

THE EXAMINER.

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THE POLITICAL EXAMINER.

I might give a short hint to an impartial writer it would be to tell him his fate. If he resolved to venture upon the dangerous precipice of telling unbiased truth he had better proclaim war with mankind—neither to give nor to take quarter. If he tells the crimes of great men they fall upon him with the iron hands of the law; if he tells them of virtues, when they have any, then the mob attacks him with slander. But if he regards truth, let him expect martyrdom on both sides and then he may go on fearless; and this is the course I take myself.—D^r Fox.

THE SIEGE.

"The point is turned." The Conferences at Vienna have closed, and the bombardment of Sebastopol re-opens. The details of the desperate resistance made to the French advance at the close of last month mark the importance of the position then secured by our Allies, and, coupled with the simultaneous march to the Tchernaya, give a new and larger character to the operations of the siege. These begin to assume the proportions of a complete investment. From the sea to the heights overlooking the north road has hitherto been our limit, which we held through the dark and stormy nights of winter with something short of 70,000 men; and now, with upwards of 200,000 men disposable, and with a genial season for the work, it will be hard if we cannot speedily close the road by which the fortress has been daily supplied, and by which the Russian soldiers and cannon were led to the attack of Inkermann.

This completion of the investment of the beleagured town has throughout, we believe, been held by Lord Raglan to be the right and practicable course. But from what has lately transpired at Paris it would seem that General Canrobert had invincible objections to any march round the head of the gulph, and thus the appointment of General Pelissier, which it was feared might prove unfavourable to the English alliance, has had the effect of strengthening the command of the allied armies by restoring a more perfect co-operation. The proposed march implies the carrying and occupation of the heights where the tower of Inkermann stands, as the link between the army before Sebastopol and that which is to commence operations north of the gulph. This will doubtless be an operation of difficulty, but it is essential to any efficient attack on the northern fortresses. The heights are reached by a road running up a ravine, and the side of that ravine next the heights, as well as its summit, has been covered with earthworks and batteries. In any attack we shall have to encounter the Russians above, and be exposed on our flank to the enemy in possession of the hilly region which rises towards Batchki Serai; but that such a movement is in contemplation, and that the Russians themselves now expect it, would seem to be clear. Six weeks ago they threatened both Balaklava and our lines, and it was thought they would attack; but now it is we who are in sufficient force to become assailants, and they have retired altogether from the valley of the Tchernaya, have abandoned Kamara as well as the spur they occupied in the bottom of the valley, and have allowed us unmolested to cross and occupy Tchorgoun. We have ceased to be on the defensive. We menace Inkermann, and they await us.

Of the success of the enterprise we will not suffer ourselves to entertain a doubt. Once established on the heights, another ravine, also fortified and covered with works, will still separate the besiegers from the ground which approaches and surrounds the northern forts; but these latter works can then be approached by a force from Eupatoria, and there is little likelihood, with our troops in possession of Inkermann in their rear, that the Russians will attempt another Alma.

Upon these operations for the investment and reduction of Sebastopol, the brilliant naval exploits performed at Kertch and in the Sea of Azoff must tell powerfully, though for the present indirectly. It is become clear, from the enormous amount of provisions and stores found and destroyed, that by way of the Sea of Azoff, and not Perekop, the Russian armies in the Crimea have been for the most part supplied; and in this quarter, by destruction of their forts, magazines, and shipping, we have already crippled them effectually. It only remains that the lighter vessels of the fleet should achieve in the direction of Perekop exploits gallant and complete as those which have made us masters of the Sea of Azoff,—and the Crimea is won. Unsupported and unrelieved by large armies and fresh supplies, Sebastopol must fall.

And when the granite batteries of Sebastopol have been demolished, and the warlike stores accumulated within her walls have been destroyed, one step at least will have been made towards a permanent peace. Russia will, no doubt, as soon as the war is concluded, commence her preparations for a fresh aggression; but let Sebastopol be dismantled, and years must elapse before she can regain the position from which she will have been driven. She may possibly repair the losses that her navy has sustained, as Mr Bright suggests, by means of vessels purchased in America, but in order to restore Sebastopol she must revert to a slower process, and one which will immediately attract attention and awaken jealousy.

