

# THE EXAMINER.

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## THE POLITICAL EXAMINER.

Party is the madness of many for the gain of a few.—POPE.

### OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

It is curiously unfortunate that Ministers, who showed themselves utterly incapable of opposing any skill in manœuvring to the party tactics of their adversaries, have employed prodigious art in entangling themselves by their explanations of the cause of the dissolution. Never was the candour of men so idly committed to question. Every one clearly understood the reason of the dissolution before Ministers took the trouble to expound it; and now every one who still understands the reason, must feel some disgust at the attempt, without motive, or chance of success, that has been made to mis-state it. Ministers have been finessing against their own characters for plain dealing: they have been weaving a pitiful little web for their own embarrassment. In the conflict of last Session, they were straightforward to a fault—by want of allowable generalship, they exposed themselves to great disadvantages; and when they terminate the struggle, and put the enemy off the field, they seize occasion to be elaborately cunning in their expositions of the ground thereof. When first the pretence was put forth that the stoppage of the supplies was the cause of the dissolution, we expressed our astonishment at it; for, independent of facts which were matter of notoriety, what should be thought of Ministers, were it believed, that but for the adjournment on the 21st of April, they would have continued to carry on the business of the Country, having dropped the Reform Bill, to stand or fall by which they were pledged? Before the motion delaying the supplies, Lord ALTHORP had been asked whether he intended to persevere with the Reform Bill after the success of General GASCOYNE'S resolution, and he declared he did not. Now, suppose the adjournment had not been moved, the Reform Bill being formally abandoned, what but an instant dissolution could have been in purpose? for the abandonment of the public cause is not to be conceived—it was impossible.

Lord BROUGHAM thus explains a hasty speech of his, which was supposed to convey the pretence.

"He had been charged with stating to their lordships that his Majesty had been advised to dissolve the Parliament in consequence of the vote of the House of Commons on the Thursday evening (21st April.) If he had used the words attributed to him, he must have been a person devoid of common memory. He must have forgotten what had taken place within the twelve hours preceding. The debate bearing avowedly on the question of the dissolution had been going on for five hours on the preceding evening. (Hear.) The commission for the dissolution had been prepared the day before, as was known to many of their lordships, and certainly to him (the Lord Chancellor), who had given orders for its preparation, as the dissolution had become probable. (Hear, hear.) Under such circumstances, would any man, with a head upon his shoulders, make the statement attributed to him? What he had said was, that if anything were necessary to justify the dissolution, the conduct of the House of Commons on the preceding night was such as to afford that justification. He would read the words: 'He had never heard it disputed that the Sovereign had the right to dissolve Parliament, more particularly when the House of Commons had adopted the unusual course of stopping the Supplies.'"

This is a sufficiently intelligible and consistent explanation.

Let us now hear Lord ALTHORP:—

"The debate first arose on a motion respecting the representation of the town of Liverpool. (Hear.) An hon. gent., then sitting opposite, asked him whether, after the result of the motion of General Gascoyne, it was the intention of his Majesty's government to persevere with the Reform bill; to which he answered that they would not. He then asked would the Parliament be dissolved, and that question he declined to answer. But did not the house well know what was his intention? He was not then going to assert that the adjournment was the cause of the dissolution; but he would say, that the way in which that adjournment was referred to, in connexion with the dissolution, was this—that the success of the motion proved that, with the late House of Commons, the ministers could not go on. (Cheers.) If that motion was not the cause of the dissolution, it was its justification."

"The success of the motion proved that, with the late House of Commons, the Ministers could not go on!"—Why, had not that been proved when the Reform Bill was dropped?—Surely, Ministers had not intended to go on without the Bill! But, "if the motion was not the cause of the dissolution, it was its justification." Suppose then, again, that the motion had not been made, would the dissolution (which had been resolved on, according to abundant evidence, Lord ALTHORP'S included) have wanted a justification? Was this *ex-post-facto* justification a boon of the enemy's? Out upon such shuffling, as weak as it was unneeded.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM says,

"The effect of delaying the supplies was conclusive with the ministers as to the necessity of dissolving the parliament. It was on Thursday they had felt strongly inclined to do so; but after that, though a difficulty arose that seemed insuperable, the dissolution became a matter of unavoidable necessity."

What! had they abandoned the Reform Bill when they only felt a 'strong inclination' to dissolve the Parliament, and had no thoughts, it would seem, of resigning their places? Sir JAMES thus enumerates the reasons for the dissolution:—

"The first was the small majority on the second reading; and the next, the small majority against the bill in a subsequent stage, which produced the third matter—namely, the delay of the supplies. All these went to make up the grounds of the determination of his majesty's government."

He is thus at variance with Lord BROUGHAM and Lord ALTHORP, neither of whom alleges the adjournment to have been a cause. It is strange that the Cabinet cannot be in one story. The First Lord of the Admiralty is all at sea on this subject, if on no other. SHERIDAN, of old, charged the Whigs not simply with an aptitude for running their heads against the wall, but with ingenuity in building walls expressly for that purpose; and they have shown, in this instance, that the character yet belongs to them. Absolutely without an object, they have endeavoured to justify a pretence which brings into question the fair dealing for which they had deservedly received praise, even when it appeared at the expense of political address and management. We commended their simplicity of good purposes, when straightforward they went against walls in the pursuit of good objects; but we cannot commend or defend them when they take a crooked path against the like obstacles. What cared the public to be told, by the Ministerial organs, that the stoppage of the Supplies was the cause of the dissolution. The people were glad to suppose that the defeat of their Bill was the cause. The charge of the stoppage of Supplies is not offensive to the people—the very name of Supplies is distasteful to them; and the fault of stopping them requires more reflection than they would give to a disagreeable idea. Supplies smack too strongly of the taxgatherer, to be subjects of popular excitement. Governments naturally consider the matter differently; and, to them, the coming together of heaven and earth would appear less shocking than the stoppage of Supplies—which flow in such grateful streams through their chosen conduits!

Neither bound by party connections, nor affected by party spirit, we will never hesitate to observe upon any deviation from the course of honesty, whether in friends or in foes. We have given, and do give, all praise to Ministers for the grand object they have in view, and to forward which we have for many years, and through many discouragements, unintermittingly laboured; but it is not because we are bound for the same voyage, that we will thank or excuse the pilots for scraping the rocks. Or, to employ a more appropriate metaphor, though we may approve of the road the coachman has taken, we don't justify his swerving into a ditch. Every honest public man should be able to join, word for word, in the proud declaration of the noble DE FOE—

"If I have espoused a wrong cause; if I have acted in a good cause in an unfair manner; if I have for fear, favour, or by the bias of any man in the world, great or small, acted against what I have professed, or what is the known interest of the nation, let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockles instead of barley."

If we are to believe that the rod falls in correction according to favour, we should say that the Whig government is especially graced, for all its errors have the visitation of immediate trouble. But for the pretended cause of dissolution, and the prosecution of Mr. O'CONNELL, we see not what the Opposition would have had to open battle upon with any show of plausibility. With respect to the prosecution of Mr. O'CONNELL, we may claim to have been true prophets when we declared, on the first news of it, that the Government had got the wolf by the ears, and could neither hold him nor let him go without mischief. To make up for that disaster, they have since caught a Tartar in COBBETT. Lord GREY thus lays down the rule of prosecution for libels:—

"When an offence was committed, and when it appeared likely that a prosecution would not further the object kept in view by the writer—when it appeared likely that a prosecution would contribute to suppress a writing, and promote the peace of the country—neither he nor his colleagues had ever shown themselves backward to call the power of the law into existence."

"When it appears likely that a prosecution would promote the peace of the country!" But to whom is it to appear? Lords Grey are not always in power. Wellingtons, and Eldons, may have sway; and appearances to them are the opposite to what they are to the Whig Premier. Had a writer, two years ago, made the spirited comment on the Duke of CUMBERLAND, which Earl GREY uttered with such manliness in the House of Peers, it would have appeared to the then Ministers incompatible with the peace of the country, and to warrant prosecution. The effect of Lord GREY's rule depends not on the tendency of publications, but on the opinions of the persons in power. It is the rule, in fact, of arbitrary discretion. The Grand Seigneur only smites wrong doers with the sword: but then he judges who are the wrong doers by the rule of his own displeasure.

It would seem to be a bolder task in a minister to assert the Liberty of the Press, than even to rebuke the pride and officiousness of the Church. Lord GREY, who has laid down a double-edged rule for the Press, to which a Castlereagh might have subscribed, and to which an Eldon would subscribe, thus manfully dealt with the charge that his government was hostile to the Church, and disposed to sever the union between it and State. Another minister would have qualified and complimented, and called God to forbid his entertaining this and that feeling: but Lord GREY went straight to the honest truth; and said—

"If was meant by the union of the Church and State, that reciprocity which gave the Church protection and support, in return for the zeal and attention with which its ministers discharged their duties" [a large article for consideration this], "and the superior merit of the religious instruction which it afforded the people, he was prepared to agree with him: but if the noble Earl meant a political union—if he meant to make the members of the Church of England parties to the support of political power—he would tell him that the Church had very seldom exercised that power with advantage to themselves, and often with great detriment to the public."

The King's Speech is nearly as general as usual; and is shaped, according to custom, to avoid strong objections, rather than to give satisfaction to any party. His MAJESTY is advised to recommend the consideration of Reform to the two Houses, in the confidence

"That, in any measures which they prepare for its adjustment, they will carefully adhere to the acknowledged principles of the Constitution, by which the prerogatives of the Crown, the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people are equally secured."

If the rights and liberties of the people were secured by the principles of the Constitution, Parliament would not have to consider a measure for their restoration, or establishment. The principles of the Constitution have been inadequate to the ends of the Constitution, or reparation would not now be sought. A Constitution which has had no power preventive of the greatest organic derangement, is not the Constitution to be tried back to as a model of perfection. The Constitution adapted to a rude state of civilization and intelligence, is not precisely the Constitution to be reconstructed, when there are new materials and instruments of power.

On Belgium his MAJESTY says—

"The discussions which have taken place on the affairs of Belgium, have not yet been brought to a conclusion: but the most complete agreement continues to subsist between the Powers, whose plenipotentiaries have been engaged in the conferences of London. The principle on which these conferences have been conducted, has been that of not interfering with the right of the people of Belgium to regulate their internal affairs, and to re-establish their government according to their own views of what may be most conducive to their future welfare and independence; under the sole condition, sanctioned by the practice of nations, and founded on the principles of public law, that in the exercise of that undoubted right the security of neighbouring states should not be endangered."

The liberty of the Belgians to choose their own government, is like *Figaro's* liberty of the press,—provided there be nothing in his writings to give offence to any persons in place or power. Substitute the security of neighbouring people, for the security of neighbouring states, and see how differently the clause will read. Suppose a republic established by the French, would they have a right to complain of the danger of a neighbouring monarchy? Oh no! for the security of people is not thought of—the intendment is the security of some half dozen of reigning families, which are called "states."

The arguments against Reform on the opening of Parliament, were but repetitions of assumptions, fallacies, and objections, as repeatedly refuted. There is really nothing more to be said on the subject—the debate is closed except as to details of the Bill, some of which require re-consideration, notwithstanding the parrot cry of "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." The workman who drew up the bill ought to eat the draft for his blundering. The objections we took on first view of it, brought upon us a host of reprovers; but our words, among others, may soon be remembered, that "the qualifications for county voters of copyholders at 10*l.* a-year, and of leases of 21 years for rents of 50*l.* a-year, will, we think, prove to have been ill considered." The new borough franchise cancelling much of the existing county franchise, will leave the counties with insufficient constituencies. But of these points, more in the proper place.

The opposition, it will be seen, but for the cause of dissolution, and the prosecution of O'CONNELL, would have been confined to that grand debate in the Lords as to the constitutional necessity for the use of the third person in the Address; and in the Commons to the broken glass question, and the omission of the name of the Deity in the Speech—an irreverent custom for stage effect, which was omitted, but it remembered, in the Tory administration of the Duke of WELLINGTON.

A translation of Von Savigny's celebrated work on the *Vocation of our Age for Legislation and Jurisprudence*, has been made by Mr. Abraham Hayward, and printed by private circulation.

#### THE NEW BEER BILL.

Has a bishop nothing better to do than to meddle with people's beer? The Bishop of Bath and Wells (a most watery title) complains of the New Beer Bill. "Every third or fourth house in some of the country towns," he says, "is a beer-shop, and the greatest excesses are in consequence committed." There can be no such consequence. The more shops, the less chance of excesses. If every shop were a beer shop, every man would be his own customer, and drink his beer solitarily and quietly in his own house. The more shops there are, the more the drinkers are divided, and the excitement attending large companies is lessened. Lord Malmesbury was for giving magistrates the controul of the houses. Aye, aye, the sweets of licensing are not forgotten. *Justice Greedy* would be at his old trade again. Lord Melbourne very foolishly observed, that in the opinion of the country generally, the bill had been pernicious. For the country generally, read the country gentlemen; and the remark is doubtless true. The squires are of course dissatisfied with a trade that takes justice-jobbing out of their hands. Consult attorneys about law reform; the proprietors of *The Times* (as Lord Althorp actually did), about newspaper monopoly, and the stamp duties that create it; smugglers about customs; and country gentleman about beer bills.

#### A NICE MORAL JUDGMENT.

"The fault we have hitherto found with Sir Robert Peel, has rather been a want of tact or taste, than a want of honesty. By affecting more sincerity than necessary, when speaking against conviction, he, in some measure, hurt the *amour propre* of his audience: for this implied a belief in their want of penetration."—*Morning Chronicle*.

Speaking "against conviction" is, then, no dishonesty of any moment, in the opinion of the *Chronicle*; and, in fact, the fault it finds in Sir Robert Peel is, that he wants art as a hypocrite. This is as if we should say of a thief—The fault we have hitherto found with Bill Soames has rather been a want of skill than a want of honesty. By affecting more jostle of accident than necessary, when stealing his hands into the pockets of people, he excited attention, and raised alarm that caused his detection.

#### PARLIAMENTARY VOUCHING.

The massacre at Newtownbarry, having been mentioned with horror (by Mr. Hunt) in the House of Commons, Mr. Maxwell jumped up, and protested according to custom, that the clergyman of the parish (in defence of whose distraint for tithes the slaughter was made) was a most humane and excellent man; and that there was not a more humane man in existence than Captain Graham, who commanded the Yeomanry upon this butcherly occasion. Thus, we see that Captain Graham was as humane as the parson himself, who was most humane and excellent. If a Colonel Kirk were in question in the House of Commons, some one would spring up and give him a superlative character for all the virtues. Lord Milton, however, said—"With respect to what had been said of the gentleman whose name was mixed up with this affair, he would only observe, that whatever might be that gentleman's humanity, it did so happen, that since his appointment, he had not been upon the most harmonious terms with the people." A proper person has been sent to the spot by Government to inquire into this sad affair.

#### "SATISFACTION" ILLUSTRATED.

While our last publication was going through the press, Mr. Tennyson and Lord Thomas Cecil were winding up the farce in which they have been actors. Some insulting expressions used by the Lord at a recent dinner changed the relations of the parties, and Mr. Tennyson became the challenger. The parties met at Wormwood Scrubs (a name appropriate to the shabby bitterness of the quarrel) and after the exchange of shots, Mr. Tennyson declared himself satisfied; and Lord Thomas having concurred in the sentiment, they shook hands, agreed that the dispute was finally disposed of; and thus, as the newspapers say, the affair terminated to the honour of all parties. The gentleman who vindicated the rights of the people, and he who invaded them, are now the best friends in the world. The offences have all been whistled down the wind by a couple of pistol balls. Each gentleman, by showing that he would stand to be shot at, and shoot, has satisfied his antagonist, and removed the sting of insulting expressions. Had they not shot at each other, they would have continued mortal enemies—having shot at each other, they are friends. Is this the endearing effect of common danger? Pistols are blessed peacemakers. There are no go-betweens so successful as bullets in the making up of quarrels.

#### PATHETICS.

*The Chronicle* is again at the King's children—a theme on which it shows uncommon pathos. What a thing it is to have a feeling heart—a heart that can feel for a king, and melt at the question of an earl's creation. Our contemporary asks those who make it a reproach to the King that he is not neglectful of his own children, what they should have said, had he, "instead of the affectionate care which he has always bestowed on them, and of the anxiety which he has shown to see them well established, treated them with indifference, neglected their education, and felt no anxiety as to what should become of them after his death? Is not every man who does not do as much as he can for an illegitimate child, justly blamed by the world in general?"

One would think, from this, that the King had been blamed for not sending his children to the Foundling Hospital. The question is not whether he should provide for them, but whether a peerage is suitable. The King's chaff is proverbially said to be as good as another man's corn; and we have no reason for supposing that the new peer is not as well qualified for legislation by birth, as those noble persons among whom he is placed.

Rising in pathos, our contemporary observes, "What wretched philosophy, to suppose that any man who has studiously watched the progress of any human beings, from infancy to years of discretion, even if the children of others, can suddenly snap the ties by which they have twined themselves round his heart, tear himself from future concern for them, and care no more for their success in life, than if they had always been utter strangers to him."

Here, again, the sensibilities of our contemporary are moved beside the question. No one required the King to send out his children in a basket to be drowned. No one required him to snap ties, or tear himself, &c.—these are affecting expressions—very affecting expressions; but they describe no demands made upon the King—nevertheless, they are so extremely pretty, and look so handsomely sentimental, that we cannot wonder at our contemporary having been tempted to use them. The grant of the peerage may have been perfectly right, but the withholding of it would have been no snapping of ties, or tearing, &c. In conclusion, *The Chronicle* remarks—"But reason and feeling are alike thrown away on the votaries of spiritual pride." It is, indeed, a very suspicious circumstance,

that the immoral example of a former sovereign, carried almost to the brink of the grave, never provoked a rebuke from the pulpit; while a deviation from morality, which the law caused, is visited with reproaches on the present King, long after he has shown his dispositions to virtue by the blameless habits of his latter life. But when we make this remark, we must admit that rules of good breeding and decorum, and allowances for hardships of state, do not run against the apostolic commission, once recognised; and Mr. McNeile may consistently say, either dispute and set aside my warrant, or abide by it. As Bayle observes, upon an analogous question, "if the conveniences of a round table do not satisfy you, make a square one; and do not pretend that the same table should furnish you with conveniences both of a round table and of a square one."

