate of the United States, because the bill said that if for two years the council rejected, or so amended any measure passed by the House of Assembly that the assembly could not accept it, the council, upon the advice of the executive minister of the Crown, might be dissolved and sent back to the same constituency as the assembly for re-election. No man could legislate independently under such a system. It

was, in fact, the system of a republic, while the safeguards of age and property qualification for members of the council were inadequate and illusory. Lord Elgin, in his despatch of July 1, had pointed out the difficulties and dangers of any attempt to combine two elective chambers with a system of government conducted on the rules of British constitutional practice; and on the authority of the Governor-General himself, he asked how the government of Canada was to be carried on, under such circumstances, in a spirit and manner consistent with the monarchical principle? He denied that the veto of the Crown would be sufficient in such a system to operate as a safeguard against rash and ill-considered legislation. Having stated several minor objections to the proposal, he asked how it was intended to be put into execution? How was it to be carried? He did not imagine that the Legislative Assembly alone were to adopt this change in the constitution of Canada. Then they must obtain the assent of the Legislative Council. But the Legislative Council had recorded, in plain terms, their determination not to agree to the measure; and he called attention to the fact that the Legislative Council had existing rights which could only be got rid of by some act of comparative violence. But if this measure were applied to Canada, how could it be refused to the other North American colonies, to the total extinction of the monarchical principle? I have dreamed, said his lordship—perhaps it was only a dream—that the time would come when, exercising a perfect control over their own internal affairs, Parliament abandoning its right to interfere in their legislation, these great and important colonies, combined together, should form a monarchical government, presided over either by a permanent viceroy, or, as an independent sovereign, by one nearly and closely allied to the present royal family in this country. I have believed that in such a government it would be possible to uphold the monarchical principle, to establish upon that great continent a monarchy free as that in this country, even freer still with regard to the popular influence exercised, but yet a monarchy worthy of the name, and not a mere empty shadow. Under such a system, I feel convinced that nothing would result for years and ages to come but mutual harmony and friendship between the colonies and the mother country, increased and cemented by mutual appreciation of the great and valuable benefits conferred by a free and regulated monarchy. But pass this bill and that dream is gone for ever. Nothing like a free and regulated monarchy could exist for a single moment under such a constitution as that which is now proposed for Canada. From the time that you pass this constitution the tendency of Canada must be perpetually toward republicanism, if anything could be more really republican than this bill. The next step is an elective governor, and, after you have passed this bill, I do not know that an elective governor would not be perfectly and absolutely unexceptionable. In that case it would matter not whether you had a governor sent out from this country, and bound to act upon the advice of his responsible councillors, or whether, as in the United States, you had a governor elected by the free suffrages of the people over whom he had to rule.

In conclusion, Lord Derby said he did not ask for the rejection of the bill, but only for more time for its mature consideration.

The Duke of NEWCASTLE denied that more time was required in Canada for the consideration of the question; and contended that the powers which the Imperial Parliament had transferred to the Legislature of Canada had been attended with the greatest advantage in producing a spirit of conciliation and respect. Speaking of the constitution of the Legislative Council, he admitted that a nominated chamber possessed, apparently, something of the form of a House of Lords; but he was prepared to maintain that nominee chambers, in whatever colonies they were found, were gradually losing the respect of the people, from the impression that they were the mere tools of the Government of the day. The only alternative then was an elective chamber, and he contended that in this respect the qualifications required from the members of the council to be elected under the bill would ensure the permanence of the Conservative principle. It was asked how the act was to be carried into effect. He replied that it was permissive, and it would only be adopted if the people of Canada desired it. If their opinion was against the bill, the Legislative Council would properly resist it; but, if their opinion was favourable, the council would give effect to it. But, after all, the principle of the measure was not new, for it had been extended by this country among others to the Cape of Good Hope and to the colony of Victoria. The opinions of distinguished statesmen had been quoted against an elective chamber. To this he replied that the opinions of public men had greatly progressed on these subjects; and that the apprehensions felt in 1837 and 1840 had been proved to be entirely groundless. He was, however, surprised to hear the opinion of Lord Durham quoted in favour of a nominee body; and he read several passages from reports written by that

statesman, to show that his convictions were totally opposite character. Taking a larger view of the question, he urged the advantage of confidence in the people of Canada. All the resolutions hitherto passed by the British Parliaments in view had been eminently successful; for, in rancorous hatred against the mother country before, there was now a wholesome party without which representative institutions could not work; and the legislature in Canada was directed its attention to practical measures of public utility.

Lord ST. LEONARDS agreed with Lord DUNDAS in his opinion as to the republican character of the bill, and further objected to it because it changed the disposition of power over the reserves of the Indian clergy provided in the last act of session. Earl of HARROWBY was strongly of opinion that a nominated council should be changed for an elective one; but the election should be given not by a popular vote but to property. He should vote for postponement of the bill. A division took place. The numbers were, for going into committee, 63; against it, 39; majority, 24. Their lordships consequently went into committee upon the bill, and all the clauses were agreed to without amendment.

TREATY BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND TURKEY.

On Thursday, in reply to questions put by DUDLEY STUART, Lord JOHN RUSSELL said that Majesty's Government have received information that a convention has been signed between Austria and the Sublime Porte for the occupation of Danubian principalities by Austrian troops, either whether the Russian troops should quit the principalities or whether they should remain there—that is to say, if the Russians voluntarily left the principalities, the Austrians will occupy them; and if the Russians should quit the principalities, the Austrian troops will enter those principalities for the purpose of occupying them. (*Loud cries of "hear, hear," and a cheer.*) That is the effect of the treaty; but we have present an official copy of the convention which has been signed, and therefore I cannot promise to lay it upon the table of this House. With regard to my noble friend's second question, which relates to any intelligence that has been received by Majesty's Government with respect to the Emperor of Russia having consented to the ultimate Austria, I have to state that no official information of that nature has been received by the Government. The last time that I saw the Austrian minister informed me that no answer had yet been received at Vienna; and I suppose, unless subsequent information has arrived, that no answer has yet been received.

In reply to another Member, Lord JOHN RUSSELL said that England is not a party to the convention.

THE OXFORD BILL.

The third reading of the Oxford University Bill stood for Monday, but on a question that it be a third time, Mr. HEYWOOD repeated the resolution upon which he was defeated on Thursday week, and contended that the relaxation as to taking degrees should apply only to bachelors in arts, law, and medicine, and not to masters. He would be satisfied with this as an instance of concession at once just and politic. Mr. NICHOLSON rejoiced at the previous decision, and the same verdict would be repeated much more emphatically now than before. The resolution was the same in substance as the previous one. It was deemed advisable to alter the system of election for the benefit of Dissenters, let it be done, let new distinctions apply to the new studies; let not let confusion be introduced in the way proposed.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL repeated his objections to the clause in its original shape, but in its modified form he had no objections to it, taking into account the decision of the House upon the clause which admitted Dissenters. He did not think that in its modified form the proposed clause would allow Dissenters to become part of the governing body.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON thought he had reason to complain of the course taken by Mr. Heywood in protesting against Parliament being called upon to give an hour's notice to consent to an altered resolution. As a matter of Parliamentary practice, he thought upon Lord John Russell not to countenance such an unfair course of action. For all that Sir Pakington knew the clause may allow Dissenters to become part of the governing body.

Mr. DRUMMOND deduced the necessity of university reform from the fact that the mass of the people had ceased to belong to the Church of England. Under such a state of things it was also necessary that the university should be re-modelled to enable her to fulfil her functions. Mr. NICHOLSON was desirous that provision should be made for the entrance of all persons who could conscientiously partake of the advantages of the university. His conviction, however, was, that the crude interference of Parliament in the way proposed was the likely means of retarding the right carrying out of the object. Sir ENSKINE PHERRY, in supporting the clause, expressed his astonishment at finding so much intolerance in religious matters displayed in

lightened England. In no civilised country in the world did the like bigotry prevail.

Further proceedings were brought summarily to a close by an intimation from the Speaker that a clause could not be proposed on the third reading without notice. Mr. Heywood had given notice of a clause, but the one substituted was so great a deviation from it, that it could not be proceeded with if any one member objected.

On the suggestion of Lord JOHN RUSSELL, it was agreed that the discussion should be resumed on Thursday. Mr. HEYWOOD stated that he would give due notice of his clause. The only change would be to include bachelors of "music."

On the order for further proceeding on the third reading of this bill, Mr. HEYWOOD moved his clause for making it unnecessary, after the 1st day of next Michaelmas term, for any person, upon taking the degree of bachelor in arts, law, medicine, or music, in the University, to make or subscribe any declaration or take any oath except the oath of allegiance. Mr. EVELYN DENISON seconded the motion.

Mr. HENLEY opposed it, on the grounds that, though alleged to be moderate, it was avowedly a step towards future innovations, and because it would make religious teaching in the University impossible. He moved that the clause be read a second time that day six months. Mr. NEWDEGATE supported the amendment.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said it was his intention, and that of Lord J. RUSSELL, to support the clause, believing that, after the unmistakable decision of the House, he was thereby doing the best for the University. He was convinced that the University would address herself in an earnest spirit to the requirements of the Legislature; but he could find nothing in the clause to prevent the University from administering, as before, a religious education to the children of members of the Church of England.

Mr. Serjeant SHEE, whilst complaining, amid the impatience of the House, that the oath of allegiance should be imposed, supported the clause, which, upon a division, was carried by 233 against 79.

Mr. JOHN PHILLIMORE moved a clause to the effect that no member of the University should, after the 1st of December next, be allowed, on account of his rank, to pass his examination or take his degree sooner than any other undergraduate.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL assented to the clause, and it was agreed to.

An addition to clause 18 of the words, "heads of colleges and halls, being professors, shall vote only for heads of colleges or halls," moved by Mr. E. DENISON, was agreed to.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved to add to Mr. Roundell Palmer's (the school) clause, words excluding from its operation fellowships and studentships. The motion was warmly debated, and, upon a division, was negatived by 139 to 129.

The bill then passed, with a new title.

LAW OF PARTNERSHIP.

The House of Commons discussed the question of limited liability on Tuesday, and arrived at a decision feebly opposed by the Government. The debate brought forth no novelty in the way of argument; but it is of interest as marking the position of the question.

In bringing the subject before the House, Mr. COLLIER observed that it was not a mere lawyer's question, but one on which the co-operation of all classes of members would be advantageous. He briefly stated the character of the law as it exists, and by which it is presumed that every partner has a right to bind all the others to an unlimited extent. The assurance companies, he remarked, alone evaded the law; but all our greatest works, including our railways and the Crystal Palace, arose from its violation. He said that our doctrine was at variance with the civil law, and that it rested only upon a questionable decision sixty years ago. Explaining the principle of partnership *en commandite*, by which registered partners were unlimitedly liable, while others were liable only to the amount of their subscription, he adverted to its acceptance and beneficial working in Florence, Genoa, Venice, France, Holland, Germany, Russia, and America. He addressed himself at some length to a refutation of various objections to the system of limited liability, which he contended was in conformity with the principles of political economy, and rested upon the same basis as free trade in other things than capital. He moved this resolution:—

"That the law of partnership, which renders every person who, though not an ostensible partner, shares the profits of a trading concern, liable to the whole of its debts, is unsatisfactory, and should be so far modified as to permit persons to contribute to the capital of such concerns on terms of sharing their profits, without incurring liability beyond a limited amount."

Lord GODERICH seconded the motion, and contended that all our great works were carried on for the benefit of the wealthy classes, the humbler capitalist having no means of advantageously investing his gains. He thought that great social benefits would be derived from the proposed change. The

House must see that such a change would tend to remove the obstacles that now exist to the practical exemplification of that unity of interests which ought to bind together all classes of producers. It would be unwise on all grounds—social, political, and economical—for the House to maintain those restrictions, unless it was shown that there were great and overwhelming grounds of public necessity why those restrictions should be maintained. It had been said by Mr. W. Brown, on a former debate, that the commercial credit of this country in the markets of the world was greater than that of France, because they had a law of unlimited liability in this country, and a law of limited liability in France, but the honourable member must have overlooked many other important differences that exist between this country and France—differences which must much more strongly affect the commercial interests of a country. He should remember that during the space of seventy years there had been six revolutions in France, and the same security for property could not exist in a country so liable to political changes as in a country like this. He trusted that her Majesty's Government would accede to this resolution, or that, at least, the President of the Board of Trade would state that he had not yet irrevocably made up his mind on this question, but that he was prepared to give due weight to the great authorities who had written and spoken in favour of limited liability.

Mr. CARDWELL said that he was willing fully to consider all the arguments on the subject. When such investigation should have taken place, he was sure that no objection would be made to the alteration of the law on the free-trade principle, but the question would be, what was the mode by which competition could best be promoted, the position of industrious men improved, and the objects of ingenious and scientific men advanced. He could not, however, say that the report of the commission on the subject, which had only been in his hands for a week, had as yet received the attention that was due to so important a topic. He cautioned the House against coming to an irrevocable decision before the whole of the information was before them, and he stated some of the difficulties in the way of the question, and the conflicting opinions of the commissioners upon it, remarking that the opinion of the minority as well as that of the majority should be respected. He abstained from arguing the question on either side, because he desired to dissuade the House from coming to a conclusion. They would carry the confidence of the community with them by not legislating except upon matured consideration.

Mr. LUCAS urged the special case of the condition of Ireland, and moved the addition of words to the effect that the modification of the partnership law was especially necessary in that country.

Mr. COBDEN supported the motion, and contended that the law performed, under the present system, the supererogatory duty of taking care of those who were perfectly capable of taking care of themselves. All difficulty might be obviated by a system of registration. He observed that the evidence recently presented appeared to have been obtained from one class only, that of the capitalist, and that it was to a certain extent class-evidence, and not an expression of the opinion of the humbler orders of men of business, who would be greatly benefited by a change in the law.

Mr. MALINS predicted, from the present state of opinion on the subject, that the anomalous condition of the law would soon be remedied by legislation in the spirit of the proposed resolution. He regretted to gather from Mr. Cardwell's tone that he was opposed to an alteration of the law, and he bore professional testimony to the great mischiefs it occasioned.

Mr. GLYN admitted that the commercial law of the country was in a most anomalous state, but the evidence which had been taken did not satisfy him that the House had information enough before them to justify them in making the proposed change. He observed that the provisions which all the foreign witnesses had concurred in saying must be taken against fraud, if the change were made, would render the new system so odious as to defeat its object. He also urged that the change would necessitate an immense difference in our system of commercial transactions, and he thought that the discussion should be entered upon with the fullest knowledge, but he added that he advanced these considerations in no desire to delay a measure which would be a decided improvement in commercial legislation.

Mr. J. G. PHILLIMORE ridiculed the idea that the House had not sufficient information upon a subject which had been under discussion so many years. It was most important, he said, to show the lower classes that we were most anxious to legislate for their benefit. In answer to Mr. Glyn, he said that it was not the contemplated *société en commandite*, but the *société anonyme*, that required the penal legislation alluded to. Mr. LEVISON GOWER, in an effective maiden speech, supported the resolution, expressed his opinion that the present age tended to association, the power of which was only beginning

to be appreciated, and insisted upon the advantage of extending the benefits of association to honest and prudent men instead of to gamblers. Mr. DIGBY SEYMOUR argued that the speech of Mr. Cardwell, and the proposed abolition of the usury laws, indicated steps in advance on the part of the Government. He supported the resolution. Mr. W. BROWN said he considered that limited liability would be injurious to the credit of the country and to the interests of the lower classes. Mr. SOTHERON thought that harm rather than good was done by the affirming abstract propositions, and being himself favourable to the object of the mover of the resolution, he suggested that, instead of the resolution itself, a bill should be introduced authorising loans for business purposes, on the principle of the French law of partnership *en commandite*.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said that he was a decided friend to the proposition, but he remarked that this question was now brought under the notice of the House for the first time, and that evidence was before them which they had not had time to consider. He also saw no advantage in carrying an abstract proposition, and he recommended Mr. Collier to be satisfied with the attention the subject had received, and with the assurance that it should be fully considered by Government. Mr. NAPIER concurred in this suggestion, and thought it was sufficient that the question had been ventilated.

Lord PALMERSTON also thought that the resolution should not be pressed to a division. No one could deny the importance of the question, or that there were opinions gravely entertained on both sides, and it could not be expected that Government should rush to a decision, or should declare, without more time for consideration, which opinion they might ultimately feel it right to submit to the House.

Mr. RICARDO had never seen the House so unanimous, and could not understand why such unanimity should not be placed on record. He contrasted the frank statement of the Attorney-General with the evasive speech of Mr. Cardwell, and said that as for alleging that a study of the report was necessary for a right understanding of the question, he had read twenty pamphlets, any one of which was worth a dozen of such reports. Mr. CAIRNS also urged that a division should be taken, in order to mark the point to which the House had come. Mr. HORSFALL deprecated a division, and said that if it were taken he, having had no time to study the evidence, should oppose the motion, not upon the merits, but as objecting to pledge the House to an abstract resolution. Mr. HANKEY regretted the appeal which had been made by the Government to Mr. Collier. Mr. COLLIER thought it was almost immaterial, after the strong opinions that had been expressed, whether he divided or not, and feeling the force of the appeal that had been made to him, he desired to withdraw the motion. ("Oh, oh!" "Divide!") Mr. MACGREGOR deprecated a division. But the House, especially the Opposition members, had made up their minds, and Mr. Lucas's amendment was added to the original resolution, and the latter having been put, was agreed to without division.

HAMPSTEAD HEATH ENCLOSURE.

Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson has promoted a bill to effect the enclosure of Hampstead Heath. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE, who has the matter in hand, moved the second reading on Tuesday night, and carried it. The bill is called the Finchley Road Bill; and the marquis contends that it is not the same as the bills previously rejected, but relates solely to a road running under the hill and not seen from the heath. It was precisely similar to other measures passed every session through Parliament. Lord BROUGHAM moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months.

"Those," he said, "who are going to oppose this bill for the sixth time are not going to take away property from the petitioner; they only object to his taking that which is not his own—to his encroaching upon other people's rights, and endeavouring to defeat the will under which he holds his property."

Earl MANVERS also opposed the bill, but it was supported by Lord COLCHESTER. Lord CAMPBELL said that his opinion remained unaltered. It was the same opinion as was held by Lord Denman and Lord Tenterden, that it was contrary to the principles of jurisprudence that such a bill should pass. Lord CLANRICARDE said the law was all on the side of the promoter. Then, why did he come to Parliament? The truth was, the law was all against him, and he was obliged to come and ask Parliament to set aside the will of the testator, not on the ground of invalidity, but because it was distasteful to him that he had not more power than the will gave him. In this case the testator gave express power to the tenant for life to make long leases in some of his estates, but cautiously and designedly, from motives probably of patriotism and benevolence, withheld them with regard to the estates in Middlesex.

Lord ST. LEONARD'S and Lord DERRY supported the bill. It is not correct to say that the bill is contrary to the jurisprudence of the country, which allows every man who is a tenant for life to apply

to Parliament for leave to do certain things which he has not power to do by the will of his predecessor. The fact was, the opposition to the bill arose from the desire to prevent the enclosure of Hampstead-heath, which Sir Thomas Wilson did not desire to enclose.

The Bishop of Oxford and Lord Shaftesbury held opposite views to these; and the Bishop said, on the authority of a letter, that before the people in that locality commenced their opposition to the present bill, they inquired of the agents for the promoter whether, if Sir Thomas should obtain the authority which he was now asking, he would be satisfied with that, and pledge himself to seek no more. In reply, the agents stated that their client considered this bill as only the first instalment of what rightfully belonged to him, and that he was determined to have the whole of Hampstead-heath as soon as he could get it.

However, Sir Thomas triumphed; his bill was read a second time by 34 to 11.

DESTRUCTION OF STORES AT ULEABORG.

Mr. MILNER GIBSON called attention to the proceedings of Admiral Plumridge in the Gulf of Bothnia, which he thought inconsistent with the professions of the Government and highly impolitic. He called for an explanation from the First Lord of the Admiralty, at the same time disclaiming any intention to cast odium or reproach upon the officers of the service. He entered into a detail of the circumstances attending the burning of the stores at those places, which he stated were private property, the tar being intended to be shipped for the use of the British dockyards, by contract with a house in the city of London. Remarking, as a contingent disadvantage, that such often entailed upon the country a series of most perplexing claims for compensation, he disputed the policy of irritating the Finlanders by these attacks upon private property in defenceless villages, and was of opinion that our officers and men had been made to expose their lives in the performance of acts of war, from which, if successful, there was no gain, and which would not hasten in the smallest degree the ultimate conclusion of hostilities.

Sir J. GRAHAM said, the despatches relating to this subject did not arrive until that morning; and when published in the next *Gazette*, the House and the country would be able to form an opinion upon it. The officers had only obeyed their instructions, and were open to no censure whatever; and, with regard to the articles destroyed, they were the very articles enumerated as contraband of war even in treaties of neutrality. He read extracts from a despatch of Sir G. Napier, whence it appeared that 11,000 tons of the enemy's shipping, afloat or on the stocks, had been destroyed, and property to the amount of between 400,000*l.* and 500,000*l.* Every effort had been used to distinguish between public and private property, but the difficulty of doing so was one of the unhappy incidents of war. He warmly eulogised the gallantry and consummate seamanship displayed by the officers and men in the performance of their difficult and dangerous duties, and said it would be hard if it should be related to them that the first notice taken of their services in the House of Commons partook of the character of censure. Let me ask, he added amidst the loud and continued cheers of the House, what particular indulgence should be shown to the enemy we have to deal with? What are the wishes and feelings of the people of England upon this point? (*Cheers.*) We did at the commencement of the war exercise particular indulgence. We had it in our power to destroy the city of Odessa, and we spared it. We attacked the batteries of Odessa only, for which we were subjected to something like censure, and I must confess that I begin to partake of that feeling myself. How did the enemy act towards a British ship which accidentally ran ashore in a fog near this very port of Odessa? An immense multitude of soldiers, with batteries and red-hot shot, were brought down and the stranded vessel was fired upon. I cannot see that any peculiar forbearance is necessary towards this enemy. (*Great cheering.*) We have offered him battle on the open sea, on fair and equal terms, and he has declined to meet us. He has sunk rocks in the channels and approaches of his rivers, in order to obstruct our progress. If our enemies will not face us on the open sea, we must pursue them into their fastnesses, and make them feel that a war with England is not to be waged with impunity. Viewing these proceedings of our fleets—seeing that they are not of a marauding character, undertaken for the purpose of obtaining prize-money without reference to the loss occasioned to unoffending persons; but, on the contrary, that they are the result of an honest and patriotic desire to make the enemies of our country feel, by fair and legitimate means, the force of the Power with which they are contending—I, for one, am not prepared to check their course, and I hope and believe that, in so acting, I shall not run counter to the wishes of the House of Commons or the country. (*Continued cheering.*)

THE RECENT MINISTERIAL CHANGES.

Lord DUDLEY STUART called attention to recent ministerial changes, and passed a variety of strictures upon them, especially dwelling upon the "scurvy treatment" received by Mr. Strutt, the unfitness of Sir G. Grey for the Colonial-office, and the alleged fact that in the present cast of the Ministry all the square men were put into round holes, and the round men into square holes. He also dilated upon the anomalies of the new arrangements for the War Department, and complained that the management of the war was in the hands of four Peelites. Amid loud and renewed cheering, he declared that the country had hoped, and its enemies had feared, that the War department would be given to Lord Palmerston. He was quite sure that the Duke of Newcastle would not feel hurt at having such a man as Lord Palmerston preferred to himself. He pronounced a long and warm eulogium upon Lord Palmerston's vigour, intellect, and other good qualities, which were wasted in labours about common-sewers and county-rates. It was difficult, under such circumstances, to believe that the Government were in earnest about the war.