The expedient of limiting by treaty the navy of Russia in the Euxine was doubtless adopted because Austria

would not concur in any really efficacious measure for putting an end to the preponderance of Russia. And the politicians who place faith in Austria's assurances were sanguine enough to believe that if Russia rejected the third condition *sine qua non*, put in the form of a stipulation which Austria admitted to be reasonable, she would at once act up to the spirit of the engagement into which she entered on the 2nd December. The hopes so frequently and confidently expressed by Lord Clarendon and Lord John Russell, however, as Lord John himself now admits, have been disappointed, and there can be no longer a shadow of reason for adhering to a scheme which has met with unqualified disapproval from almost all sections in the House of Commons. And as Austria has thus again broken her solemn promise, though purchased by humiliating and compromising concessions on the part of the Western Powers, we should be indeed the silliest of mortals if we again allowed ourselves to be diverted from the vigorous prosecution of the war, for the sake of obtaining a promise or treaty of alliance only likely to be kept in case the disasters sustained by Russia shall continue to render it entirely useless.

HOW TO BELL THE CAT?

A woodcutter and snake agreed to live together, and did so for some time with only the usual wrangles in such cases of cohabitation. It fell out, however, unluckily one day, that in chopping some wood the man's hatchet slipped and sliced off the snake's tail. The woodcutter made a thousand apologies, and protested that nothing was further from his intention than to take any liberty with his fellow-lodger's tail, but the snake, taking up his hat, moved off to the door, saying, "What you say may be all very true, and I do not question your sincerity, but I have made up my mind not to live with a man who keeps such a dangerous tool as a hatchet in the house."

Sebastopol is the hatchet of the present question, and at Sinope the snake's tail was chopped off. Can there be any security, then, for the fellow-lodger in the Euxine while the Russian keeps the hatchet in his house?

We confess that we have no reliance on the expedient of limitation. The stipulation for a smaller hatchet is certainly one which a snake of any of the wisdom of his kind would regard as a very poor security for the safety and integrity of his person. It is only better than the counter-proposal of hatchets for both sides, between which there would be sure to be mischief.

Sir Wm. Molesworth, in a speech of equal spirit and ability, has urged with great force and distinctness the objections to the Russian proposals, but he hardly shows cause for his reliance on the limitation of the strength of the Russian fleet.

The Russian terms would, if we did our duty, impose upon the allies a permanent war establishment and a permanent war expenditure in the East; or, if we did not do our duty, they would put Turkey completely at the mercy of Russia. According to our terms, Russia would be bound not to maintain in the Black Sea more than a certain specified and moderate number of ships of war—a number not exceeding our ordinary force in the Mediterranean. If she were to attempt to exceed that specified number, we should be entitled to ask for explanations, to remonstrate with her, to remind her of her treaty obligations, and, if all this were vain, we should be entitled to denounce her to Europe as a treaty-breaker, and alone, or with the aid of our allies, to compel her by force to keep faith with Europe. For this purpose it would not be necessary for us to maintain in the Mediterranean a fleet larger than the limited fleet of Russia, and consequently our ordinary naval establishment in the Mediterranean and our ordinary peace expenditure would be sufficient to guard Turkey. Very different would be the case if either of the Russian proposals was adopted. We should then have to run a never-ending race with Russia in naval armaments and naval expenditure in the East. The first Russian proposition was the opening of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles; this was unhesitatingly condemned by the representatives of Turkey, of France, of England, and even of Austria. Aali Pasha declared that his instructions prescribed to him the maintenance of the principle of closing the Straits; that the Sublime Porte had at all times considered this principle as a guarantee of its independence; that the opening of the Black Sea would, in her eyes, constitute not only a danger to the Ottoman empire, but would also multiply the occasions for a misunderstanding between the European Powers; for, according to this proposal, Russia would be entitled not only to re-establish her fleet, but to increase it to eighteen or twenty or more sail of the line, and to send this menacing force into the Mediterranean. To counterbalance it we should have to maintain a force of equal magnitude in the East. It would be difficult to imagine two such mighty fleets fully manned, armed to the teeth, sailing up and down those narrow seas, watching and suspecting each other, without coming to blows; in fact, in such a state of things a battle and a great victory, giving a superiority to one or other fleet, would be a relief from intolerable anxiety on the part of both nations and of all Europe. The second proposition of Russia was merely the *status quo ante bellum* respecting the Black Sea, with the exception that the Sultan "should reserve to himself the power to open by way of temporary exception the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus to the fleets of foreign Powers which the Sublime Porte should think it necessary to summon whenever she should think her security menaced." That is, the Porte was to have the power to summon into the Euxine the fleets of England and France whenever she should consider herself menaced by Russia, and on the other hand, the Porte would also have power to summon into the Mediterranean the Russian fleet whenever she imagined herself to be menaced by France or England. Now, it is evident that, in order that this power of summoning fleets should be of any use to the Porte, fleets must be at hand to be summoned; and, therefore, if France and England had agreed to this proposition, they would have been at least morally bound to keep fleets in the Mediterranean ready at once to obey the