## THE LITERARY EXAMINER.

*The Christian Physiologist.—Tales illustrative of the Five Senses; their Mechanism, Uses, and Government; with moral and explanatory Introductions. Addressed to a young Friend. Edited by the Author of "The Collegians," &c. London: Edward Bull, Holles-street, 1830.*

We opened the work with the hope that it would in some degree supply the first part of a good primer or elementary work on Intellectual Philosophy;—a work, unfortunately, that still remains to be written. Watts' Logic (though logic it is not) is perhaps the only book on Mental Science which has circulated very widely as an elementary work. But though much bought by parents, it is little read by children; for the highly moral and amiable spirit of its author will not atone for its vagueness and its dulness. The works of most of our eminent metaphysicians are obviously unsuited to beginners. The field was therefore open; and so far, the choice of the author of the "Collegians" and his co-adjutors was not injudicious.

The design of this work is to explain the mechanism and uses of the external senses in an amusing form, stripping the description of all that technicality of phrase, which might deter the student in a more scientific physiological work. It moreover attempts "to excite in young persons a right feeling of the value of their corporeal frame"—such a knowledge "of the wonders of their own frame as may assist them in the observance of their heavenly duties"—and tales are added illustrative of each sense. A chapter on the Intellect, and its appropriate tale, complete the book.

The first chapter is styled introductory. But, on considering the title of the work, we do not apprehend that a sermon against infidelity, however excellent, can form the most appropriate introduction to it. A sermon, however, this really is, and not a very good one for its purpose. It might have been expected that a person writing on the subject before us should possess sufficient knowledge of the human mind to be aware that young persons can be acted upon by details only, not by generalities, and that no such opening as this can either amuse or interest them. A youth takes up "The Tales of the Senses," expecting amusement; but, on finding a sermon, shuts the book, indignant at the deception, and fully determined not to open it again. Our author, like many others, falls into the mistake of supposing that religion is greatly promoted by interlarding it with science and romance. He does not seem to be aware that this garbled mode of treating so important a theme will rather tend to injure it; as indeed, any subject, under such circumstances, must be injured. Interleave "The Collegians" with the Bible if you please, or what amounts to the same thing, write a page of romance and a page of religion alternately, but expect not to make novel-readers religious thereby. They shun such works; or if perchance they should open one, they are sure to skip over the religious portions.

Vision is the first sense which is treated on, although it is a sense by no means so easily explained as those of smell, taste, and hearing, which it ought therefore to have followed. The ingenious youth for whom the author of "The Collegians" writes (or edits) must be of a different race from ordinary mortals; for we are sure that no well-educated man, previously unacquainted with optics and anatomy, could form any idea of the mechanism of the eye, and of vision, from the brief and technical description here given, unaided, as he would be, by a single plate. In order that a youth may be at once amused and instructed, it is necessary that the subject should be laid before him in a very clear manner, and in considerable detail, so that he shall be able to comprehend it with little trouble. We do not, however, wish to deny the general accuracy of the anatomical description, as far as it goes; but we think the author quite uninformed of the mental processes concerned in vision—an ignorance which he very ingeniously attempts to conceal, by stating that nothing is known upon the subject.

"With the image on the retina (he says), our knowledge of the mechanism of sight terminates. Why, that image is inverted—how the subject is seen straight after all—in what manner the optic nerve conveys the impression to the mind—all these are questions which never have been, and probably never shall be, solved in this world." P. 28-9.

The "uses and government" of sight are professedly treated of in chapter iii. But if the reader expects to find a clear account of the knowledge that is received from the eye, primarily or directly, and of the knowledge which it gives us, secondarily or through association, after it has received instruction from the other senses; if he would learn what vision is, and what it is not, this assuredly is not the book he should study. If, however, he is contented to be told, in eighteen pages, that it is a very useful and pleasant thing to be able to see, and that we should not misuse this faculty, but use it to the glory of God; if moreover, he be a warm admirer of what is often called eloquence in Ireland, but elsewhere bombast, he must be not a little pleased with this chapter. As an example, we select a passage:

"In what part of the frame are the affections mirrored so beautifully as here? In joy, how bright and sparkling is the appearance of the eye! The

lid is raised, and the slight gush of tears heightens the brilliancy of its reflection, while it seems to start forward as if eager to meet the impression which has awakened so lively a sensation within the mind. In grief, how touching is its depression! The lid falls, the lashes droop, and the eyeball seeks the earth, as if unwilling to disturb, by the sight of any other object, the memory of that beloved and long-accustomed one, which it shall never more behold on earth. How amiable is its half shut and retiring look, when merit diffident even of itself, hesitates to assume its rightful place in the social order! How glorious is the fire which fills it when a tempered zeal for truth, or injured home and altars is swelling in the heart! Track it through all its changes, whether it glistens with compassion, lights up with courage, or droops with humility, and in every instance, you will find it the silent tongue of the heart—the window of the affections." P. 40-1.

After having described the mechanism, uses, and government of sight, a tale, entitled the Kelp-gatherer, is given for the purpose of illustrating this sense.

The substance of the tale is as follows:—An Irish widow, left with an only son, earns a scanty livelihood by gathering kelp. To improve their condition, the son emigrates for some years, leaving his mother behind. One morning, immediately before he comes back, the widow rises completely blind, although she had gone to bed in possession of her sight, a cataract having suddenly bereft her of vision! The son now returns with a transatlantic wife and family, and great lamentation of course ensues. A benevolent surgeon cures the widow "by the abstraction of the injured lens;" and the whole party praise God in chorus.

What is here meant by illustrating, we do not understand. Before we had read this illustrative tale, we expected that the author intended, in explanation of his expository statement of vision, to select such accounts as that given by Cheselden, of the blind boy who recovered his sight; or by Professor Stewart, of the youth who was deaf, dumb, and blind; or that he would perhaps have adduced instances of the state of the blind when left without instruction, and of the instruction they actually receive in the most successful institutions; or even that he would have constructed tales calculated to produce the same effects, if possible, in a still more popular mode. By such means the youthful reader would be amused and instructed: for individual cases of this kind make a strong impression on the minds of youth.

The story which illustrates the sense of hearing is entitled the Day of Trial; and we will briefly recapitulate the substance of it:—

Madaghan, the chief poet and chronicler to the King of Erin, has a son, an only child, who is deaf and dumb, but "whose heart was better fitted to hear and understand the silent voice of heaven, than if his ears had been opened to the sinful sounds of earth (p. 120). He recovers his hearing suddenly, at chapel, and (contrary to every known law) distinguishes at once the natural sounds by which the din he first heard was effected, and is aware of the importance of the benefit which he had received. Before he mentioned his good fortune to his father, he thought he had better wait till he had acquired some portion of the information this sense was able to impart (p. 122). He waited in the woods as he went home from chapel, to hear the birds; and the mournful tune played by his father, on his return, gave him delicious sorrow. The old bard resolves to resign his post, and is almost overwhelmed with grief that his son cannot enter into the approaching contest for the office. The amiable youth still keeps the secret from his father, gets instruction from a neighbouring priest, and soon becomes so skilful as a poet and musician, that, on the day of trial, he overcomes all opposition, and gains the laureateship, to the great surprise and delight of his father—who, poor man, was kept in misery several months, in order that he might (according to novel-writers' morality) be put into ecstasies at last.

If this author had taken the trouble to peruse a few chapters of Reid's Inquiry—a book which is to be seen on every stall: or even if he had conversed half an hour with the keeper of a deaf-and-dumb asylum, he could not have fallen into so many blunders—blunders which might have been passed over with a laugh in a story for an annual (which this originally was), but which are deserving of severe reprehension in a work intended for the diffusion of science. Imagination, we would entreat him to believe, is not incoherence: neither does it enjoin a false statement of facts.

Having, as he says, described all that is known by scientific men of the five senses, the author of "The Collegians" proceeds, in chapter xv., to the Intellect. Of this part of our constitution he makes short work, for all that he finds it necessary to say on the human mind is comprised in two pages and a quarter; and, as in the case of the Senses, so also, with regard to the intellect, does he inform us, that he has stated all which is really known.

"Concerning the nature of those qualities," (namely the mental faculties) he says, "that science has been continually putting forth conjectures; but most men are agreed that the ablest of those theories is rather calculated to afford amusement by its ingenuity, than to elucidate the original mystery." P. 308.

Shades of Plato and of Locke! look, if your feeble eyes permit you, on this our mighty march of intellect; behold an Irish declaimer on your vacant throne settling, in two pages and a quarter, the mighty themes which your whole lives were hardly sufficient to commence; announcing that what he knows is all that is or can be known—that he has at length discovered and arrived at the utmost boundaries of the human understanding.

The last three chapters consist of a long allegory, called a Story of Psyche, which amused us so much, that we cannot resist attempting to give an account of it. After something of no particular interest has been said concerning Psyche, or the soul, and her ministers, she is made to summon them, and to complain of her unsatisfied condition. A boisterous debate ensues—the Senses prescribe variously, then enters Imagination with an oration—Judgment replies; and a contest

ensues between these two faculties, wherein Imagination proves victorious; which is not to be wondered at, seeing that our author's judgment displays few traces of that quality from which he is said to derive his name. Psyche now goes upon her travels; but Judgment does not accompany her. In her wanderings, she falls in with Philosophy, looking into a limestone rock, and talking nonsense, and she naturally takes him for her friend Judgment. Being unable to make any thing out of him, and having completely lost her way, the Almighty is again introduced, working a miracle, and introducing the spirit of Prophecy, who guides Psyche to the mysterious mountain, where she finds Judgment at the foot of a cross, with a book. Now enter Faith, Hope and Charity. But we will tell no more—our readers, who cannot but be desirous of continuing the allegory, must be referred to the book itself.

Having so striking a specimen of our author's powers in allegory before us, we are led to expect much amusement from a promised second volume, on Internal Sensation and Motion, respecting which our author states,

"We may securely promise a great improvement; for internal sensation is a subject more susceptible of fabulosity and imaginative illustration than external; and more interesting, in consequence of its being more intimately connected with, and a more powerful mover of, the passion of the mind." P. 15.

We can conceive nothing more amusing than a contest between the circulation of the blood and the peristaltic motion of the intestines, on a question of precedence.

A fine scene might also be contrived of the stomach holding a levee of his friends and allies, the spleen, liver, gall, colon, and smaller intestines, to receive their congratulations on his recent glorious victory over the brain. The liver next, with her sad complaint, and the gall bewailing her bitter lot, might receive from the lungs his consolations in that light and airy manner so peculiarly his own: and, as a love-scene is indispensable, the bladder might be blown up into an amorous flame.

Had the author contented himself with writing indifferent tales on the Senses, we should have been the last to disturb their repose. Had he written ill upon religion, he might have been safely left with its professional defenders to be dealt with as the case might merit; but when, under pretence of giving agreeable elementary instruction, he misrepresents and confuses an important and difficult science, we cannot refrain from exposing his incapacity. Laudable intentions alone are not sufficient. It is owing to the dryness and inefficiency of elementary works that the human mind is so little studied in a regular and systematic manner. Every new work that promises instruction and amusement, yet tires the reader with what he must think devoid of all practical utility, is, we conceive, a mischievous work. It extends and confirms the ordinary vulgar notion, that the knowledge of the mind is of no use, and that it can be best acquired without study.

## THEATRICAL EXAMINER.

### KING'S THEATRE.

A new *opera buffa* is, to the habitual frequenters of this theatre, like rain to a traveller in the Lybian desert. The long succession of old serious operas had prepared us to welcome any new comic opera; and we rejoiced in the announcement, for LABLACHE'S benefit, of "Generali's *opera buffa*," in two acts, "*La Prova d'un' Opera Seria*:" (the rehearsal of a serious opera.) We were less pleased when we found, by a more recent announcement, that it was to be compressed into one act, and to be preceded by *L'Italiana in Algieri*, also compressed into one act. We remember seeing, in our younger days, at Astley's, a pantomime called the *Genie's Tomb*, in which the Clown was squeezed flat between talismanic doors, and subsequently, by a pair of bellows applied to his mouth, inflated to his original form. This is the principle on which operas are "compressed" here. They are squeezed flat. This is clearly the case with *L'Italiana in Algieri*. Most of the best pieces are retained, but the want of preparation and connection deadens their effect. We may infer, that *La Prova d'un' Opera Seria* has suffered in the same way. We dislike burlesque and parody, and above all, we dislike to see people burlesquing their own art. We think this a serious defect in the *Critic*: but the *Critic* is highly amusing, and so, we must say, is *La Prova d'un' Opera Seria*, even in its present form. We should like to have an opportunity of judging of it in its totality; and we advise the application of the bellows without loss of time. LABLACHE enacts the composer, and SANTINI the author, of an opera, who are tormented by the tyrannical caprices of the *prima donna* (Madame PASTA), and the *tenor* (CURIONI). These, being lovers, insist on being together throughout the piece; and are inaccessible to all arguments from the dramatic impossibility, as the hero is in prison, and the heroine working his liberation. The composer makes love to the lady, who ridicules his person and manners: he retaliates: and after some affected gaiety on both sides, they burst forth into a splendid passion. This is the subject of an excellent duet: "Oh guardate che figura." This duet; another with SANTINI, in which the composer and the poet console with, and console, each other on their respective conditions; and the rehearsal of the overture, with which the opera concludes; afford a rich field for LABLACHE. This rehearsal of the overture unavoidably recalls the well-known scene of *Il Fanciullo per La Musica*, but is still sufficiently original, and intrinsically comic. SANTINI'S poet is pleasant. Madame PASTA has a *cavatina* and a *rondo*, not likely to have much effect as concert pieces, but good and pleasing in their places. And we must speak in high praise of her comic acting. We have demonstrated to ourselves most clearly, that we ought not to be amused with seeing PASTA burlesquing lyrical tragedy. We were

amused, nevertheless, and that highly; and if there be any of our readers devoured with black melancholy, we recommend them, as a sovereign antidote, to take the first opportunity of being present at *La Prova d'un' Opera Seria*. The music, after being announced for twelve months as GENERALI'S, was on the day of representation, called GNECCO'S.

### HAYMARKET.

We cannot compliment this theatre on its opera. Some very bad judgment must prevail in this department of its management; and of good music, people have enough, without encountering worse than mediocre at the Haymarket, whose staple should be comedy and farce.

A Miss LAND has made her appearance as a singer, in the part of the *Countess*, in *Figaro*. Her voice is thin and wavering, and in the single song of "Bid me discourse, I will enchant thine ear," (introduced, as Mozart's music, is not good enough, *i. e.* not bad enough to please), she displayed every possible fault of style and taste; for which, we need not add, she was honoured by the folks up-stairs with an encore.

It is painful to condemn a female aspirante; but it is the cruellest injustice to real talent, to give a false encouragement to the incompetent. Miss LAND may improve; but she must form an entirely different style, notwithstanding the applause of the upper circle of the Haymarket Theatre.

Miss WELLS, in *Susanna*, pleased us much. She sings agreeably, and in person and manner, strongly reminds us of that lost pearl of the lyric drama, RONZI DE BEGNIS.

## UNITED PARLIAMENT.

### HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, June 21.

At an early hour a great number of peeresses and other ladies came down to the house, and occupied a large portion of it. The effect was singularly splendid and beautiful. The House of Commons having been summoned, his Majesty delivered the following speech:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have availed myself of the earliest opportunity of resorting to your advice and assistance, after the dissolution of the late parliament.

"Having had recourse to that measure for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of my people of the expediency of a Reform in the representation, I have now to recommend that important question to your earliest and most attentive consideration; confident that in any measures which you may prepare for its adjustment, you will carefully adhere to the acknowledged principles of the Constitution, by which the prerogatives of the Crown, the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people, are equally secured.

"The appearances of a friendly disposition which I continue to receive from all Foreign Powers, encourage the hope that, notwithstanding the civil commotions which have disturbed some parts of Europe, and the contests now existing in Poland, the general peace will be maintained.

"To the preservation of this blessing my most anxious care will be constantly directed.

"The discussions which have taken place on the affairs of Belgium have not yet been brought to a conclusion; but the most complete agreement continues to subsist between the Powers whose Plenipotentiaries have been engaged in the conferences of London. The principle on which these conferences have been conducted has been that of not interfering with the right of the people of Belgium to regulate their internal affairs, and to establish their government according to their own views of what may be most conducive to their future welfare and independence; under the sole condition, sanctioned by the practice of nations, and founded on the principles of public law, that, in the exercise of that undoubted right, the security of neighbouring States should not be endangered.

"A series of injuries and insults, for which, notwithstanding repeated remonstrances, all reparation was withheld, compelled me at last to order a squadron of my fleet to appear before Lisbon, with a peremptory demand of satisfaction; a prompt compliance with that demand prevented the necessity of further measures; but I have to regret that I have not yet been enabled to establish my diplomatic relations with the Portuguese Government.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have ordered estimates of the expenses of the current year to be laid before you; and I rely with confidence on your loyalty and zeal to make adequate provision for the public service, as well as for the further application of the sums granted by the last parliament—always keeping in view the necessity of a wise and wholesome economy in every branch of the public expenditure.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It gives me great satisfaction to state to you that the large reduction of taxes which took place in the last and in the present year, with a view to the relief of the labouring classes of the community, has not been attended with a proportionate diminution of the public income. I trust that such additional means as may be required to supply a part of the deficiency occasioned by these reductions, may be found without any material abridgment of the comforts of my people.

"To assist the industry, to improve the resources, and to maintain the credit of the country on sound principles, and on a safe and lasting foundation, will be at all times the object of my solicitude, in the promotion of which I look with confidence to your zealous co-operation.

"It is with deep concern that I have to announce to you the continued progress of a formidable disease, to which my attention had been early directed, in the eastern parts of Europe. Information having been more recently received that it had extended its ravages to the ports in the Baltic, from whence there is a great commercial intercourse with my dominions, I have directed that all the precautions should be taken which experience has recommended as most effectual for guarding against the introduction of so dangerous a malady into this country.