Lord Palmerston was the best man to direct it. Let him be appointed, and both friend and foe would see and feel that the Government were in earnest. Such an appointment would be far better than all the recantations, retractions, and explanations which had been made in another place; better than any observations about "disastrous" treaties, intended if possible to neutralise the effect of "disastrous" speeches. The confidence of the country in the ministry was nearly lost. What measures had they been able to carry? What measures had they not been obliged to postpone or withdraw? They had carried the taxes needful for the war; but it was because the people, and the House of Commons, who were in earnest would not withhold them from any government whatever. But neither the people nor the House would tolerate half measures, or a half-and-half ministry.

RURAL POLICE BILL.

Mr. BRIGHT put a question to the Secretary for the Home Department. He had heard a short time ago that Lord Palmerston had received a deputation on the subject of his Police Bill, and that he had conveyed the impression that it was his intention to withdraw that measure. Mr. Bright saw in one of the morning papers, which was supposed to cater for one section of the Government, a defence of the bill, and some observations applauding the noble Lord for its introduction. Under these circumstances, he wished to ask the noble Lord what course he really intended to pursue?

Lord PALMERSTON said he had received a deputation the other day, from a number of persons connected with counties and boroughs, stating the objections which they felt to the provisions of the bill. He told them, without himself admitting the force of their objections, that he attached great value to the principle of local self-government; and, though he did not think that the bill infringed that principle, yet if they thought so, that was a material element to guide his conduct with regard to the bill, though he was of opinion that it was a good one. He therefore thought that he should not be doing a good service to the country to force it on the boroughs against their will, for great evil would arise from the want of cordial co-operation on the part of the local authorities, who would have to administer the law. In deference to the objections which had been urged, he should certainly withdraw the present bill, reserving to himself the right of considering whether he should bring in another bill, omitting those portions to which such strong objections had been felt. He quite agreed that it would be useless to ask the House to read a bill a second time which it was understood would be liable to great modifications in committee. The best way would be to withdraw the bill for the present, and then he would have to consider whether he could so modify it as to make it acceptable to the House, and useful to the country. It stood for a second reading on Friday next, and before that day he would determine whether he would drop the bill altogether or bring in a modified bill.

WAR MEDALS.—In reply to the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of NEWCASTLE said that it is the intention of the Queen to confer medals on the soldiers engaged in the Kaffir war. It had been delayed so long because he had thought it desirable that he should have the opportunity of speaking to the commander of that army, who by his able conduct had conducted so greatly to the success of the army, he meant Sir George Cathcart. That gallant general was now on his way home, and he thought it desirable to wait until he had had an opportunity of speaking with him, and receiving any advice or suggestion which he might wish to offer previous to carrying out her Majesty's gracious intention.

THE ELGIN TREATY.—On Tuesday the Earl of CLARENDON, in answer to Earl Fitzwilliam, mentioned that a copy of the treaty lately negotiated with the United States by Lord Elgin on the subject of the colonial fisheries, had reached his department, but too recently to have been considered. He could state, however, that no new facilities were offered to the American fishermen to establish factories for curing

fish on the Canadian coasts. The Duke of NEWCASTLE, in answer to a question on the same subject from the Earl of Derby, stated that the treaty could not take effect until it had been sanctioned by the Canadian Legislature.

REPEAL OF THE USURY LAWS.—A bill to this effect was introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, read a first time on Thursday, and ordered to be committed on Monday next. Its promoter described it as being designed to remove the last legislative restriction upon the rate of interest paid for borrowed money, which operates only against a single class of loans—those raised upon real property. The measure, he stated, would relieve landowners, railway companies, and other owners of realty from the disabilities under which they now labour when seeking to borrow money on mortgages or debentures.

COMMON LAW PROCEDURE BILL.—The first two clauses of this bill were agreed to in committee on Thursday. The eleven following clauses were postponed; those numbered 14, 15, 16 were withdrawn. Clause 17, which provides that juries may be discharged after being locked up twelve hours, and that the verdict of ten out of twelve shall be sufficient, was carried after a division, the numbers being 80 to 75. Mr. Butt gave notice of a motion to expunge the clause at a future stage. The subsequent clauses up to 36 inclusive, were then agreed to.

THE TREATY OF ADRIANOPLE.

THE following is a copy of the despatch, which was the subject of the debate in the House of Lords on Monday, from the Earl of Aberdeen to Lord Heytesbury, respecting the treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey, concluded at Adrianople on the 14th of September, 1829. The despatch, it will be observed, is dated the 31st of October, instead of, as was stated by Lord Clanricarde, the 31st of December. It was, therefore, written immediately upon the receipt of the communication of Count Nesselrode, to which it refers, instead of after a lapse of four months, as would appear from Lord Clanricarde's statement and the arguments which have been founded upon it:—

Foreign-office, October 31, 1829.

"My Lord,—I have received from his Imperial Majesty's ambassador at this Court a copy of the definitive treaty of peace between Russia and the Porte, together with the manifesto of the Russian Cabinet, and a circular despatch from Count Nesselrode, dated the 4th of October.

"These papers have engaged the serious attention of his Majesty's Government. The consequences of the transaction to which they refer are so various and important, and influence so powerfully the future happiness and tranquillity of all nations, that it would be inconsistent with the station which his Majesty fills among the Sovereigns of Europe, as well as with that frankness and sincerity which he is desirous should characterise all his relations with the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, if he were not at once to communicate to his Imperial Majesty the sentiments which have been produced in his mind by an examination of the treaty of Adrianople.

"The first desire of His Majesty is to express the satisfaction which he has experienced from the restoration of peace. He sincerely rejoices that a state of warfare should at length have ceased, the existence of which he has constantly deplored, and the prolonged duration of which had only increased His Majesty's apprehensions of the evils to which it must finally have led.

"Count Nesselrode, at the conclusion of his circular despatch, expresses an opinion that the treaty now concluded holds out to Europe a long prospect of tranquillity and repose. That this judgment may be fully confirmed is our most anxious desire. In the meantime, it will be an object worthy of the solicitude of His Imperial Majesty to strengthen the confidence of his allies, and to remove those causes of alarm to which, if not discovered in the treaty of peace itself, the present state of the Turkish empire cannot fail to give rise.

"When His Imperial Majesty announced his intention of declaring war against the Ottoman Porte, upon grounds affecting exclusively the interests of Russia, His Majesty's Government, without pronouncing any opinion respecting the justice of the war, expressed their conviction that the most complete success in the justest cause would not entitle the stronger party to demand from the weaker sacrifices which would affect its political existence, or would infringe upon that state of territorial possession upon which the general peace had rested. They also observed that demands of indemnity and compensation might be carried to such an extent as to render compliance scarcely practicable, without reducing the Ottoman Power to a degree of weakness which would deprive it of the character of an Independent State.

"His Imperial Majesty, in carrying into execution his threatened invasion of the Ottoman dominions, declared his adherence to that disinterested principle which had characterised the protocol of St. Petersburg and the treaty of London. He renounced all projects of conquest and ambition. His Imperial Majesty frequently repeated that, so far from desiring the destruction of the Turkish empire, he was most anxious for its preservation. He promised that no amount of indemnity should be exacted which could affect its political existence; and he declared that this policy was not the result of romantic notions of generosity, or of the vain desire of glory, but that it originated in the true interests of the Russian empire, in which interests, well understood, and in his own solemn promises, would be found the best pledges of his moderation.

"His Imperial Majesty added that his thoughts would undergo no change, even if, contrary to his intentions and his endeavours, Divine Providence had decreed that we should now behold the termination of the Ottoman Power. His Imperial Majesty was still determined not to extend the limits of his own dominions; and he only demanded from his allies the same absence of all selfish and ambitious views, of which he would himself give the first example.

"Does the treaty of Adrianople place the Porte in a situation corresponding with the expectations raised by these assurances? The answer must be left to the judgment of Europe; it might be left to the dispassionate judgment of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg.

"Undoubtedly, if we look only at the relative position of the two belligerents, the fortune of the war might have enabled the Emperor to exact still harder terms. The Sultan, threatened by a formidable insurrection in Constantinople, having lost his army, and having ordered the remaining Asiatic troops to retire to their homes, was unable to offer any effectual opposition, and threw himself under the mercy of the Russian commander. By the persuasion of the British and French ambassadors, and of the Minister Extraordinary of the King of Prussia, the defeated Monarch was induced to place entire confidence in the moderation of his Imperial Majesty.

"It may not be easy to accuse of want of generosity the conqueror who checks the unresisted progress of success, and who spares the defenceless capital of his enemy. Nevertheless, the treaty in question, certainly not in conformity with the expectations held out by preceding declarations and assurances, appears vitally to affect the interests, the strength, the dignity, the present safety, and future independence of the Ottoman empire.

"The modes of domination may be various, although all equally irresistible. The independence of a State may be overthrown and its subjection effectually secured without the presence of a hostile force, or the permanent occupation of its soil. Under the present treaty the territorial acquisitions of Russia are small, it must be admitted, in extent, although most important in their character. They are commanding positions, far more valuable than the possession of barren provinces and depopulated towns, and better calculated to rivet the fetters by which the Sultan is bound.

"The cession of the Asiatic fortresses, with their neighbouring districts, not only secures to Russia the uninterrupted occupation of the eastern coast of the Black Sea, but places her in a situation so commanding as to control at pleasure the destiny of Asia Minor.

"Prominently advanced into the centre of Armenia, in the midst of a Christian population, Russia holds the keys both of the Persian and the Turkish provinces; and, whether she may be disposed to extend her conquests to the east or to the west, to Teheran or to Constantinople, no serious obstacle can arrest her progress.

"In Europe the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia are rendered virtually independent of the Porte. A tribute is, indeed, to be paid to the Sultan, which he has no means of enforcing except, by the permission and even the assistance of Russia herself; and a prince, elected for life, is to demand investiture which cannot be withheld. The Mussulman inhabitants are to be forcibly expelled from the territory. The ancient right of pre-emption is abolished; and the supplies indispensable for Constantinople, for the Turkish arsenals, and for the fortresses are entirely cut off. The most important fortresses upon the Danube are to be razed, and the frontier left exposed and unprotected against incursions which at any future time may be attempted.

"It is sufficient to observe of the stipulations respecting the islands of the Danube, that their effect must be to place the control of the navigation and commerce of that river exclusively in the hands of Russia.

"Serbia, by the incorporation of the six districts referred to in the treaty, is erected into an independent and powerful State; and when the Allied Powers shall have finally decided upon the character of the Government, and the limits to be assigned to Greece, the circle will be completed of territories nominally dependent or tributary, but which must be animated with the most hostile spirit; and the recognition of which by the Powers of Europe is scarcely compatible with the security, perhaps not with the existence of the Turkish empire.

"The commercial privileges and personal immunities which are secured by the treaty to the subjects of Russia appear to be at variance with any notion we are able to form of the authority of a sovereign and independent prince. It is true that by capitulations with the Porte, in consequence of the defective administration of justice by the Turkish Government, rights have been obtained by European nations of such a description as would not have been conceded by the States of Christendom. These rights have not only been still further extended by the present treaty, but the stipulations, so far from being drawn up in the spirit of peace, are to all appearance rather calculated to invite and justify the renewal of hostilities. What reasonable prospect of eternal peace, friendship, and good understanding, can be afforded by an instrument which contains a special provision, making the calamities of war almost dependent upon the capricious extortion of a Turkish officer, or the unauthorised arrogance of a Russian trader?

"His Majesty's Government are persuaded that it will be impossible for His Imperial Majesty to reflect upon the terms of Article 7, of the treaty of Adrianople, without perceiving at once that they must be utterly subversive of the independence of the Ottoman Power.

"This article stipulates that merchant vessels of all nations, without any restriction of size or tonnage, shall be admitted to pass freely through the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. The right of visit on the part of the Turkish Government is expressly excluded. This provision not only deprives the Porte of the exercise of a right in its own waters, inherent in the very nature of independent sovereignty; but it also destroys a necessary protection against the effects of foreign hostility or domestic treachery. The power of marching a Russian army, at any moment, through any part of the Turkish territory, without the permission of the Government, could not be more degrading or more dangerous.

"Such stipulations are not only destructive of the territorial rights of sovereignty, and threatening to the safety of the Porte, but their obvious tendency is to affect the condition and the interests of all maritime states in the Mediterranean, and may demand from those states the most serious consideration.

"How is the true character of the vessel to be ascer-

tained? In former treaties, the bulk and the amount of tonnage to be admitted had been fixed by Russia herself, and was regulated by what had been found to be most usual and most advantageous in the navigation of those seas. The right of search, for the purpose of ascertaining the nature and value of the cargo, with a view to fix the duties to be levied on importation, was very generally relinquished by the Porte in its practice towards the vessels of foreign Powers; the ship's manifest transmitted from the Consul's office being admitted as sufficient evidence of the nature of the cargo, instead of proof derived from actual inspection. But the right of visit, in order to ascertain the character of the vessel, and the object of the voyage has never been relinquished, and can never be relinquished by a state in any degree careful of its own independence and of its safety.

"The Porte is not only prohibited from exercising any interference with the free passage of the Straits by Russian ships, but it is also divested of this indispensable attribute of Sovereignty in its relations with all other Powers, and that, too, by virtue of a treaty concluded with the Emperor of Russia.

"If the Turkish Government should detain and visit a ship belonging to any foreign State, the injury would not be offered to that State, with which, perhaps, no treaty may exist, but to the Emperor of Russia, who, according to the terms of the article in question, would at once be furnished with a justifiable cause of war against the Porte. But suppose any such State were fraudulently to send an armed vessel, or a vessel carrying armed men, into the waters of the Turkish dominion, and under the walls of the Seraglio, with purposes the most hostile, would his Imperial Majesty, by the treaty of Adrianople, become responsible for such an act? In either case the Sultan would be entirely dependent upon Russia in a matter in which the dignity and security of his Government were vitally affected.

"Is it too much to say that such stipulations are inconsistent with the desire of his Imperial Majesty to preserve the independence of the Turkish Empire?

"His Majesty's Government have always been persuaded that the power of imposing a pecuniary burden upon the Ottoman Porte, as a compensation and an indemnity for the expenses of the war, would be exercised in the promised spirit of equity and moderation. His Imperial Majesty cannot fail to reflect that, in judging of the character of such a transaction it is necessary to compare the sum exacted, not only with the expenses of the war, but with the means of the Power upon which the payment is imposed. The Cabinet of St. Petersburg will undoubtedly acquiesce in the principle that indemnities, whether pecuniary or territorial, ought not by their operation to crush the Power by whom they are given, or to expose by their consequences the military security of neighbouring and allied States. The Emperor is too wise not to desire, even in the midst of conquest and success, to maintain inviolate that system established for the general tranquillity of Europe in which His Imperial Majesty's august predecessor took so prominent and so honourable a part. It is, therefore, with sincere satisfaction that His Majesty's Government have learnt from the declaration made by Count Nesselrode to your Excellency, for the purpose of being transmitted to your Government, that it was in contemplation not only to diminish the amount of the sum stipulated, but also to make a different arrangement with respect to its guarantee. It is by such conduct that His Imperial Majesty will really manifest his generosity, and his regard for those principles of just and enlarged policy by which alone can be secured the confidence of his allies and the respect of Europe.

"Even if the Emperor were not thus to yield at once to the impulse of his own disposition, the same determination would still be recommended by considerations of prudence, as being essential to the success of objects which he has professed to have much at heart. His Imperial Majesty has declared that a regard for the true interests of Russia induced him to feel more desirous than any other European Power of maintaining the independent existence and integrity of the Ottoman empire. He has also repeatedly avowed that the condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte demanded his constant solicitude, and that the obligations both of his own conscience and of public treaties imposed upon him the special duty of consulting their welfare and providing for their protection. These objects, at all times difficult to reconcile, would, under the strict execution of the treaty, become altogether incompatible with each other. The real situation of the Turkish Power is too obvious to escape the most common observation. The Sultan is surrounded by independent States formed out of his own territories, and with the great mass of the European population of his empire anxiously waiting for a moment when they may profit by this example, and shake off his dominion altogether. Defeated and reduced to the lowest degree of humiliation, he has retained his throne and political existence by the mercy of his conqueror. The disaffection of his Mahomedan subjects of all ranks, whether produced by repeated disgrace or the effect of a gradual change long since in operation, has become general. In this condition, with a broken authority and exhausted resources, he is called upon to provide for the indemnity which is exacted from him. In what manner is the Sultan to relieve himself from this burden, and by whom must the sacrifices principally be made? If the Turkish Government be still permitted to act at all as an independent Power, it is clear that the necessary sums must be raised by fresh impositions upon the people, and by such means as are authorised by the law and customs of the empire. It is equally certain that the Christian subjects of the Porte must largely contribute to furnish these supplies. Compliance with the demands of the Government will be difficult, but the urgency of the case will justify severity. Resistance may be attempted; if successful, leading to general confusion and revolt; if otherwise, spoliation and oppression will follow. At all events, new scenes of calamity will be opened calculated to frustrate the admitted objects of his Imperial Majesty, and fatally destructive both to the independence of the Porte and to the happiness and prosperity of the Christian subjects of the empire.

"There are other considerations which ought to have their due weight in the mind of his Imperial Majesty.

"It cannot be doubted that the result of the war has been such as to change entirely the relative position of the belligerents towards each other, as well as towards the neighbouring States and the rest of Europe. This change, it may be admitted, is to a certain extent the natural consequence of an unequal contest; for at the termination of hostilities, characterised on one side by the most signal success, and on the other by continued disaster, it would be unreasonable to suppose that the parties could in every respect resume their former relations. It is, therefore, not exclusively to the conditions of the peace, but also to the events of the war, that we are to ascribe the change which has taken place. In whatever manner it may have been accomplished, the fact is sufficient to justify some anxiety on the part of these Powers who have always felt a deep interest in the preservation of the system of the European balance established by the treaty of Paris and at the Congress of Vienna. This anxiety must be greatly increased when, in addition to the unavoidable weakness and prostration of the Turkish Power, it is found that fresh causes are brought into action which are obviously calculated to hasten and insure its utter dissolution. The evils attending upon uncertainty, expectation, and alarm must be universally felt throughout Europe. Encouragement will be afforded to projects the most adverse to the general tranquillity; and the different Powers, so far from disarming, will probably augment their warlike preparations, already too extensive for a state of peace.

"It is only by a frank and cordial desire on the part of his Imperial Majesty to remove all reasonable grounds of suspicion and apprehension—it is only by a sincere endeavour in conjunction with his allies to confirm and perpetuate the repose which has hitherto been enjoyed, and by making this the main object of European policy, that we shall be enabled to avert the threatened dangers. In this salutary work his Imperial Majesty will assuredly call to mind the example of his illustrious predecessor; and he will recollect that, whatever may have been the glories of his reign, the last ten years of his life, devoted exclusively to the preservation of peace, eminently entitled him to the gratitude of Europe.

"I am to instruct your Excellency to read this despatch to Count Nesselrode, and, if desired, to give his Excellency a copy. The sentiments of his Majesty are expressed without reserve, but with cordial and friendly feelings. They are expressed, too, without previous concert or communication with any other Power whatsoever.

"I am, &c.,

"ABERDEEN."

OXFORD FESTIVITIES AND THE COMMEMORATION.

OXFORD is peculiarly situated. Dependent as the town is upon the gown, there arose in old Tory times a strong disposition to tyrannise on the part of the latter; and, in many respects, to succumb, with a culpable excess of humility, on the part of the former. But in spite of this there has always been a strong liberal element in the city, and men have gallantly made sacrifices and endured insults to return at least one liberal member, and to maintain a sturdy opposition. Latterly, however, influenced by the general spirit of enlightenment, as well as moved by that success which always commands respect, the University has shown more becoming courtesy to the city; and the strenuous efforts of some men, whose energy placed them above the reach of tyranny, and whose talents compelled respect, have placed the city on a less unequal footing as regards the University. Perhaps this laudable change has been brought to a climax by the exertions of the present Mayor.

Conservative in avowed politics, Mr. Richard Spiers has been a fortunate and enterprising tradesman, and has felt and shown a generous spirit which comprehended all parties. Respected alike by the University and city, he has been able to bring the two together; and, we believe, for the first time to unite them in a common celebration of harmony. This was effected in the good old British manner—by an invitation to dinner, and to a reception, including all ranks. These festivities, which we trust inaugurate a new era in Oxford, took place last week. There is no need to describe them in detail, because they have the common characteristics of all such proceedings. Mr. Spiers invited to a banquet the chief men of the county, the University, and the city, and some persons distinguished in art and literature and science from the country generally. The banquet, held on Wednesday week, comprised the city and county members, the municipal authorities, the heads, and many members of the University, and other gentlemen—in all 200. The Town-hall was decorated for the occasion, and a graceful compliment was paid to the chief guests, by painting their shields, and ranging them round the hall. Determined on conciliation, the first toast proposed by the Mayor was the rather antiquated one of "Church and Queen," next the "Royal Family," then the "Army," then the "High Steward and the City of Oxford," the "City and County Members," the "University Authorities," and a number of other toasts appropriate to the occasion. Of course all these toasts were duly acknowledged, and after dinner the guests were refreshed with coffee; and so ended the entertainment.

But this was not all. A "Reception" followed on Thursday. The Mayor and Mayoress received a

vast number of guests in the Town-hall. That room was hung with some of the finest works of Millais, Hunt, Collins, Ausdell, Allom, Prout, Eddy, and others; while water-colour drawings were exhibited in stands; and some models of the best works of Calder Marshall, Macdowal, and other sculptors, stood here and there. A great company, "mixed," composed of all classes literally, not rhetorically, filled the apartment; and the local journalists, giving way to the feelings of the moment, record with enthusiasm how animated was the brilliant scene, and how fraternal the feeling that pervaded the actors. Among those present were some of the more conspicuous among our literary men and artists; and these no doubt aided materially in fusing the mass of people so suddenly gathered together. It was a great success, of which Mr. Spiers may be proud. We may remark that the stewards on the occasion comprised not only the chief municipal authorities, but several members of the University. Of course there was singing, examination of works of art, and plenty of refreshments set out under a huge tent, covering the large yard at the back of the hall.

The next and subsequent day the Mayor escorted some eighty of his friends on a visit to the beauties of the most beautiful city in England. The character of the whole proceeding is illustrated by the fact that they were received by the Vice-Chancellor, then by the Heads of Colleges, while on Friday the Junior Proctor gave a splendid luncheon in honour of the company. On Saturday, the Senior Proctor, with the venerable President and Fellows of Magdalen, entertained them in their hall; and the Fellows, taking advantage of the occasion, did a stroke of business, and presented President Routh with a piece of plate.

"The result of all this," says an enthusiastic correspondent on the spot, "is most glorious. Everybody seems to be happier than before; and many who never met before 'in society' will henceforward know each other's class better." "Such," he adds, "is the harmonising effect of literature and art;" and we may add, such is the effect of the well-directed and kindly efforts of a gentleman who knows how to appreciate both, and who desires to promote peace on earth and goodwill among men.

One more incident is especially worthy of remark. The hall was open to the public on Saturday; 2,000 persons passed through it; the schools, headed by bands of music, partook of the elevating spectacle; and the town looked as gay as if a great festival was taking place; as indeed it was. But although all were admitted, we are assured that "not one bit of sculpture, or picture, or other work of art received the slightest injury." Thus the people showed their appreciation of art, and their sense of the responsibility of the occasion.

The Commemoration of the University took place this week; but there was nothing striking in its incidents. On Wednesday the usual essays were read and poems recited in the theatre; and according to time-honoured custom the undergraduates kept up a great uproar before the business began, calling out the names of prominent persons and cheering or groaning them as they pleased. "Old Charley" was the hero, next, perhaps, Lord Palmerston and Dr. Pusey; while Lord Aberdeen, the Emperor Nicholas, and Mr. Heywood, shared the displeasure of these young gentlemen. The real Oxford Commemoration was that which ratified the union of Town and Gown.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH ALLIANCE.