summons of the Porte, and in sufficient force to cope at any time with the Russian fleet in the Euxine. Peace on these terms would, therefore, impose upon us the duties of perpetual police in the East, it would be a peace founded upon provisions for a renewal of war, it would bind us to be always ready for war, it would require us to be prepared to send into the Black Sea armaments as powerful as we now maintain there, on every occasion when the Porte was in danger, and therefore considered her security menaced. But the Porte would always be in danger from a re-established Russian fleet in Sebastopol, which would become again, what we have so often proclaimed it to be, namely, a standing menace to Turkey. Therefore, peace on these terms would not only be an abandonment of the chief object for which Great Britain engaged in war, but would permanently impose upon us (if we fulfilled our obligation) all the chief burdens of war. Peace on these terms would be worse than the present state of things; for though at present we have to bear the burden of war, yet we have in fact accomplished our object—we have put down the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea, and her fleet which menaced Turkey no longer exists, the greater portion being under the waves of the Euxine. Shall we permit her to raise it, or rebuild it? Now that we have got it down, would it not be better to keep it down, than to incur at no distant period the risk, the trouble, and the expense of sinking it again, and of sending for that purpose another hazardous expedition to the Crimea? It seems, therefore, that, instead of there being no difference between the Russian terms and our terms, there is a most substantial difference—namely, the difference between the cost of a peace and the cost of a war establishment.

We share in Sir James Graham's doubts whether the excess of a ship of the line or two beyond the proposed limitation, and steam craft in proportion, would ever be regarded as a *casus belli*, or, if it were, for what precise object should we again go to war? Would it be for another limitation after limitation had failed, or would it be for the sheer destruction of Sebastopol, so that not one stone should stand on another? If that would be the end, surely that also should be the beginning. We may be told that this would be no permanent security, as the fortress might be reconstructed, but Sebastopol was no more built in a day than Rome, and at least an important period of time would be gained by the rasure of the place.

But a new cant has been broached, that we must beware of humbling our enemy, as there is no knowing to what extremity he may not be driven by the sting of humiliation. It was Voltaire, if we remember rightly, who said, you must flay a Muscovite to make him feel, but a different opinion now prevails in certain quarters, and a most sensitive honour is ascribed to Russia, which we are to be as careful not to touch as we are not to tread on a dog's tail, lest he should fly at us. When we hear lectures to this effect we think we listen to schoolboys fresh from the Samnite speech in Livy on the treatment of the Roman army in the Caudine Forks.

In our former wars there was none of this fear of humiliating the enemy. The great object was to give him the best possible drubbing, and to leave him to stomach it as he might. If we caught him at a dirty trick we beat him like a dog, and rubbed his nose in it to boot. Every great defeat is necessarily a humiliation, especially if, as has often been the glory of England, the disparity of forces has been considerable. And in this new solicitude to spare the honour of our enemy, we are exceedingly likely most grievously to compromise our own. In his brilliant speech Sir Bulwer Lytton excellently remarked:

"Oh," said a noble friend of mine the other night, "it is a wretched policy to humble the foe that you cannot crush; and are you mad enough to suppose that Russia can be crushed?" Let my noble friend in the illustrious career which I venture to prophesy lies before him beware how he ever endeavours to contract the grand science of statesmen into scholastic aphorisms. (Hear.) No, we cannot crush Russia as Russia, but we can crush her attempts to be more than Russia. We can, and we must, crush any means that enable her to storm or to steal across that tangible barrier which now divides Europe from a Power that supports the maxims of Machiavel with the armaments of Brennus. You might as well have said to William of Orange, "You cannot crush Louis XIV; how impolitic you are to humble him!" You might as well have said to the burghers of Switzerland, "You cannot crush Austria; don't vainly insult her by limiting her privilege to crush yourselves!" William of Orange did not crush France as a kingdom; Switzerland did not crush Austria as an empire; but William did crush the power of France to injure Holland; Switzerland did crush the power of Austria to enslave her people; and in that broad sense of the word, by the blessing of Heaven, we will crush the power of Russia to invade her neighbours and convulse the world. (Loud cheers.)