"Great distress has unhappily prevailed in some districts, and more particularly in a part of the western counties of Ireland, to relieve which, in the most pressing cases, I have not hesitated to authorise the application of such means as were immediately available for that purpose. But assistance of this nature is necessarily limited in its amount, and can only be temporary in its effect. The possibility, therefore, of introducing any measures which, by assisting the improvement of the natural resources of the country, may tend to prevent the recurrence of such evils, must be a subject of the most anxious interest to me, and to you of the most grate

and cautious consideration. Local disturbances, unconnected with political causes, have taken place both in this part of the United Kingdom and in Ireland. In the county of Clare, and in the adjoining parts of Roscommon and Galway, a system of violence and outrage had for some time been carried on to an alarming extent, for the repression of which the constitutional authority of the law has been vigorously and successfully exerted. By these means, the necessity of enacting new laws to strengthen the executive government with further powers, will, I trust, be prevented. To avert such a necessity has been, and ever will be, my most earnest desire; but if it should unfortunately arise, I do not doubt your firm resolution to maintain the peace and order of society by the adoption of such measures as may be requisite for their most effectual protection."

His Majesty then withdrew, and their lordships adjourned. When the Lord Chancellor again took his seat, he immediately rose to read his Majesty's speech; but LORD ELLENBOROUGH observed, that it was usual, as a preliminary step, to move the first reading of some bill.—Earl GREY acquiescing in the suggestion, moved the first reading of the Select Vestry bill.—The LORD CHANCELLOR then read his Majesty's Speech.

The Duke of NORFOLK rose to move the Address. He requested the indulgence of their lordships; because, until he had been restored by the act of the legislature to those civil rights and privileges which he now shared with his fellow subjects, he had not been in the habit of addressing any public assembly. The first topic of his Majesty's Speech related to that question on which he had sought to obtain the sense of the country. It was evident that that question had strongly, had irresistibly, obtained the favour of the great majority of the people of England. (*Hear, hear!*) The people of England wished—not for revolution—but for a restitution of those rights and privileges to which they were entitled by the constitution. The noble duke then adverted briefly to the other subjects mentioned in the Speech, and concluded by reading an Address, which was, as usual, its echo.—Earl MULGRAVE rose to second the Address,—when the Duke of BUCKINGHAM expressed his wish that it should be read by the Lord Chancellor.—The LORD CHANCELLOR was proceeding to read it, but LORD ELLENBOROUGH observed, that the noble duke's motion was irregular in its form, as the proposed Address ought to have been in the third person, not the first.—The Earl of SHAFFESBURY and the Earl of ELDON concurred.—The LORD CHANCELLOR did not rise to discuss the matter, about which he was really ignorant, but he could see no practical inconvenience from his being allowed to read the Address in its present form. Was it the pleasure of the house that he should read the Address?—LORD ROLLE observed, that if the Address were so proposed, no amendment to it could be made in proper terms.—LORD ELLENBOROUGH maintained the necessity of adhering to the forms of the house.—Earl GREY allowed that, in strict accuracy, the motion ought to have been, not "We, his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects," &c., but "That a dutiful and loyal Address be presented to his Majesty," &c. But no inconvenience would result from the present form, which would not preclude the house from referring the Address to a committee. Whatever error there was, was attributable to his own inadvertence, and he put it to the character of the noble lord, and to the character of the house, whether it was expedient to delay the consideration of the great question before them for a mere point of form?—LORD ELLENBOROUGH conceived it to be their duty to adhere to the forms of the house—forms founded in reason and calculated for the maintenance of their privileges. He had no doubt the noble earl had erred inadvertently, as well on this subject, as in suffering the noble lord on the woolsack to commence reading his Majesty's Speech before their lordships had considered any other measure. Here were, however, two instances of inadvertence in one evening, from which dangerous precedents might be drawn. Considerable inconvenience might result from the noble earl's inadvertence. It was usual to afford two opportunities for voting—the one on the motion for the Address, the other on the Address as prepared by the committee. The present form would prevent the latter opportunity, as the two propositions would be identical. Trusting that what had passed would prevent the recurrence of such inadvertence, he would withdraw all opposition to the reading of the Address.—The Duke of BUCKINGHAM said that another error had occurred in the proceeding. The Lord Chancellor had asked whether it was their lordship's pleasure that he should read the Address? Now, the noble duke by whom it was moved, had a right that it should be read.—The Marquis of LANSDOWN concurred.—The LORD CHANCELLOR said that the Speaker of that house was under great difficulty from having so many masters. When he had begun to read, some had cried "no, no!" and others, "yes, yes!" If their lordships would allow him, he had no doubt of being able to read the motion, converting it, as he proceeded, from the first to the third person. [*Read, read! and no, no!*] The Earl of CAERNARVON, and another noble lord objected to the motion being altered.—The Marquis of LONDONDERRY adverted to something that had occurred in the last session.—LORD HOLLAND: In the canons of literary criticism it has been remarked that nothing is so unlike as a *simile*, and it may perhaps be considered as a canon in parliamentary debating, that nothing is so disorderly as a debate upon order. (*Hear, hear!*) The noble marquis has contrived, in the course of a sentence, to violate no less than three orders of the house. He has adverted to what passed in a former debate, in a former session, and in a former parliament.—The Duke of NORFOLK having altered the Address from the first to the third person, it was read by the Lord Chancellor.

The Earl of MULGRAVE seconded the Address. He hoped that the proceeding of this night would not turn out to be only the first symptom of a frivolous and factious opposition to his majesty's government. (*Hear, hear.*) He had always advocated the principles of religious liberty and parliamentary reform. The first had been tardily adopted, and the noble mover of the Address had that seat among them which he ought to have had long ago. It was a great argument in favour of reform, that it was strenuously supported by the first nobleman in the land—of one who would never violate his conscience to obtain his proper situation in that house, and who supported the cause of reform at a great sacrifice of personal and family interests. In reference to the allusion to Belgium in his majesty's speech, he said, that objections had been made to any intervention in regard to the question of boundaries; but the advantage of having that question considered by the five powers was, that the matter might be settled without any recourse to arms. Of all modes of settling a national question, the recourse to arms was the worst—the most injurious to the contending parties and to the neighbouring nations. He then eulogized the character of the distinguished individual who was spoken of as the future sovereign of Belgium. The statement in the speech relating to the revenue, was particularly satisfactory. While taxes to the extent of four millions had been taken off, the consequent deficiency only amounted to three millions. The repeal of the duty on coals would have a very beneficial influence on the comforts, and even on the manners and domestic habits, of the peasantry. The repeal of the beer duty had certainly not as yet been attended with all the beneficial consequences that had been expected. But for that he blamed nobody. It was impossible to recur without horror to the state of the Irish peasantry, who had been compelled by hunger to devour the seed, which ought to have been put into the ground at the risk of future starvation. In that country, the peasant was located on a small patch of ground,

sufficient only for a bare subsistence; and, consequently, when a scarcity occurred, it was to him famine and starvation. It was exceedingly difficult to produce any effectual amelioration in the condition of a people who had been so long ill-governed as the people of Ireland had been. He then adverted at great length to the other subjects mentioned in the speech, and particularly to the subject of reform. He had not entered into the details of the reform bill, because he was anxious on that occasion to avoid any argument that might promote hostility; but he must say, that the spirit manifested at the commencement of the debate had very much diminished any hope of ever getting rid of that hostility which some noble lords were disposed to exhibit towards the supporters of reform.

The Earl of WINCHELSEA explained the reasons which had induced him to withdraw from the ministerial side of the house. He had thought that, after the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, and the Roman Catholic disabilities, all distinctions of Whig and Tory ceased to exist. But he found that one party were now advocating a measure, which the other declared would subvert the equilibrium of the three powers of that constitution, which was now the envy and admiration of surrounding nations. The great body of that party which was now in power had lost no opportunity of advocating every measure which would destroy the connection between the church and the state—(*Loud cries of hear!*)—a connection which formed the ground of that great superiority of moral character for which this country had been so long distinguished. He begged them to call to mind the daring and impious attacks which had been levelled at the throne, the church, and the members of that house. When he saw such attacks levelled at our most valued institutions, and countenanced, if he might say so, even by some members of their own body, how could he do justice to the principles of the noble earl, or the measures of his government? He owed it to himself to oppose those, who, under a mask of attempting to correct abuses, were trying to avail themselves of their present measures for the purpose of overthrowing all the most venerated institutions of the country, and introducing that degree of anarchy and confusion on which they hoped to erect the government of a republic. With respect to Ireland, in allowing the act to expire, before they called up for judgment, one of the most unprincipled agitators that ever disturbed a country, ministers had grossly neglected their duty. It was that agitator who had instigated the people to set the laws at defiance. (*Hear, hear!*) To him was to be attributed the greater part of the miseries of his countrymen. And though they were told, in his majesty's speech, that these disturbances were unconnected with political causes, it was well known that the peasantry of the South of Ireland were under a regularly organized system of obedience to those who were desirous of overturning our present civil and religious institutions.

Earl GREY said that the noble earl had commenced by observing that he withdrew his support because the government contemplated measures, which would destroy the influence of the house of peers. The noble earl fancied that certain persons (the noble earl had gone so far as to designate them as members of that house)—it was because certain persons connected with the government were supposed to aim at the subversion of the constitution. (*Hear, hear! from the Duke of Cumberland.*) The noble duke cheered that insinuation. Now he (Lord Grey) was not surprised that the noble duke should entertain those opinions, for the noble duke prided himself on his consistency in opposing the present measure of reform, because he had at all times been hostile to the extension of the rights of the people.

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY rose to order. Earl GREY admitted that he had expressed himself with too much warmth; but he was determined to repel the charge of hostility to the constitution, and, come from what quarter it might, he always would repel it. The noble earl had asserted that there were reformers in that house who held opinions hostile to the Church of England. Now he, (Lord Grey) was a protestant, and a member of the Church of England, which he believed to be the best church in the world; but when the noble lord talked of the necessity of an intimate union of church and state, if he meant a political union—if he meant to make the members of the Church of England parties to the support of political power—he would tell him that the church had very seldom exercised that power with advantage to themselves, and often with great detriment to the public. (*Hear!*)

The Earl of FALMOUTH complained of the allusion made by the noble earl to "there being seven of us." If the noble earl did not mean to apply that allusion to him, he had nothing to say [Earl Grey did not know to whom the allusion applied.] (*Order, order!*) The story reflected on an ancestor of his: and as long as such stories were confined to the newspapers, he should treat them with contempt; but when they were alluded to by the prime minister, he was called on to notice them. The whole story was false.—Earl GREY had read the anecdote in the diary of Bubb Doddington. He meant no personal allusion, and did not know that the story applied to the ancestor of the noble earl.

LORD WHARNCIFFE hoped the debates would be conducted without personalities, and said that he had witnessed the opposition to the particular form of putting the Address with feelings of pain. The reform bill would, indeed, do away with the improper influence of their lordships; but it would give such a degree of influence to the Commons, that that house would be annihilated. As to the Address, he meant to give it no opposition. With good sense and much moderation the ministers had said nothing in praise of the dissolution; if they had, no power on earth should have kept him from moving an amendment. (*Cheers.*) When that event occurred, he had heard with astonishment the noble lord on the woolsack say, that "he had never yet heard that the crown ought not to dissolve parliament, particularly when the house of commons had thought fit to take the unprecedented step of refusing the supplies." The house of commons had not refused the supplies—the motion for adjournment was carried on a very different motion. The ordnance estimates stood for that evening; but no motion concerning them was before the house. He must say, that the offence with which the house of commons was then charged—for offence it was—had a great influence over the elections. (*A laugh.*) The noble lord also referred to the illuminations ordered by the lord mayor, and said, that the town being left for several hours at the discretion of the mob, showed in the noble lord at the head of the home department a great want of discretion. At present he did not wish to discuss the question of reform, but should wait until he saw what the new bill was, and he recommended the same line of conduct to other noble lords; he trusted that no violence, no inordinate expression of feeling, would be indulged in upon the part of any noble lord, but that all would, with silent anxiety, await the arrival of this bill.

The Marquis of LANSDOWN defended the dissolution of the late parliament. With regard to the improper use of the king's name, he begged to declare that the private opinions and feelings of his majesty had never been stated, except to rebut the false assertions which had been continually put forth respecting his majesty's want of confidence in the views of his responsible advisers. When such assertions were made, it was necessary to state that the opinions, and wishes, and feelings of the king had gone along with those of his constitutional advisers. It was necessary that this simple fact should be laid before the people; and the people believed us and not our adversaries—and they judged aright. (*Cheers.*) With regard to the conduct of the Lord Mayor, the fact was, that functionary had given

no order for illumination—he had merely deferred it from one day to another; and the whole damage done in the City did not amount to 100l.

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY said the amount of damage done to his house was much greater than that at which the noble marquis rated the City. He had left his house unrepaired, as a monument of the protection afforded by the present government to the peaceable inhabitants of the metropolis; and he wished the noble marquis would inform him where he was to seek indemnification for the damage. All persons who were known to be opposed to the reform bill had been exposed to the intemperance of the mob. In allusion to the scene which occurred in the house of lords on the day of the dissolution, he attributed all the intemperance to the example of the noble lord on the woolsack, who rushed out of the house, declaring that parliament was to be dissolved in consequence of the stoppage of the supplies. In the speech which they heard, a few minutes after, it was attributed to his majesty's desire to call on the people to consider the question of reform. The learned lord had therefore departed from the honest truth. Ministers had displayed great ingenuity in the manufacture of the Speech from the throne. It was so couched, that it was not possible for him to move an amendment upon it; but he thought the course which had been pursued by government in the highest degree pernicious to the country.—Lord MELBOURNE adverted to the general illumination, and declared that he had ordered instructions to be given to the police to give every possible protection to persons and property, and that the event was attended with as little outrage, as, under the circumstances of the case, could be expected.

The Earl of MANSFIELD did not think the advice respecting the illuminations was so very sound, especially as some of the public offices had been illuminated. He could not but concur in many parts of the Address, and as it did not pledge their lordships to any thing, it was unnecessary for him to object to any part of it. He complained of the conduct of government towards Mr. O'Connell, showing that person to be more powerful than the government itself; conduct which no man would believe was not the result of some promise direct or implied. (*Hear.*) He also complained of what he feared had been matter of bargain—the proposed payment of the catholic clergy out of the revenues of the state. A noble lord (Londonderry) had given notice of a motion. He asked if ministers had communicated that notice to his majesty? If they had not, they were unfaithful and deceitful servants. And he also complained of the conduct of the Lord Chancellor on that occasion. The dissolution was attributed by that learned lord to the stoppage of the supplies; he should like to know whether the dissolution had not been resolved on six hours previously. When the House of Commons refused the supplies, there was the alternative of dissolving the parliament, or dismissing the ministry. Now, really considering how little support or countenance the existing ministry had received in either house, it appeared to him that their dismissal would have been at least as natural as the dissolution of parliament. A great number of excellent persons supported reform; but it was to be borne in mind that every plan which such persons proposed had this peculiarity, that it received the support of all those who were most disaffected to the constitution. (*Hear!*)

The Marquis of CLEVELAND said, that although he was well known to be favourable to reform, he had been singled out on the night of the illumination as one of the victims of that very unpleasant expression of popular resentment, and his mansion had been much injured.

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY was remarking upon the change of politics of the Marquis of Cleveland, and his support of various governments, when, amidst loud cries of "Order!"—Earl GREY and one or two other peers rose at the same time to order.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said he had heard something about illuminations, which he was not prepared critically or historically to discuss. When he heard such very incorrect accounts of facts which occurred so near him, he could not expect to hear the truth respecting occurrences in distant parts of Europe, or at a distance of centuries ago. How could they feel confidence in the statements of the three noble historians whom they had heard that evening relate occurrences of their own time (*Hear, hear, and laughter*), when one of those noble lords, speaking, as it were, *ex cathedra*, and with a sort of hereditary authority, denied the truth of Mr. Bubb Doddington's anecdote, at the same time that the noble earl acknowledged that he knew nothing about it? (*Hear, and laughter.*) If it were like one of the many stories that are running about the world, partly true and partly false, and that the noble lord could, by authentic references, establish the true, and disprove the false, it would be another matter; but here he said that it was altogether fiction. Now, he must ask, how could the noble baron be positively certain that it was so, the occurrence being said to have taken place 70 years ago? Especially as the noble lord was not certain as to what passed in that house on the 22d of April last. (*Hear.*) He had charged him (the Lord Chancellor) with stating that his Majesty had been advised to dissolve parliament in consequence of the vote of the House of Commons on Thursday evening. If he had used the words attributed to him, he must have been a person devoid of common memory. The debate bearing avowedly on the question of the dissolution had been going on for five hours on the preceding evening. (*Hear, hear.*) The commission for the dissolution had been prepared the day before, as was known to many of their lordships. What he had said was, that if any thing were necessary to justify the dissolution, the conduct of the House of Commons on the preceding night was such as to afford that justification. (*Continued cheering on both sides.*) He was not bound to acknowledge reports, but he would even adopt the words of the report to which the noble lord had referred. The words were: "He had never heard it disputed that the Sovereign had the right to dissolve parliament, more particularly (*Hear*) when the House of Commons had adopted the unusual course of stopping the supplies." Certain it was, that the house had not technically stopped the supplies, but their vote for adjournment had precisely the same effect. What difference did it make to the man who wanted money, whether the friend to whom he applied shut the door in his face, flatly refusing him, or coolly letting him into the house, walked out, making a sort of adjournment, without giving him any answer? (*Hear, and a laugh*) Was it not inconsistent to twit them with the use of the King's name in favour of the bill, when it was most largely used against the bill? And when they were told, over and over again that the King would not dissolve the parliament, was not that a much more unjustifiable use of the King's name? If he had no right to tell truth respecting the King's name, what right had others to utter the foulest falsehoods?

Lord FARNHAM observed; with respect to the supposed confidence which the government placed in a certain portion of the press, that it was a notorious fact, that a Morning Journal of that day contained the whole substance of the King's Speech, when none but the ministers could have been supposed to possess it. (*Hear, hear.*) How any one that knew the state of Ireland could have put it into his Majesty's mouth to say that the disturbances which had taken place there had not arisen from political causes, he could not conceive; for all their lordships must be aware that they did proceed from political causes. The government ought not to have entered into any compromise; when he spoke of compromise, he alluded to Mr. O'Connell. If the government had really wished to put the matter fairly,

they should have left it to the Court of King's Bench, and not to their own law officers.