It is proposed to celebrate the alliance between France and England by a national festival which shall take the shape of a series of entertainments, beginning at London and extending throughout the country, to distinguished Frenchmen. As will be seen below the scheme has been under discussion some time. It came before the public authoritatively on Wednesday, at a public meeting in the Mansion-house, over which Lord Mayor Sidney presided. There was a considerable attendance of gentlemen connected with the City, and among the more influential of those present were Viscount Ebrington, Mr. Masterman, M.P., Colonel Freestun, M.P., Mr. Oliveira, M.P., Mr. Geach, M.P., Mr. G. Langton, M.P., Mr. W. Brown, M.P., Mr. Mechi, Mr. Tite, and Mr. Sheriff Wire.

The Lord Mayor, who occupied the chair, briefly stated the object of the meeting. He said that on the 7th a private meeting was held in the Mansion-house to consider a suggestion made by Mr. James Anderton, that the present was a fitting opportunity for the people of England to show their appreciation of the alliance with France, and their gratitude for the splendid hospitality dispensed three years ago in Paris to a number of their most distinguished countrymen, by inviting over here at least an equal number of eminent Frenchmen, and entertaining them at a series of banquets to be given in their honour. That suggestion was cordially approved, and a deputation waited by appointment on Lord Palmerston for the purpose of ascertaining what were the views of the Government upon the subject. His lordship,

after consulting with his colleagues, informed the deputation that they one and all acknowledged the propriety of the proposed festival, and were willing to do everything in their power to promote its success. Another private meeting was held in the Mansion-house on the 14th, when a series of resolutions were adopted and a committee was appointed, consisting of 350 influential gentlemen, including upwards of 100 members of Parliament. Of course, the movement would involve a considerable expenditure; but subscriptions had already been received to the amount of 3000*l.*, and several public companies and scientific bodies had promised to contribute to the entertainment of the distinguished foreigners. The Government had also agreed to throw open all the public buildings and palaces to the inspection of the strangers from France; and there could be no doubt that the people of England generally would give them a cordial and hospitable reception.

Mr. Masterman, seconded by Mr. Brown, moved the first resolution, which was to the effect that the meeting, believing that the peace of the world, the advancement of science, the development of art, and the diffusion of knowledge, materially depend upon the cultivation of peaceful relations with France, were of opinion that some of her most distinguished men connected with legislation, the sciences and arts, commerce, and agriculture, should be invited to visit this country, with the view of demonstrating to the world the sincerity of the alliance now happily subsisting between the two nations—an alliance the continuance of which was eminently calculated to promote the permanence of peace, and its consequent blessings, order, prosperity, and happiness. The resolution, supported by Mr. Davis, was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Langton, M.P., moved, and Mr. Tite seconded, the second resolution, inviting the co-operation of the Common Council and other corporate bodies of London, the chief magistrates of Dublin and York, the Lord Provosts of Edinburgh and Glasgow, the municipal corporations of all the other cities and boroughs in the United Kingdom, the chancellors, vice-chancellors, and principals of the universities and colleges, as well as the heads of the learned and scientific societies.

Alderman Moon gave an account of a visit which he paid, with Sir Joseph Paxton, to Liverpool and Manchester, as a deputation from the committee in London. The corporations of those towns had entered very cordially into their views, and had pledged themselves to do everything in their power to promote the success of the proposed festival, and to impart to it a national character. A similar statement was made by Mr. Mechi, who had visited Oxford, Birmingham, and several large towns in the Midland counties. The resolution was then carried with acclamation.

Mr. Geach, M.P., next moved that a subscription be entered into for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the proposed *fête*; that the Lord Mayor be appointed treasurer; and that Lord John Russell, Viscount Ebrington, Mr. Masterman, Sir James Duke, and Baron Rothschild, be requested to act as trustees. The motion was seconded by Mr. Uzielli, and unanimously agreed to.

On the motion of Viscount Ebrington, seconded by Mr. Oliveira, the committee was reappointed; and after awarding a vote of thanks to the chairman, the meeting separated.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

The news of the week from the seat of war does not advance our information on the subject much further than that obtained last week. Authentic intelligence has been received of the raising of the siege of Silistria; and it seems probable, although we have no direct accounts, that a strong Turkish force has advanced from Shumla, in the direction of Silistria and Rasova. Where the British and French troops exactly are is not stated; but it is probable that they have been pushed forward in the direction of Yeni Bazar, and Koshludshi, perhaps further north. A telegraphic despatch indeed informs us that they will be sent to the Crimea, but this has not been confirmed.

There is no doubt now but that the Russians are in retreat upon Moldavia. The troops at Kalarash have fallen back partly upon Slobodzia, and partly upon Bukharest, at which place they have been joined by the troops occupying Giurgevo, and the major part of General Liprandi's corps from the Aluta. The point of concentration would appear to be the left bank of the Sereth. The corps commanded by General Luders is said to have been defeated by the Turks near Kasgun on the right bank, and to have passed Trajan's Wall, and to be in full retreat for the forts on the Lower Danube. It is stated that the command of the Russian army has devolved upon General Dannenberg, as senior officer. General Schilders is dead. According to the Russian muster rolls, they have lost 50,000 by war and sickness during this campaign.

The chief news, however, from the seat of war is the projected occupation of Wallachia by the Aus-

trians. A telegraphic despatch from Vienna, states that the entrance of Austrian troops into Wallachia is decided. Count Coronini, with a first division followed by a second, has orders to keep himself in readiness to descend the Danube as far as Giurgevo. M. de Bruck has been ordered to put himself in communication with the Porte, and come to an understanding respecting the political and military combinations that will ensue from the movement of the Austrian army. Colonel Halik sets out for the head-quarters of Omer Pacha, and has orders to communicate with the commanders of the French and English troops.

The Austrian army on the frontier, numbering 300,000 men, has been placed under a new command, that of General Hess, noted for his anti-Russian views. The Archduke Albert will command the South-eastern, and General Schlick the North-eastern corps, as second in command to Baron Hess.

Reports from Asia state that the army at Kars musters 25,000 men, and is now in a position to assume the offensive. This we doubt. Schamyl is said to be advancing upon Tiflis with 33,000 men.

The news from Russia is of considerable interest—a letter from St. Petersburg of the 17th, in the *Post-Ampt Gazette*, says, that "the bad news from the theatre of war—several generals wounded, Prince Paskiewitch having received a contusion which has obliged him to give up the command, and to retire to Jassy—has produced a profound impression on the Emperor and his suite. His Majesty, when he received it, was in the square in which military exercises take place, inspecting some fortified works which had just been terminated; but he immediately returned to the palace, and convoked the Minister of War and such princes of the Imperial family as are of full age. After a long conference with him these personages withdrew and Count Nesselrode was summoned. The Emperor wrote an autograph letter to Prince Paskiewitch, to express his regret at what had happened, and to inquire after his health. It is still very doubtful that the chief command will be left to Prince Gortschakoff. The blockade of the coasts of the Baltic and the Black Sea may be said to have nearly destroyed the ordinary navigation; and the importance of the damage done may be judged from the fact that, in 1852 the number of vessels with cargoes which entered the Baltic ports was 3800, and of those which left nearly the same; whilst in the Black Sea there entered 2600 vessels. The united tonnage in both seas was about 1,500,000.

Another letter says that:—"In higher circles it is the question of unfavourable news which has been received from the Danubian army. In spite of the bravery of our troops, no impression can be made on Silistria, and the reports of Prince Paskiewitch are gloomier than ever. Another unpleasant symptom is the present impudent behaviour of the Wallachians, who not long since were so cringing. The Emperor and the Grand Dukes are indefatigable, and continually on journeys of inspection.

"The feeling of dejection which begins to prevail here is increased by rumours of new misunderstandings between two brothers of high rank, whose quarrels have until now been checked by the powerful influence of their revered father. People even speak of a most important document which one of the two Princes has deposited in the archives of the Senate.

"In several of the south and west governments of Russia 'transportable provision magazines' are being formed. Great exertions are being made to accelerate the movements of the troops to the south and west."

The Emperor Nicholas, so runs the report, is about to visit Kief, so that he may be near the seat of war.

It appears that the King of Prussia, in his recent tour along the frontier, had some thoughts that his beloved brother, Nicholas, would grant him an interview. Nicholas, however, did not come, but sent an aide-de-camp, General Grunewalde, who carried compliments and nothing more. They met for a brief space at Gumbinnen. Some evidence of Prussian popular feeling was shown at Dantzic on the 18th, when the Prince of Prussia reviewed a body of infantry there. The flags of Austria, Prussia, France, and England were displayed, but the absence of the Russian flag was remarked by all. The reply of the Emperor of Russia to the Austrian summons has not been received, according to the most authentic accounts; but its reception has been rumoured at Vienna.

"Orders," says the *Moniteur*, "have just been sent to the commanders of the allied squadrons in the White Sea to establish from 1st August next an effective blockade of the Russian ports in that sea. The blockade has hitherto been delayed, in order to leave time for traders to terminate the operations they might have commenced before the declaration of war."

The *Moniteur* of Saturday announced that the resignation of M. de Persigny, as Minister of the Interior, was accepted. He is named Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, and the Emperor has expressed his regret in a letter to M. de Persigny that he has declined to accept the position of a Minister without a portfolio. M. de Billault, President of the Legislative Body, succeeds to the Ministry of the Interior. The Emperor's enemies affect to think this appointment inconsistent with the present *entente cordiale* between England and France, M. Billault having been remarked for his anti-Anglican spirit when in opposition to M. Guizot. On the whole, M. Billault has hitherto been more generally on the Liberal side than otherwise, but his convictions, either one way or other, are not supposed to be very strong. He is admitted by all to be a clever man and a good admini-

nistrator, but the Liberals are said to reckon more on his favour than will probably be justified by the event.

Letters from the coast of Finland of the 21st June, report that the united fleets of England and France, comprising 28 sail of the line, 5 first-class frigates, and 18 steamers, in all 51 sail, lay then at anchor off the island of Renskar, in Baro Sound, having formed a junction on the 13th. The English crews are frequently exercised in gunnery afloat and on shore. The Alban, that had been away surveying, with Lieut. Cowell, Royal Engineers, on board, landed a party on the main land, who marched quietly up to a telegraph station took out all the books, papers, and spy-glasses, and then blew it up, the employées and assistants having decamped upon their approach, which was quite a surprise. The telegraph is now interrupted between Hango and Helsingfors. On the 20th a signal was made to the screw-ships to prepare for sea.

A despatch from Stockholm states that Bomar-sound was shelled on the 21st inst. by her Majesty's ships Hecla, Valorous, and Odin. Admiral Plumridge is recalled from the Gulf of Bothnia to the Gulf of Finland, and is replaced by Captain Hall.

The King of Sweden recently delivered the following speech, on presenting new colours to a battalion of the Smaland Grenadiers:—

"On the colours which I present to you this day is inscribed the word 'Lutuzen.' That word recalls to my memory the glorious time in which Sweden's king fought and conquered in the cause of enlightenment. That name will remind you of the courage with which the Smalanders supported him in that holy contest. You possess, therefore, an ancestry of two hundred years. Great reminiscences impose great duties, and the victories of one's forefathers exhort to fresh exploits (*mana till nya bragder.*) The days of warfare and of honour are not yet over. Even now you may be called upon to defend your native land and to combat for the dearest of all earthly possessions. Should Fatherland and I call upon you, my brave Smalanders, to gather around these I will prove that a long and happy peace has not weakened those arms which in tranquil times cultivated the Swedish soil, and that the swords which have long reposed in their scabbards are not only as sharp, but that they will be as valiantly borne, as they were on Lutuzen's battlefield."

This speech was followed by enthusiastic and prolonged cheering. His Majesty afterwards presented new colours to the National Militia of this island, and in doing so said:—

"In a time when War's portentous cloud obscures the northern hemisphere, every obligation becomes dearer, every duty more sacred. No obligation is greater than that, in such a time, people and king should have the same will and act in unison; no duty is holier than that of defending our native land, at the sacrifice even of life itself. Such a time, it would seem, may possibly arrive for the North. (*Synas for Norden mjölga.*) Such a time, too, is one in which, as you will prove, no sacrifices are too great for the maintaining of our self-existence and independence. Should foes attempt to pluck this noble island—this pearl in Sweden's crown—from the bosom of our motherland, you will all eagerly gather around these banners which with my own hand I now make over to you; and you will know how to fight for your king and your country. (*Enthusiastic and long-continued cheering.*) But before I deliver to you these pledges of my confidence in your patriotism, I ask you, officers, sub-officers, and men; to swear to defend these colours to the last, so help you God."

THE BRITISH CAMP AT ALADYN NEAR VARNA.

The first division, consisting of the Brigade of Guards and the Highland Brigade, arrived at Varna on the 13th, having been conveyed with the greatest comfort and celerity from Scutari. The Himalaya with the 5th Dragoon Guards arrived from Cork, after a passage of only eleven days and nineteen hours, the quickest ever known. The men disembarked on the 14th, in fine order and spirits; every man riding his own horse—a fact, perhaps, unparalleled after such a voyage.

The disembarkation of the Guards was effected in the morning of the 14th in excellent order and with a rapidity and comfort which confer great credit on the officers engaged in superintending it. The French assisted with the most hearty goodwill. Of their own accord the men of the Artillery and the Chasseurs came down to the beach, helped to load buffalo carts, and set to work at once to thump the drivers, to push the natives out of the way, to show the road, and, in fact, to make themselves generally useful. The men, though not quite so stout as we are accustomed to see them in London, were nevertheless in capital case, and good-humoured and high-spirited, notwithstanding a heavy storm of rain that broke over them on the march to their camp, about a mile outside the town.

The two troops of the 8th Hussars lying outside the town gave the men a hearty cheer as they came in sight. Most of the men wore no stocks. It appears that soon after Sir George Brown came up to Varna an order was issued to the Duke's Division according to which the wearing of the stock was optional. Most of the men at once hung off their leathern encumbrances, but, with the usual taste of soldiers for civil attire, they began to wear gay-coloured handkerchiefs and neckcloths, so that the authorities were obliged to order them to wear either the stock or nothing.

The Dragoons wore white calico covers to their helmets, but Sir George will not allow them to wear them if he can help it. He dislikes these covers exceedingly, because they are, he thinks, unsoldierlike; and his own division (the Light) is forbidden to wear them on any account. They certainly do not improve the appearance, but as surely they contribute greatly to the comfort of the men.

For the present the division will occupy the site of the camp of the Light Division before it moved to Aladyn.

On riding into Varna on the 14th, the correspondent of the Times found the place so transformed by the restless activity and energy of the French, that he could not recognise it. The streets have received new French names, which are printed in black, on neat deal slips fixed to the walls; and, as all those names are very convenient, and have a meaning attached to them, no sinner ought to deter one from confessing that the French manage these things better than we do. Where is the English post-office? No one knows. Where is the hospital to carry a sick soldier to? No one knows. Does any one want to find General Canrobert? Ask the first Frenchman you meet, and he will tell you to go up the Corso, turn to the right, by the end of the Rue de l'Hôpital, and then you will see the name of the general painted in large letters over the door of his quarters. The French post-office and the French hospital are indicated sufficiently by the names of the streets. Our sappers and miners have done useful works by the seaside, have built piers, trenched up the shore, and deepened the little harbour. The French have done the same; they have built piers and banked up the shore, and erected a sea-wall to land at.

Sir George Brown still continues with his staff at Varna. General Tylden is camped with his staff by the side of the bay, near the cavalry camp, and Captains Gordon and Hassard, Mr. Martin, of the Royal Engineers, and a few sappers and miners, remain in the town, close by the wall, in order to be ready for any work in their way.

As to the camp at Aladyn there is not much to say. Never were tents pitched in a more lovely spot. When the morning sun has risen it is scarce possible for feel he is far from England. At the other side of the lake which waters the meadows beneath the hill on which the camp is pitched, there is a range of high ground, so finely wooded, with such verdant sheets of short crisp grass between the clumps of forest timber, that every one who sees it at once says "surely there must be a fine mansion somewhere among those trees!"

The camp is pitched on a dry, sandy table land. On the right-hand side the artillery (Captain Levinge's troop), the small arm and ammunition train (Captain Anderson), and the rocket quarries, caissons, artillery horses, &c., have fixed their quarters. The valley between them and the table land on which the camp is situate is unoccupied. On the left-hand side, on a beautiful spot overlooking the lake, at a considerable elevation, is the little camp of the Commissariat, surrounded by carts and araba drivers, flocks of sheep and goats, and cattle and vast piles of bread and corn. Here are pitched the tents of Mr. Darling (the Commissariat officer of the whole division), of Mr. Thompson, and of Mr. Barlee. Mr. Clarke and another gentleman of this department are stationed with the artillery. The rifle camp is placed at the distance of 300 yards from the Commissariat's camp, on the slope of the table land, and commands a beautiful view of the lakes and of the surrounding country; and the 7th, 19th, 23rd, 77th, 88th, and 33rd Regiments are encamped close together, so that the lines of canvas are almost unbroken from one extremity to the other. Brigadier-General Airey and staff, and Drs. Alexander, Rice, and Jameson, have pitched their tents in a meadow close by some trees, at the upper end of the encampment. The engineers under Captain Gordon, the Rev. Mr. Egan, and Captain Hallowell, have formed a little encampment of their own in a valley a little further on, which is formed by two spurs of land, covered with the thickest foliage and brushwood, hazels, clematis, wild vines, birch, and creeper. The cavalry are stationed about nine miles further on, close to the village of Devna. In front of the rifle camp is a rural burial-ground, now long abandoned, probably because there are not many people left to die in the district. It is of the rudest kind. No sculptured stone, not even a scratch of a chisel distinguishes one resting-place from another, but a block of unheaven granite is placed at each grave, and the Sappers and Miners, who are a most utilitarian corps, have selected some of the largest and best of them to serve in the construction of their bridge over one of the narrow channels which join lake to lake. By-the-by, these same sappers have had hard work of it in building this bridge. The 10th company, who laboured at it, worked entirely naked and up to their breasts in water for one whole day. It is no wonder that a few of them have suffered from slight fever in consequence.

It is with much regret that I have to record several instances of outrage on the part of our men towards the inhabitants of the little village of Allahdeen (or Aladyn), which is about half-a-mile from the camp on the borders of the lake. Stragglers from the camp have on several occasions broken into the houses and ill-used the people inside. A guard of twenty men was placed to protect the inhabitants, but for some reason or other it was withdrawn, and the complaints of outrage have been renewed. A divisional order was issued accordingly on Monday last, to the effect that no officer or man should leave the camp without the permission of the senior officer in command. The very day it was issued a poor Bulgarian came up to Mr. Darling in floods of tears, and informed him that some soldiers had turned their horses into his only field of barley, and had cut and carried off a great quantity of it, in spite of his remonstrances. Brigadier-General Airey is using every effort to check these disgraceful proceedings. Any officer or man who meets a soldier with forage may inspect it, and arrest the man for punishment if he finds barley or wheat cut in it, and, in the same way, he may spill any spirits which the women or men attempt to carry from the village into the camp, and non-commissioned officers have been sent into Aladyn to prevent the recurrence of such scandalous acts. The Brigadier is most anxious to gain the confidence of the peasantry, and to induce them to come into the camp with produce, and I have reason to hope his labours will be attended with success. There is much difficulty, however, in persuading the people to take, as they look on us as allies, in their natural enemies, the Turks.

The correspondent complains that the field hospitals had not arrived. The sick had to be conveyed in bullock carts to Varna.

LETTER FROM THE BALTIC.

We extract from a private letter from a naval officer in the Baltic the following racy notes and observations of our gallant correspondent:

Baro Sound, Gulf of Finland, 13th June, 1854.

"Our stay at Elsinour was much longer than we expected. We left on the morning of the 3rd of June. Our attempt to get away on the 1st proved a failure, for the current set wrong against us, and the gentle breeze that blew was in our teeth; so we came to in the roads of Elsinour, five miles below the town, and about three from the Island of Leven, where tradition, that seldom tells the truth, places the ruins of the observatory of old Tycho Brahe. The island is about a mile in length, rather pretty, and, from its central position, commands a sweeping view of the shores of Denmark, on one side, and Sweden on the other; would make a nice summer retreat for us, though at present rather destitute of dwellings—one of the only ones I could see being an old windmill with a very careworn expression of countenance, and three skeleton arms that made sundry attempts at turning, in the hope of shaking off the cobwebs time and spiders appeared to have woven around it. As the atmosphere was rather hazy, the cobwebs may have been imaginary ones. Statholm and another island called Amak rise from the Spound near Copenhagen, which last town, with its spires and towers, is clearly seen a very little above water-line at twenty miles from Elsinour. I was sent on shore at Elsinour to see the Consul, about getting a tea, as the old man was getting fidgety with the idea that Sir Charles had fired away all his ammunition, and that the war could not be prosecuted until our arrival with a fresh supply. Can't stay to describe the queer old Danish towns, nor the 'pretty critters' in queer costumes one sees about the streets, nor the lovely ones to whom I was introduced, staying with an English family of the name of —. I wonder if all fathers of family bearing that name rejoice in the numerous offshoots it puts forth? This one had fourteen—six gals and eight sons, most of whom had cleared the term-gate that leads to the ty, and the others nearing it at a slapping space. After a series of telegraphic messages between the Minister at Copenhagen and the Consul at Elsinour, the Danish Government placed the steamer Uffo at our disposal (a certain breach of neutrality), and we sailed on the 3rd, passing Copenhagen at racing pace. In the course of time we made Bornholm, skirted the end of Aland, and steered for Gothland, all very charming islands. Aland, very like the Isle of Wight, beautifully cultivated, well wooded, and having a crown of ruins, once the Castle of Hammershums, which I of course put on paper.

"At the north-east end of Gothland stands Faro, off which, on the evening of the 7th, we discovered Admiral Corry's division of fifteen sail, sailing on a wind under topsails and courses in line abreast, the ships appearing like pillars of snow or iced cream on the blue and brackish waters of the Baltic. The water is not salt up here—how queer! the numerous rivers sending down a mass of liquor that quite overpowers the saline qualities of Old Nep. On the 8th we communicated with the squadron, handed over the mail bags and parcels, &c., and read a paper of the 27th May, which announced the destruction of some fort off Hango by the Hecla and Arrogant. All nonsense! the Hecla and the other were clean beaten off by masked batteries, which sent fourteen shots into her hull in a quarter of an hour, and played mischief with the Arrogant.

"It was a dashing affair as they cut out a fine barque—but the batteries were unharmed. Sailed from Admiral Corry to join Sir Charles, and on the evening of the 10th, after a spirited chase, which lasted four hours, to bring to a fast Dutch brig trying to force the blockade, and only stopped when forcibly reminded that our shot sped faster than she did, we found ourselves entangled amongst a nest of small islands off Hango head, at the entrance of the Gulf of Finland, a fog coming on, and anticipating a few gun-boats coming out. So we prepared as well as we could for emergencies, and put our trust in Providence, which kindly sent us the Gorgon steamer, cruising in search of gun-boats. She took us in tow, and the next morning, about six o'clock, we were gratified with a vision of the tall forest of Sir Charles Napier's woody domain at anchor, about fifteen miles to the westward of Baro Sound or twelve miles to the eastward of Helsingfors. The steamer cast us off, and the breeze freshening, we beat our way up; but a fog came on, and when it cleared off we found ourselves amidst three English frigates, blockading the entrance to Sveaborg. Jolly! Made our number, and turned back to join Sir Charles, who made the signal not to anchor. When we arrived, all the ships had the church pendulum flying, so were forced to wait for orders. Ordered to follow motions of Caesar, and returned to Baro Sound, where we now are. (Monday). The French division passed up towards Sveaborg yesterday. Sir Charles sailed yesterday morning to try range of long guns on Helsingfors. Last night, from our anchorage, we

heard him booming away, and, doubtless, you will soon learn that Helsingfors and its giant protector Sveaborg have been bombarded. 'Don't you believe it.' I find that each gun fired in the Gulf of Finland has ten thousand echoes in England, and rumour with her wonted veracity and fertile imagination creates victories for the million where no battle has been fought and no gun fired. We did not communicate, and poor old W., our assistant-surgeon, who has a brother in the Baltic, is not one inch nearer seeing him now than he was when separated from him by the North Sea. There is a chance, however. Sixteen sail are in the offing as I write; probably Sir Charles, with some of the French division in company. What a sight! At anchor in Baro Sound we have twenty sail, including Belleisle and Resistance.