Lord PLUNKETT defended the conduct of government with relation to Mr. O'Connell. For the government to have gone on with the prosecution, in spite of the opinion of their own law officers—for the public prosecutor to have gone on with an indictment which he believed to be unfounded—would not only have been illegal and unjust, but base and disgusting. (*cheers*). But it had been hinted that all sorts of compromises had been made with Mr. O'Connell—compromises respecting the forty-shilling freeholders—the Roman Catholic clergy—the lives of the criminals who had been condemned at the special commissions. If these things were true, they ought to have been made the subject of an impeachment; but, such charges should not be brought forward, unless documents were at hand to prove them. With respect to the disturbances in Ireland, there was nothing in them political; they were purely a servile war, in which the occupiers of the land determined to take the law into their own hands against the owners of it; and its practices were exercised indiscriminately against Protestant and Catholic. (*Hear, hear.*)

The Earl of RODEN thought that the improvement in the disturbed districts was deceptive; and it was worthy of remark that the great majority of the peasantry were either armed or arming.—The Address was then agreed to, *nem. dis.*

The usual sessional orders on the motion of Earl GREY, were agreed to, and the Earl of Shaftesbury was re-elected to the office of chairman of committees.

Wednesday, June 22.

Their lordships proceeded with the Address to his Majesty, after which they adjourned.

Thursday, June 23.

The LORD CHANCELLOR presented his Majesty's Answer to the Address from their lordships.

Lord PLUNKETT gave notice that he should to-morrow bring forward the subject of a most scandalous libel upon himself, which had appeared in some of the public prints, purporting to be observations made by a member of the other house, and imputing to him (Lord Plunkett) conduct of the most unjustifiable description. The whole statement was a gross and abominable falsehood, from beginning to end.—The Marquis of LONDONDERRY concluded that an hon. bart. who was a friend of his, was the member to whose observations the noble lord alluded. He had had some conversation with his hon. friend as to the statement of the extraordinary interference of the government in Ireland during the late elections. Of this he was sure, that a more honourable man, or one more incapable of making any unfounded or libellous statement did not exist. The hon. bart. had received his information from an individual in Dublin, who asserted that he knew its truth. The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that if any member of the House of Commons said any thing of any noble lord, however gross and unfounded, it was for the House of Commons, if it so thought fit, to take cognizance of the accusation; but the House of Lords had no power to do so; the Bill of Rights declared, that no member of the House of Commons should be called in question elsewhere for any statement which he might think proper to make in that house. But, if any publication took place out of doors of any such statement, whoever made that publication could receive no protection from the privileges enjoyed by a member of the House of Commons. Therefore the noble marquis could only apply his observations to the statement made in the newspaper, and not to the member to whom that statement was imputed.—Lord PLUNKETT said he should not bring the subject forward for the purpose of attacking any member of the other house, but for the purpose of defending himself from one of the grossest and foulest attacks that was ever made upon an individual. He was charged with trafficking in judicial and other offices for the purpose of influencing the late elections in Ireland; and with having, in one particular instance, bartered an assistant barrister's place for thirty votes. He had also been charged with procuring appointments in the church (he wished he had any to give) for similar purposes.—Lord ELLENBOROUGH thought that it was the duty of the noble lord, in the high situation he held, to take the earliest opportunity of defending himself from such a charge. The question was not taken up as a breach of privilege, and it was an inadvertence in the learned lord on the woolsack to think so.—The Marquis of LONDONDERRY said his hon. friend would not have brought forward such charges without conceiving that there was some foundation for them.—Lord PLUNKETT denied that there was the slightest foundation for the charges. If any person said there was, he said that which was not true.—It was then agreed that his Majesty's Answer to the Address should be inserted in the journals.

The Bishop of BATH and WELLS presented a petition from the inhabitants of his diocese, praying for the repeal of the Beer Bill.—The Earl of MALMSBURY thought it would be sufficient to give the magistrates some controul over the new beer shops.—Viscount MELBOURNE concurred in that opinion.—Lord TEYNHAM recommended the abolition of the hop and malt duties, which would enable the people to brew their beer at home.—The LORD CHANCELLOR observed that no pains had been wanting on his part to inquire into the subject before the bill was passed; and he hoped that nothing would be done to alter the great principle of the measure.

LABOURING POPULATION.

The Earl of MALMSBURY was desirous to know whether government intended, in the course of the present session, to bring in a bill with a view to the employment of the superabundant agricultural population? If matters were left in the same state as that in which they had so long been, a re-appearance of the same spirit which had manifested itself last year might be expected.—Viscount GODERICH said it was the intention of ministers, during the present session, to bring forward the bill on the important subject of emigration.

The Earl of MALMSBURY recommended that parishes should be empowered to lease land, and to employ labourers upon it at the standard rate of wages: for he could see no reason why the parochial rate of wages should be less.

Lord SUFFIELD felt confident that his majesty's government would institute inquiries to ascertain how far it might be expedient to employ the superabundant population at home.—Viscount MELBOURNE said that the subject was one of great difficulty. It had been agitated during a long period; and numerous reports had been made upon it. Every one recommended his own nostrum, and condemned the nostrums of other people. His majesty's government had no measure to propose, on which they relied with so much confidence, as to preclude other noble lords from making any suggestions that might occur to them.

The LORD CHANCELLOR complained of the practice of debating at considerable length, when there was no question before the house. It was not surprising, he said, under such circumstances, that noble lords did not stick to the question: there being no question whereunto to stick (*a laugh*). The consequence was, that the conversation became as vague and desultory as the gossip at a fire-side; only it was not half so amusing (*a laugh*). His noble friend had just given notice of a bill on the subject of emigra-

tion. The relief, however, which such a measure could afford would be but temporary. Unless the axe were laid at the root of the evil, it would spring forth again in its pristine strength. It was necessary, in giving vent to the surplus population by means of emigration, that measures should be adopted at the same time to prevent the recurrence of the necessity in future, by an amendment in the institutions for the support of the poor. The task was one of immense and fearful difficulty: but he had been making inquiries into the subject for many years, and thought that he had some lights about the matter. He had spoken to his colleagues on the subject of his own views as to the amendment of the system; and he believed there was sufficient agreement among them to enable him to propose a measure at an early period—not perhaps in this session, but early in the next.

Lord CLIFFORD earnestly called the attention of ministers and of the house to the distressed situation of Ireland. That country, he said, was in a transitional state; and assistance and relief ought to be gradually and occasionally extended to it.

Friday, June 24.

POOR LAWS.

The Marquis of SALISBURY would not move for a revival of the committee on the state of the agricultural population, as he understood that ministers were to bring forward a measure on the subject. He would, however, introduce the question of Poor Laws to the consideration of the house on Tuesday next.—Lord MELBOURNE denied that government had given a pledge to that effect.—The Earl of MALMSBURY said, that the Lord Chancellor had specifically declared he would bring forward a measure on the subject next session.

CHARGE AGAINST LORD PLUNKETT.

Lord PLUNKETT again called the attention of their lordships to the subject he mentioned yesterday. The charge made against him in a public newspaper, and stated to have been made in the other house of parliament, was this—that he had recommended an individual to government for the appointment of assistant barrister, and had thereby procured government 10 votes; and that he had offered preferment in the Church on account of electioneering services. The charge against him was gross and untrue—and part of the system adopted by persons opposing the present Government, evincing an utter disregard of truth. If the hon. baronet (Sir R. Bateson) believed the charge, it was his duty to impeach him (Lord P.) If he did not believe it, if he had a particle of candour in his nature—

Lord ELLENBOROUGH rose to order; but the Duke of BUCKINGHAM remarked, that no one could think there was the slightest ground for the imputation thrown on the noble and learned lord.

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY said a few words in defence of his friend, the honourable baronet.—Lord ELLENBOROUGH thought, that after the denial of the learned lord, it was the bounden duty of the honourable baronet to investigate the charges he had made, and to bring them forward, if he conceived them well founded.—Lord LONDONDERRY thought that his friend was as good a judge of what he ought to do as the noble baron, and perhaps a better. (*A laugh.*)

TITHES.

The Archbishop of CANTERBURY introduced two bills, one for the commutation of tithes, the other to prevent the holding of pluralities.—Lord DACRE introduced a bill for the commutation of tithes; he did not think the bill of the right rev. prelate would effect all the good wanted.—Earl GREY considered a commutation of tithes, so as to settle the question for ever, the most desirable measure.

The Earl of ELDON introduced a bill on the subject of the Scotch law of divorce.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Earl of ABERDEEN went at great length into the subject of foreign affairs. He considered the loss of the Duke of Wellington from the cabinet as more than ever deplorable at the present moment, since the unrivalled advantages he possessed in ability to preserve peace, were as extraordinary as his military talents. The principle of non-interference had his full approbation; but the principle was very elastic, and might be alleged as a ground for interference to a very great extent. He wished to know, if the Belgians had instituted a republic, would that have been a ground for interference? Had not the French interfered to prevent the election of a sovereign, merely because he was connected with Napoleon? He very much dreaded the result of the conferences of the Five Powers. His lordship then complained, that the rights of the King of the Netherlands had been overlooked. He then touched on the passage in the Speech, relating to Portugal, and regretted that such strong language had been used.

Earl GREY would say at once, that if the Belgians chose to establish a republic, he (Lord Grey) never would consent to an interference. With regard to the King of Holland's interests, he would state that the maintenance of that monarch's rights and privileges was of the first importance to this country. The choice which the Belgians had made of Prince Leopold as sovereign, was independent of any influence exercised by us. Lord Grey then defended the allusions in the Speech to Portugal; and remarked, that though the noble earl had stated himself to be no advocate of Don Miguel, it was something in his favour when he had been characterized as living and reigning in the hearts of his subjects.—The Duke of WELLINGTON stated that the difficulties under which the noble premier laboured, grew out of the unfortunate events of July, August, and September. He approved, however, entirely of all the steps that had been taken with regard to Belgium, and entreated the noble earl to persevere in the course he had so ably pursued.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 21.

After attending at the House of Peers, the Speaker resumed the chair, and the usual sessional orders were moved.—On that resolution regarding the Peers' interference at elections, Mr. HUNT gave notice that tomorrow he should move that it be rescinded. He should afterwards move that a clause be inserted in the Reform bill, to the effect that any peer so interfering should pay a fine of 10,000*l.*, and be imprisoned one year in the Tower, for the first offence; 20,000*l.* and two years imprisonment in Newgate, for the second offence; and on a third conviction, such peer should be degraded from the peerage, his title become extinct, and the culprit be transported beyond the seas for his natural life. This was received with some laughter, but he said it was no laughing matter; he would propose these matters to prove the sincerity of the house to promote reform.—On the resolution regarding strangers, Mr. HUNT suggested that it also be rescinded. It was violated daily by the officers of the house. He did not desire nominal and farcical orders to be retained.—Lord ALTHORP and Mr. ATTWOOD considered the order to be useful.—All the orders were then agreed to.

REFORM BILL.

Lord J. RUSSELL gave notice, that on Friday next he should move for leave to bring in a bill to amend the representation of England and Wales. (*Sound cheers.*)

The SPEAKER then read the King's Speech, and Mr. PELHAM moved the Address. The hon. member detailed the proceedings connected with the Reform bill—the dissolution—and the subsequent elections. Out of 82 county members who sat for counties in England, 76 had been returned upon a distinct pledge to support the bill brought in by his Majesty's government. (*Cheers from the ministerial side, returned from the opposition.*) Out of fifty members returned for great towns, forty-two had been sent there upon a similar pledge. He then expressed his approval of the policy of government with regard to our foreign relations. On the subject of the revenue, he said, that four millions had been taken off, or, in other words, that was the net amount of the taxes paid into the Exchequer in respect of the taxes that were now abolished; but besides these, there was the expense of their collection, and the profit charged on the taxes by those who paid them in the first instance, so that the public were benefitted to nearly the amount of five millions, while the revenue had only suffered a loss to the amount of about two millions. That circumstance was an encouragement to the ministers to persevere in their reductions as far as they possibly could. The hon. member concluded by moving the Address, which was an echo of the Speech.—Sir J. JOHNSTONE seconded the Address, and dwelt at considerable length on the various subjects mentioned in the Speech. He trusted that ministers would persevere in the system of non-intervention with neighbouring states. It might be said, that the sympathies of the people of England were enlisted on the side of the Poles. (*Hear, hear.*) She might cheer, applaud, and encourage them in the war of independence; but sound policy forbade that the sword of England should be unsheathed for anything but the defence of her own rights and liberties. (*Hear, hear.*)

Sir R. PEEL said it was satisfactory to him to be able to concur in the address. The speech from the throne was, as usual, divided into the two great branches of foreign policy and internal administration; and many reasons would induce him not to enter into the discussion of the former. One was the absence—the necessary absence—of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Let the house mark the inconvenience to which it might be exposed by the necessity of waiting until the noble lord should be returned, when the writ could not be moved for until a fortnight after parliament had commenced its deliberations. (*Hear, hear.*) Did not this of itself show the practical advantage of the crown possessing some means of procuring the attendance in their places of its responsible advisers? (*Cheers.*) Debates on foreign policy must be suspended until the noble lord should be returned for some populous place, since he would hardly think of knocking at schedule A or schedule B of the Reform bill for admission. (*Cheers and laughter.*) He knew it would be said that in future all ministers were to be so popular that they would of course be returned; but the deliberations of the house ought to have reference to times when the present excitement had passed away. The right hon. bart. then commented upon the time and the manner in which the dissolution took place. Among other inconvenient consequences of that measure, taxes to a considerable amount had been actually remitted without any legislative authority, under the mere responsibility of the department. He alluded to the duties on coals and slates, and the imposts on Barilla; and although bonds had been taken for the payment of the duty, should parliament not sanction the remission; in the mean time, the retail trade had been carried on as if the repeal had been made by law; and equity and justice would oppose the forfeiture of those bonds. It was neither consistent with justice nor truth to represent to the people that the cause of the dissolution was that the supplies had been refused by the House of Commons (*cheers*): neither was it consistent with the conduct of enlightened statesmen to throw out that additional cause of excitement? (*Hear, hear.*) He believed that the opinions of the majority of the people were at variance with those which he and others entertained upon the question of Reform. But if the opinions of the majority of the people were clouded with error, it was his duty to endeavour to remove that error. He certainly knew, from the results of the elections, that the present constitution of that house was unpopular (*hear*): but he was not, therefore, bound to alter his course; on the contrary, he thought it his duty to the people, from whom he differed, however he might incur their dislike, to point out to them what he considered the dangers of any measure (*hear*). They who held unpopular opinions were not on that account less faithful servants of the people. (*Hear.*)

Lord ALTHORP said that every member of the government held himself responsible for the conduct of the foreign affairs; and that the absence of his noble friend could therefore not prevent the right hon. gentleman from receiving an answer to any question which he might ask. (*Hear.*) The remission of the duties alluded to, had been practically determined on by the late parliament: for though an act had not formally been passed, yet a committee had voted in favour of the reduction; and that resolution had been reported to the house. Although the success of the motion to put off the supplies was not the cause of the dissolution, it was at least its justification. The success of that motion proved that the ministers could not go on with the late house of commons.

Lord MAHON eulogised the late house of commons; and regretted the exclusion of such gentlemen as Sir R. Vyvyan, Sir T. Acland, and Mr. Bankes.

Mr. HUME defended the conduct of ministers; and justified the appeal which had been made to the people.—Mr. ATTWOOD and Mr. TRANT condemned the conduct of ministers with respect to the reform bill.—Mr. TREYER lamented that a more moderate measure had not been introduced.

Mr. HUNT said it had been stated in the public papers that 200,000 stand of arms were ordered at Birmingham for the use of the Russians; that the manufacturers were unable to meet the order; but that government accommodated them and their employers with a supply from the Tower. He wished to know whether that fact were so. He could not believe them guilty of such a departure from the liberal principles they professed. He now had a question to put on the subject of our domestic policy. Twenty human beings had been sacrificed during the late unhappy disturbances in Wales, and he wished to learn whether or not such an inquiry had been set on foot as might be expected to lead to the discovery and punishment of the parties offending in that case. The hon. member then announced his intention, when the committee on the reform bill came to the clause which proposed to give the right of voting to the holders of 10*l.* houses, to move, as an amendment, that the privilege should be so extended as to make it a general household suffrage.

Mr. LAMB said that the government knew nothing about the purchase of arms by the Russians in this country; but with respect to the statement about the arms at the Tower, no such thing had taken place. With regard to the persons who had been so unfortunately slain at Merthyr Tydvil, it was impossible to avoid the catastrophe which had taken place. Whatever the first origin of the discontent might have been, the rioters had succeeded in plundering to a great extent; and had at last made a direct attack on the troops. Those who were at the windows did not fire till 30 stand of arms had been taken away from the troops in the street. Inquests had not been held, because the troops had found it impossible to hold possession of the town. On their retreat, the bodies were carried away by their relatives, and buried; although, in many instances, it was not

known where. Instructions had been sent down to hold such inquiry as could be effected: one inquest had been held, and others were going on.

Mr. SADLER attributed the distress of Ireland to the absence of the landed proprietors; and announced his intention of introducing a plan for the legal support of the poor of that country.—Mr. SHIEL concurred; and suggested the propriety of an absentee-tax.

Mr. G. DAWSON adverted to the circumstances attending the dissolution; and accused the government of having exercised an improper influence over the elections. He also accused them of indifference and apathy to the distress of Ireland.—Sir J. GRAHAM explained the circumstances attending the dissolution. Three circumstances went to make up the determination of his Majesty's government on that subject: the small majority on the second reading; the small majority against the bill in a subsequent stage; and the delay of the supplies. With regard to the distresses of Ireland, government had administered relief to the utmost of their power. A fortnight ago they had sent out a responsible officer of the victualling board—a man of experience in the purchase of stores and provisions—with some means of relieving the distress. In this conduct they had been anticipated by the Irish government.—Mr. JOHN SMITH confirmed this statement.

Lord STORMONT inquired whether the motion of Lord Wharncliffe, in the house of lords, was not the true reason of the dissolution. He then adverted to a dinner that had been given in Northumberland, where the high sheriff proposed the toast, "The people—the only source of legitimate power;" and proposed it before the health of his Majesty. (*Hear, and Oh!*) His noble friend was present at that dinner, and did not prevent the toast being drunk. Such a toast he considered an insult.

Lord Howick admitted that the high sheriff did give the toast referred to, and that it was drunk before the health of his Majesty; but in this accidental departure from the general rule, the high sheriff had intended nothing disrespectful to his Majesty, but precisely the contrary—namely, that his Majesty was considered to reign for the benefit of his people—a sentiment which his Majesty himself would be the last to disclaim (*hear*).

Mr. STANLEY justified the conduct of government with relation to the prosecution against Mr. O'Connell. He denied that government had exercised any undue influence over the elections. In no single instance, within the memory of man, had the elections in Ireland been so free from all government influence as that which has just occurred. So much so, that people, like the right honourable gentleman, acquainted with the good old times of Ireland, were astonished at the apathy with which the government of Ireland looked on during the struggles of their friends. (*Cheers*.) Government had purposely abstained from the employment of all influence. A circular had been privately sent to the inspectors of police, stating that the men were at perfect liberty to vote for what candidate they pleased; but that they must abstain from acting as partisans on either side. (*Hear, hear.*)

An hon. member stated that four tradesmen of Dublin had stated to him, that they had received menaces from the Castle. (*Tremendous cheering from the opposition benches, succeeded by cries of "Name, name," from the ministerial side of the house.*) He was ready to communicate the names to the chief secretary for Ireland.—Mr. STANLEY said that the hon. member was at least bound to show that the parties were under the control of government. The house would perhaps think with him, that "four tradesmen" was rather a vague statement, when the government of a country was charged with having carried the elections by threats and intimidation (*hear*).

Sir R. BATESON contended that government had improperly interfered with the elections in Ireland. The commander of the forces had come down to canvass a county with a number of military agents, whiskered and mustachoeed, and one of those gallant aides-de-camp actually headed a riot. His hon. colleague nearly fell a victim to the ferocity of a mob led on by a gallant aide-de-camp. He had heard, too, that preferments in the church, and even judgeships, had been offered—that the office of assistant-barrister was offered to be bestowed for thirty votes. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. STANLEY not only invited, but demanded proof of the statements of the hon. bart. Such charges ought not to be made, without any notice—and without a tittle of evidence.

Sir C. WETHERELL said that the King's Speech—beginning, as it did with reform, and ending with cholera morbus—was a mere waste of words and paper: it gave no information to the house. He then adverted to the dissolution; and alleged stoppage of the supplies by the last parliament. Ministers, too, although they did not order the illuminations in the metropolis, had yet not exercised their power to prevent them, as, in such times of excitement, they should have done; and the Lord Mayor, who might be called a kind of political lamplighter (*a laugh*), had the merit of having assisted the progress of the elections, by allowing an opportunity for the expression of an opinion on the conduct of those who were considered unfavourable to Reform. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) The people of Holborn and the Tower Hamlets were, of course, anxious to light up in favour of the Reform which was to give them representatives: but he thought it would be better if they had caught the fish before they fried them. (*A laugh.*) In conclusion, he said, he was determined to oppose every part of the bill, in every stage, when it came before the house.

Mr. DOMINIC BROWNE defended the government from the charge of having neglected the sufferings of the Irish people.—Major MACNAMARA bore testimony to the beneficial effects of the commissions.—Mr. M. O'CONNELL said, in Clare, he was happy to say, that at the last sessions there was no instance of outrage.—Col. EVANS referred to the excitement which existed in the country. In the borough which he represented, a coach load of hired boxers had been brought down to keep the peace by the gentleman who had been in the habit of nominating the member. Was not that a means of provoking excitement among the people?—The motion was then put, and it was agreed to, *nem. con.*, that an Address should be presented to his Majesty, and a committee appointed to prepare the same.

Wednesday, June 22.

Mr. PELHAM brought up the report on the Address. On the motion that it be adopted, Mr. HUME protested against being supposed to concur in those parts of the Address which related to Belgium and Portugal. He did not think that this country had strictly observed the principle of non-interference. He also objected to the pledge contained in the Address, that the house would make good the deficiencies in the expenditure of the country. He hoped this would not pledge the house to sanction any new taxes. The present house was pledged to economy as well as reform. The noble lord therefore would be quite safe in bringing forward the plan of abolishing the receivers-general, and making a saving to the country of 50,000*l.* a-year; and in introducing every other species of economy which might suggest itself to him.

Col. SIBTHORP insisted that the Address was a delusion, and that, like the reform bill, it was humbugging the inhabitants of this country.

Lord ALTHORP said, that the paragraph alluded to by the hon. member for Middlesex, was inserted in order to accomplish the substitution of two taxes, as proposed last session. The tax on the import of raw cotton, instead of the duty on printed calicoes; and an alteration in the duty on

wines. He then defended the budget from the attacks which had been made upon it, and appealed to Col. Sibthorp, whether the people of Lincoln did not derive considerable benefit from the reduction of the duty upon sea-borne coal, and upon candles?

Sir R. INGLIS said he had perused seven consecutive Speeches from the throne, and found all of them contain allusions to Divine Providence for the blessings enjoyed; but he had looked in vain for any such expression in the last speech. This, he thought, deserved censure.—Mr. BRISCOE concurred in the complaint of the honourable baronet.—Lord ALTHORP considered that the use of such expressions in a public document were but too often misplaced; and he begged the house to give him full credit when he stated that the omission did not prove a want of any thing like piety, or confidence in Divine Providence.

Mr. TRANT, in strong terms, blamed the omission. If in times like the present, when famine and war, and pestilence were abroad, they were not to look up for succour from on High, where could they expect to find protection and relief?

Mr. HUNT approved of the omission. Whenever any evils befel the country in consequence of misgovernment; the ministers of the day always, in the King's Speech, attributed the calamity to Divine Providence; but whenever any measure was attended with success, they took the credit to themselves. (*Hear, and laughter.*)

Mr. GOULBURN thought it was their duty to acknowledge the hand of God when they were afflicted, or about to be afflicted, and particularly at the present moment, when the country might become exposed to a dreadful malady.

Mr. WARBURTON disapproved of the practice of mixing up sacred language with secular affairs. Were he to revert to the use of the words "Divine Providence" in public documents, he should be able to prove that frequently, when the greatest atrocities were committed, the perpetrators had the audacity to assert that these deeds were sanctioned by Providence. Government was fully justified in discontinuing the practice.

Mr. ESTCOURT censured the omission.—Col. TORRENS said the people of England were a religious and a moral people; but they were also a discerning people, and did not believe that a prude was always chaste, or that a bully was always brave; nor did they think those the most pious who introduced religious sermons into political assemblies, or political discussions into religious meetings. (*Hear, hear.*)—Mr. SADLER hoped the people of England would never lose sight of those recognitions of the sacred principles, by an attention to which, England had become what she is. (*Hear.*) If she once deserted them, she would revert to her earliest state of barbarism.—Sir G. CLERK was sure that ministers did not feel any great satisfaction from the course of conduct adopted by their allies. The people he represented would look with alarm at the commencement of a session under such auspices. (*Cheers, and a laugh.*) He hoped that when the government remodelled that assembly, its members would not be forgetful of what is due to that power from whom all good is derived.

Mr. R. GRANT did not entirely concur with the observations of the hon. member (Mr. Warburton); but he thought that the improper manner in which the name of Providence had been often used in public documents proved at least that allusions of that kind might be made when not called for, and when the language of the lips did not proceed from the heart. When the allusion was not expressly made, the omission ought not, therefore, to be understood as arising from irreverence (*Hear, hear!*). He earnestly recommended the house to dismiss the discussion altogether (*cheers*). The report was then brought up and read.

Mr. O'CONNELL said he approved of the general spirit of the Address; but he was sorry that he could find in it no expression of sympathy with the struggling Poles. He hoped that the government would take a more decided part respecting Belgium. That nation ought to be placed in the same situation as she held in 1790. The Belgians had given another illustration of the lesson, that one nation cannot continue with impunity to wrong and oppress another; and he hoped that the government of this country would benefit by the lesson with respect to a neighbouring country connected with England, which a continuance of bad government would drive into the arms of France, or to the adoption of a republic. The present distress of Ireland must be attributed to the misgovernment of seven centuries, which had brought them to that state, unparalleled in the history of nations, of a people starving in the midst of plenty (*Hear, hear!*). The utmost that the King's Speech held out, was the possibility of finding some means of relief. Was it then at this time still to be left to a possibility? (*Hear, hear!*) The late government, however, used to say that they could not interfere; it was impossible to do anything: Ireland had always been, and would always be, subject to periodical visitations—that is, the periodical visitations of starvation in the midst of plenty (*Hear, hear!*). He had long been opposed to poor laws. He still disapproved of them. But he now saw no other remedy for the poor of Ireland but a compulsory provision for them. Much had been said lately of the security of the Church in Ireland. Now, religion was a good trade in most countries, but in Ireland it was particularly so (*Hear! and laughter*). The poor of Ireland supported two churches, one of which they believed to be necessary to themselves, and they maintained it out of their own poverty; and the English Parliament said the other was necessary for them, and accordingly taxed them enormously for its support. Did hon. gentlemen forget for what church the tithes were originally introduced, and that one-third of these tithes was appropriated to the support of the poor? In making these observations, he disclaimed any intention of embarrassing ministers; on the contrary they had his disinterested support. He congratulated them and the house on the triumph of reform throughout the country.

Col. TORRENS wished to see some equitable commutation of tithes.—Mr. SADLER said that the land of Ireland was rich and fertile, and the poor were willing to work. Good lands and willing hands required only to be properly directed. He thought the introduction of poor laws would be beneficial.—Sir R. HARTY also thought poor laws would be beneficial.—Lord ALTHORP said that the introduction of poor laws into that country required extreme caution. They ought previously to leave no measure untried for otherwise ameliorating the condition of the labouring classes by the introduction of capital, and, by creating a demand for labour, in the hope that eventually no system of poor laws might be required.—Mr. RUTVEN concurred in the recommendation of poor laws for Ireland.—The report was then brought up, and the Address agreed to.

Mr. HUNT withdrew his motion respecting the interference of peers in the election of members of that house.

On the motion of Mr. FRESHFIELD, the bill to amend the Bankrupt Laws was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday.

Thursday, June 23.

Mr. HUNT presented a petition from the society of wine and grocer porters in Dublin, praying for the repeal of the Union. He was convinced that either the Union must be repealed, or poor laws granted to the people of Ireland. When he heard of such statements as those recently made about the cutting down of twenty or thirty men by the yeomanry, he was sure they would never succeed in tranquillising the country till a permanent remedy was introduced. They might have their Special Commissions, and



carry portable gallowses about the country, but that would not put down the evil.

Mr. MAXWELL: The circumstances alluded to did not arise from the mode of taking tithes, for the tithe composition act was in force in the county where they occurred; the clergyman of the parish, who was a most excellent man, had endeavoured to get his tithe without having recourse to law; but a Roman Catholic farmer refused to pay, and told him he might distrain. The clergyman did distrain. The sale of the cattle was advertised, and the magistrates received intimation that a rescue would be attempted. The yeomanry and the police were called out, but were instructed, under no circumstances to fire upon the people. It appeared that not less than from 1,000 to 2,000 persons had assembled; and when the cattle were put into the pound, the yeomanry were fired upon by the mob. (Hear.) One man belonging to the yeomanry corps was killed upon the spot, and several seriously wounded. The yeomanry fired in their own defence upon the people, and the consequence was that several persons were killed. He was personally acquainted with Capt. Graham, and did not believe that a more humane man existed.—Lord MILTON called upon the House not to form any opinion from *ex parte* statements. He understood that the yeomanry were first attacked by the people, but the people only attacked them with stones. He left the neighbourhood only the day before; and it unfortunately happened that whatever might be the merits or the humanity of the gentleman, he had not been on harmonious terms with the people. For the honour of the house, and the country, an investigation ought to take place.—Mr. LEADER would suspend his judgment until he had full information of the facts; but he had his forebodings that all had not been fair and right in the transaction. He hoped this had not been an attempt to bring the tithe composition act into abhorrence.

Mr. LEFROY bore testimony to the good character of the clergyman. One yeoman was certainly shot, and several received gun-hot wounds. The people, therefore, must have come prepared with fire-arms, or the yeomen must have shot one another. (Hear, hear.) The difficulty of collecting tithe in that part of the country was so great, that he knew of a clergyman who was obliged to send his books to Dublin for sale, to support his family. For the last nine months, the clergy had not been able to collect their tithes. When they applied to the government they were told, "We can do nothing for you—we must leave you to your remedy;" and when they took that remedy, their characters were to be impeached in that house.

Mr. LAMBERT had lived many years in the county of Wexford. It was a most peaceable county: he could not believe that the people of that county could have done anything to warrant the horrible massacre. (Hear.) He could not contradict the fact, that a benefited clergyman was obliged to sell his books to support his family; but he (Mr. L.) knew another clergyman, a man of distinguished learning and piety, who had been a curate for 30 years, and who received so wretched a salary that he was not able to have any books at all. (Hear.) He hoped that no disposition existed in Ireland to bring on a rebellion, but it really looked like it, when the people were sacrificed without any justification. Some persons in Ireland might desire to bring back the old system; but the days of rebellion had gone, and the age of revolution had commenced. (Cheers and laughter.) He did not approve even of revolution—he was anxious that the people should not be driven to that point where resistance would become a duty. (Hear.)

Mr. GRATTAN had heard complaints against the individual so much eulogized by the hon. member for Cavan; that gentleman had no right to call out the yeomanry. The blame of all those transactions, in which the yeomanry were concerned, rested on those who formed those corps for party purposes.

Mr. O'CONNELL said that an investigation was already directed; and Mr. Green, a king's counsel, than whom a more proper person could not have been selected, was sent down, and would shortly make a report, for which the government waited (hear, hear). Wherever the blame lay, it was a melancholy fact, that twenty-one lives were lost—and so much Irish blood unprofitably shed (hear, hear).

Mr. HUNT said, that a few days ago, eighteen lives were lost at Merthyr Tydvil, and now twenty persons appeared to have been slaughtered by the Orange Yeomanry. He hoped that the inquiry would satisfy all parties: but the public had a right to know the opinion entertained in that house of such proceedings.

The petition was then ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed. The SPEAKER read the Answer to the Address delivered to his Majesty; and the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved an address of thanks to his Majesty for his answer.

Lord MILTON gave notice of his intention to move for certain returns relative to the corn laws, with a view of throwing light upon the subject against the next session of parliament, when it was his intention to bring them under the consideration of the house.

Mr. HUNT gave notice that he should bring the subject forward during the present session. In presenting a petition from Preston, in favour of universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments, Mr. Hunt complained of having been told that he had sold himself to the Tories. He had formerly stated that the opinions of the people, except those to whom this bill would extend the franchise, were against the reform bill; but he found he was deceived, for they were in favour of the bill, on the ground that if they obtained the present bill, all that they wanted would follow as a matter of course (cheers from the Opposition).

Mr. JAMES said he should not desire any greater extension of the franchise, if, with this bill, we could have a good and cheap government.

Mr. SLANEY said, that if the bitterest enemy of reform was desirous of using the most ingenious argument against it, he could not have hit upon any more calculated to attain his object than that of pursuing the line of conduct adopted by Mr. Hunt.

Mr. HUNT, in presenting a petition from Somerset, in favour of the reform bill, defended himself from the charge of injuring the cause of reform. His conduct had been so much approved by his constituents, that a person who had been sent down to Preston by the Reform Candidate Committee, had been sent back with a flea in his ear (a laugh).—Mr. Ald. WATMAN complained of Mr. Hunt talking so much about himself. The hon. member had spoken for twelve minutes the other night, and during that time the word "I" occurred no less than 75 times (a laugh).

Colonel EVANS said, that, so far from having left Preston with a flea in his ear, as stated by the hon. member, if he had gone down earlier he should have turned him out; and in so doing, he should have done a public service (a laugh).

Mr. HUNT was of a different opinion. The worthy alderman, he thought, might have been better occupied than in counting how often he used the word "I." He (Mr. Hunt) should, indeed, tease the house if he set them to sleep as often as the worthy alderman (a laugh).

Friday, June 24.

Petitions were presented against reform from the masters and scholars of Oxford; and Mr. Wm. BANKES also presented one from Marlborough, which was to have been presented at the last session.

Mr. LONG WELLESLEY said, it was a thing concocted by a close corporation, and was against the feeling of the inhabitants of the place.

CHOLERA MORBUS.

Mr. BARING moved that an Address be presented to his Majesty that he would be pleased to order to be laid before the house, copies of all the information that had been received by government on the subject of the disease that had been desolating so many of the eastern parts of Europe. It was highly necessary that the public should have the advantage of a general discussion of the information.—Mr. WARBURTON seconded the motion.—Mr. P. THOMPSON was sure that government could have no hesitation in granting their production, which would tend more to allay the fears of many; than anything he could say.—Mr. HUME was very desirous of ascertaining the extent of the experience and pretensions of those composing the board of health. There might be persons giving opinions at that board who had never seen the disease,—whilst there were persons of great experience in its treatment, who had not been allowed the opportunity of giving their information to their public. Mr. ROBINSON hoped government would not relax in their laudable sanitary measures.—The motion was carried.