"I am going with others to land to-day or tomorrow. From the top of Baro Lighthouse the eye plunges into Helsingfors, and we can count fourteen sail of Russian liners in the mole. Jolly! There was an exciting chase about one A.M.: four of the divisional guard boats after a powerful gunboat that sneaked out from one of the myriad of islands which encircle this iron and barbarous coast; she escaped, however. These gunboats have eighty men on board, pull sixty oars, with two 32-pounders, one forward and one aft, and two 18-pounder caronades.

"God bless you. I will write again shortly, and if anything occurs you shall hear. If you were only to see the nature of this rocky, threatening land you would say it is impossible to do great things in a hurry; and nothing can be done of importance without some miraculous intervention of chance, and an army of 200,000 men to assist and co-operate. The land is not high—far from it,—but thousands of intricate islands, hidden shoals, and other dangers to mariners, combine to throw obstacles in the path of ships; and the only glorious thing here is the eternal daylight. The sun sets at a quarter to ten, and rises at a quarter past two, and we have not lighted a lamp even in the foggiest weather. Success to old England, and bad luck to the Czar! Fancy, only twenty-eight miles from an enemy's fortress, and as comfortable as if we were riding at Spithead.

"This goes by Dantzic. We sent old Charley a sheep, and have disposed of all our private stock in favour of the poor devils who have been cruising for the last six weeks without anchoring.

INDIA AND THE RUSSIAN SQUADRON.

The Overland Mail brings news to the 23rd of May from Bombay; and to the 6th of May from Hong Kong.

The monsoon in Burmah was ushered in on the 23rd of April by a tornado, which extended several hundred miles into the interior, and occasioned much loss of life on the Irrawaddy and its affluents. A fleet of 35 boats left Moulmein on the 19th ult., having on board the head-quarters of the 36th Madras Native Infantry and the third of a company of European Artillery, for Sitang and Showgeen. They were caught, it seems, in the terrific gale of the 23rd, when about 30 miles below Sitang. One boat's company have reached Pegue, and reported that the "bore" came mountains high, and caused the whole of the rest of the fleet to disappear. Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone, who was proceeding to join his regiment at Tonghoo, being in a good boat, weathered the "bore" and the wind, and got safe into Sitang, where, however, he was robbed of all he possessed by the Burmese. He saw, it is said, 10 boats, with men in them, go down. What has become of the other 25 boats is not known. The Burmese, however, were of opinion that many of those missing when the accounts left might yet turn up from creeks in which they had sought shelter. "In Ragoon," says the *Chronicle*,

"Barracks and houses were unroofed, the Government bazaar was destroyed, trees were torn up, and, from the quantity of rain which fell, the foundations of many houses were loosened. One native schooner went down in the river, and the Pluto steamboat, which was proceeding from Moulmein to Bassein, with 800 troops on board, was seen making signals of distress. From the latest news we gather that this boat had been able to put back to Moulmein, but with the loss of cargo and guns. The head-quarter detachment of the 8th irregular cavalry that marched for Frome have had to come back. They returned on the 1st, having found the whole country two feet deep under water. The troops are healthy, and the condition of the province of Pegue is decidedly improving. 'Large and flourishing villages are springing up, and the capabilities of the country are exciting great expectations.'"

The new charter came into operation on the 4th of May; the alteration will principally affect the Bengal Presidency, which will be greatly benefited by the change. Under the former state of things the Governor-General was prevented by other claims on his time from attending sufficiently to the affairs of so quiet a province as Bengal, and he had not the local experience so desirable in regulating the affairs of a subordinate Government which is possessed by the new Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Halliday. The

emoluments of this governorship are to be 10,000*l.* per annum, an official residence, and an establishment of attendants at the cost of 60*l.* monthly. The secretary to the Government of Bengal is to draw 3600*l.* yearly, and each of the two under secretaries 1500*l.* The Lieutenant-Governor will carry on his duties in direct correspondence with the Governor of India, but reports are to be made direct to the Home Government. He will have authority over all the territories hitherto under the authority of the Governor of Bengal, excepting the Tenasserim provinces and Pegue. Mr. John Peter Grant has succeeded Mr. Halliday in the Council of India, but will draw only 8000*l.* per annum. The first meeting of the Legislative Council of India was to have taken place on the 20th inst. Mr. C. Allen and Mr. Cecil Beaden are mentioned as nominees of the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal and the North-West provinces. Madras is to send Mr. Daniel Elliott; and Mr. Arthur Malet has already left Bombay to take his seat. The number is completed by Sir L. Peel, the Chief Justice, the Hon. Mr. Peacock, and Mr. Mills, of the Calcutta Sudder Court.

At their first meeting on the 20th Sir Lawrence Peel intended to move for leave to bring in a bill for the revision and codification of Indian law. This, if adopted, will at once place the Legislative Council of India in antagonism with the Indian law commission in England, and the motion is so intended. Sir Lawrence Peel has always expressed his opinion very strongly regarding the necessity of legislating for India in India, and I think it likely that he will carry the majority of the Legislative Council with him.

Colonel Cautley, the engineer of the lately opened Ganges Canal, has left India, and the Governor-General has issued a most complimentary order on the occasion. Deeming it one in which the rules and precedents of the service may be broken through, he directs that he shall embark on board the Governor-General's yacht, and shall receive, as he passes, a special salute of 13 guns from the ramparts of Fort William.

The Russian squadron is supposed to have taken refuge on the coast of Kamschatka. One of its vessels was seen about 30 days since at Woosung, where she had put in for intelligence. After deducting the vessels ordered home, our naval force in those seas consists of 15 vessels of the Royal navy, mounting 234 guns; of 27 steamers of the Indian navy mounting 120 guns of very large calibre and heavy metal, and of 12 sailing ships of the same service, mounting 109 guns; thus making a total of 54 vessels and 463 guns, exclusive of the French squadron. It is not the Russian squadron that is feared by our mercantile marine so much as pirates from California sailing under Russian colours.

MAURICE'S LECTURES.

The fourth lecture of the course, delivered on Thursday last, was full of interesting matter connected with the main subject. The difficulty of furnishing instruction for the working-classes, of such a kind, and in such a form as shall be acceptable to them, was first dwelt on. The lecturer instanced the powerful effect of music (as it has, in these latter years, been taught by Mainzer, Hullah, and others) in working upon the inert nature and latent faculties of the mechanical and agricultural labourer. The beneficial result of learning music is now felt and appreciated throughout the land by the more intelligent among the labouring classes. Neither they themselves, nor their teachers, could perhaps give a clear and coherent account of the way in which this art acts upon the mind—raising the feelings—softening the manners—clarifying the intellect. The lecturer was particularly happy in his description of the subtle mysterious influence wrought on the emotional nature of the most ignorant rustic by soft, exhilarating, or elevating melodies; and through the emotional nature upon the abiding affections and the intelligence. He then touched upon the philosophy of the matter—especially as regards Englishmen. He said it seemed to him that music was an art particularly adapted to our countrymen, since it appealed at once to two of the strongest instructive feelings within us, viz.: the love of freedom and the love of order; and to this circumstance he attributed the success of all attempts to impart popular musical education. He thence took occasion to speak with emphasis his own conviction that any sort of education offered to working men must gratify their love of freedom and their love of order; that unless it did this they would look with suspicion upon any system of education offered them, or perhaps reject it. He would not have his hearers suppose that the love of freedom was stronger in the heart of the English working man than the love of order. On the contrary, he felt that the desire for order in their life, for organisation in work, was essential to their happiness. This was clearly apparent to all persons who had read attentively the accounts of the late strike at Preston. In the seeming anarchy and confusion there, it was evident that order and a sense of its importance to them and to

the object they had to bring about was prevalent among the workmen.

Education to be acceptable to the labouring classes must not have regard only to making them better labourers but better men. It must make them free—it must consider them not as "hands" but as souls—not as things but as persons. Again, nothing should be taught them for the sake of supporting something else. Physical science should be taught without any view to the doctrines of Christianity. Well-meaning, religious persons often do harm to the cause of Christianity as well as the minds of those they seek to benefit, by not allowing secular instruction to stand on its own basis. No truth, *i. e.*, no part of the great absolute truth, can be subversive of any other truth, *i. e.*, of any other portion of the great absolute truth. All those engaged in carrying out the useful hint concerning the teaching of common things should bear that in mind. The teaching of uncommon things, of high and spiritual things, not immediately connected with the working man's work, here, on this earth, is that sort of teaching which the best among them will always crave for the most. This must be provided for. Mr. Maurice spoke of the good points he would borrow from the systems of the secular teachers, on the one hand, and the religious teachers on the other; he touched on the admirable adaptation of the training in the Jesuit schools to the end which their conductors have in view; but this end was the reverse of that which he wished to inculcate. Men, and especially working men, must not be made into intelligent machines, but into thinking, self-acting creatures. The end of all education is to make man free;—free from the tyranny of other men's passions and desires;—and from his own; which last is eminently difficult of attainment. On that account we would earnestly press it upon the thoughtful reader. Education of the right kind, intellectual and moral, can alone make a free man or a great man. To the end of time the ancient aphorism will be a deep truth, "Greater is he that ruleth his own spirit than he that taketh a city."

We have given but an imperfect reflex of the light which pervaded this lecture. It was the best we have yet heard, both as to the matter and the mode of illustration. It often bordered on imaginative and poetic eloquence, and it was throughout characterised by the earnest feeling and scholarly thought for which the lecturer is famous.

"THE SANCTITY OF DOMESTIC INTER-COURSE."

A CASE of libel in its most cowardly form, was tried before Chief Justice Jervis in the Court of Common Pleas, on Saturday. The plaintiff was Mr. Lefroy, a solicitor in Piccadilly; the defendant a "gentleman" and magistrate of Somersetshire. His name was Cridland. He married in 1831, but his wife falling into delicate health, he left her and lived with another woman. In 1848 Mr. Lefroy acted as the solicitor of Mrs. Cridland in obtaining a divorce *a mensâ et thoro*, and Cridland was ordered to allow her 350*l.* a-year. Since then she had lived with her sister-in-law, Mrs. Upham, at Taunton. The libel was contained in a letter enclosed in an envelope addressed to Mr. Upham. That gentleman opened the enclosure by Mrs. Cridland's directions, read the letter and forwarded it to Mr. Lefroy. Hence the action. The letter was addressed to the defendant's wife as "madam," and it commenced by accusing her of having pawned his "knives, forks, barometer, clock, and God knows what;" and contained some scandalous imputations against Mrs. Cridland and her sister, accusing them in the grossest terms of gaining their living by immoral practices. The writer threatened to inquire among pawnbrokers for his property, and if not successful to advertise the matter in the *Times*, and he concluded by referring to Mr. Lefroy, in a passage which constituted the libel complained of. He said, "You need not refer me to your solicitor, Mr. Lefroy, for the sneaking brute cannot look me in the face without looking as if he had been guilty of some dirty transaction." And the writer then, in the form of a question, insinuated that Mr. Lefroy's bill had been paid by grossly immoral conduct on the part of Mrs. Cridland and her sister. The truth was that Mr. Lefroy's bill for the proceedings in the ecclesiastical court would have been about 150*l.*, but from a feeling of kindness he had only charged the amount of money which he had been out of pocket.

Mr. Upham, Mrs. Cridland, and Mrs. Mary Cridland, her sister, were examined, and sustained the above statement. Mr. Lefroy was also examined; in the course of cross-examination he declared that he had never said he would send the letter in question to every magistrate in the county of Somerset, but he said that he had a good mind to send it to the chairman of the magistrates, for such a man as the defendant was not fit to be a magistrate, and to sit with gentlemen.

The defence relied on by Mr. Serjeant Byles was that the letter had been written "in the sanctity of domestic intercourse," and was a privileged communication.

The Lord Chief Justice, in summing up, said that this was not a case of a man writing "under the sanctity of domestic intercourse," in which he applied to the maternal head of his family for counsel and assistance from her affection and experience; but it was the case of a man writing a disgusting, low, vulgar, abusive letter to a woman who was divorced from her husband; and so far from the defendant writing under the sanctity of domestic intercourse, he had sent a letter calling his wife and her sister prostitutes, and had the impudence to say to his own wife that he had had intercourse with her sister. As to the damages, he

hoped that his brother Byles had acted with sincerity in expressing the defendant's regret at having written this letter; but he could not help agreeing with Mr. Lefroy, that a man who could, under any circumstances or from any provocation, write such a letter to his wife, from whom he was divorced, was not fit society for gentlemen. He quite agreed that a man who could write such a letter was not fit to sit down with gentlemen. This was assuming it to be untrue, and it was not pretended that these ladies were the abandoned characters which he had stated them to be; but, on the other hand, the plaintiff's counsel had gone out of his way, and had put these ladies into the box in order to defy the other side to cross-examine them. The statements were, in fact, admitted to be false; and nothing could justify a man in saying things which he knew to be false. The defendant had sent the letter to his wife; and as to the question of publication, he was of opinion that this was sufficient.

Verdict, 1000*l.* damages. Mr. Serjeant Byles tendered a bill of exceptions to the summing up.

EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY AND AMERICAN SLAVERY.

London: 45, Weymouth-street, Portland-place, 2nd June, 1854.

"GENTLEMEN,—In the *Morning Advertiser* of yesterday I observe a letter, which is introduced as being a recent one from Mazzini, addressed to an Abolition Society at Manchester. The letter is, however, without date; and as Mazzini is not now in London to answer for himself, we are left to guess at the time it was written. It speaks against slavery in general, but not a word occurs in it of American affairs in any way; and it concludes by the emphatic and weighty declaration, that 'free men only can achieve the work of freedom;' and that 'throughout all Europe' . . . 'desecrated by arbitrary tyrannical powers'—'by Czars, Emperors, and Popes' . . . 'are millions of white slaves, suffering, struggling, expiring, in Italy, in Poland, in Hungary,' whose emancipation he earnestly entreats may not be forgotten in zeal for that of the black race. I regret, therefore, to see the letter so introduced, by the gentleman giving it publicity, as to lead to the impression that it was intended by Mazzini to bear upon the exciting slave controversy now convulsing the United States.

"In Mazzini's absence, the great importance of an explanation going out to America by the mail, which will carry his letter, and the knowledge I have of the perfect understanding which exists between yourselves and Mazzini, induce me to ask, in justice to myself and the question, that you will correct me if, in recent statements of mine to friends at home, I have, through my misapprehension, misstated the views of the republican leaders in regard to European interference with American internal affairs.

"From my repeated interviews with you all, during my stay in London, and our close and earnest discussion of all the leading points of your policy, I have felt authorised to say that it is your deliberate judgment that such interference was in opposition to the principle of State rights, a cardinal principle of the democratic statesmen of Italy, Hungary, France, Poland, and Germany. A paper declaring this, was, before being sent to America, expressly shown to Mazzini; and was then sent to the *Louisville Democrat* (Kentucky), and will be found in a March issue of that journal. It states, as the sentiment of the European republican leaders in London, that they have faith in the honour and generosity and justice of the Southern States, that they will do of themselves what is right in regard to the slaves, and the better for being left calm and free of irritation from any external influences.

"The republican statesmen of Europe, deeply interested in the history of the struggles and glorious success of the great Republic of America, must know that the existence of slavery in the United States is an inheritance from the British Government, and that it involves at the present day questions of much greater magnitude than the simple cash value of the slaves; and that social and political equality cannot be created by foreign intervention. But that the whole history of the United States as a government, and as a people, shows that they have practically done more than any other nation for the advancement of the African race.

"And that, in taking the lead of every government in the world, in the abolition of the slave trade, which was continued many years after by the British Government;

"In the condition of the negroes in the Southern States, who are not, as in Italy, Hungary, France, and Poland, a refined and civilised people abased and crushed by the tyranny of their rulers, but a benighted race advancing under the care of their American masters from the barbarism which led them to sell each other into slavery for a few trinkets, to a highly respectable grade of civilisation and Christianity; the visible proof of which is shown in the prosperity and good government of the American negro republic of Liberia, whose respectable president is a manumitted American slave, from the Southern State of Virginia;

"In the establishment of this Americo-African

colony, by the purchase of several hundred miles of slave coast, and the appropriation, by state legislation and individual donation, of hundreds of thousands of dollars for the comfortable passage and prosperous establishment of the American blacks; the most generous, the most disinterested act of benevolence ever shown by one people great and powerful, to another inferior and weak, through which gleams for all known ages, the first light which has beamed upon Ethiopia, a benevolence in which the southern state governments and southern masters have been the leaders and munificent patrons;

"In that the United States is the only country on earth where white men and women are really free, and where even the soldier and sailor in service is not under the degradation of the lash;

"Lastly,—In the heroic republican act of the chivalrous Ingraham, a citizen of the southern state, who struck a blow for free citizenship, which resounded under every throne in Europe;

"In all these instances, they must recognise a national character, to which can safely be trusted all questions of its own internal policy, with the certainty of a solution honourable to America, to Christianity, and to mankind.

"They know that strife and ill-blood between the northern and southern people of the United States, are music and luxury to the enemies of democracy, now enthroned on the necks of the people of the European Continent; and must feel that, at this moment, critical of the fate of millions on millions of the finest races on earth, struggling for the sway of mind over force, of free thought over brute obedience, it is most urgently important that their only unshackled friends on earth—the people of the United States—should harmonise all differences; so that they may present to Europe an unbroken front, and give vigour to the movement having for its aim—that the virtue and intellect of Europe shall guide its destinies!

"Satisfied as I am that the republicans of Europe—because of their appreciation of the Constitution of the United States, and of their joy in the onward and expansive career of our country and people—offer the only element of power that would be faithful to America, in the event of the United States becoming involved in a war with any European monarchy, I am anxious that no misrepresentations, designed or accidental, should place their chosen representatives in a false position before any portion of the American people.

"With these views I respectfully ask you to say whether or not I am justified in assuring friends in the United States that the republican representatives of Europe, do in no way desire to interfere with any domestic question in the United States, and especially with one wherein, besides the subject of slavery, so many other considerations of a political character are involved.

"Your faithful friend,
"GEORGE N. SANDERS.

"To Louis Kossuth and others, representatives of Jeffersonian Republicanism in Europe."

KOSSUTH'S REPLY.

"21, Alpha-road, Regents Park, London, June 3rd, 1854.

"Dear Sir,—Upon carefully reading your letter, I reply, that while deploring the existence of slavery anywhere, all my principles are against foreign interference with the domestic affairs of another nation. Besides, though be it from natural necessity, be it from the impassivity of its leading statesmen, the United States do not yet appear conscious of their competent position; still I consider the strength and prosperity of the only republican power on earth so important to the future destinies of the world, that I certainly would never contribute anything to its internal divisions. Nay, true to my principles, I cannot recognise any division in America; I look to the brotherhood of the great Republic as a whole, and have too high a respect for the American people, as one undivided body of sincere republicans, as not to believe they will of themselves, with all the light before them, make their nation a model for every other.

"You are quite right in your belief that Mazzini's letter has no reference to the present agitation in the United States.

"With high regard and sincere esteem,
"Yours respectfully,
"L. KOSSUTH.
"George N. Sanders."

THE ROYAL FREE HOSPITAL CASE.

The investigation before Mr. Coroner Baker as to the death of the child Richardson, at the Royal Free Hospital, was resumed on Tuesday. Mr. Brent, Deputy Coroner, was the chief witness. On the night of the 16th of May, the copy of a letter from Richardson was received by Mr. Wakley, calling upon Evans, the solicitor, to stop the inquest, fixed for the next day. That induced Mr. Wakley to countermand it. But next day he directed Mr. Brent to inquire whether Richardson had really written the letter. Mr. Brent saw Mrs. Richardson, and she declared that the inquest had not

been stopped with her consent. He also saw Richardson at the house of his employer, and he said that since he had signed the letter referred to he had altered his mind. In order to obtain an explanation Mr. Brent next went to see Evans; the result of the interview was, that Evans sent his clerk with Mr. Brent again to Richardson, who said he had been deceived by the lawyer, and repeated his desire that the inquest should go on. Mr. Brent and the clerk then went to Mr. Wakley, who sent to Evans for the original document signed by Richardson; but Evans refused to give it up, and the clerk came back saying that Richardson was satisfied. Then Mr. Wakley, who had neither directly nor indirectly attempted to throw any impediment in the way of the inquest, directed the discharge of the jury.

Richardson, the father, was recalled and examined by Evans. He threw no new light upon the matter; but in the course of the cross-examination Evans handed him a document, the demand for the inquest, and asked him if the signature was his, as he had previously sworn. "By your deception it is not," was the reply, followed by applause. Richardson said the reason he had sworn that the signature was his was, that three or four documents were shown to him at the same time, and he mistook the right one. He also read two items from Evans's bill. One of them was this: "16th May. Attending Mr. Steele, of Lincoln's Inn-fields, informing him what had passed, and that you would not prosecute the inquiry further on being paid 20*l.*" The other was: "Attending Mr. Steele to be paid 100*l.*; charged to Richardson 6*s.* 8*d.*"

The inquest was resumed on Thursday. Mr. Thomas Chaplin, a surgeon and apothecary to the Bloomsbury Dispensary, deposed that he was present there on two occasions when Mr. Cooper sounded the child. He also himself sounded, but did not discover a stone in the bladder. On testing the urine he found some indications of stone. Being asked whether the spasmodic action caused by the introduction of a sound might not cause a stone to be enfolded by the mucous coat of the bladder so that it could not be detected by the staff, he said that this sometimes happens, but chiefly in old people, and not in the young.

Mary Roper, a nurse, had held the child in her lap when he was first examined at the hospital. Mr. Scobell said there was no stone at all; Mr. Cooke said there was one, and the child must come into the hospital. He did so on Tuesday, the 11th of April, and the witness stayed with the child, the mother having told Mr. Scobell that she wished her to be present at the operation. The child played about in the ward. He screamed very much when making water, and his bowels were very confined. On Thursday witness took the child to see its mother, and returned about one o'clock, when the hospital nurse made her get the child undressed in a great hurry, for the operation at which she promised that witness should be present. Afterwards she saw the doctors would not allow it. She had before this taken away the child, and the doctors were very nearly two hours over him. The day-nurse brought him back at a quarter to four, dashed him down on the bed, and said: "It would be a good job if the dirty little wretch was dead." He was left there, and no instructions were given as to what was to be done for him. He called for drink, and the nurse came, and said: "I will jump down your damned little throat, teasing me for drink." No surgeon saw the child after the operation until half past ten the following morning. A nurse gave the child brandy between five and six on Thursday, the day after the operation. On Friday morning Mr. Cooke and Mr. Scobell ordered brandy again, and said the child would not get over it. On Saturday morning they came again, shook their heads, and ordered more brandy. They saw no more of it, and the child died before eight on Saturday morning. On the evening of the operation witness heard the mother ask Mr. Scobell if there was any stone in the child, and he said he did not think there was.

Mr. Robert Horne Popham, member of the medical Faculty of Glasgow, had been present as a spectator at the operation; the first steps of which were made in the usual way, the child being under the effects of chloroform. Mr. Cooke having failed with a first forceps used a second, and repeatedly introduced his finger into the wound. The witness saw no stone. Mr. Cooke said something to Mr. Wakley, junior, who hitherto had taken no part in the operation, but now introduced his finger into the wound. A staff or sound was now introduced, witness believes, by Mr. Wakley. Witness, and other gentlemen present, listened to the sound by the ear and the stethoscope over the bladder. Some said they heard the stone, witness said he did not. The operation proceeded, all the rest of it being done by Mr. Wakley; but what instruments he used witness could not say positively. Mr. Wakley did not succeed in finding a stone. The child was kept longer under the operation than witness would have kept him: it would have been better that he had been removed when Mr. Cooke had finished. The whole time the child was under operation was about an hour and a half. After it he was in a state of collapse from loss of blood and prolonged use of chloroform, which is itself a depressing agent. That would be itself a reason for shortening the operation.