REFORM.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL proposed, in the name of the government, a measure, which in their opinion, was calculated to maintain unimpaired the prerogatives of the Crown, the authorities of both houses of parliament, and the liberties of the people. He trusted that, on this occasion, the great party banded together to defeat the measure, would yield a patient hearing, and would refrain from those gestures, convulsions, and ridicule, with which they thought during the late parliament, it was to be driven out of the house. The most disinterested spirit had been exhibited by the people of England; nothing but a true spirit of patriotism could have persuaded men who are only in the receipt of a few shillings a day, to give up all the price, all the temptations, that were offered to them—(Cheers)—for the sake of a measure—not for their own benefit—but which they conceived to be calculated for the future welfare of the millions who people these kingdoms. (Immense applause.) With regard to the general features and details of that measure, he should not enter particularly into them, because, they were the same as the bill which was before the late parliament—(Hear, hear)—and as the slight improvements which had been made—(Hear, hear, hear)—were solely intended to carry into effect the principles of that bill. (Much cheering.) He then entered into a long disquisition, the object of which was to show that the proposed measure was not at variance with the principles of the constitution, and that the representation of this country had been from time to time, from the earliest periods, subjected to such changes as circumstances required. The anti-reformers of the present day deemed it improper to follow the precedent of Cromwell, of a change in the representation: but he would say (and in that opinion he was borne out by Lord Clarendon), that the alterations by Cromwell were fit to be made by more warrantable authority, and in better times: and having now a more warrantable authority, and better times—they were authorised in attempting a change in the representation, which should make it more consonant to the condition of the people. (Loud cheers.) The noble lord then detailed the decay that had taken place in the population and importance of numerous boroughs, from the time that the right of sending representatives to parliament was conferred upon them, in order to show that the intent and meaning of their sending representatives had been defeated by the operation of time itself. These discrepancies excited the attention of the greatest statesmen; and for nearly fifty years debates had taken place on the subject. Surely, they might now discuss that subject without the imputation of rashness, or without being accused of that which was a novelty in parliamentary history. Lord Somers was one of the persons whom the admirers of antiquity professed to hold up and quote, as one of the great lights—but he had made such changes as appeared to him desirable: and on the occasion of the Scotch Union, certain peers protested against that change, in words similar to those used upon the present occasion. The protest was signed Beaufort, Buckingham, and Stowell. But was Lord Somers deterred from his purpose, because those authorities said the constitution could not be altered but for the worse? On the contrary, he left a note behind him, in which he states, in answer, the first objection—"that too sudden alterations are dangerous." "This is true, unless manifest danger arises from delay itself." (Hear, hear, hear.) We are following in his footsteps. There was greater danger from delaying reform than from adopting the proposed measure. The representation of Ireland and Scotland had been much modified, and the constitution had derived new vigour from such alterations. The representation of Ireland was changed—by whom? by some audacious Whig or Radical, the enemy of the Monarchy and the House of Lords? No, by Mr. Pitt—whose memory honourable gentlemen annually met to celebrate. His (Lord J. Russell's) position was, that all the boroughs introduced into the schedules, afforded causes of disfranchisement, as strong as those which convinced parliament in the instance of the forty-shilling freeholders. After some further observations as to the character of the members to be introduced into the house, he stated that the extension of suffrage in counties and large towns would be immense. This would partly be accomplished by the admission of copyholders and leaseholders. The latter species of qualification he proposed to extend. In the original Bill some were admitted, namely, those who had leases for a short term of years; and he proposed now, that instead of 14 years, 7 years should be the term for leaseholds, paying 50*l.* a-year. The attention of government had been directed to the laws for the prevention of bribery; he trusted that, during the present sessions he should be able to present a bill to make the existing laws more effectual. He entered at some length into the defence of himself and his colleagues, against the charge of the inconsistency of their measures. They were charged with having taken an unfair basis, and having unduly favoured particular interests. Their answer was that they took their measure from a well-known statistical book, as free from error as could be expected. He then entered into various details, to show that the tax-office returns could not be relied on. At Ashburton, for example, the tax-office returns gave 52 houses of 10*l.* a year rent, when the real number was 300. Government might be asked, will you relieve the distresses of the people by reform, or will you not leave them precisely as they are? Such a question was totally irrelevant to the matter. (Hear, hear! and cheers and laughter from the opposition). It might just as well be objected to, the intended measure of relieving the people, by taking off the duty on coals, "What signifies your reduction, it does nothing towards improving the Constitution." (laughter). He was not one of those who would hold out to the people, the hopes of immediate benefit from the measure; neither was he one who would maintain the opposite theory, expressed in a well-known couplet, once quoted by Lord Liverpool:—

"How small of all the ills that men endure,

The part which kings or laws can cause or cure."

And he compared Spain, in which the traveller is met by the stiletto in the streets, and by the carbine in the highway, with England, in the poorest parts of which the traveller passes without fear. He thought the difference was occasioned by the different governments under which the people lived. Therefore, when he proposed, that the people of England should

be allowed to send real representatives, to deliberate respecting their wants; power was put into their hands, which would be the safeguard of the monarchy. At all events, laws would not be voted upon subjects, which the members had scarcely heard, and never considered. The representatives of the people will consider not—with whom they are voting, but—for what measures they vote. When he was told that the government of a country does not affect the condition of the people, he said, look to Ireland! What had caused the state of that country, but the want of paternal attention and fellow feeling, in the legislature with the great mass of the people? [He was immensely cheered at the conclusion of his speech.]

Sir Robert PEEL said, the noble lord was mistaken if he supposed the bill would go to committee without a lengthened discussion, and the sense of the house being taken. For the convenience of the house he would waive his reply, however, to the noble lord, till the second reading of the bill. After a full and fair discussion, nothing should prevent him from taking the sense of the house. He hoped the noble lord would give a sufficient interval for consideration, and that before the second reading, the Scotch and Irish Bills would be before them.

A conversation then ensued between Lord John RUSSELL, Sir Robert PEEL, Lord ALTHORP, and Mr. STANLEY, as to those arrangements, and it was fixed that the second reading should be on Monday week; and the Irish Bill was promised to be laid on the table before that day, on an understanding that it should be read the first time without discussion.

The house then went into committee on the bill respecting oaths before the Lord Steward.—Lord NUGENT brought in the Revenue Oaths' Abolition Bill.

#### CORN LAWS.

Lord MILTON's motion for a return of copies transmitted from Foreign Consuls relative to corn, produced a conversation on the corn laws, in which several gentlemen declared their opinions, most of which agreed as to the desirableness of preventing fluctuations in prices.

Mr. WARBURTON concurred with Mr. Hume, that a low fixed rate of duty was preferable to the present system.

Colonel SIMMONS gave notice, that when the Reform Bill is in Committee, he will move a clause, that *bona fide* tenants and occupiers of land (not being freeholders, copyholders, or leaseholders) in the districts returning knights of shire, whose rental is not less than 50*l.* a-year clear, shall be entitled to vote at the county elections, provided they have been in possession one year preceding the registration hereafter directed.

## FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

### FRANCE.

All the intelligence received during the latter part of the week from France, is confirmatory of the view taken of the state of affairs by our Parisian correspondent. It is agreed, that the fate of the French peerage is decided.

Gen. Lafayette has addressed a letter, to the electors of Meaux, his constituents, in which he explains in the following terms what has been called the *Programme de l'Hotel de Ville*:—After the visit of the new Lieutenant-General, accompanied by the Deputies, to the Hotel de Ville, I considered that the popular authority and confidence invested me with the right and the duty of going and entering into a frank explanation with the intended King, in the name of the people. "You know," said I to him, "that I am a republican, and that I regard the Constitution of the United States as the most perfect that has ever existed."—"I think so too," replied the Duke of Orleans; "it is impossible to have spent two years in America, and not be of that opinion; but do you think that, in the situation of France, and after the general opinion, it is proper for us to adopt it?"—"No," rejoined I, "what the French people now want is a popular throne, surrounded by institutions altogether republican."—"I understand it in this sense," replied the Prince. "This mutual engagement succeeded in rallying round us those who were opposed to a monarch, and those who wished for one, but any other than a Bourbon."—The General goes on to say that he regards as republican measures the popular overthrow of despotic ordinances of a charter granted, and a dynasty of divine right the substitution for those of the sovereignty of the people; the arming and constituting all the citizens of France into National Guards, appointing their own officers; so that the articles of the new law, which restrain the formation of rural battalions, and the election of chiefs of the legions, may be justly regarded as encroachments on that institution. After expressing his regret at the suffering of the public credit and commerce by the exaggeration of the public alarm, the General explains himself upon the question of war. His experience of half a century had rendered him very incredulous upon divine right sympathising with popular sovereignty. Diplomatic conferences and protocols had already compromised the French name, with regard to the relations with Belgium, in intrigues and threats against her independence. What was there to hinder France protesting loudly in favour of Poland, who had been prodigal of her blood for France, and receiving her representatives? As to the disasters of Italy, they were owing to one of those deviations from the impulse of July that might be called *paix a tout prix*. In speaking of the hereditary descent of the peerage, the General expresses his preference of two Chambers, both elective; and his conviction that, in an age of light and a country of equality, old aristocratical prejudices cannot give root in France to two or three hundred petty legitimacies, which, so far from supporting the constitutional throne, would be likely to involve it in their ruin.

This statement has excited a considerable sensation, and has extended the determination of the electors to exact pledges from their representatives, that they will vote for the reduction of the Civil List to a republican and virtuous amount.

### BELGIUM.

We have seen letters from two individuals, who had a considerable share in the direction of the Belgian Revolution, and who declare, that notwithstanding the present apparent monarchical tendency of affairs in that country, it is impossible that peace or stability can be obtained until a Federative Republic is obtained, or the country is united to France. One or other of these results will, they are confident, arrive much more speedily than is anticipated.

### POLAND.

On 10th inst. General Diebitsch died at the head-quarters of the army, near Pulkurk. It was stated that he died of the cholera morbus. No one else had fallen victims to that disease out of all the troops at the head-quarters; but some accounts state that he was predisposed to attack, for he was an enormous eater, and was in the habit of drinking daily, after dinner, several bowls of punch to keep off the cholera morbus. Other accounts state that he had received intelligence that he was superseded in the command of the army, and that being unable to survive the disgrace, he died by his own hand. But it does not appear that his successor has yet been definitively appointed.

The command is for the present entrusted to another German, General Toll. Paskewitch, a Polish officer, who distinguished himself in the

war with the insurgent Poles, under Kosciusko, against the Russians, and subsequently with the Russians against the Poles, is spoken of. It is at the same time rumoured that he has gone over to his countrymen. We have never seen it questioned that, of all the officers in the Russian service, Diebitsch was the general the most qualified for the chief command; and if so, the chances are, that his decease will be favourable to the Poles,—since a government like the Russian is not the most congenial to new and brilliant talent, such as the present war would require for its successful conduct.

Two considerable bodies of troops have, it is reported, been detached from the Russian head quarters: the one detachment to the north, in pursuit of General Gielgud, the other to Lithuania, in pursuit of General Chlapowski. All reports speak favourably of the progress of these two generals, whose forces had been doubled or trebled by the junction of other insurgents, who had swept away all the Russian authorities.

In Podolia the insurgents are said to muster 30,000 strong. In the Ukraine, insurrections have broken out, which, it is said, will probably prevent the Russians of Volhynia and Podolia from receiving reinforcements. The Russian force at the head-quarters must be so greatly reduced as to invite the movement of the Polish main army against it, from Praga, where it remained encamped up to the time of the latest advices. The Poles have now got two seaports, Pojangen and Kryoynga, and it is rumoured that it is their intention to issue letters of marque against Russia. On the whole, the aspect of their affairs is highly favourable.

### TURKEY.

By German statements from Constantinople, it appears that some attempts, which it is said were made by General Guilleminot, the French Ambassador, to induce the Turks to take advantage of the state of Russia, and create a diversion in favour of the Poles, had proved unsuccessful.

### ITALY.

From letters from Italy, it appears that on the 8th instant a carriage belonging to the Duke of Modena was attacked by a band of armed peasants, and all the persons in the carriage were shot; as the assailants believed that one of them was the Duke. A letter from Forli, states, that on the 1st instant, the Austrian troops withdrew from Cesena. A few hours after their departure, the people rose, assumed the tri-coloured cockade, and drove away the magistrates. On the next day the Austrians returned and re-instated them. At Ravenna, at Todi, at Foligno, and Bologna, there were similar manifestations; and it was said to be evident that it was only Austrian armies which could preserve that part of Italy from complete revolution.

### GREECE.

#### TO THE EDITOR OF THE EXAMINER.

Amidst the important events which have distinguished the last twelve months, and which, it is to be hoped, are the prelude to a total change in the future destinies of no small portion of Western Europe, it is not surprising that the situation of Greece should have been almost totally forgotten by Englishmen. It is true, that, under any circumstances, the influence which the people of that little corner of Europe can exert on the fate and fortunes of inhabitants of its more favoured regions, is too remote to awaken much interest in the sufferings of a country of which we know but little.

Yet, if Greece have no claims on our gratitude, and no hold on our expectations—granting that she can neither be a useful ally, nor a dangerous enemy; that she may become a Russian province, without any injury to the interests of Great Britain in the Mediterranean—still, she possesses very strong claims on the honour of the British nation; and "England, under two changes of ministry, having hung as a drag on the wheels of the movement in favour of Greece," would not certainly wish, under a third, to complete "a volume of more ludicrous inconsistency than it falls to the lot of most statesmen to compose." She cannot, under an able and patriotic administration, wish to afford the enemies of England another proof of the long-talked of selfishness of British foreign policy. The betrayal of Genoa, the abandonment of Parga, and the systematic support of the Holy Alliance, would not be greater blots on the fame of Great Britain, than the ruin of Greece. Yet, the ruin of Greece, at no very distant period, is the inevitable conclusion to which the vacillating and interminable measures which have been pursued towards that unhappy country must lead.

Since the month of July, 1827, the Allied Powers have assumed the task of arranging the differences between Turkey and Greece; and, with the most ordinary knowledge of the two people, every thing might have been arranged in six months. Greece might now be enjoying security of property, and civil liberty; and our ancient ally, Turkey, might have been saved from that almost total annihilation which Russia so gently imposed on her by the treaty of Adrianople. But England was measuring acres, while Russia was playing for provinces, and destroying empires. In March, 1829, the Allies indicated a line of frontier, within which the Greeks were to possess the country, governed by their own laws and municipal institutions. But, in February, 1830, a new frontier was fixed; territory, the value of which all barbarians understand, was taken from them; and complete independence, and a sovereign-prince—two very great blessings,—but blessings the value of which it requires some small degree of civilization rightly to estimate in acres—were conferred on Greece. July, 1831, now approaches—and Greece, thanks to the industry of ministers and presidents, is without permanent municipal institutions, frontier, prince, or even security of property—the great object for which frontiers, princes, and laws, were instituted and valued.

In this long series of imbecile negotiation, who is to blame? Neither Russia nor France, for both have proposed speedy remedies; certainly not the Greeks—for they have patiently awaited, during FOUR YEARS, the decisions of the Allied Powers. Thousands of exiles, expecting to return to their native villages—which protocols have repeatedly declared they were to possess—have perished with hunger; yet, the hope that the Allies would ultimately restore their country to a state of peace, and that the operations of industry would be pursued with security, has hitherto prevented the survivors from plunging into civil wars and piratical expeditions. No people on the earth was ever more anxious to enjoy the blessings of peace than the Greeks now are: for no people ever suffered in a more dreadful degree the miseries which accompany war. Starvation and disease, and that misery which arises from a combination of these two evils, has probably swept away more than 500,000, men, women, and children, during the Greek revolution, out of a population of 800,000.

This misery still continues: for the Allies have not yet taken the step which common sense would have indicated, to any individuals not diplomatists, ought to have been the first taken, which is, that each party should be put in possession of the country it was ultimately to possess. Since March, 1829, however, Attica, Bœotia, and Eubœa have been promised to the Greeks: but the population of these provinces is still living—or, I should say, dying—as miserable exiles in the Morea and the islands, while Turkish armies are encamped on their estates. A little more delicacy has been shown to our ancient ally, Sultan Mahmud, ever victorious—as the Greeks of Samos and Caudia have been cut off from all communication with their brethren of the Morea, and compelled to submit to Turkey!

still, Acarnania remains occupied by the Greek troops; and as it is ceded to Turkey, by the protocol, it continues totally useless to both parties. The result therefore, of four years of negotiation, is, that nearly the whole of continental Greece is a desert, useless both to Greeks and Turks.

While such is the position of the exterior affairs of the Greek people, the interior situation of the country is not much better. The absence of actual civil war is really the only boon which the presence of Count Capodistrias—that firmest votary of the Holy Alliance—has conferred on Greece; and that boon would have been conferred on Greece by the presence of any individual of common sense, supported by the navy of England, the army of France, and the ability of the Russian Cabinet. The talents of Count Capodistrias, as a minister and a diplomatist, are unquestionably of the very highest order—(Prince Leopold himself will certify this)—but these talents have never been honestly devoted to the organization of Greece as an independent state. He has been occupied with the settlement of the question, whether Greece is to be a Russian dependency, or a free state. His government is weak in all public measures, yet suspicious and oppressive to individuals. He has ventured to imprison one of the ablest men in the country—a man of education, a true patriot, and a poor priest—because he sent a copy of the protocol of the 22d of March, with a few remarks, to a friend in a private letter. The whole system of a representative government has been abolished. The municipal governments of the towns and districts of Greece, which met with the approbation of Sir Stratford Canning, and which the writer has heard Count Capodistrias loudly praise at the time of his arrival in Greece, has been exchanged for governors nominated by the president. The liberty of the press has been put down by force. In the month of January, the publication of the first number of a new journal was prevented by the soldiers with fixed bayonets. The establishments of courts of justice has been delayed, under a thousand pretences; and causes are still referred to tribunals appointed for the occasion. All the most distinguished men in Greece—the true patriots, whom Capodistrias solicited to take office, and support him, on his arrival—Miaoulis, Ipsilanti, Maurocordatos, Tricoupi, Zographos, and Peyllas, are either removed, or have removed themselves from all connection with the government; while Colocotroni, and the tyrants of the people during the revolution, regulate the civil administration, and dispense justice in Count Capodistrias' dominions. Every foreign officer, distinguished by his service in Greece, has been carefully removed from employment by the president. The enthusiastic valour of Colonel (now General) Fabvier, the accomplishments of Sir Richard Church, and the profound knowledge of Colonel Gordon, of the military affairs, and of the leaders and people, both of Greece and Turkey, were all equally disagreeable to the president. The army has been diminished and neglected, without becoming less expensive; and the navy has been totally ruined since Captain Abney Hastings was killed, and Miaoulis driven from it. But the misgovernment of Count Capodistrias, in spite of the praises he purchases for himself in the European newspapers, has at length brought affairs to a crisis. Hydra, Spezzia, and Maina, now refuse to acknowledge his authority, on the grounds I have stated—his violation of the constitution, and his neglect of the interests of the country.

It now, therefore, remains for the English Cabinet to decide, whether the tyranny of Capodistrias is to be restored by foreign arms: for he cannot now say, as he did formerly, "*Je me passerai de ces bêtes les Anglais.*"

That the policy of Capodistrias was, to keep Greece in an impoverished and unsettled state, in order to secure the election of his brother to the government, and receive his own reward in Russia, is not now questionable. Recent events may have changed his views, as he may now wish to reign himself: but the honour of England demands a speedy arrangement of the Greek question; and whether it suits the views of the British nation to permit the extinction of Poland, the ruin of Turkey, the slavery of Greece, to Capodistrias, and the preponderance of Russian power and despotic sentiments, in one half of Europe, is a question for the Cabinet and the people of Great Britain to decide—and to decide speedily.

Your obedient servant,

Liverpool, June 15, 1831. GEORGE FINLAY, of Egina.