The proceedings were again adjourned to Monday.

MISCELLANEOUS.

VERY gay the Court has been this week. The Queen, her husband, and some of the children visited Mr. Albert Smith's exhibition on Wednesday. The royal pair have visited the Italian Opera twice; the Princess's and the Opera Comique once. Prince Albert has done civil and military business. One day we find him inspecting the Essex Rifles; another looking over the splendid lodging-houses in Victoria-street; a third attending at the Harrow School speech-day. The sober business of politics has occupied the Queen two days; on Wednesday Lord Clarendon, and on Thursday the Earl of Aberdeen, had audiences.

The young King of Portugal and his brother left

town on Monday for Birmingham. They have since visited Manchester and Liverpool, and intend to make a regular tour in those parts.

At five o'clock on Wednesday morning three draft detachments of the Grenadier, Coldstream, and Scots Fusilier Guards marched from their barracks to the Waterloo station, and were conveyed to Portsmouth, when they embarked on board the Vulcan for Turkey. They numbered together nearly 500, officers and men. The Vulcan also took on board about 250 men drafted from the 42nd, 79th, 93rd, and 95th Regiments.

A letter from Montreal, which expresses great satisfaction with the manner in which Lord Elgin has settled the Fisheries dispute and established free-trade between the United States and Canada, says that it is generally understood that his lordship will resign the government of Canada as soon as the "Elgin Treaty" has received the sanction of the several legislatures. Rumour names Sir Edmund Head, now Lieut. Governor of New Brunswick, as his probable successor.

The French Ambassador and the Marquis of Lansdowne have both paid their court to the Duchess and Princess Mary of Cambridge, this week. The former gave them a grand dinner, on Tuesday, the latter a grand concert, on Monday.

The son of the Viceroy of Egypt is about to visit England. He has been recently betrothed to the daughter of the Sultan.

The Duke of Somerset celebrates the *entente cordiale* with France, by the purchase of a chateau on the Mediterranean.

An inquiry into the affairs of Dulwich College was opened on Thursday by Mr. Hare, inspector to the New Charity Commission, and was adjourned till Monday fortnight. It appears that out of a revenue of nearly 9000*l.*, the cost of maintaining those for whose benefit that liberal provision was made by the founder, has only absorbed 4790*l.*, the rest being divided among the governing body of the college.

The great city firms are effectually helping the early-closing movement. On Saturday last several warehouses closed at 2 o'clock. Among them were Morrison and Co., and Brette and Co.

A Member of Parliament—Mr. Pryse Loveden who represents Cardigan—has been fined five shillings for being found drunk in the streets. He paid ten shillings into the poor-box and apologised.

Vice-Chancellor Sir Page Wood was walking through Princes-street, Drury-lane, when he saw a man ill-using a woman. He interfered and the man struck him over the head. Fortunately his hat saved him from damage. Unable to pay the fine, the man—Murray by name—was sent to prison.

On Thursday Mary Ann Brough was again brought up for examination before the magistrates at Esher, on the charge of wilful murder of six of her children. No further evidence, however, was heard, the magistrates having assented to the application of the prisoner's counsel that she should be at once committed for trial to Horse-monger-lane Gaol, on the warrant already issued by the coroner.

As yet no traces have been found of the murderer who shot the young farmer Adcock, near Leicester. Having no evidence a verdict of "Wilful murder against some person or persons unknown," has been recorded. A professor of phrenology, named Anderson, has, however, been arrested on suspicion at Northampton.

A reward of 100*l.* has been offered by Government, and 100*l.* by a local society, for the apprehension of the man who fired at Parker, the Sheffield non-unionist.

Two Irishmen went to a fair and did not return. The next morning both were found dead; each with a deep knife-wound in his body! The only supposition as to the cause of their death is that they fell out on their way home, and stabbed each other!

Four officers of the Bombay fifteenth Native Infantry have been cashiered for giving false evidence before a court martial. One against whom the sentence was also recorded was recommended to mercy, and has since been discharged. They were concerned in the Gidley case.

Among the nuisances of London is a corps of Chinese beggars; but there is some excuse for them, as they are brought over to England in ships, and left to shift for themselves. Some of them, however, prefer the profession of beggar and practice it with success. Three were arrested the other day; one, Cham by name, resisted the officers. When committed to prison by the Marlborough-street magistrate, he yelled and struggled and gnawed away at the constables so effectually, that more than one were employed in carrying him off.

Declaring that the Fugitive Slave Law is a violation of the constitution, the Judge of the Supreme Court of Disconson declines to enforce it!

When the Crystal Palace was opened the wad of a cannon fired while a train was returning from Sydenham with its cargo, nearly caused the death of Mr. Franklyn, M.P. for Poole. It was fired from the grounds of a Mr. Pegg, at Forest-hill, and was intended as a salute. However, a judicial inquiry is pending.

Manchester is not exempt from incendiarism. No less than three wilful fires have been prevented by watchmen, who discovered the combustible matter thrown into the warehouses before it was too late.

A dreadful fire has swept away sixty cottages at Olney in Bucks. The loss is set down at 10,000*l.*; but the loss to the poor creatures who have been deprived of their all who shall say. This fire took place on Monday afternoon, and that night more than 800 homeless women and children were lodged in the National School and other places.

William Earle, a Commoner of St. John's College, Oxford, was drowned in the Isis, during a sculling match, on Monday. His skiff upset, and although a swimmer, he sank. His companions dived for him, but when brought to the shore he was dead. The jury found that the death was accidental, but they censure the means employed, generally, for the recovery of persons apparently drowned. Besides

this, two young men and three sisters have been drowned in a boat excursion on the same river.

The Kangaroo steamer, belonging to the Waterford Company, was nearly destroyed by fire on Monday. It broke out when the crew were sleeping.

Great negligence on the part of a railway company has caused the death of a young lady. At Wreay, on the Lancashire and Carlisle Railway, there was a temporary station on the crown of an archway, unprotected by any railing. Miss Irving got out there, in October last, in the dark, and walked over the edge. She lingered until last week when she died. The jury found that her death was accidental; but they censured the company for their imperfect arrangements. Three other accidents are recorded. At Gloucester, a train broke in two, and one half ran down an incline—fortunately, hurting nobody. At Tappley, a workman was cut in pieces; at Cardiff a train dashed into a cart drawn by two horses on its way across the line. The cart was destroyed and one horse killed.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, July 1st.

THE House of Commons was principally engaged last night, in voting supplies. Lord J. RUSSELL moved the Estimate for Education, and stated that the vote amounted to 343,873*l.*, including 80,000*l.*, the balance due from former years. He then at length stated his reasons for making no change in the present system, either secular or religious, and, although he strongly eulogised the efforts made by large towns to extend education, he thought religious differences rendered the establishment of a general system of education difficult or impossible, at least for the present. He showed that much good had been done by the present system, but hoped that it would effect much more when fully developed.

Sir J. PAKINGTON rather taunted Lord John with want of courage in not grappling with this question, and devised a scheme which might have dealt with it both as regarded religious and secular instruction.

Mr. MIALL, in moving an amendment to reduce the vote by 80,000*l.*, the increase on the present year, urged that the present system of education had failed, and stated his views of the voluntary plan.

Mr. HENLEY urged the necessity of improving the physical condition of the people before attempting their mental elevation.

Mr. W. J. FOX, in a terse and eloquent speech, advocated an entire system of secular education. Some unimportant speakers followed after, when

Mr. COBDEN entered at large into the question, urging that it should be dealt with at once, and advocating a system of local rating for the purposes of education, leaving to each locality the application of their rates in their own manner.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL again addressed the House, combating Mr. Cobden's theory, on the ground that such a system would not work on account of the religious differences which it would have to encounter. The vote was finally agreed to, and the committee proceeded with the estimates for Irish Education, the Department of Science and Art, &c.

The House of Lords was occupied principally with the Committee on the Divorce and Matrimonial Bill. Objections were made by Lord REDESDALE to the facilities for divorce given by the bill, and he stated that he would on the third reading move the omission of the clauses relating to that subject.

Lord ST. LEONARDS objected strongly to any of the business connected with matrimonial causes being transferred to the Court of Chancery, and urged the reconsideration of that question.

The Legislative (Canada) Bill was read a third time and passed.

The LORD CHANCELLOR introduced a bill for the amendment of the Bankruptcy Laws.

The following despatches to the Admiralty from Sir Charles Napier were published in the *Gazette* of yesterday evening, along with the enclosures mentioned in them:—

"No. 151. Duke of Wellington, Baro Sound, June 18, 1854.

"Sir,—I beg leave to enclose Admiral Plumridge's report of his proceedings in the Gulf of Bothnia, from the 5th May to the 10th June, by which their Lordships will observe that he has destroyed forty-six vessels, afloat and on the stocks, amounting to 11,000 tons; from 40,000 to 50,000 barrels of pitch and tar; 60,000 square yards of rough pitch; a great number of stacks of timber, spars, plank, and deals, sails, rope, and various kinds of naval stores, to the amount of from 8 to 400,000*l.*, without the loss of a man. Admiral Plumridge has had to contend with innumerable rocks and shoals, incorrectly laid down in the charts, and met the ice up to the 30th May; nevertheless, though several of his squadrons have touched the ground, I am happy to say they have received no damage that he is not able to repair with his own means.

"2. The Rear-Admiral, their lordships will observe, speaks in the highest terms of the captains, officers, seamen, and

marines, and particularly of Lieutenant B. P. Priest, the first lieutenant of the Leopard, an old and deserving officer, and of Lieutenant Hammet, his flag lieutenant.—I have, &c.,

"CHAS. NAPIER,
"Vice-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief."

No. 152.

"Duke of Wellington, Baro Sound,
"June 10, 1854.

"Sir,—I beg leave to transmit to their lordships the accompanying letter from Rear-Admiral Plumridge, enclosing one from Captain Glasse, of the Vulture (which ship arrived here yesterday), giving an account of an unfortunate failure in an attack on Gamla Carleby, in the Gulf of Bothnia, by the boats of the Vulture and Odin.

"2. I have expressed to Captain Glasse, my disapproval of sending boats to attack a place so far distant from his ship without any apparent object, which has led to the melancholy catastrophe on this occasion.—I have, &c.,

"(Signed) CHARLES NAPIER,
"Vice-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief."

"The Secretary of the Admiralty."

Admiral Plumridge's letter, here referred to, contains this remark on the unfortunate affair at Gamla Carleby:—

"From what I am able to discern, it would appear to me that this serious catastrophe has resulted from surprise, and a subsequent want of suitable management."

The instructions to Captain Glasse were that he should "proceed off Old Carleby, taking with him the Odin, to examine and operate, if practicable, on that place and its vicinity, where it was said they had a small screw-steamer, which it was an object to obtain for the use of the squadron." On the 7th the Vulture and Odin anchored abreast of Trullon island in four fathoms water, and Captain Glasse sent off the boats under the command of First-Lieutenant Wise of the Vulture. After anchoring, Lieutenant Wise went ashore with a flag of truce to demand the surrender of all property belonging to the Emperor of Russia. Not obtaining a satisfactory answer, he says:—

"I re-embarked, and directing Lieutenant Carrington to proceed a-head in a boat of light draught to sound, ordered the boats to weigh and form in two lines abreast, but before this was executed the enemy's fire from storehouses on our right, opened with field pieces and musketry, which was promptly returned by our guns and small arms.

The enemy being in great force and rapidly increasing—their position well chosen, and protected among wood and houses, behind which they were completely concealed, and from which they poured a most destructive fire—I deemed it expedient to withdraw the boats, and accordingly made the signal for the general recall.

"I did not, however, accomplish this without the loss of the paddle-box boat of this ship, which was destroyed by the enemy's fire; and it is with sorrow I contemplate the severe loss of officers and men we have sustained. Lieutenant Carrington, of the Odin, fell while in the act of carrying out my orders. His boat, a cutter, was the object of the enemy's first fire, by which she had eleven struck down, and gave us first notice of their proximity. Mr. N. J. Morphy, mate, in charge of the Vulture's paddle-box boat I observed encouraging his crew with great gallantry. Mr. C. F. H. Montague (mate), Odin, I am sorry to say fell mortally wounded while most gallantly doing his duty in the paddle-box boat of that ship. I have to add that the conduct of every officer and man was most exemplary. I cannot close this report without mentioning my approbation of the cool and praiseworthy conduct of Lieutenants Madden and Fellowes, who commanded the other two boats with guns.—I am, &c."

The loss sustained by both sides was, killed, 7—3 officers and 4 men; wounded, 21—2 officers and 19 men; missing, 23—1 officer and 27 men.

The next day Captain Glasse sent Lieutenant Wise with a letter for the Governor of Gamla Carleby, soliciting his Excellency's consideration for the wounded and prisoners who had fallen into his hands, and requesting to be informed of the number of killed and wounded of the party captured on the previous night's attack. But the letter was not delivered, the flag of truce not being acknowledged.

It is due to Captain Glasse to state that Admiral Plumridge associates that officer's name with those of Captains Buckle and Giffard with reference to the operations at Brakestad and Uleaborg, deeming it incumbent on him, he says, "to notice how sensibly I feel their zealous co-operation, as well as the good arrangements of their ships' boats for service."

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, JULY 1, 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.

AUSTRIA IN THE PRINCIPALITIES.

THE difficulties of the European situation are likely to commence with the Russian retreat from the Danube, and the Austrian occupation of the Principalities. We are sure that we have given vouchers for the liberality with which we are prepared to regard the conduct of Government, because we have too much reason to know, that some of our most esteemed readers have taken great exception to the allowance which we have already made. We believe that all Englishmen who now sit in the Cabinet Council, partake in a greater or less degree the general feeling of the English people in favour of constitutional freedom, and in favour of straightforward conduct. We say, in a greater or less degree, because we have our suspicions that some few do not share the English love of victorious action, but view the affairs of the world in a bookish aspect; that some have systematically sacrificed national feelings to the diplomatic art, and the family interests which that art subserves. But we say also in a greater degree, because we are convinced that some are as thoroughly liberal, political, and national, as any Englishman that can take his stand upon a platform. That there was ground for suspicion in the very equivocal language employed, is confessed in Lord Aberdeen's explanation; but there were other grounds. It has been remarked, and not untruly, that there never was a contest undertaken by a great power in modern times with so little of the ordinary formalities in the shape of distinct declarations. The announcement of war against Russia was protracted by our Ministers, with an unaccountable delay. When the declaration came out, although its general tenor was intelligible enough, its language was less precise than usual. We have heard it said, that it did not contain a declaration of war. Austria is permitted to occupy the Principalities under a convention with the Porte, but without a declaration of war against Russia. We do not yet mistrust our Ministers, but we say that, regarding the political antecedents of Austria, and regarding her very equivocal position, a great responsibility is incurred by permitting her to assume a post of such great power while she yet remains to so considerable a degree uncommitted towards our enemy, and in special alliance with a power, Prussia, whose conduct has been worse than equivocal. Having regard to these circumstances, our Ministers can be neither surprised nor offended if their conduct is still viewed with some suspicion, and they will be closely watched.

From what Lord Aberdeen said on Monday—and here all from him must be taken *à fortiori*—Ministers do not intend to accept proposals of peace from Russia on the basis of the *status quo*. But they intend in some way to take a security that Russia shall not only be pledged against making similar encroachments upon the boundary of Turkey or the peace of Europe, but really incapacitated against doing so. Ministers not only declare their duty to withhold any overt statement as to the method of arriving at that object, but

they also confess that they themselves have not made up their minds about it, and they take pains to remind us that much must depend upon the fortune of war and the views of allies. They are, therefore, entering upon that which is the most important stage of the whole conflict, without having really defined their object, but having only shadowed it forth in general terms, without having in any way decided as to the process for getting at it, without knowing the real sentiments of their allies, and, in short, with nothing but the vague notion that they must not make peace until they have put some kind of restraint upon Russia.

Now, the fear of this country is, that the present Ministers are not the men to make for their own object with sufficient energy to attain it. It is feared that Lord Aberdeen is so bigoted in favour of peace, that he will be impelled to make undue concessions to obtain it. It is supposed that Sir William Molesworth is, on economical grounds, so prejudiced against war, that he would incline to view with favour any terms for bringing it to a conclusion. It is supposed that Lord Palmerston, however he might have felt stimulated to achieve success as a War Minister when responsible for the war and able to get credit out of it, will feel his old habits of diplomacy return upon him, and will be inclined to fall in with the red tape department of Europe in arranging all these little matters. It is remembered that Lord John Russell, although sometimes very obstinate and inclined to "bolt," can at other times be soothed and coaxed into any amount of compliance, and that he may yield to the majority of the Cabinet. Sir James Graham has never shewn himself to be so much of a politician as he is of an administrator and manager of party connexion. And in short, the public has no proof whatever that any member of the Cabinet really desires to put an effectual restraint upon Russia, by seriously abating her power.

On the other hand, it is the obvious policy of Austria to hush up the war at all events. Russia has threatened that if the war be carried on, she will raise against her opponents not only royal enemies, but revolutionary enemies; and no opponent of Russia can dread such enemies so much as Austria. Austria, therefore, would be inclined to stop short in the war, unless England stood pledged to sally forth against the Italian people as well as against the Russian Czar. And standing on the middle ground of the Principalities, Austria is not unlikely to counsel the acceptance of terms with the threat that her forces can be as well employed against one side as the other; and here would be a complication of those "difficulties" which can always bring an English Cabinet to a stop.

In a military point of view there is no doubt that the occupation of the Principalities by Austria, forming a reserve for the allies and cutting off the communication between Russia and her accomplices in Turkey, is a valuable assistance, and there is a mode, we believe, by which Austria can be rendered faithful to the alliance without implicating England in any disgraceful conspiracy against the people of the continent. We agree with Lord Aberdeen that France is stronger than Austria and Russia put together, if England be with France. The very first element, therefore, in the successful and easy progress of the war, is the continued alliance between France and England. The second point would be to render the war against Russia effectual, with distinct objects, and an avowed resolution not to stop short of these objects. Russia ought to come out of the contest much weaker, she should be despoiled of territory, and rendered incapable of harassing Austria. To establish the power of England and France upon the

continent it is necessary that their arms should be victorious—and signally victorious. To continue France in the alliance it is necessary that the conquest should be worth the honour and dignity of both countries. The French must feel that their gratification of self-love is identical with the English alliance. And if Ministers would keep the English people in that state of harmonious nationality, which they now find, they must give employment and nourishing food for the spirit. While England and France are victorious they will be permitted to dictate the disposal of all that is reaped from victory, and other restless influences on the continent will stand by to wait the issue. The final result, as Lord Aberdeen says, no man could now measure, or define. But it is clear, that the way is open for England to attain, in conjunction with France, a position of victorious supremacy. Having attained that, it would be hard indeed if the influence of England could not be exercised beneficially for the people of the continent, for her allies during the conflict, and for the continued greatness of this country.

WHY ENGLAND WANTS POLICE BILLS.

OPPOSED by the mayors, Lord Palmerston has consented to throw up his Police Bill at all events for a time. The measure appeared to be dictated by an obvious necessity. It is a principle of our constitution—that much-abused shadow, which so seldom appears in reality—that the military shall not be employed against the people, except by direction of the civil authority; and this principle ought to be so far respected, that the military should only be called out to quell banded conspiracies against order. It has happened, however, in recent cases of some standing, that important towns, large districts of the country, have been disturbed by riots lasting for days, weeks, or even months; and that the only means of suppressing these riots has consisted in calling out the military.

Preston is the last instance. In that town the employing and the employed classes had a dispute on the subject of wages and the management of factories; they resorted to extreme measures, striving, on either side, to reduce opposing forces by the dread of ruin or of starvation. The masters, we believe, were as disorderly as the men; but being few in number, they were obliged to make up for the want of physical strength by strategy and by provocation; and it was made to appear, as usual, that the more numerous class were actually the instruments of riot. Thus the employing class—who furnish the magistracy of the place—were enabled to appeal to the law. Now, the local authorities ought not only to possess a judicial jurisdiction, but also the means of enforcing execution, and by the theory of our constitution they do so. It turned out, however, that they were unable to put down the disturbance. Their inability must have arisen from one or other of two causes: either the true sentiment of the people was against them, and in that case they were invoking extraneous aid to put down the genuine wish of the community; or they were, through want of resolution, incapable of executing their duty. The latter is almost presumed as the basis of the "Bill for Improving the Police Regulations of Counties and Boroughs." It was proposed to give an overruling jurisdiction to counties, and so to secure the command of a stronger force. In the actual case of Preston, the magistrates called in the military.

Such an incident is no novelty in our country, and we have on record a still more striking example of social disturbance and of military suppression. It is now twenty-three

years since Sir Charles Wetherell resolved, against the advice of his friends, against the warning of the local magistrates, to make a public entry into Bristol, after having spoken and argued against the Reform Bill, and after the Lords had thrown out the measure. The populace converted his triumphal entry into a disastrous dodging escapade, followed by a riot of many days. The triumphant Member-Judge sneaked to a place of safety, had his window barricaded at night with a feather-bed, and escaped in disguise as a woman! The sequel is well known. For several days the City was in a state of tumult; law was suspended; buildings were pulled down; private houses were set on fire; and the middle classes, who supplied the magistracy, sympathising, panic-stricken, irresolute, hesitated to summon military authority, yet afterwards pestered a handful of troops, suddenly called into the town, with private and individual instigations to attack the mob! The lamentable result is also well known. The magistrates were tried, but they got off, on the idea, sedulously enforced upon the court, that they were not to blame, since the Government had not provided a sufficient garrison for the town. Colonel Brereton, the commanding officer, brought to trial before a court-martial, escaped criticism by shooting himself. It appears, however, that the military officers, who were then made the scapegoats of laxity on all sides, were ready to do their duty if they had had from the civil authority that formal, distinct, and peremptory instruction to act against the English people, without which if they do act, save in self-defence, they become murderers as well as traitors against the authority of the law. Here, then, by a wretched impotency on the part of the police and the civil authorities of Bristol, the town was for days in the hands of an unruly mob—for it was no better,—and was only rescued from that control by a *coup d'état*, an absolute military conquest.

We are forced to compare these results with others that we observe on the opposite side of the Atlantic; where certain principles of the English constitution, forgotten by us, suffered to decay, and practically to die out, are still preserved. On more than one occasion, as in the recent instance of riots caused by the Fugitive Slave Law in Boston, there have been very serious disturbances; but the disturbances are invariably put down. The most alarming, perhaps, was that occasioned by the dispute between the Native American and the Irish parties, but it was less a riot of the ordinary kind than virtually a limited and fractional civil war. That which most resembled a riot, in the English sense, was the disturbance got up by the Forrest faction, to put down Mr. Macready, the actor; when New York was for a time in the hands of regular rioters. What ensued? A great force was called out, far more than sufficient to overwhelm the disturbance, and it was effectually put down. But of what did that force consist? It was not soldiery in one sense of the word, although it was a body trained to the use of arms, accustomed to discipline, and obedient to the voice of command. It was principally, we believe, the first division of the New York Militia; in other words, it was the pick and flower of the people itself.

The people itself, therefore, locally, by a body not in any manner to be distinguished from the civil community—the people itself put down the disturbance created by a faction, and caught up by the disorderly part of the population. But then it is the abiding principle, recited in most of the state constitutions, new as well as old, and repeated in the amended constitution of the Republic, "That a well regulated militia being neces-

sary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." The people of the American Republic are kept in a state of perfect capacity for self-defence, whether against the internal traitor or the foreign invader; and this is the reason why they are not persecuted on the one hand by riot, which they are impotent to put down, or pestered with centralizing police bills, or in default of any other rescue, left at the mercy of a royal soldiery.