#### THEATRE ROYAL, HAYMARKET.

MONDAY.—The BEGGAR'S OPERA; with WHO WANTS A GUINEA.  
TUESDAY.—As You Like It; with A Friend at Court, and Animal Magnetism.  
WEDNESDAY.—The Rivals; with Rosina.  
THURSDAY.—Clari; with Popping The Question.

#### NOTICES.

Detrosier's Pamphlet is not published; but a copy shall be at our Subscriber's service, at our office.  
We ask the indulgence of our Correspondents for omissions—the cause of which will appear in the mass of Parliamentary matter.

## THE EXAMINER.

LONDON, JUNE 26.

The Reform Bill was brought in on Friday, prefaced by a long historical review. We are not at present aware of any important variation from the Bill in the last Parliament, except the reduction of the term of leaseholders to seven years, which will be an extension of the franchise. Lord John Russell refers to the term originally intended as fourteen years, but twenty-one was the term mentioned (and to which we objected, recommending seven or five); and the change to fourteen was never, to our knowledge, announced. Sir R. Peel promises to dispose, once and for ever, of his objections on the second reading, fixed for Monday week.

Doubts are still current as to the conduct of the Lords on the Reform Bill. The black flags of Glasgow, however, form that kind of argument where the conclusion is suppressed, which weighs much with individuals who, like the university of old, "own no argument, but force."

The late accounts from the Baltic ports, affected by the cholera, give us to hope that the disease has spent its force. The alarm, in this country, has been much exasperated by the mention of the danger in the King's Speech, which we cannot but regard as injudicious. Fear generally makes three parts out of four of peril; and, in this case, panic would most mischievously prepare the way for the ravages of the disease, which is best resisted by good spirits and good living. The *Medical Gazette* observes:—

"At Warsaw the Cholera is expressly stated, by the Committee of Health, to have attacked but few in good circumstances, being chiefly confined to the low and crowded part of the town which borders on the Vistula. At Riga, its ravages have been great; but the circumstances were pecu-

liarily favourable for the development of any disease—we allude to the great number of sailors of every country, and of the most dissipated habits, who at this season are congregated there, to take advantage of the breaking-up of the ice. An immense number of the unfortunate patients both there and in other parts of Russia, must have been left to die without any medical assistance. With our poor better fed—our houses better ventilated; and, we may be excused for adding, with our medical men better educated, and more capable of turning every indication to account, we may reasonably hope that, should it please Providence to visit our shores with this malady, it will be robbed of much of its fatality; and its duration, which fortunately is never long in any one place, still farther shortened by judicious measures of precaution."

A well-enforced quarantine may keep out the disease altogether; but should it find its way here, despite of all precautions, there is every reason to suppose that our habits will give it a milder type. The aptitude of the English for panic is what we dread. The epidemic fever in the metropolis has not increased.

**PRECAUTIONS AGAINST CHOLERA.**—In jocular observation on Lord Londonderry's pride in the wounds his windows received on the night of the illumination, the Lord Chancellor, who, like *Sir Abel Handy*, has a plan for every thing, professed to give some precautions against cholera—whether they be good or not, we know not. "It was well known, with respect to the alarming disease now ravaging some parts of Europe—the Indian cholera—that those who exposed themselves to the open air were the most liable to be infected, and to suffer; but those, on the other hand, who eschewed open windows and spare diet—that, in short, the Europeans, who took care of themselves, and lived well, escaped, while the poor natives, who lounged about in the open air, were the parties who suffered the most extensively and the most fatally. He should, therefore, recommend the noble marquis to avoid open windows, and largely to patronise the butcher and the wine-merchant."

**STATE OF IRELAND.**—Accounts have been received from Newtownbarry, in the county of Wexford, of a most unjustifiable attack upon the people by the yeomanry. The loss of human life far surpasses that occasioned by the fatal conflict at Castlepollard. Thirty-six men, women, and children have been killed or mortally wounded. The number who have received severe, but not dangerous, wounds is estimated at sixty. About a fortnight ago some cattle of Paddy Doyle's, of Tombrick, having taken (it is said illegally) for tithes, by M'Clintock, were under bail till Saturday the 18th, when they were brought forward to the pound of Newtownbarry; but at the same time an agent to Lord Farnham, and a magistrate, collected all the Orange yeomanry and police from the surrounding towns and country to his own stable-yard—screened from the public by a high wall, to the number of about 150 men, well armed, and having fifty rounds of ball cartridge each. The cattle being put to sale, and all these yeomen in battle order on the road at the pound, some incautious little boys began to shout, and one or two of them pitched stones amongst the yeomen. Upon this the yeomen opened on the people—who, unsuspecting of mischief, were at the muzzles of the guns—a most dreadful, destructive, and galling fire. In a few minutes the road and fields were bestrewed with dead bodies of men, women, and children! Many were drowned in the river Slaney, on the banks of which the slaughter took place, and many shot in it. Many women and children rushed into the water to avoid the bullets, but only two of their bodies have yet been found. The people being defenceless and unarmed, were unable to make any resistance to their barbarous assailants: they fled in all directions; but wherever the people were seen running away, they were fired at. Mr. King, the chief constable of the police, refused to permit his men to fire on the people: three of the police, however, are said to have fired when the word was first given.

On Wednesday the annual fête of the horticultural society was celebrated at Chiswick; and, contrary to all precedent, the day was remarkably fine—the refreshments well arranged, and in sufficient quantity. Upwards of four thousand tickets are said to have been issued, and nearly that number of persons attended. The gardens were tastefully arranged, and the marquees and pavilions amply sufficient for shelter, even had the day been less auspicious. Two military and two quadrille bands, besides the Russian horn musicians, were stationed in various parts of the gardens, and played at intervals during the afternoon. The company were summoned to the breakfast by the sound of a gong; after which the fruit tables were thrown open. The finest specimens were from the gardens of the Dukes of Devonshire and Norfolk. Towards the evening the quadrille and the waltz were added to the other pleasures of this "happy valley," in which all the beauty and fashion of the metropolis were collected. At 10 o'clock the Russian horn band gave the signal of departure, by playing "God save the King," which was encored, partly from the merit of the performances, and partly that the listeners might linger a little longer in the garden.

The utmost consternation prevailed at Spalding last Friday, in consequence of Messrs. Henry and George Bugg, bankers, of that place stating, that in consequence of their elder brother, Mr. John Bugg, the managing partner, having absented himself from home, without any cause known to them, they were under the necessity of suspending their payments. There are found to be upwards of seventeen thousand pounds of their bills in circulation, most of them at or in the neighbourhood of Spalding. Spalding has not received such a crush for half a century back. Several are ruined, particularly of the lower tradespeople, as it is feared that the dividend will be very small. None of Mr. J. Bugg's property is available to the creditors, the whole having been settled on his wife and child by marriage contract. The debts of the firm amount, it is said, to about 28,000*l.*—*Stamford Bee.*

The following may be given as an irrefragable testimony of the determined spirit of the public concerning the reform bill. It has been proposed, by numbers of the people of the surrounding villages and several trades, that in consequence of the delay experienced by them before receiving the news, and in order that they may be ready to take up the subject of a defeat or victory of the bill as speedily as possible, each district, trade, and factory, appoint a delegate, a young man who is known to possess speed of foot, to attend at the Cross on the day on which the decision of the Lords is expected, as it is only from that quarter we have any thing to fear. The delegates so chosen are to receive the news from a person who will be appointed to meet the mail on horseback at a distance, in order that they may obtain the earliest information, and as soon as they come to know each delegate will start off to his respective presses, who will be previously supplied with a black and white flag, and if the news proclaim a defeat, the black flag will be hoisted on some prominent situation, and by this system of telegraphic dispatch, the whole of the inhabitants of Glasgow, and to a distance of five or six miles in the country, will be furnished with the result in half an hour after the mail arrives in town. This will also be the signal for the dispersal

ent bands of music (numbers of which have been formed since the late procession); to turn out and play the "Dead March," or any other appropriate airs, followed by their respective trades to the green, where situations will have been previously selected for the different trades, and when they will be addressed by their different speakers. This plan is adopted from the impossibility of any speaker making himself heard by the whole when congregated in one mass; each trade shall nominate one or more delegates, according to their numbers, to form a council of emergency for the purpose of devising some decisive measures to prevent anarchy and confusion, &c. &c. If the Bill is carried, the white flag appears, and a meeting of delegates takes place the same night at eight o'clock, for arranging measures for another procession on as early a day as possible, and a grand illumination at night, with other demonstrations of public rejoicing.—*Glasgow Chronicle*.

We learn from Toulouse that a prisoner (Granier) persists in his resolution to take no food, without which he had, up to the 16th instant, remained no less than 62 days. On the 14th he endeavoured to swallow a small quantity of water through a tube. His strength however begins to fail, and his dissolution is evidently approaching.

**ELECTION OF SHERIFFS.**—On Friday (Midsummer day) a Common Hall was held for the election of Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, for the year ensuing. Mr. Alderman Cowan, John Pirie, esq. merchant, J. Addinell, esq., and Mr. Scales, were put in nomination. Upon a show of hands, the election was declared to have fallen on Alderman Cowan and Mr. Pirie, whereupon Mr. Scales demanded a poll, and at the close last night, the numbers stood thus:

Cowan.... 556 | Pirie.... 563 | Scales.... 145

The late manager of the Manchester Minor Theatre, Mr. Neville, is now in prison, and on the tread-mill, for his inability to pay a fine of 50*l.* which was imposed upon him for allowing an Italian Opera to be performed in that house, when no other place could be obtained for that purpose!! His family are starving!—*Chester Courant*.

**THE CATHEDRAL OF RHEIMS.**—The facade of the Cathedral of Rheims has suffered, these six years, a more barbarous mutilation than all those which protestantism and infidelity had before inflicted on it. The architects and decorators employed to prepare for the coronation of Charles X. caused to be suspended to the two towers knotted ropes; and five or six masons, attached to these cords, were employed to break with their hammers all the heads of the saints which they could reach at. It was feared lest, from the cannons and 'vivats' disturbing the atmosphere, these heads might fall upon that of the king at the moment he was entering the church. Thanks to this refinement in precaution, about 200 heads have been demolished.—"Report on Historical Monuments to the French Minister."—*The Journal des Debats* adds:—The Cathedral of Rheims is one of the most beautiful monuments of our national architecture. This St. Barthomew massacre of the Saints has done it an irreparable injury.

**AN EXAMPLE FOR THE ARISTOCRACY.**—On the 29th of May, says the *Dublin Evening Post*, Sir W. P. Carroll addressed a meeting of the inhabitants of the parish of Kilmore, in the county of Tipperary, on the state of the country. After congratulating his audience on their loyal and industrious conduct, Sir William proceeded to say,—“On my return to the parish, this day three weeks, I was pleased at seeing three different groups of happy peasants dancing and passing the evening in innocent mirth; this was a happy presage of that peace and tranquillity which I find to exist in the parish. On my return from the election on this day fortnight, I was gratified at seeing a band of 40 decent respectable young men, dressed as May-boys, accompanied by a numerous body peasantry, and several well-dressed girls (blooming as the month of May), who danced in my lawn round a decorated May-pole. I highly approve of the continuance of these innocent amusements, rendered almost sacred from the recollection that they have been handed down to us from olden times, and were the sports of our ancestors: and I promise you that as long as there shall be a green field and a green tree on Tulla, you shall have a May-pole and a dance on these lands. (I perceive a smile of approbation from the girls in the gallery, and mirth dancing in their eyes.) Yes, girls, as long as there is a piper or fiddler in the parish, you shall enjoy your Sunday evening dance, and you shall celebrate the festival of 'Laulshoun,' (St. John's day,) and dance merrily round the bonfire.” Having contrasted this happy condition of the peasantry with late disturbances in the neighbouring county of Clare, the gallant General next touched upon the all-absorbing question of reform. “I know all Ireland as well as all England, are on the 'tiptoe of expectation' for the accomplishment of the grand question of Parliamentary reform. The liberal and enlightened policy of his Majesty's Ministers, the unflinching firmness which they evince in carrying a measure which they are convinced is for the benefit of the empire, entitle them to the admiration and support of every loyal subject, who values the interest of his country. But, my friends, you must not expect, as some ignorant persons did, on the passing the grand question of emancipation, that you are immediately to gain great and solid advantages from its enactments. The reform bill will not, like the overflowing of the Nile inundate the country with riches, or increase your crops, but its benefits will descend like those dews which now nightly fall on our crops, silent and almost unperceived. The crop you reap will be appropriated to the support of your families, and a great part of the produce of your labour, which was heretofore pilfered and consumed by those rats and vermin which burrowed in the State granary, will, upon the destruction of these useless unproductive animals, be appropriated to the just and necessary exigencies of the state.”

**COLLEGE OF SURGEONS.**—The following paragraph is copied from a daily paper:—“The Council of the Royal College of Surgeons have at length published a catalogue of their valuable library for the use of the Members. The want of such a catalogue was one of the principal grounds of complaint against the administration of this body's affairs, brought by the Members some years since; and it is a strong proof of the march of reform and the spirit of inquiry abroad, that they have consented in this as well as in one or two former instances.”—Thus, it is admitted, that years passed, and complaints the most just were not listened to. The reflection is obvious, that a remedy so long delayed, may be only an expedient for facilitating the growth of more modern abuses. All oligarchies resemble each other—the boroughmongers would at last give a reform, if the people would accept it at their hands; but it is too well understood, that the gift would be with the view to the perpetuation of the remnant of their corrupt power; and, in like manner, the Council of the College of Surgeons give the members their own library, perhaps in the hope of being allowed the power of fining, expelling, and filing criminal informations at pleasure.

**STEAM-CARRIAGE.**—The steam-carriage for common roads, which is at present making by Mr. Macdowal, at Johnstone, is in a state of considerable forwardness, and is expected to be ready for plying in the course of next month, or the early part of August at the latest. The carriage itself, which is nearly finished, will contain thirty passengers; and, from its size,

will present a novel appearance when seen flying along at the proposed rate. Its height inside is twelve feet, and its length about 15½, independent of the frame work for the guide's seat and fore-wheels. It consists of two stories; the lowermost of which, to be occupied by the boilers and engines, is five feet high, and the apartment which is for the passengers, is seven feet. The lowermost apartment is five feet wide, and the uppermost seven; this apartment is to be fitted up with a division between the different classes of passengers; the best finished of these apartments, which is to be the front one, will have a table running up the centre, and in the back end, from which all the passengers enter: the space in the middle will be left open as a passage. The carriage will stand two feet from the ground when in motion. The diameter of the hind wheels is six feet, and that of the fore wheels four feet; they are made very strong, the breadth of the ring being five inches, which must have the effect of improving our common roads. We understand the engines, which are to be twelve horse power, are in a state of equal forwardness with the carriage.—*Glasgow Chronicle*.

#### THE BILL.

(From a Correspondent.)

Now for the bill. I accept the whole bill with thankfulness and gratitude, as a boon most unexpected, and which, *malgré* its radical defect, will speedily confer numerous and important practical benefits on the condition of the country. It is a fine political stroke of the Whig aristocracy, equalling that of the glorious Revolution in '88, when the high aristocracy, that magnificent national select vestry, as a remuneration for the public benefits conferred on the country, took such especial care to secure to their own order their ancient, full, and abundant share of privileges—of loaves and fishes. No apprehension now remains concerning the fate of the whole bill. A majority is secured in the Commons, and the Lords will, no doubt, have more political prudence than to commit such an act of useless desperation as to stand out. As to the principle of the bill, its vice is perfectly aristocratic and Whiggish. It places the right of any and all concern or influence in the government of mankind, in property solely, leaving the great body of the poor and laborious (surely not the least important class) in a state of absolute political dependance on the property classes—in other words, a literal state of slavery. But every man, however poor, whose labour conduces to the support and wealth of the State, possesses the clearest natural and political right to a share in the choice of those public functionaries, into whose hands the reward of his labour, his security, his very life, are to be committed. The poorer the man, the greater his need of some influence in the choice of those to whom his fate is committed. To the deprivation of this essential right is, in all probability, to be ascribed the long-continued depression, misery, and slavery, of the agricultural labourers more especially. Suppose the great and powerful body of the labouring classes to become enlightened on this fundamental point, and political leaders adopting the principle should stand forward, the consequences must be tremendous. The political hypocrite Canning asserted, in one of his eloquent speeches, that “all governments ought to be grounded on abstract principles;” and yet, shortly afterwards, unreservedly opposed all Parliamentary Reform. This is the age of religious and political hypocrisy in our country. The labouring classes, oppressed, starved, demoralized, have little knowledge, care, or concern, on the score of their own essential rights or the public; and in times like the present, no apprehension can rationally be entertained of such a general combination among the poor as has been just now supposed. The English commonalty, totally unlike that of France and the Continent, has never, since the era of the civil wars, been found trust-worthy by agitators, or that class of political leaders who aim at vigorous or insurrectionary measures for reform and the recovery of rights. We may, then, hope for real and comprehensive Reform in due time—for, as in the language used in respect of the bill, our rights and the whole of our rights, without any violent struggles, and by dint of the mere persevering exercise of honest political talent. We have much to demand in order to equalise ours with the improved state of the government of France, on which much remains to be placed clearly and forcibly in the view of the good people of Britain.

I conclude under the apprehension of being accused by some of equal indiscretion with that of Hunt. But let it be remembered, the game is now in our hands,—without forgetting the necessity of reminding our patriotic petitioners of the tenor of their early professions.

May 24.

OCTOGENARIUS.

#### NOTABILIA.

**THE ATMOSPHERE NEVER DARK ON A WINDY NIGHT.**—Several years since, when travelling by night in the mail coach, in the depth of winter and during the absence of the moon, I was surprised to observe, that, though dense clouds covered every part of the horizon, and not a single star could be seen, yet the night was far from being dark, and large objects near the road were easily discerned. On expressing my surprise to the driver, he replied, “The wind is very high, and during a great many years that I have been upon the road, I never knew it to be dark on a windy night.” The observation was at that time new to me; but subsequent experience has convinced me that it was true.—*Correspondent to Loudon's Magazine of Natural History*.