PARTNERSHIP LAW FOR THE PEOPLE.

No subject has been more considered than that of limited liability in partnership. The merits of the question are perfectly understood, and the case on the two sides may be very briefly presented, although volumes might be written on both sides. On the side of limited liability, the main arguments may be reckoned up in two classes: first, there is a great amount of capital, consisting of small sums reposing in the hands of persons who have no experience in business, who are not disposed to take an active share in management, but would willingly devote their capital to purposes of reproduction, if they were permitted to do so with the ordinary risk of losing it. On the other hand, besides the advantage which the community would derive from rendering that mass of capital reproductive, there is also the interest of the humbler classes in being permitted to take a share of trade by combining smaller capitals without the liabilities that attend ordinary partnership combinations, and inflict, especially upon humbler partners, the most frightfully ruinous consequences. Thus the community is deprived of a mass of capital which would be available, and humble capitalists are shut out from the benefits of trade. The mass of the arguments, we say, on the side of limited liability resolve themselves into these two classes, and they stand in this peculiar position—that they are not denied.

The arguments on the other side consist of a totally different class, and they resolve themselves all into presumptions, that to admit the principle of limited liability would introduce irresponsible partners, would deprive creditors of a guarantee which they now possess, and would throw trade into confusion. The last point is supported by the presumption that, if partners were not made liable for the whole amount of their substance, they would become less discreet, and then not only would the sleeping partners lose their substance, but trade itself would be thrown into confusion by the great number of ruinous speculations which would be fostered. These arguments are denied, and they stand in the peculiar predicament of being perfectly theoretical. They find their evidence mainly in analogy—always an unsafe species of evidence; and they are contradicted by the experience of almost all other countries, for England is nearly alone in refusing the principle of limited liability.

England, indeed, does not refuse to admit the principle. As Lord Goderich said in the debate on Tuesday night, it is admitted in the form of exceptions; for under the present law the privilege of limited liability may be granted by royal charter, theoretically bestowed by the Crown, but practically given by the Board of Trade. It may also be bestowed by Act of Parliament, and is enjoyed by many companies. But, to obtain this limited liability, whether by charter or by Act of Parliament, requires the possession of influence and of money. Virtually, therefore, the limited liability is a privilege which may be obtained by the rich, who do not want it so much, while it is denied to those of limited means who want it most.

The arguments on this subject are very instructive as to the moral principle upon which commercial gentlemen apply political economy to their own business. They were hot in driving the landed interest off the rotten ground of protection; free-trade was a standard under which the trading interest marched to destroy the corn monopoly; but now, when exactly the same principle is applied to commercial credit,—when a great free-trade measure is claimed on behalf of the humbler classes; then the trading gentlemen, like Mr. William Brown or Mr. Horsley Palmer, are loud in claiming "protection" for credit; using exactly the same prophecies of ruin, confusion, &c., &c., which the landed interest employed to frighten people away from corn-law repeal.

We believe that a great part of the fallacy of this subject is occasioned by the fact, that the word "limited" is used; as it appears to be supposed that the law is wanted in order to limit the liability of property. Now nothing of the kind is required. The *present* law is one of limitation. It says, that the man having money, and willing to risk it in trade, shall not risk that particular sum of money in the hands of another person,—a proportionate share of the profits being allotted to the owner of that money,—unless the owner will also risk the whole amount of his property, whatever his partner may do. The King of Belgium, for example, having an estate in England, and being a liberal though not a rich monarch, and willing, let us suppose, to aid some humble friend to set up in business, say as a butterman, by investing 500*l.* of his principal in that friendly act of indirect commerce, would not, according to our law, be permitted to do so, unless he would also incur the risk for the whole of his royal possessions that could possibly be brought within the jurisdiction of English courts, and placed at the disposal of the butterman aforesaid. The present law, therefore, is one which limits liabilities to a very peculiar class, only suitable to great capitalists, and chiefly suitable for capitalists who are mixed up in cliques.

Indeed, Lord Palmerston put the subject in its most intelligible form,—and the humbler classes of this country will do well to study the declaration of the Home Secretary; for he is experienced, and he is not bigoted in favour of the working classes against the Government classes. He intimates that Government might be willing to make this concession; but as an excuse for the delay of the Government decision, he pleads the "difference of opinion;" "and, perhaps," he added, "it is fair to say, that the large capitalists are of one opinion, and the bulk of the small capitalists of another." The House of Commons ought to represent the whole country, and the public, enfranchised as well as unenfranchised, will watch the House, to see whether it sides with the great capitalists or the small,—whether it fobs off the small capitalists with abstract resolutions, and gratifies the large capitalists by refusing practical legislation.

THE SPIRIT OF LAW.

LET us hope that a decided improvement is taking place in the feeling of the English people with regard to the social protection of the more helpless sex. It is time that that change should take place, and perhaps the excess to which the want of amendment has gone may account for the wholesome reaction. Mr. Henry Fitzroy's Bill did not come before it was wanted; but statutes are nothing without the spirit that gives them their true vitality. The Romans had tolerable laws during the *decline* of their empire—laws which have been in part adopted by modern

Christians; and upon which the conduct of the Romans that invented them, and of the Christians that adopted them, forms the most ludicrous of commentaries; so little does the actual behaviour of a people depend on its statutes,—so little can the real morals of society be gathered from the formal laws.

It was not long since that we had to hail the appearance of a spirit of justice on the bench of justice, in the remarks which Mr. Yardley uttered on the Emmett case. The letter of the law in that case would have rendered indifferent justice; but it is evident that the feeling of the public, of the press, and of the judge himself, marked the commencement of a better spirit, which may ultimately communicate itself to our statutes. Chief Justice Jervis gave expression to a similar improvement, when he scouted the letter quoted in the case of Lefroy *versus* Cridland. In this case, a husband whose conduct had driven away his wife, pursued her with letters, accusing her of purloining his goods; flaunting in her face assertions that he had enjoyed undue familiarity with her sister; making *that* a reproach against the two women; and inculcating his wife's attorney in similar insinuations! The letter might have been called a "privileged communication," since it was addressed from the husband to his wife. The woman had been divorced from him; she remained without any protector, except the law; and it would be monstrous to assume that, in the case of a woman so circumstanced, the indiscriminate veneration for the matrimonial compact could compel the law to refuse interposition, and reserve to a husband the "privilege" of being the only villain free to pursue the woman with insult and accusation. Happily the Lord Chief Justice Jervis placed the letter in its true character before the jury; and the damages which they gave may perhaps check the libellous offences of "privileged" husbands.

In this country we are free to condemn the Americans for their rough paraphrase of law, under the name of Judge Lynch; we point to the organization for extending the institutions and influence of the republic as proving that the republicans have a slighter veneration for law than we have. If we set aside prejudices, however, we must confess that the reverse is the fact. The difference is, perhaps, that they have far less of the letter and more of the spirit. In almost any particular the comparison with ourselves is advantageous to them. If we look to certain licences, we find that the importation of women for nefarious purposes, common in this country, and intended for general consumption, is almost limited to New York on the other side of the Atlantic, and is intended for the consumption of foreign residents. We are apt to consider our Yankee cousins sanguinary; but it must be confessed that in the pursuit of murder the people of the United Kingdom excel those of the Republic. Lucre is usually the motive with us, or domestic revenge; and treachery of a very calculating kind is generally the method, except that in Ireland they vary it with ambush. Murders of that kind in the United States are almost universally committed by foreign emigrants. In the last instance,—the murder of Mr. Whitham, on Long Island,—the murderer was a man from the United Kingdom. Characteristic American murders are of a totally different order,—they are usually committed openly, or on the impulse of the moment. Dr. Webster slew his accuser in a fit of passion; and the last native American murder of a striking kind illustrates our position.

Not very long since the American papers told the story of a schoolmaster, who had been deliberately shot in open day by the

brother of one of his pupils. The story, with its sequel, is curious, as illustrating a particular phase of society. The assassin in this case belonged to "one of the best families" in a Western State—for there are good families also in America, and in no country are the members of such families more tenacious of their genealogy. The family is wealthy, and enjoys an hereditary position, though the Republic, of course, does not recognise hereditary titles. It has for some time been distinguished by acting upon its self-asserted claim of independence. At the school in question a pupil belonging to this "best" family had committed some offence, and had been punished. The merits of the punishment enter little into the case, and we need not go into them. The schoolmaster was much respected, and it is not denied that he thought himself just. He had, we believe, been a private tutor in the family, and had assisted in the education of the elder brother. On hearing, however, of the punishment, this elder brother, taking a second in company with him, procuring pistols by the way, and loading them, went to the school, demanded an explanation, and not receiving an apology shot the schoolmaster through the heart. The murderer was brought to trial; and here comes another curious fact of the influence already exercised by "the best families" in some states.

The influence, may, in many respects be salutary. For our own part we are inclined to think that it is so. Democracy is a vehement reaction upon the decay of an aristocracy which has abused its privileges—privileges acquired during the earlier years of the order by actual service; and democracy is in itself liable to a corresponding counteraction, when social equality has reached its extremest level, and when a field of freedom is reopened for those peculiar and distinguished services which give birth to an aristocracy. But the exploits must be of a different kind from those of the family whose history we are touching.

The young man was brought to trial, and he was acquitted. For some reason the jury would not convict a member of "one of the best families." The public, however, so strongly resented this apparent breach of justice, that they made the place too hot to hold a son of "one of the best families" who set himself above the law. He was obliged to seek a residence in another state. His story, however, had gone with him, and a deputation of the inhabitants waited upon him for the purpose of considerably informing him that he could not be permitted to reside amongst them. And so, it appears, he must wander from state to state, unable to find a resting-place for his foot. Whither can he go? It is thought by some that he will seek refuge in England, the land of liberty; where, possessing wealth, he will no doubt be able to obtain a position in society. For in this country we have the same slavish reverence for wealth, which they have in America for rank and birth.

Through all these irregularities, however, there is evinced an abiding and general reverence for the law, a popular determination that it shall be observed. The same spirit was shown in the resolve to enforce the fugitive slave-law at Boston, although the people so greatly disliked that law. It appears to us, therefore, that in spite of the irregularities and the luxuries necessarily belonging to a young country, with great intervals even of wild land amidst the civilised populations, there is more living concern for the observance and enforcement of law than there is amongst ourselves; who seldom resist it, but constantly and generally evade it, while at the same time we sanctimoniously profess that infraction is impossible.

A "STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

MR. CARDWELL is one of those great British statesmen forced upon the State by a governing class, who have not intellect enough for a decision, but have cunning enough to trim, and, no doubt, be trimmed with remarkable acuteness, which everybody found out on Tuesday evening last in the debate on the Partnership Laws. But it is rather strange that he should have been authorised by the Cabinet to hesitate on a question of "Limited Liability," seeing that the Coalition is based unequivocally upon that principle. Observe the incidents of the week, and it will be seen that the Government couldn't stand at all if an unreserved political partnership were understood to be in force, for, all their bills being beaten, or in process of being beaten, and no one having anything to do in his "department," the sole occupation of Ministers is to do damage to one another—succeeding, it must be confessed, considerably. There is only one political action now to be detected, and that is a Whig conspiracy against Lord Aberdeen. There is nothing in Parliamentary history so disgraceful to the State, and so degrading to individual statesmen as, the spectacle one now sees night after night in both Houses—Whig partisans being put up to assail and sneer at the Peelite colleagues of the Whigs. No doubt Lord Dudley Stuart was silly on Thursday, and no doubt Lord Clanricarde was not a success on Monday; and some decency was preserved in the former case by the Whig Minister abstaining from any answer to the Bashi-Bazouk from Marylebone. But what did such speeches mean? What is meant by the abortive brutalities directed by the Russell and Palmerston press against Lord Aberdeen? They mean an attempt to excite in the old Whig way a popular clamour, which may replace the Whigs in state-omnipotence—that misfortune for England being fortunately quite impossible. Does any person suppose that Lord John could not put a stop to these systematic efforts to depreciate the honest old nobleman who carried Lord John out of impotence into a respectable position? Could not Lord Palmerston have suppressed Lord Deadly on Thursday? It is much asked lately why Mr. Disraeli is so silent? But could Mr. Disraeli do better Opposition work than Lord Palmerston or Lord John?

Such exhibitions as those of Lords Clanricarde and Deadly, the Admiral of Connaught, and the F. M. of Poland, and such blinded abuse as that of the Radical papers, who do not observe that Lord Aberdeen, as Minister of the Court, is much more likely to be national than a Minister of the Whig aristocracy—do not do much harm, and are only to be noticed as evidences of the unscrupulous selfishness of Whig ambition. Lord Aberdeen, on Monday, exploded the conspiracy, and set himself absolutely right with the country, which is satisfied with phrases, and believes that Russell and Palmerston are anti-Russian because they talk of a durable peace, the country forgetting that these are the statesmen during whose time Russia has grown strong, and continental liberty has disappeared. Lord Aberdeen's phrases were excellent; and I think that, in his case, they were more than phrases; because, while insisting precisely on that for insisting on which Lord John was cheered in Guildhall, and Lord Palmerston is idolised among the party of liberal party-goers—viz., that we cannot have the status quo ante bellum—he abstained from rhodomontading "liberalisms," which in an English statesman's mouth can only have delusive signification. The whole misconception which had existed in reference to Lord Aberdeen arose from the steady integrity of his character, which forbids him to play with a great people for the purposes of popularity; and as the merit of such "explanations" as he gave on Monday night depends in a great measure on the impression produced at the moment, it is of importance to know that the manner of Lord Aberdeen on the occasion was a manner which touched everybody, being that of a sublimely conscientious man.

We are expected to sympathise with Lord John when he weeps over a botched Reform Bill, why not with Lord Aberdeen when, with solemnity and anxiety, he expounds a great policy? Speaking in the sight and hearing of the great assembly or

Monday—the representative intellect (the Commons—not the Lords) and the representative beauty (the ladies—not the Lords) of England present—all Europe awaiting his words—could Lord Aberdeen—one foot in the grave, as he said a year ago, and feebler every day, sick, very sick that day—have been equal to the conception of a cheat? At such a moment, with such a moment, a Lord Palmerston would cease to be a charlatan, and a Lord John Russell would cease to talk of himself. Judge of the effect produced by his earnest address—rendered more earnest by that absence of fluency so necessary to delude the English people, and which Lord Aberdeen, with no opinion of mere talk, has never cared to practise—by the circumstance that Lord Derby, vindictively ready for mischief, declined a comment, and that the debate was confined to those two Whig “supporters,” Clanricarde and Beaumont—supporters in the heraldic animal sense. Perhaps Lord Aberdeen’s vindication would have been less successful had it been delivered to the promiscuous House of Commons; and he would certainly have been hooted down by the long-shore men in Guildhall, or by the bargees collected together by William John Hall, who, it was rumoured, was thus about to take the opinion of the people of England on the character of the Premier—the liberal journals being apparently disgusted that William John Hall has refrained from that severe judicial proceeding. But in the Lords the defence was complete. The Lords, who know more of the realities of English statecraft than other classes, can comprehend Lord Aberdeen; and are enabled, unaffectedly, to sympathise with him when he condescends to use such a set of phrases as may remove from him dangerous unpopularity. Lord Aberdeen is not carried away by the excitements of a “popular war.” He does not detest Nicholas as a despot; for, being logical, that would compel him to detest a French and Austrian alliance, which would be inconvenient. He does not suppose that Great Britain, which is in a chronic fear lest a Reform Bill should be carried, and in a permanent funk because all the electors are corrupt, is in a condition to teach the nations how to live, and, so, to lead in a revolutionary war to put down Russianism and put up freedoms. Lord Aberdeen, cold and cynical, merely understands that his business, as a Minister, in this matter is to protect the independence and integrity of Turkey; and he says he will do that, and take proper guarantees for that, and he will say no more. All this the House of Lords perfectly understand; even the House of Ladies on the occasion comprehended that; and when Clanricarde, after a conspicuous folly of an hour’s duration, resumed his seat, and Lord Beaumont rose to talk his Whig old-womanisms in a neuter voice, the Lords and ladies bustled off to their carriages, smiling and sneering,—quite content that Aberdeen had stopped an inconvenient Ministerial crisis. Mrs. Masham, who was in the gallery, prominently grand, was evidently satisfied that Argyle was safe. And, of course, the fate of the Ministry being decided, the object of the war is determined.

Unless, indeed, as said so often in this column in the course of this session, the Radical party should think it worth while to be true to a deluded people, there cannot, certainly, be much hope for Radicals, who, like Lord Deadly, think that Palmerston should be Premier. But an absurd idiosyncrasy of this species is only allowed to run wild because there is no party organisation to keep him quiet and teach him common sense. Mr. Cobden’s speech in the Partnership debate was very hopeful. It lifted him out of, and away from, the wretched Manchester school, and indicated a heart as well as a head for the people. That debate, altogether, developed massive intellectuality in the Radical party—Mr. Collier’s statement was as perfect, in its way, as Mr. Cobden’s logic.—Mr. Lucas’s syllogistic declamation was as admirable, in House of Commons completeness, as Lord Goderich’s philosophic dissertation. With such powers among such a set of men, there must be something grossly wrong, seeing that these powers are at present all but thrown away, and that in real political effectiveness these men are impotent.

Saturday Morning,

“A STRANGER.”

Open Council.

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

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

PENNSYLVANIA NEVER REPUDIATED HER DEBTS.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

London, 19th June, 1854.

SIR,—I have read with much interest your excellent remarks on the character and writings of the Rev. Sydney Smith, but beg that you will permit me to correct one error, as it is an important one, into which he seems to have fallen, and into which he has led you. Pennsylvania, although selected by him as the representative of repudiating states, really never repudiated her debts. I have heard it stated that Sydney Smith did not hold any Pennsylvania Bonds at the time when he wrote his pungent satires against her; but used her as a target at which to shoot his arrows intended to pierce repudiators wherever they existed, and I am disposed to believe this statement to be correct. I was not only in America and in Philadelphia at the time when that state suspended payment of the interest of her debts, but I actually held Pennsylvania Bonds, and I hold them still. I read the proceedings of her governor and legislature with the interest which a creditor naturally feels in the exposition of his debtors’ affairs, and I am bound in duty to say that these authorities never hinted at repudiation. On the contrary, the governor, in his annual messages, explained the circumstances which had rendered it physically impossible for the state to pay the interest of her debts; he distinctly acknowledged the incumbrance of the debts on the state’s resources, and asked only for time; and, moreover, the legislature never separated without solemnly acknowledging the debt, and expressing their anxiety to discharge it.

As I was personally cognisant of the state of financial affairs in Pennsylvania in 1838, 1839, and 1840, I know that the causes assigned by the governor for the suspension of the interest were *real*. The state had chartered banks, and encouraged the issue of paper-money to such an extent that the people engaged in the wildest speculative enterprises—worse than our railway mania of 1846. This was carried to so great an extent that the balance of trade with Europe turned strongly against the United States, and forced them to export almost all their gold and silver coin and bullion; but still the drain went on. The United States Bank first suspended cash payments, and soon became bankrupt. Innumerable country banks then collapsed; and all paper-money was discredited. The gold and silver were gone to Europe, or hoarded; and, literally, there was not an accredited circulating medium existing, even in Philadelphia, sufficient to serve for carrying on the ordinary transactions of life. Debts were paid by cheques on the few banks remaining solvent, and they were marked as “good” by the bank on which they were drawn, and carried to the bank of the creditor, which received them as money, and placed the amount to his credit. In the rural districts trade was reduced to *barter*; and harvest labourers were paid in wheat, pork, and potatoes, which they exchanged for other necessaries in the shops of the villages. When the tax-gatherer came to the farmers, they offered him pork, wheat, rye, barley, and other produce, at his option; but the duties of a provision merchant were not included in his commission, and the state could not pay its creditors in kind by sending such commodities to them. Suspension, therefore, was a physical necessity in the circumstances; but as soon as her financial circumstances were reduced to order, the state paid all arrears of interest, and her stock is now in excellent credit in the markets of Europe as well as in those of the United States. I have not lost a penny by my Pennsylvania Bonds. On the contrary, they stand higher in market value now than they did when I purchased them, sixteen years ago.

Sydney Smith’s satire was richly merited by a number of the western and southern states, which *did* repudiate, and it did excellent service in shaming them into honesty; but it was a positive misfortune in him to have inflicted a vicarious castigation on Pennsylvania, which never deserved it.

In settling the interest on the arrears of interest which had accumulated during the period of suspension, that state allowed only 4½ per cent., which was thought shabby, as her debt itself bore 5 or 6 per cent.; but this is the only complaint which the most rigid creditor can make against her.

It has given me pain to see Sydney Smith’s charge repeated again and again, even by the most respectable members of the press in England, such as the *Times* and your own paper, knowing, as I do, how keenly this injustice is felt as a moral wrong in Pennsylvania. Besides, it tends to screen the really delinquent states by constantly battering the innocent

with the blows which should have been bestowed on the guilty alone.—I am, &c.,

GEORGE COMBE, of Edinburgh.

[Mr. Combe is perfectly right, and we are very much obliged to him for the correction. The reader will, no doubt, have observed that the inadvertence passed in a department of our paper where vigilance upon political details, and still more upon financial details, must be expected to be less keen than on the political side.]

THE CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS IN PARIS AND LIMOGES.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

Kemptown, June 28th.

SIR,—The foreign correspondents of the English press have repeatedly announced the total failure and the final dissolution of the co-operative workshops, established in France, since 1848, and in which the principles of self-government, self-employment, and the *pro rata* division of profits among the working members of the associations had been successfully elaborated. These reports I have now the satisfaction to inform you are unfounded.

The principal co-operative associations in Paris—such, for instance, as that of the block timen, the arm-chair manufacturers, the carriage-lamp makers, the coach-builders, the file-cutters, the last, the chair, and the piano-forte manufacturers, are not only still in existence, but they are eminently successful and highly prosperous; and in their moral and social, as well as their material and commercial aspects, are in a perfectly satisfactory condition.

At Limoges the large and important Association of the Potters has, like its vigorous and laborious prototype, thrown off three separate swarms, each of which appears to be as prosperous and successful as the thrifty and energetic parent society, whose statutes were framed in accordance with the principles of the most enlightened economists, and the individual interests of each of its members as studiously cared for and secured as the collective interests of all.

The success of these self-employing and governing industrial institutions, in which the *rights as well as the duties of labour* have received practical illustration and acknowledgment, is truly surprising, especially when we reflect upon the unparalleled difficulties and obstructions of every kind, as well as the ordinary trade competition, with which they have had to contend. The foundation of such institutions as these is among the permanent and indestructible products of that glorious revolution of 1848, in which the rights of *labour*, not of stock-jobbing, were proclaimed by national decree, and by which was inaugurated a new era in the history of the rise, progress, and social emancipation of the operative classes in the Old World.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM CONINGHAM.

LITERARY CLUB.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

Euston-place, June 23, 1854.