**DRESS IN THE OLD TIME AND THE NEW.**—A curious comparison, says a French writer, might be made between the sums formerly paid for objects of necessity or luxury, and the prices of different articles at the present day. In 1302 the dress of a king's page cost one hundred and seven sous (about four shillings); that of a maid of honour, eight French livres; that of a female of lower rank a third less, and that of a femme de chambre fifty-eight sous. The scarlet robes made for Philip Augustus, for the occasion of the Easter Festival, cost twenty-six livres and a half: a dress lined with fur, and worn by the King on All Saints Day, eight livres; tunics, twenty sous each. The finest linen used by ladies of the highest rank was sold for one sous eight deniers per yard. The sum expended on a modern elegant's cashemire would in those days have renewed the wardrobe of the whole court.—*Lady's Magazine*.

**HILARITY.**—“Live merrily, O my friends, free from cares, perplexity, anguish, grief of mind—live merrily; again and again I request you to be merry; if anything trouble your hearts, or vex your souls, neglect and contemn it; let it pass. And this I enjoin you, not as a divine alone, but as a physician; for without this mirth, which is the life and quintessence of physic, medicines, and whatsoever are used and applied to prolong the life of man, are dull, dead, and of no force.” Thus writes Cicero to Bernard Canisianus, and some other of his friends. “Contemn the world (saith Tiresias), and count all that is in it vanity and toys. This only covet all thy life long—be not curious or over solicitous in any thing; but, with a well-composed and contented estate, to enjoy thyself, and above all things, to be merry.” “Nothing better (to conclude with Solomon), than that a man should rejoice in his affairs.” ‘Tis the same advice which every physician rings to his patient.—*Burton: Anatomy of Melancholy*.

## PAGANINI.

Of all the beasts which Nature made,  
With just no other view  
Than to surprise our mortal eyes,  
And show what she could do;  
Of monsters in the air or deep,  
Four-footed, furr'd, or finny,  
There's none to be compar'd at all  
To Signor Paganini.

With flowing hair, and forehead pale,  
And eyes of earnest fire,  
He's just what Dr. Rice would call  
A musical Messiah.  
The man that mocks the thrushes, or  
The man that chops his chin, he  
Is nothing at all, believe me—no—  
To Signor Paganini.

An air with variations,  
That run up all the score;  
He'll play as well on one string  
As some folks can on four.  
A violin's but a fiddle,  
And yet, I'll bet a guinea,  
A violin turns to what you please,  
In the hands of Paganini.

Each instrument, by turns, it is,  
That sounds in peace or war;  
Now the Apollonicon,  
And now the light guitar—  
And now it is a little bird,  
That sits up in a tree;  
That sits and sings, 'till another begins,  
And sings as well as he.

All sounds which earthly passion breathes,  
With fingers long and limber,  
The Signor can elicit from  
This most harmonious timber;  
What does Mr. Mathews say?  
Is it not surprising  
To hear a little bit of wood  
Mono-poly-logue-izing?

Sometimes it is a beggar woman,  
With an infant at her breast,  
With 'plaining moan, and pleading tone,  
Most piteously exprest;  
Sometimes a little fretful child,  
That roars with desperation,  
While Paganini belabours him  
With a right good flagellation.

Sometimes, bow and viol struck,  
Like flint and steel together,  
Give sparkles of sweet sound that fall  
Like stars in frosty weather;  
Now lightly glancing, one by one,  
They momentarily shine and die,  
And now in a show'ring profusion of sparks,  
Rocket-like, fall from high.

Sometimes the note breaks forth so large,  
You'd rather not be near it;  
Sometimes so very small and thin,  
You wonder you can hear it:  
Suddenly comes a hubbub wild  
Of inarticulate words;  
Is this the House of Commons,  
Or is it the House of Lords?

Last, 'tis some fair cantatrice,  
Whom he holds in his arms,  
Gazing most enrapturedly,  
And wildly on her charms;  
"Be mine, sweet maid," the fiddler cries,  
"My life, my love, my hinney!"  
"Not I, you brute!" the nymph replies,  
"Sweet, do!" says Paganini.

P. W.

Paganini is, without question, the great musical genius of the age. If report be true, however, he does not entertain that contempt for filthy lucre which generally accompanies gifted minds. Various ludicrous stories are circulating in the coulisses as to his economics. His concert on Thursday brought together a concourse not often witnessed within the walls of the Opera House. It would have required an hydraulic press to squeeze another into the pit. Old Elwes himself would have been satisfied with the proceeds; the Italian, however, grumbled. On some one congratulating him upon the fulness of the house, he complained, with a shrug, "that it would cost him three clean shirts." On his arrival in England, either the *maux de mer*, or the air of London, had somewhat indisposed the musician. He was ordered to take certain draughts during the night; and it was suggested to him that he should burn a rushlight. On inquiring, however, the price of that luminary of the night, he swore by the body of Bacchus (*corpo di Bacco*) that he would wait till the daylight broke. We know not if these *ana* be true; but the invention of them would testify that they are not improbable.

## POLICE.

BOW-STREET.

On Monday, Henry Hetherington appeared to answer a number of informations for printing and publishing certain unstamped newspapers. Mr. Alley, for the prosecution, stated that *The Republican* was printed on unstamped paper, and published for one penny only. He was friendly to low prices; but it was well known that the respectable newspapers, to which they were indebted for so much information, amusement, and instruction—such as the *Times*, *Morning Chronicle*, *Herald*, and others—paid upon each sheet a stamp-duty of 4d., four times the amount at which the amount at which the defendant's paper was sold, the low price of which interfered with the just rights of honest and respectable tradesmen. It was not to be endured, that whilst other newspapers were subjected to so heavy a tax, the defendant should be allowed to distribute news for one penny. The learned counsel then read the clause in the act of parliament, applying to the present offence. The full penalty is 20*l.*, with a power given to the magistrates to mitigate it to 5*l.*; and the defendant may appeal against the decision, and have the question re-argued at the sessions. He also read extracts from the paper, to show that it contained articles of

news; and particularly an account of the proceedings at the Rotunda. There was also an attack upon kings in general; and upon his present Majesty in particular, headed "William Guelph's Birthday." In another passage the readers were told, "that they were no more bound to obey the laws of the country than the people of Japan." [Mr. Hetherington here exclaimed, "That is true."] Mr. Alley concluded by observing, that the present proceeding was instituted in a spirit of mercy and forbearance: for had the Attorney-General thought proper, he might have brought the defendant into the Court of Exchequer, and sought for heavy penalties. A person from the Stamp-office deposed to having purchased three of the papers. The paper he now produced was dated Saturday, June 4; and was stated at the latter end to be "Printed and published every Saturday, by H. Hetherington, Printer to the People's most Excellent Majesty" (a laugh).—Mr. Arnold, for the defendant, said, that there was no proof of the periodical publication of the paper. It might be that this identical paper now produced was printed and published every Saturday. The object of his client was to evade a law which he considered to be unjust, and if the magistrates decided against him, they would extend a justly odious act of parliament much farther than was intended by its author.—The magistrates fined the defendant in the mitigated penalty of 5*l.*, Mr. Alley stating that he had no wish but to have the practice stopped in the mildest possible way (a laugh, and cries—"You won't, though!" among the crowd in the office).

A second information was then proceeded on against the defendant, for publishing the *The Poor Man's Guardian*, a penny paper. The publication was proved; and after an ingenious address from Mr. Arnold, Mr. Hetherington said that he would not pay the penalties, and the prosecutors might take what course they pleased: for he was determined to resist the efforts of a corrupt government to suppress the voice of the people. "If they persist," continued the defendant, "I will throw myself into the gap, and call upon the people to back me." The magistrates inflicted the penalty of 5*l.*, as in the former case.—The defendant said the law was unjust and wicked, and ought to be set at defiance. "I will appeal," said he, "if it can be done without money, for I have none—I have been plundered by the existing system until I have not a shilling left." He was informed that he must pay the fine *instantly*, or put in two sureties to prosecute his appeal at the sessions. Two persons came voluntarily forward, and tendered themselves as bail, saying they wished the question to be tried before a higher tribunal. They were accepted, and the defendant was liberated.

## ACCIDENTS, OFFENCES &amp;c.

Some ten or twelve days since, a man of the name of Smith, residing in Tomintoul, committed suicide by hanging himself. His friends were desirous of having his remains interred in the parish church-yard; but when they made the attempt, the inhabitants of the place turned out, and (many of them with sword in hand,) determined to resist any thing of the kind. The body was then deposited in a field belonging to the clergyman; but was soon after dug up in open day by two medical gentlemen, from a town at some distance, with the intention of making it subservient to anatomical purposes.—*Elgin Courier*.

A boy residing in the village of Alva, on Saturday last left that village, in the early part of the day, for the purpose of robbing the nests in a rookery situated in the romantic and beautiful glen of Alva. He had frequently been in the habit of repairing to the rookery lately, and had been accustomed to climb a very steep and dangerous part of the glen which overhangs the linn, in search of the nests; and it appears that while he had been standing on a stone, imbedded among the loose clay near the very summit of the precipice, the earth had given way below his weight, and he had been precipitated into the glen below, a height of above 450 feet. His friends, who became alarmed at his protracted absence, searched for him on Saturday night, but without success; and it was not till Sunday morning that his body was discovered lying in a shockingly mutilated state.—*Stirling Journal*.

An inquest was held on June 17th before Evan Thomas Esq. at the Castle Inn, Merthyr Tydvil, concerning the death of John Hughes and others, on Friday, the 3rd June instant. The witnesses gave the same account of the transaction as that recorded in our paper of June 12th. From which it appeared that a handful of soldiers, surrounded by a numerous and threatening mob in imminent peril of their lives, and after several of their comrades had been disarmed, fired upon the people, at the command of their officers, and under sanction of the magistrates. However much the consequences may be lamented, no blame can possibly attach to the soldiers, who appear to have conducted themselves with much forbearance, moderation, and discipline. For the state of things which rendered such a conflict necessary, they were not responsible; and much more serious evils might have resulted from the further impunity of the rioters. John Hughes was an old soldier, who had been in six engagements. He was running away with a soldier's musket, intending, as he said, to throw it away, but before he could do so, he was shot. The ball entered the centre of his back, and came out below the navel. He said to the surgeon who attended him that he had never been wounded before, and that he ought to have died a better death. Eight bodies were removed, by direction of Mr. Thomas, a surgeon, to the coach-house behind the inn; these were all taken away, by parties of people claiming them, by six o'clock that evening. The jury (all of whom were housekeepers of Merthyr Tydvil) brought in a verdict "that John Hughes came to his death by a musket-shot wound, fired by a soldier of his Majesty's 93d Regiment, whose name is to the Jury unknown, and that it was a justifiable homicide."

On Thursday an inquest was held at the Barley-mow, Mount-street, on the bodies of Edward Dodger, aged 17, and a young man unknown, who were drowned in the Serpentine river, on Tuesday night last. On Tuesday night last, about a quarter past 9 o'clock, no fewer than 1,000 persons assembled on the banks of the Serpentine river, in Hyde-park for the purpose of bathing. The deceased, Dodger, got out of his depth, and was observed to sink, when an alarm was instantly made. The deceased, unknown, who was bathing adjacent to the spot, with benevolent bravery, plunged after him, but was not seen to rise again. In about twenty minutes both the bodies were got out of the water. Dr. Elsgood, of Park-lane, attended, and used every means to restore animation, but without effect. The deceased, Dodger, was recognized to be the adopted child of Mr. Willington, of 20, Charlton-street, Somers-town, who had left home in the afternoon to witness the Royal procession to the Parliament-house. On searching the pockets of the other deceased, a valuable coral necklace, with golden clasp, was found deposited in a tin box, 4*s.* 2*d.* in money, a white ring, and 26 pawnbrokers' duplicates, 20 coloured handkerchiefs, and a Russian book. All the articles appear to have been pledged in the names of Russell and Chapman, and consist of silk handkerchiefs, watches, rings, shawls, pins, and brooches, and at no less than eight pawnbrokers. He was exceedingly well dressed, and a fine-looking young man. The general impression was that he belonged to the "Swell mob," and, judging from the property found on his person, it was probable he had been pursuing his avocations at the procession to the House of Lords. The Jury returned a verdict of "Accidentally drowned while bathing."

COMMERCIAL EXAMINER.

CITY, SATURDAY, ONE O'CLOCK.

There has been but little fluctuation in the funds since our last; but towards the end of the week, their tendency has been downwards. The expectation of war between France and Russia seems considerably on the increase.

It has been confidently asserted, that Leopold has refused to accept the Belgic throne. Tallow and other Russian produce has risen, in consequence of the prevalence of the cholera morbus in Russia.

The corn averages are rising, notwithstanding the fineness of the weather at this the most critical season of the year for the growing wheat crops.

THE FUNDS, TO SATURDAY, FOUR O'CLOCK.

Table with 7 columns (Mond. to Satur.) and 2 main sections: BRITISH and FOREIGN. Items include 3 per Ct. Consols, 3 per Cent. Red, 3 1/2 per Cts., 1818, New 3 1/2 per Cts., 4 per Cents. 1826, Long Annuities, New Anns. 30 yrs, French 5 per Cts., Ditto 3 per Cents., Russ. 5 p. Ct. Bds., Aust. 5 p. Ct. do., Prussian, Dutch, Danish.

MARKETS.

CORN EXCHANGE, MONDAY.—The supply of both English and Foreign grain is moderate this week; but there is a large arrival of American flour (4,800 barrels), which is not yet landed.

Wheat, Kent and Essex 70s 74s; Suffolk 68s 72s; Ditto, red 70s 74s; Norfolk 60s 66s; Rye 30s 34s; Barley, Kent 34s 36s; Ditto, fine 44s 46s; Peas, white 40s 42s; Ditto, boilers 45s 48s; Ditto, gray 35s 40s; Beans, small 40s 42s.

Importations during the Week.

Table with 8 columns: English, Irish, Foreign, Wheat, Barley, Malt, Oats, Beans, Peas, Flour.

CORN EXCHANGE, FRIDAY.—There is no alteration in any article of grain from Monday's market, and the business is of little moment.

PRICE OF CORN.—From the Gazette.—General Weekly Average received in the week ended June 17:—Wheat, 67s 9d; Barley, 36s 7d; Oats, 27s 3d; Rye, 37s 2d; Beans, 40s 6d; Peas, 41s 0d.

SMITHFIELD, MONDAY.—Beef, for the finest young Scots, is quoted this morning at 4s 2d to 4s 4d per stone; and for mutton the quotation is 4s 2d to 4s 6d per stone.

SMITHFIELD, FRIDAY.—Beef, the best meat is 4s to 4s 4d per stone; and mutton sells at 3s 10d to 4s 4d per stone.

The average price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar, computed from the returns made in the week ending June 21, is 24s 2d per cwt.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTES. Tuesday, June 21.

INSOLVENT. T. Statham, Clunton, Shropshire, cattle-dealer. BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED. J. J. Seagood, Bread-street, Cheapside, table-linen-manufacturer. 7 BANKRUPTS. W. Yewens, Claremont-place, Pentonville, mine-agent. J. Owen, Chiswell-st. victualler. J. Filton, Somers town, leather-cutter. W. Tinsley and W. Jones, Newtown, Montgom. bankers. E. J. Marr, Kingston-upon-Hull, dealer. J. M. Moore, Ashbourne, Derbysh. innkeeper. J. Osborn, Gainsborough, ironmonger.

Friday, June 24. 14 BANKRUPTS. W. Richardson, Clementhorpe, York, tanner. W. Williams, St. Woollos, coal-merchant. C. Bernard, Calcutta, merchant. D. Lodge, Poole, ironmonger. J. H. Harral, Leeds, fruiterer. W. Bassett, Dean-street, Soho, builder. S. Hodson, Glossop, Derbysh. cotton-spinner. I. Marsh, Tutbury, Staffordsh. grocer. W. Giles, Lad-lane, ribbon-warehouseman. R. Johnson, Liverpool, painter. T. J. and T. Dobson, City-road, carpet-manufacturers. G. Lloyd, Stingo-lane, Mary-le-bone, brewer. W. P. Litt, J. J. and W. Harrison, Lime-st. merchants. J. H. and G. Bugg, Spalding, Lincoln, bankers.

BIRTHS. On the 20th inst., in Baker-street, the lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Talbot, of a son. In St. James's-place, the wife of Archdeacon King, of a daughter. MARRIED. On the 21st inst. at St. Luke's church, Chelsea, the Rev. Carr John Glynn, rector of Witchampton, Dorset, son of Sir Richard Carr Glynn, bart., of Gaunts, Dorset, to Augusta, daughter of John Granville, esq., of Cadogan-place. On the 23d inst., at Christ Church, Surrey, Mr. H. G. Bohn, of York-street,

Covent-garden, to Elizabeth Lamb, only child of W. Simpkin, late of Stationers' hall-court, Ludgate-street. At Battersea, T. A. Hankey, esq., of Fenchurch-street, to Elizabeth, daughter of George Green, esq., of Blackwall. On the 7th inst., at Shirland, Derbyshire, Mr. Samuel Cheetham, to Mrs. Wharton, both of them innkeepers at Higham, in the same parish. The bridegroom is in his THIRTY-SIXTH year; and the bride, who is rich in this world's goods, and who had previously been married not fewer than three times, has reached her EIGHTY-SECOND year. On Monday last, at St. Peter's church, Sudbury, a young couple, of the names of Joseph Beer and Hannah Metcalfe, attended for the purpose of being united, accompanied by Robert Beer, a brother of the bridegroom, as father.

DEATHS. Dr. Meiklejohn, the Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh, and Pastor of Abercorn. At Twickenham, aged 76, Mrs. Eardley Wilmot, widow of the late John Eardley Wilmot, Tottenham. On the 18th inst., at his seat, Yotes Court, near Maidstone, the Right Hon. George Viscount Torrington, a vice admiral of the White Squadron of his Majesty's navy, in the 64th year of his age, after a lingering and painful illness.

THE PANSHANGAR OAK, HERTS. MR. MEDLAND respectfully informs the Nobility and Gentry of the County of Hertford, as well as the Public in general, that his Plate of the above magnificent Tree is published, and may be had at Mr. Medland's, Fore-street; and at Messrs. Austin's, Booksellers, Hertford; also at Mr. Colnaghi's, Pall Mall East.

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**THE METROPOLITAN MAGAZINE**, No. 3, for JULY, edited by THOMAS CAMPBELL, Esq., author of The Pleasures of Hope," will be published on Thursday next.  
 CONTENTS:—  
 1. A New Poem on Poland, by Mr. Campbell.  
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