SIR,—I entirely agree with your correspondent, E. B. A., that the proposed Athenæum Institute is defective in principle, and not calculated to meet the wants of the general body of intellectual or literate men, whether engaged in journalism or any other description of literature. In the first place there is a confused jumbling together of two subjects essentially distinct and separate. What, I ask, has *Life Assurance* to do with the establishment of a central *Exchange* or resort for all who are connected with literature? There is no sort of connexion between the two propositions, and I confess the thus thrusting in, as an essential qualification for membership, the rather intricate subject of *Life Assurance*, is not only hampering and unnecessarily complicating a most desirable institution, but is positively endangering its existence. The too curious inquirer is apt to think that it smells of the shop. Again, why talk about “*Incorporation*?” A charter of incorporation can only be granted by Act of Parliament, at an expense of some two or three hundred pounds. An enrolment under the Friendly Society’s Act would answer all the purpose, and would cost 3*l*. To meet the views of E. B. A., and in order to secure a rendezvous for literary men and journalists *at once*, I would propose as a first step that 500 gentlemen, whether reporters, authors, journalists, or literate men, should each subscribe 10*s*. Now 500 annual subscribers at 10*s*. would produce the sum of 250*l*. Expend 50*l*. of this amount in fitting up an eligible apartment from 70 to 100 feet in length and 20 to 30 in width. I should rely fully for a permanent income for this society on the sound principle of *THE ASSOCIATION OF NUMBERS*, and it should be the object and chief design of this literary association to afford all its members a comfortable and well-ventilated room for meeting and conversation; and also a reading or newsroom containing the best works of our best authors, as well as the most talented reviews and journals of the day.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
M. H. F.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review.*

THE war does not deter publishers from serial works, whatever may be its effect on Literature in general. PARKER continues his elegant edition of our Poets; NICHOL the same with his; BOHN shows no pause in enterprise; JOHN CHAPMAN grows more and more confident about his Quarterly Series of Philosophic Works, and announces FEUERBACH's startling work *The Essence of Christianity*, which will be a bombshell thrown into the camp of orthodoxy; and now CONSTABLE announces a new series under the title of *Constable's Miscellany of Foreign Literature*, which is to present the public with a varied and valuable collection of Foreign and American works at 3s. 6d. a volume. The plan is vague; which is at once an advantage and a disadvantage—it offers a wide field for selection, but it does not appeal to any class. Nothing but great skill in selection, and excellence in translation, will make this series a success—but they may make a great success.

The Lectures on Education delivered at the Royal Institution by WHEWELL, FARADAY, LATHAM, DAUBENY, TYNDALL, PAGER, and HODGSON, have been published by J. W. PARKER and SON in handsome pamphlets, and paged to be united in a handsome volume, where we advise the reader to consult them; for although it is not easy to say anything new on this hacknied subject, the subject is only hacknied because of its importance, and what is here said is for the most part well worth being iterated. FARADAY throughout preaches from the text of table-turning, which, he so truly says, is terrible evidence of the want of mental discipline in a public ready to accept it. He touches also on the *morale* of this question, as regards the attitude of scientific men:—

"And now a few words upon the mutual relation of two classes, namely, those who decline to educate their judgments in regard to the matters on which they decide, and those who, by self-education, have endeavoured to improve themselves; and upon the remarkable and somewhat unreasonable manner in which the latter are called upon, and occasionally taunted, by the former. A man who makes assertions, or draws conclusions, regarding any given case, ought to be competent to investigate it. He has no right to throw the onus on others, declaring it their duty to prove him right or wrong. His duty is to demonstrate the truth of that which he asserts, or to cease from asserting. The men he calls upon to consider and judge have enough to do with themselves, in the examination, correction, or verification of their own views. The world little knows how many of the thoughts and theories which have passed through the mind of a scientific investigator have been crushed in silence and secrecy by his own severe criticism and adverse examination; that in the most successful instances not a tenth of the suggestions, the hopes, the wishes, the preliminary conclusions have been realised. And is a man so occupied to be taken from his search after truth in the path he hopes may lead to its attainment, and occupied in vain upon nothing but a broad assertion?

"Neither has the asserter of any new thing a right to claim an answer in the form of Yes or No; or think, because none is forthcoming, that he is to be considered as having established his assertion. So much is unknown to the wisest man, that he may often be without an answer: as frequently he is so, because the subject is in the region of hypothesis, and not of facts. In either case he has the right to refuse to speak. I cannot tell whether there are two fluids of electricity or any fluid at all. I am not bound to explain how a table tilts any more than to indicate how, under the conjuror's hands, a pudding appears in a hat. The means are not known to me. I am persuaded that the results, however strange they may appear, are in accordance with that which is truly known, and if carefully investigated would justify the well-tried laws of nature; but, as life is limited, I am not disposed to occupy the time it is made of in the investigation of matters which, in what is known to me of them, offer no reasonable prospect of any useful progress, or anything but negative results. We deny the right of those who call upon us to answer their speculations, *if we can*, whilst we have so many of our own to develop and correct; and claim the right for ourselves of withholding either our conclusions or the reasons for them, without in the least degree admitting that their affirmations are unanswerable. We are not even called upon to give an answer to the best of our belief: nor bound to admit a bold assertion because we do not know to the contrary. * * * * *

"When men, more or less marked by their advance, are led by circumstances to give an opinion adverse to any popular notion, or to the assertions of any sanguine inventor, nothing is more usual than the attempt to neutralise the force of such an opinion by reference to the mistakes which right educated men have made; and their occasional misjudgments and erroneous conclusions are quoted, as if they were less competent than others to give an opinion, being even disabled from judging like matters to those which are included in their pursuits by the very exercise of their minds upon them. How frequently has the reported judgment of Davy, upon the impossibility of gas-lighting upon a large scale, been quoted by speculators engaged in tempting minded men into companies, or in the pages of journals occupied with the popular fancies of the day; as if an argument were derivable from that in favour of some special object to be commended. Why should not men taught in the matter of judgment far beyond their neighbours, be expected to err sometimes, since the very education in which they are advanced can only terminate with their lives? What is there about them, derived from *this education*, which sets up the shadow of a pretence to perfection? Such men cannot learn all things, and may often be ignorant. The very progress which science makes amongst them as a body is a continual correction of ignorance—i. e., of a state which is ignorance in relation to the future, though wisdom and knowledge in relation to the past."

The following little digression is worth quoting:—

"When I was young, I received from one well able to aid a learner in his endeavours toward self-improvement, a curious lesson in the mode of estimating the amount of belief one might be induced to attach to our conclusions. The person was Dr. Wollaston, who, upon a given point, was induced to offer me a wager of two to one on the affirmative. I rather impudently quoted Butler's well-known lines about the kind of persons who use wagers for argument,

'Quoth she, "I've heard old cunning stagers,
Say fools for arguments use wagers."

And he gently explained to me, that he considered such a wager not as a thoughtless thing, but as an expression of the amount of belief in the mind of the person offering it; combining this curious application of the wager, as a *metaphor*, with the necessity that ever existed of drawing conclusions, not absolute but proportionate to the evidence."

Since we have commenced citation we will not omit the capital philosophic satire WHEWELL quotes from FONTENELLE's *Plurality of Worlds*:—

"There, the sages of antiquity, the Pythagorases, Platos, Aristotles, are represented as looking at the spectacle of the universe, like so many spectators in the pit of the Opera House looking at the Ballet. The subject of the ballet is supposed to be, Phaëton carried away by the winds; and to represent this, the dancer who enacts the part of Phaëton, is

made to fly away through the upper part of the scene, to the great admiration of the gazers. The more speculative of these attempt to explain this extraordinary movement of Phaëton. One says, 'Phaëton has an *occult quality*, which carries him away.' This is the Aristotelian. Another says, 'Phaëton is composed of certain *numbers*, which make him move upwards.' This is the Pythagorean. Another says, 'Phaëton has a longing for the top of the theatre. He is not easy till he gets there.' This is the philosophy which explains the universe by Love and Hate. Another says, 'Phaëton has not naturally a tendency to fly; but he prefers flying to leaving the top of the scene empty.' This is the doctrine of the *fuga vacui*, nature's horror of a vacuum. And after all this, says the speaker, comes Descartes, and some other moderns; and they say, Phaëton goes up, because he is drawn by certain cords, and a weight, heavier than he is, goes down behind the scenes."

Science puts an end to more absurdities than those hinted at by FONTENELLE, and is the great instrument of human progress. Therefore we unceasingly applaud efforts made in that direction, be they never so humble. We like to see science *fashionable*—much more do we delight in the idea of its being *popular*. That it will be "superficial" is no bugbear to us. We have no fear lest FARADAY should fail us because JONES talks something too loosely on diamagnetics; nor do we anticipate OWEN's silence, because SMITH alludes to "ganglionic centres," as if he knew what they were. The tide of nonsense will flow on in spite of all CANUTES. There is no dam for that. We must bear with it, unless we adopt CABLYLE's suggestion,—“blacklead all the blockheads, and send them to the West Indies as slaves.” Beside the fools stand those who are not fools, but merely uninstructed; make science popular, and you reach them.

Orr's Circle of the Sciences, which has now reached the first volume, is one of the many praiseworthy attempts to popularise science, by giving good matter at the cheapest possible cost. OWEN's little treatise on the *Structure of the Skeleton and the Teeth* is, unhappily, deficient in the attractive art of popular exposition; but if the student will but take courage, and read this treatise with labour, he will be in possession of the last word of science on the subject. Of very great value, also, is the treatise on the *Varieties of the Human Race* by Dr. LATHAM. The *Principles of Physiology*, by the editor, is a compilation from good authorities; but the tyro will find difficulties in the exposition. Abundant woodcuts illustrate the text, and altogether the work, although falling short of what it might have been, is one which must do good.

Professor JOHNSTONE's *Chemistry of Common Life* we have frequently noticed. It is by far the best work of the kind we have had. It is very intelligible, very readable, very valuable: quite a model for popular expositors.

Now every one is travelling, or about to travel, we advise the said "every one" to get *The Royal Hotel Guide* which Messrs. W. H. SMITH and SON have published. This is not precisely Literature, yet to any one moving about, there are few works which will be consulted with greater eagerness, especially when—as in a few months must be the case—all the details are filled in where now the columns are blank. It professes to furnish the traveller with an index to all the Hotels and Inns in England and Wales—and this first number comprises a list of upwards of eight thousand. The prices are given in columns, so that the traveller may know beforehand what his bed, breakfast, dinner, sitting-room, and attendance will cost him—that is to say he will know it in those cases where the honest and farsighted proprietor has furnished the information; cases at present only amounting to about three per cent. of the whole. But Messrs. SMITH and SON declare they will give the charges according to the receipted bills, if the hotel-keepers continue to withhold this information. It is certainly preposterous to think of an hotel publicly inviting custom, yet refusing to exhibit a tariff of charges. *The Royal Hotel Guide*, which will be a supplemental *Bradshaw*, must produce a reform in our hotel system.

GUIZOT'S CROMWELL.

History of Oliver Cromwell and the English Commonwealth, from the Execution of Charles the First to the Death of Cromwell. By M. Guizot. Translated by Andrew R. Scoble Bentley. 2 vols.

THIS work forms the second of the four projected by M. Guizot on the History of the English Revolution. It takes up the narrative where the former one ceased, with the death of Charles the First. We are informed in the preface, that the two succeeding works will conduct the history to the expulsion of James the Second, and the final fall of the House of Stuart.

It is impossible to conceive a history written with greater care and endeavour to secure accuracy than the one before us. M. Guizot's high reputation as an historian is a guarantee for this; and in the present instance, he has had access to many papers and documents, in the French and Spanish archives, now for the first time given to the public. He seems also to have examined all the immense mass of papers, letters, and memoirs already existing, which throw any light on the history of the period, and to have weighed and compared their evidence; indeed, his history must be considered chiefly in the light of a compilation from existing materials. To such an extent is this true, that we scarcely read half a page in the two volumes, without meeting with a reference to some works, which have been M. Guizot's authority for his statements and conclusions, all which authorities are acknowledged in notes at the bottom of each page.

English literature is not poor in memoirs and histories bearing on, perhaps, the most important period in our history,—certainly the most important struggle for liberty, because the most definite and enlightened. For it was not a mere rebellion against tyranny and oppression, vague, indeterminate, and almost instinctive; men knew what were their just rights, what they were contending for, and won them painfully and perseveringly. Every Englishman seems to have a personal interest in the Revolution, every memoir, every letter of those times is read and treasured. It is the favourite

theme of every historian. We have the narrative coloured by every shade of party prejudice, from the royalist, who denounces Cromwell as parricide and murderer, and sneers at him as the upstart brewer, to the fanatic who upholds him as a saint and a "chosen vessel," and cries "down with Ahab and his accursed race." It becomes, therefore, in some sort the duty of the historian of modern times, who is beyond the influence of those personal leanings and considerations which affect the impartiality of contemporary writers, to compare their conflicting evidence, and extract the truth from their variously coloured statements. Such is exactly the character of the present work. There is nothing new to be said about the English Revolution, but M. Guizot aims at doing for the entire history what other writers have done for portions of it, he presents us with a very full, unprejudiced, and well corroborated narrative of events with which we are all familiar; and as such, the book is undoubtedly a useful and important one.

Here is a good description of the "Eikon Basilikè," and of Milton's answer to it. After stating that the work was (erroneously) attributed to Charles the First, M. Guizot continues:—

"The work was not by him; external testimony and internal evidence both combine to remove all doubt on the matter. Dr. Gauden, Bishop, first of Exeter and afterwards of Worcester, under the reign of Charles II., was its real author; but the manuscript had probably been perused and approved, perhaps even corrected, by Charles himself, during his residence in the Isle of Wight. In any case it was the real expression and true portraiture of his position, character, and mind as they had been formed by misfortune: it is remarkable for an elevation of thought which is at once natural and strained; a constant mingling of blind royal pride and sincere Christian humility; heart-impulses struggling against habits of obstinate self-consciousness; true piety in the midst of misguided conduct; invincible, though somewhat inert, devotion to his faith, his honour, and his rank; and as all these sentiments are expressed in monotonous language, which, though often emphatic, is always grave, tranquil, and even unctuous with serenity and sadness, it is not surprising that such a work should have profoundly affected all royalist hearts, and easily persuaded them that it was the King himself who addressed them.

"The Parliament felt that it could not remain silent in presence of so powerful a public emotion, and it directed Milton to answer the Eikon. That sublime and austere genius, who in his youth had determined, in opposition to paternal authority, to devote himself entirely to poetry and literature, was animated by an ardent passion for liberty: not for that real and true liberty which results from respect for all rights and for the rights of all, but for an ideal and absolute liberty, both religious, political, and domestic; and his mighty mind revelled, on this subject, in noble ideas, lofty sentiments, grand images, and eloquent words, without his troubling himself to inquire whether, in the world around him, positive facts and his own personal actions corresponded with his principles and hopes. He was able to serve, and he did in fact serve, the tyranny, first of an assembly, and afterwards of a single man, so long as, in the intellectual order of things, he could profess and defend liberty. He was a glorious and melancholy instance of the blinding effect which imagination, abstract reasoning, and eloquent language can produce on a great, but passionately dreamy intellect, and a stern but noble heart.

"Milton quickly wrote and published his Eikonoklastes, a lengthy and cold, although violent, refutation of the Eikon Basilikè. Milton did not understand Charles I. and his feelings, nor could he appreciate the sentiments with which the King inspired the royalist party: he reproduced against him, with the utmost puritan and republican animosity, all the threadbare statements, all the true or false accusations, which, during ten years, had been current throughout England, without taking into consideration the new ideas and impressions which recent events had originated in men's hearts, and without adorning this retrospective diatribe by any vigour or elegance of language."

The following is a graphic account of the difficulty experienced by the Parliament in conciliating its many masters:—

"In religious matters also, the Parliament would have been glad to obtain some popularity, and gain for itself, as Cromwell had done, clients and friends among all denominations. In the year 1650, it had abolished the laws passed during the reign of Queen Elizabeth to enforce uniformity of faith and worship; but at the same time, it had continued and even aggravated the persecution of the Catholics and Episcopalians, and promulgated new laws against immorality of conduct, 'obscene, licentious, and impious practices,' and 'atheistical, blasphemous, and execrable opinions;' attempting by this means to give satisfaction at once to religious animosities, to liberty of conscience, and to austerity of character. Such a task cannot possibly be performed by the power whose duty it is to put all the laws into daily application, and which, even in the eyes of the people whose passions it has adopted, must bear the punishment of their inconsistencies and iniquities. Cromwell, carefully keeping himself aloof from the Government, was able to protect by turns, and with greater or less reserve, sectaries of all sorts, Episcopalians, Catholics, and even freethinkers of the worst kind; whilst the Parliament, whose duty it was to govern, found itself taxed sometimes with harshness for repressing them, and sometimes with laxity for tolerating them, and gained only enemies where Cromwell recruited partizans."

In conclusion, we will extract M. Guizot's reflections on the death of Cromwell:—

"Cromwell died in the plenitude of his power and greatness. He had succeeded beyond all expectation, far more than any other of those men has succeeded, who, by their genius, have raised themselves, as he had done, to supreme authority; for he had attempted and accomplished, with equal success, the most opposite designs. During eighteen years that he had been an ever-victorious actor on the world's stage, he had alternately sown disorder and established order, effected and punished revolution, overthrown and restored government, in his country. At every moment, under all circumstances, he had distinguished with admirable sagacity the dominant interests and passions of the time, so as to make them the instruments of his own rule,—careless whether he belied his antecedent conduct, so long as he triumphed in concert with the popular instinct, and explaining the inconsistencies of his conduct by the ascendancy of his power. He is, perhaps, the only example which history affords of one man having governed the most opposite events, and proved sufficient for most various destinies. And in the course of his violent and changeable career, incessantly exposed to all kinds of enemies and conspiracies, Cromwell experienced this crowning favour of fortune, that his life was never actually attacked; the sovereign against whom killing had been declared to be no murder, never found himself face to face with an assassin. The world has never known another example of success at once so constant and so various, or of fortune so invariably favourable, in the midst of such manifold conflicts and perils.

"Yet Cromwell's death-bed was clouded with gloom. He was unwilling not only to die, but also, and most of all, to die without having attained his real and final object. However great his egotism may have been, his soul was too great to rest satisfied with the highest fortune, if it were merely personal, and, like himself, of ephemeral earthly duration. Weary of the ruin he had caused, it was his cherished wish to restore to his country a regular and stable government—the only government which was suited to its wants, a monarchy under the control of Parliament. And at the same time, with an ambition which extended beyond the grave, under the influence of that thirst for permanence which is the stamp of true greatness, he aspired to leave his name and race in possession of the throne. He failed in both designs: his crimes had raised up obstacles against him, which neither his prudent genius nor his persevering will could surmount; and though covered, as far as he was himself concerned, with power and glory, he died with his dearest hopes frustrated, and leaving behind him, as his successors, the two enemies whom he had so ardently combated—anarchy and the Stuarts.

"God does not grant to those great men, who have laid the foundations of their greatness amidst disorder and revolution, the power of regulating at their pleasure, and for succeeding ages, the government of nations."

We suspect that when M. Guizot wrote that last paragraph, he had more than Cromwell in his mind's eye!

LAMARTINE'S CELEBRATED CHARACTERS.

Memoirs of Celebrated Characters. By Alphonse de Lamartine. 2 vols. Bentley.

From time to time we noticed several of these biographies as they appeared in *Le Civilisateur*, and then, as on other occasions, had to criticise with some severity the great literary defects which Lamartine's genius throws into relief. It will be needless, therefore, to re-open that unpleasant question at this moment; for unpleasant it is to bring serious charges against a writer of such remarkable eminence, thereby seeming insensible to his good qualities. In these volumes the old want of literary conscience is less painfully visible, while the enthusiasm for greatness, for splendour of achievement or of thought, for heroic struggle, and for most of the qualities which dignify a hero, lends a charm to these pages, no one will resist.

The volumes contain biographies of Nelson, Heloise, Columbus, Palissy, Roostam (written by Madame de Lamartine), Cicero, Socrates, Jacquard, Joan of Arc, Cromwell, Homer, Guttenberg, Fenelon. As portraits, they are unworthy of being mentioned. They have no individuality, no character. One rose pink hue is suffused over the whole. The biographical ophthalmia, in successive attacks, prevents each feature being clearly discerned. These are panegyrics, not portraits. They are texts upon which Lamartine may preach; excuses for the copious rhetoric in which he loves to indulge. But they are interesting, though we feel throughout that they are not true. Apart from this romantic and rhetorical distortion, there is Lamartine's usual disregard of critical examination of the facts—less striking than in his histories, because the task has been simpler, being little more than taking up the written biography of each person, and improvising upon it. Let us, however, accept the volumes for what they are, and we shall read them with interest sustained and fruitful.

The series opens with Nelson. Lamartine, who has ever been distinguished for magnanimity, shows rare courage in thus presenting to the millions of France so glowing a panegyric of the English hero; for while Napoleon is almost as much admired in England as in France, it is rare to find Frenchmen admiring Wellington or Nelson. Yet as Lamartine finely says:—

"National rivalries disappear before the elevation from which history contemplates characters and events. Hannibal and Scipio, the champions of Carthage and Rome, are measured in the same balance. Both are men; history requires no more; it paints each with the same pencil; it describes with equal warmth the exploits of one and the other, for the admiration of future ages. Glory resembles truth; it has no frontiers, but shines forth for general instruction. Because Newton ascertained in England the universal law of gravity, France does not reject the discovery as an antinational fact. Newton, in this light, ceases to be an enemy, and becomes a fellow-countryman, an announcer of revelation to the universe. What is true of science is equally so of heroism. We acknowledge both under every flag, and describe them when they fall in our way. Narrow national pride may be wounded, but the more expanded love of human nature will be glorified and exalted. Posterity makes no distinctions between citizens and foreigners, friends and enemies, victors and vanquished; it acknowledges only works and actions. *Death nationalises the whole world in one blended immortality.*"

With this generosity of sentiment he does more than justice to the high qualities of Nelson, though he gives us no image of the man. Curious it is to note how, amid all his enthusiasm for Nelson, the national vanity peers through. It would probably be the same were an Englishman writing of some French hero—but we think it would be more soberly stated. Thus our readers may remember in Lamartine's account of Waterloo, after describing with enthusiastic fervor the conduct of the English, after admitting that the French were defeated, he concludes by declaring that it was a defeat which must be ranked amongst the most splendid of their victories! If a Frenchman happens to be beaten, he is beaten in such a way that he gains more glory than his victor. So also in this account of Nelson. The French are assured "that their navy was annihilated, but their courage, constancy, and name rose in reputation!" Read this spirited account of the battle of Abukir, and throughout your admiration is more challenged for the vanquished than for the victor—the heroism of the French takes precedence, and the victory looks like an accident:—

"The French fleet, at once the support and arsenal of the land army, constituted the sole base of their operations. The destruction of this fleet deprived them of their only means of communication and hope of succour. They had no other bridge between France and Egypt. To expose the ships, therefore, to be destroyed in open sea, would be to betray at one blow the army they had transported, and the country that expected their return. Bruceys, after fruitless attempts to enter the inner harbour of Alexandria, which was not then supposed deep enough to receive vessels of so much draught of water, determined to moor his fleet in the bay of Aboukir, the sandbanks of which he had fortified. Six vessels at anchor, ranged in a concave crescent, according to the sweep of the shore, were supported on one flank by the little island of Aboukir, a natural fortress armed with cannon; on the other, by an advanced arm of the bay. They formed so many immovable citadels, presenting their broadsides to the sea. Their combined force might be brought to bear upon each single ship of the advancing enemy; unattackable from the land-side, according to the conviction of Bruceys, this line of defence gave to a naval battle the solid impenetrability of a rampart of fire.

"At two p.m. on the 1st of August, Bruceys, apprised by signal of the appearance of Nelson in sight of the Egyptian coast, recalled every sailor of his crews on board. He ordered two brigs, the *Alerte* and *Railleur*, which drew little water, to reconnoitre the English fleet within cannon shot, then to seek refuge in the bay, over the shoals, hoping that the leading vessels of the pursuing enemy would follow their exact course, and run aground in the mud of the Nile. But Nelson was well aware of these dangers and escaped the snare. Without bestowing any attention on the brigs, he advanced in order of battle against the head of the French line, as to a direct assault upon the centre of a position. Then, varying a little from his course without sounding, hesitating, or firing a shot, he passed between the moorings of Bruceys and the Islet of Aboukir, in full sail, with half his squadron, leaving only the *Culloden* behind, which went aground on the sandbanks. As his ships cleared the passage they anchored successively in rear of their opponents. The remaining half divided, and ranged up on the outer side in front of the French vessels, who were thus attacked simultaneously on both flanks, and the thunder of a double fire poured into their immovable hulls. The French fleet thus deprived, by the error of their chief, of the protection they expected from the land, and without the power of motion by being at anchor, saw at once the disaster that awaited them. Nothing remained but to perish gloriously, and to envelop in their own destruction as many of the enemy's ships as possible. They proved themselves worthy of their fate. Commanded still by the brave warriors of Salamis, to which nothing was wanting but the presence of Themistocles! The Spartan, the Franklin, the Orient, the *Tonnant*, responding on the right and left to the double broadsides of the English seventy-fours, strewed the decks of Nelson with shattered masts and yards, with dead and wounded sailors. Victory was less the prize of naval superiority, than the consequence of the fatal mistake of engaging at anchor. The French marine

ever conquered more gloriously than they now submitted. Every single ship became a hermyopyla, for the combatants fought no longer for victory, but for death. On every deck the captains, the officers, the gunners, fell successively at their posts, and left nothing of the English but lifeless bodies and enormous funeral piles. Admiral Brueys, severely wounded by an early discharge of grape-shot, remained erect on the poop of his flag-ship, the Orient, surrounded by the remains of his staff, and invoking death to cover his misfortune. A cannon-ball from the Vanguard cut him in two; still with his dying hands he proposed the action of those who would have carried him below. "No! no!" exclaimed he, "a French admiral ought to die upon his quarter-deck." His flag-captain, Casa-Bianca, fell moment after on the body of his chief. The Orient, deprived of her commander, still fought as if of her own accord. Nelson fell, wounded in the head by a splinter; the blood covered his face, and the skin of his forehead falling over his remaining eye, plunged him in total darkness, which for a moment he conceived to be the harbinger of death.

"Confident of the victory, but believing his hurt to be mortal, he summoned the chaplain of the Vanguard, and charged him to deliver his last remembrances to his family. A moment of terrible and anxious silence pervaded the ship while the surgeon probed the wound. A cry of joy burst from every mouth when they declared that it was only superficial, and that the conqueror would be preserved to his country. Night had fallen for about three hours, but was unheeded in the fury of the combat and the reflected light of the moon. The French ships were silenced, one by one, for want of hands to man the guns. They drifted from their cables towards the shore, or foundered on the rocks. The Orient, in flames above, still fired from her lower decks, ready to be consumed in the impending conflagration, hastened and excited by the freshening of the night breeze. The English ships ceased to respond, and retired to a distance to escape the vortex of the inevitable explosion. Captain Dupetit-Thouars, commanding the Tonnant, never slackened his fire for a moment at sight of this disaster. He no longer fought for glory or life, but for immortality. One arm carried off by a cannon-shot and both legs broken by grape, he fell upon his crew to swear never to strike his flag, and to throw his body overboard, that his remains might not become captive to the English. The Tonnant, as well as the rankin, covered with the bodies of their officers, became, in a short time, little better than floating corpses.

"The increasing flames of the Orient served to light the entire bay, covered with the lies of battle. The sailors of this vessel flung themselves from the port-holes into the sea, and clung to broken masts and yards, in the hope of floating on shore. They implored their commandant, Casa-Bianca, who was covered with wounds, to allow them to save him. Whether he was unable to move his shattered limbs, or was stoically determined not to survive the loss of his ship, Casa-Bianca rejected their entreaties. They wished at least to preserve his son, a noble youth of twelve years old, who had been induced, by affection for his father, to embark with him. The brave boy, embracing the body of his parent, resisted their prayers and efforts, and preferred death in the arms of him who had given him life.

"The catastrophe, which now approached rapidly, compelled the generous sailors to leave a melancholy group. The Orient blew up at eleven o'clock, with an explosion which made the land of Egypt tremble to Rosetta, and with a burst of flame that long illuminated the surrounding horizon. Her masts, spars, rigging, timbers, and cannon, fell down in a storm of fire into the bay, like fragments from heaven, bursting in a counter-blow amongst the human combatants. The rising sun discovered nothing in the bay of Aboukir but the hills of stranded or burning vessels scattered at the mercy of the heaving swell. The fleet of Nelson himself dismayed, and almost without sails, could with difficulty move away from the scene of action. Two of his ships, which had sustained little damage, secured the coasts of the night. Several French captains ran their vessels ashore, and burnt them, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conquerors. The French army, from that moment, became prisoners in the Egypt they had conquered. The subsequent capitulation of that army may be considered the second victory of Nelson. Fortune refused to give all to single nation. To one she assigned the land, to the other the sea.

"This victory of Nelson is admitted by the French historians who witnessed it to have been the most complete that had ever been won at sea since the invention of gunpowder. He was indebted to it for his bold attack, and the immobility of the fleet of Brueys. The heroic defence of that fleet at anchor shows how they would have fought had they been under sail. They were not beaten, but immolated; in their sacrifice they bore with them thousands of their enemies, and obtained for the French navy respect equivalent to the glory of victory."

While touching on this question of vanity, we may quote a passage in the notice of Cicero, among whose failings vainglory occupied, it is said, the prominent place:—

"Vanity was one of the virtues of great men at this period, when a religion, more magnanimous and more free from human follies, had not yet taught that abnegation of self, modesty, and humility, which take away from us earthly fame, but render us more than an equivalent in the mute satisfaction of conscience, or in the approbation of God."

An essay might be written on that text, arguing, first, that Vanity was a virtue in ancient times, because Manhood was the Ideal beyond which none aspired; secondly, that although Religion preached the virtue of Humility, it has preached in the desert: virtue or vice, men show no diminution of vainglory in the Christian era; and, thirdly, if vanity forms an integral portion of our nature, uncontrollable by Religion, and impelling us to higher aims, the question would arise whether, on the whole, Religion did not commit a profound mistake in calling it a vice?

Ancient or modern, virtue or vice, we will back the vanity of Lamartine against that of Cicero, and without shrinking from 'giving the odds.' Yes, sir, and you, too, have a vanity as colossal as Lamartine's though not quite so superb in its pedestal!

Lamartine has often been irritated by the absurd objection that because he is a poet he should be nothing else; and in his biography of Cicero he seizes the occasion to plead indirectly his own cause:—

"No form of government was so well fitted as the Roman Republic to develop those perfect men, the type of which we have just described in the greatest orator of Rome. That operation of faculties, and those professional limitations which decompose a man into functions, and lessen him in the process of subdivision, had not yet been invented. People did not say, Here is a civilian, there is a soldier, this man is a poet, that man is an orator, here is a lawyer, there is a statesman;—you might be all these at once, if Nature and education had fitted you for it. It was not then the fashion to cut up Nature into arbitrary portions, as we unfortunately do now, to the great detriment of a particular country, and of the human race at large. They did not impose upon God a maximum of faculties, which he was not to overstep in creating an intellect more universal, or a soul greater, than common. Caesar pleaded causes, made verses, wrote his Anti-Cato, and conquered the Gauls. Cicero wrote poems and treatises on rhetoric, advocated at the bar, harangued the citizens from the tribune, discussed public business in the senate, collected taxes in Sicily, commanded armies in Syria, studied philosophy with the scholars, and kept a school of literature at Tusculum. It was not the profession, but the talents, that made the man, and he became the greater as he was the more universal; and this is the cause of the superiority of the versatile geniuses of antiquity. When we, better advised than at present, shall endeavour to emulate their greatness, we must first sweep away the jealous and arbitrary barriers that our modern civilisation interposes between the faculties of Nature and the services that a citizen can render in various modes to his country. We shall no longer forbid a philosopher to be a politician, a magistrate to be a hero, an orator to be a soldier, a poet to be a sage or legislator. We shall then make men, and no longer human machines. The modern world will be all the stronger and the more beautiful for the change, and the more conformable to the plan of God, who did not intend man for a fragment, but for a whole."

We may return to these volumes for a few more extracts and desultory remarks; we are disposed to commend them as readable and profitable for the young, agreeable and suggestive for the old.

The Arts.

THE COURIER OF LYONS.

In the present state of the Drama, the audiences at theatres seem to be limited to a choice between plays of two very opposite kinds. They may have a play with great literary ability and small dramatic interest, or a play with small literary ability and great dramatic interest; and they invariably prefer (very wisely, as we think) the latter species of stage entertainment. For years and years past the critics have been turning their backs on Melodrama, and the public have been opening their arms to it. We are not critics (though we happen, just now, to be writing in a newspaper); and we shout with the public. We would rather see *The Wreck Ashore* than any five act tragedy in blank verse that has been written in our time. We have the highest appreciation of morbid French Plays, because they keep us, during performance, in the most breathless state of excitement and interest; and we have the most unmitigated dislike of the "healthy" National Drama, because it wears us past all endurance. This is very likely a state of feeling which is "unwholesome" according to critical rules—but we don't go to the theatre to conform to rules or to pay homage to critics. When we take our places to see a play of "serious interest," the dramatist who can make his audiences' flesh creep is the dramatist for our money.

Having made this confession of heresy, we shall not be suspected of writing with any "sterling" or "healthy" prejudices, when we set it down as our opinion that *The Courier of Lyons* is the weakest of the plays from the French, produced by Mr. Charles Kean at the PRINCESS'S THEATRE. It is interesting of course: it has admirably dramatic scenes; it excites in many places great suspense—but it is not to be mentioned in the same breath with the *Corsican Brothers* or *Pauline*. In both those excellent plays the story reached its climax of interest, as all dramatic stories should, in the last act. In the *Courier of Lyons* the last act is the worst. It is confused and unnatural: the incidents seem to be huddled together, and the dénouement is too suddenly precipitated on the audience.

The plot is made out of the famous French trial of Lesurques, who had the misfortune to be exactly like a scoundrel guilty of robbing and murdering the Lyons Courier, and who was condemned and executed for his supposed crime before the fatal resemblance was discovered. In the English adaptation, the innocent man is of course saved, just at the right moment. Mr. Charles Kean performs the two characters of the honest man and the villain, and effects the most incredibly rapid changes of costume behind the scenes. He is hardly off the stage as the respectable *Lesurques*, before he is on it again as the scoundrelly *Dubosc*—everything being altered about him, except his voice, which he seems to be quite incapable of changing with the change of character. With this drawback, he acted cleverly but unequally throughout the piece. In some scenes he was quiet and natural; in others artificial and conventional—but in all, he was commendably free from even a tendency to rant. Mr. Addison, as the villanous horse-dealer, deserves the highest praise. His make-up was perfect; and his acting so excellent, as to give him, in our opinion, quite a new position in his profession. Miss Kate Terry also deserves a word of approval for a very fresh and natural performance of a servant boy at an inn. Mr. Graham, on the other hand, appeared to us to be the worst actor of an old man's part that we have ever seen on the stage; and Mr. David Fisher, who seems to be a favourite with the audience, struck us as being nothing better than a bad and barefaced imitator of Mr. Wright. The getting-up of the play was excellent throughout; the stage business being managed, especially in the third act, with the most admirable correctness and dramatic effect. While giving all due praise to the performance, we must, however, be permitted to add that certain circumstances in connexion with it, utterly perplexed us. "Could we really be in the Princess's Theatre?" we asked ourselves, during the pauses between the acts of the play. "Could the Mr. Kean, who was now addressing that low dramatic taste of ours to which we have already confessed, by acting in a most uncompromising modern melo-drama translated from the French, be really the same Mr. Kean, who once stood classically aloof on a Shakespearean pedestal; whose great ambition it was, but a short time back, to familiarise the British public with Xiphilin, to awe the agricultural play-goer by the spectacle of Nineveh bulls, to make a taste for antiquities percolate into the pit, and a noble thirst for classic love rage to the utmost limits of the upper boxes? Could the Mr. Kean who once tried to make our heads ache with ancient learning, and the Mr. Kean who was now trying to make our flesh creep with modern French horrors, be one and the same man? Could the Lorenzo de Medici of the learned drama have changed suddenly to the Barnum of the *Boulevard du crime*?"—A puzzling question this. Perhaps the intelligent reader will be bold and obliging enough to answer it. Our own opinion is, that there is no such thing as a one and undivided Kean. He has been acting double so often of late years, that we believe he has at last—*come in two*. One half, in that case, must now be at home, pondering over the cuneiform drama of the earliest post-diluvian poets, while the other half is acting at the Princess's Theatre in the melo-dramas of Modern France.

As to operatic matters this week, we have only to record that Grisi has appeared in the *Huguenots* and in *Don Pasquale*. The night of her farewell is drawing inexorably nearer. Our last chances of seeing the greatest actress and singer of our time, may now be numbered by fewer figures than we have the heart to set down.

At the ST. JAMES'S THEATRE Marie Cabel has been singing and acting delightfully in the *Fille du Regiment*. But Donizetti's music is hardly adapted to display all her resources. She is essentially French in face, manner, and voice, and will not be able to do herself justice before her audience, until she appears in the best French comedies set to the best French music. The operas of Scribe and Auber are the operas we want to see her in. After an incomprehensible and most injudicious delay, *La Sirène* is announced for to-night—to be followed, we hope, by the *Domino Noir*, and the *Diamans de la Couronne*. With these operas we believe the success of the season may be yet assured; provided always that the male resources of the company can be found to supply one or two gentlemen who are capable of singing and acting respectably.

MADEMOISELLE CLAUSS'S CONCERT.

On Saturday last, this darling of the musical and the fashionable public, gave her annual concert. The large room in King-street was filled to overflowing by a brilliant throng; and the quality of the entertainment prepared for them, was calculated to deepen the enthusiasm of the most enthusiastic among her admirers.

perfectly at ease throughout the composition, giving the most trying passages with no more apparent effort than the easier ones, and calling forth the whispered words "beautiful!" "wonderful!" from the entranced or excited listener.

The vocal performers at this concert were few and well chosen. Miss L. Pyne, Madame Amedei, and M. Jules Lefort, are each good, as all the world knows, and they sang their best on this occasion.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

BATHURST.—June 23, at Clarendon-park, Lady Hervey Bathurst: a daughter. COCHRANE.—June 22, at Bleack-house, Aberdeenshire, the Lady Cochrane: a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

FARRER-FREMANTLE.—June 29, at Pimlico, Henry Richard Farrer, Esq., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, fourth son of J. W. Farrer, of Ingleborough, in the county of York, one of the retired Masters in Chancery, to Eliza Maria, second daughter of the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Francis Fremantle, Bart., of Swanbourne, Bucks.

DEATHS.

ATHORPE.—June 7, Henry Athorpe, midshipman of H.M.'s ship Odin, third son of J. C. Athorpe, Esq., of Dinington Hall, Yorkshire, from a wound in the lungs, from a rifle ball, in an unsuccessful attack on Gamla Carleby, in Finland. BARNARD.—June 27, Eliza, widow of the late E. G. Barnard, Esq., M.P., of Gosfield-hall, Essex.

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

Table with columns: Sat., Mon., Tues., Wed., Thurs., Frid. Rows include Bank Stock, 3 per Cent. Red., 3 per Cent. Con. An., Consols for Account, 3 per Cent. An., New 2 1/2 per Cents., Long Ans. 1869, India Stock, Ditto Bonds, £1000, Ditto, under £1000, Ex. Bills, £1000, Ditto, £500, Ditto, Small.

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Table with columns: (LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY EVENING.) Rows include Brazilian Bonds, Buenos Ayres per Cents., Chilean 6 per Cents., Danish 5 per Cents., Ecuador Bonds, Mexican 3 per Cents., Mexican 3 per Ct. for Acc., Portuguese 4 per Cents., Portuguese 5 p. Cents., Russian Bonds, Cents 1822, Russian 4 1/2 per Cents., Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def., Spanish Committee Cert., of Coup. not fun., Venezuela 3 1/2 per Cents., Belgian 4 1/2 per Cents., Dutch 2 1/2 per Cents., Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE

Friday Evening, June 30, 1854. CONSOLS have oscillated about 1 per cent.—between 93 1/2 and 94 1/2—during the week, but there has been little business, speculative or real. Railway shares, particularly the heavy shares, have been greatly in demand; and a report industriously circulated that London and North-Western will pay a dividend of 5 1/2 per cent. has brought in many buyers.

The markets are a little flatter this afternoon. Consols opened at 94 1/2 for the opening ex div., and closed at 94 1/4.

Russian Fives 90. Consols, 93 1/2, 94; Bristol and Exeter, 98 100; Caledonian, 64, 64 1/2; Eastern Counties, 13 1/2, 13 1/2; Edinburgh and Glasgow, 61, 63; Great Northern, 91, 92; Great Western, 7 1/2, 80; Lancaster and Carlisle, 88, 90; Lancashire and Yorkshire, 66 1/2, 67 1/2; Leeds Northern, 15 1/2, 16; London, Brighton, and South Coast, 106, 107 1/2; London and North-Western, 10 1/2, 10 1/2; London and South-Western, 84, 85; Midland, 67 1/2, 67 1/2; Ditto, Birmingham and Derby, 39, 41; Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, 33, 35; South Devon, 14, 16; South Eastern, 65, 66; South Wales, 35, 36; Vale of Neath, 19, 20; Waterford and Kilkenny, 4, 5; York, Newcastle, and Berwick, 74 1/2, 75; York and North Midland, 50, 57; Antwerp and Rotterdam, 3 1/2, 3 1/2; Beizers to Graissessac, 3 1/2, 2 1/2 dis.; Bombay, Baroda, and Central India, 2 1/2, 2 1/2 dis.; Dutch Rhenish, 3 1/2, 3 dis.; East Indian, 2 1/2, 2 1/2 pm.; Grand Trunk of Canada, A issue, 5, 4 dis.; Great Central of France, 1/2 dis., 1/2 pm.; Great Western of Canada, 19 1/2, 20 1/2; Madras, par, 1/2 pm.; Namur and Liège (with interest), 8, 8 1/2; Northern of France, 34 1/2, 34 1/2.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday Evening, June 30. THE supplies of Wheat and Barley into London this week are small, and of Oats moderate. The continuance of fine weather, with the exception of some thunder-storms in different parts of the country, has caused great stagnation in the trade, millers and dealers buying only for the supply of immediate wants. The trade in Wheat is principally confined to fine qualities at a decline of 2s. from this day week. Oats meet a slow sale at 1s. reduction. Barley without alteration in value. The export trade in the Baltic and other Northern ports is also at a stand-still, and though stocks are very short, prices have receded to the point at which they were before the recent advances. Notwithstanding there has been rain again in Paris since Monday, prices have again fallen, and still more so at the markets in the country where the weather has been fine. Scarcely any floating cargoes offering, a sale of one cargo of Sandonska on passage is reported at the low price of 66s. A cargo of Egyptian Beans has been sold at 41s. 6d.

ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA, COVENT GARDEN.

The Farewell of Madame Grisi. Extra Night, Monday, July 3rd. Last night of NORMA.

Norma, Madame Grisi (positively for the last time in England); Adalgisa, Mdlle. Marai; Orovoso, Signor Tagliacoco; and Pollio, Signor Tamberlik. After which, for the first time (in one act).

LA PROVA D'UN OPERA SERIA. Characters by Madame Viardot, Signor Ronconi, Signor Luchesi, and Signor Lablache.

Composer, Director of the Music, and Conductor, Mr. Costa. Commence at Eight.

Boxes, Stalls, and Pit Tickets to be had at the Box-office of the Theatre, and of the principal music-sellers and librarians.

OPERA COMIQUE, ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.

Last Week but One of the Season, and continuation of Madame Marie Cabel's performances. On Monday, July 3, Auber's Popular Opera of LA SERINE. Zorina, Madame Marie Cabel. On Wednesday next, for the last time, LA FILE DU REGIMENT. Marie, Madame Marie Cabel.

On Friday, three admired Operas in one act each. Boxes and Stalls at the Box-office, and at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 33, Old Bond-street. Boxes, 5s.; Pit, 2s. 6d.; Amphitheatre, 2s. Doors open at Half-past Seven.

OLYMPIC THEATRE.

Lessee and Manager, Mr. ALFRED WIGAN. Mr. ALFRED WIGAN respectfully announces that his BENEFIT will take place on Wednesday, July 12, 1854.

Tickets, Private Boxes, and Places to be had at the Box-Office of the Theatre; and of Mr. Alfred Wigan, 21, Hans-place, Sloane-street.

ROYAL OLYMPIC THEATRE.

Lessee and Manager, Mr. ALFRED WIGAN. Monday, and during the week, will be presented a new comedietta, called

HEADS OR TAILS? Characters by Messrs. Emery, Alfred Wigan, F. Robson, Miss Marston, and Mrs. Alfred Wigan.

After which, the comic drama of HUSH MONEY. To conclude with THE HAPPIEST DAY OF MY LIFE.

WILLIAM STEVENS, Sole Agent, con-

tinues supplying the Public with the METROPOLITAN and PROVINCIAL JOINT-STOCK BREWERY COMPANY'S ALES and STOUT, in Bottles of the Standard Imperial Measure, at the prices below:—

Table with columns: Ale or Stout, Do, Do. Rows include quarts, pints, half pints, and prices per doz.

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In regard to purity, see the report of the Analytical Sanitary Commission, in The Lancet, July 5, 1851.

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PREPARED FOR MEDICINAL USE IN THE LOFFODEN ISLES, NORWAY, AND PUT TO THE TEST OF CHEMICAL ANALYSIS. THE MOST EFFECTUAL REMEDY FOR CONSUMPTION, BRONCHITIS, ASTHMA, GOUT, CHRONIC RHEUMATISM, AND ALL SCROFULOUS DISEASES.

Approved of and recommended by BERZELIUS, LIEBIG, WOELER, JONATHAN PEREIRA, FOURQUIER, and numerous other eminent medical men and scientific chemists in Europe.

Specially rewarded with medals by the Governments of Belgium and the Netherlands.

Has almost entirely superseded all other kinds on the Continent, in consequence of its proved superior power and efficacy—effecting a cure much more rapidly.

Contains iodine, phosphate of chalk, volatile acid, and the elements of the bile—in short, all its most active and essential principles—in larger quantities than the pale oils made in England and Newfoundland, deprived mainly of these by their mode of preparation.

A pamphlet by Dr. de Jongh, with detailed remarks upon its superiority, directions for use, cases in which it has been prescribed with the greatest effect, will be forwarded gratis on application.

The subjoined testimonial of the late Dr. JONATHAN PEREIRA, Professor at the University of London, author of "The Elements of Materia Medica and Therapeutics," is selected from innumerable others from medical and scientific men of the highest distinction:—

"My dear Sir—I was very glad to find from you, when I had the pleasure of seeing you in London, that you were interested commercially in Cod Liver Oil. It was fitting that the Author of the best analysis and investigations into the properties of this Oil should himself be the Purveyor of this important medicine.

"I feel, however, some diffidence in venturing to fulfil your request by giving you my opinion of the quality of the oil of which you gave me a sample; because I know that no one can be better, and few so well, acquainted with the physical and chemical properties of this medicine as yourself, whom I regard as the highest authority on the subject.

"I can, however, have no hesitation about the propriety of responding to your application. The oil which you gave me was of the very finest quality, whether considered with reference to its colour, flavour, or chemical properties; and I am satisfied that for medicinal purposes no finer oil can be procured.

"With my best wishes for your success, believe me, my dear Sir, to be very faithfully yours, (Signed) JONATHAN PEREIRA.

"Tinsbury-square, London, April 16, 1851. "To Dr. de Jongh."

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A Prospectus, &c., on receipt of a stamp. 33.

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 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.
 The Best Pearl Gunpowder, 5s.; former price, 5s. 4d.
 Primo Coffee, 1s., 1s. 2d., 1s. 3d., 1s. 4d. Prime Mocha, 1s. 4d.
 Rare choice Mocha Coffee (twenty years old), 1s. 6d.
 Sugars are supplied at market prices.
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 A general price-current sent post free on application.

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Good sound ditto	2	8
Choice Gunpowder	4	8
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