This is a true representation of the views of the real peace party, composed of the great bulk of the nation, who are for the vigorous prosecution of the war, in order to obtain a peace of permanent security against Russian ambition. The men who arrogate to themselves the name of the peace party have no title to that description. Those who were against the war from the first, and who were and are for crouching to Russia, are Submissionists, the word submission comprehending all their argument and their policy. Their reasoning is summed up in Swift's ironical line, which would transfer to resistance the guilt of outrage,

"Why are they so wilful to struggle with men!"

Next come the Little Endians, headed by Mr Gladstone, who thought the war originally necessary and just, but who consider its ends as attained in the small concessions of Russia. Mr Gladstone denounces perseverance in a war after the objects are accomplished as a great crime; but we hold that beginning a war for small aims utterly disproportioned to the cost of war in blood and treasure is not less

a crime, and we assert, that if Mr Gladstone and his friends commenced the war for the results only with which they would now end it, there never was a war more wanton and wicked. Were they content that thousands should perish by the sword, the bullet, and disease, only forsooth to open the Danube and the Straits? Have they poured out all this blood to cancel a treaty? We contend that these men make out against themselves a frightful case of responsibility, for precisely as they lower the terms of peace they cut away from under them the justification of the war. No little differences can justify a great war; and that the differences in their view were little, Mr Gladstone, Mr S. Herbert, and, we grieve to add, Sir James Graham, confess, when they state the miserable terms that would now content them.

These are men of great ability in debate and in business, but they are forcing upon the public a conviction that there is in them a levity of mind, which is the last thing to be pardoned in statesmen. They have turned and turned again. Their conversion from monopoly to free trade was hailed with satisfaction as an honest and useful abandonment of error, but one such change as this is enough for the life of any man, and another change of still greater moment wears the appearance of inconstancy, if not of something worse. They may be conscientious, but if so, they have an unfortunate propensity to error, and one part of their conduct is set against another part in the worst antagonism. They are hot to-day, cold to-morrow, for white now, and anon for black. As the toper in the song finds in everything a reason fair for filling his glass again, so these gentlemen discover in certain crotchets what brings them respectively to this conclusion,

And this I think a reason fair
To change my mind again.

And this is always to be remarked, that the last mind is vehemently intolerant of the former mind, and passing bitter against all who remain of that mind.

We must now pass to the exponent of a more consistent, but hardly more reasonable section, the Submissionists.

Germany, lowered as it is in the estimation of the world, stands now next to Russia in the affections of Mr Cobden. In Prussia and in Austria there is, in his view, no difference of opinion between the governments and the people as to the war. From highest to lowest there is, he says, a feeling favourable to Russia, and rather hostile to France. Yet having thus absolutely ruled the facts according to his wont, in despite of all opposing evidences, Mr Cobden proceeds to argue that if we had confined ourselves to nautical operations, we should have compelled Germany to take the foremost part in restraining Russian aggression, but he does not condescend to explain the motive that would have conquered the German leanings towards Russia, and placed Austria and Prussia in antagonism to the nation to which they are so well affected, and in alliance with the Power the smart of whose arms they have not forgotten.

To be sure, he says that it is more the interest of Austria and Southern Germany than that of France and England to keep Russia out of Constantinople; but for their not having wagged a finger in the cause of this very interest he gives them special praise, asserting that they have taken a more enlightened and calmer view of the question than the Western Powers have done. So that German enlightenment teaches people to neglect their interests, or to leave the care of them to any other nation that may be ill advised enough to fight their battle. And these are the people whose example, according to Mr Cobden, we should have followed. But we are not in a condition to do so, for we have not learnt to neglect our national interests either immediate or remote, and we do not cherish feelings favourable to Russia and hostile to France. We have not, like the quack in Molière's farce, changed the place of our vitals—our vital interests; and our sympathies are not with those whose schemes are full of danger for us, nor are our feelings of ill will directed, on the other hand, against those whose cause is common with our own.

And Mr Cobden, who takes this really degrading view of German intelligence and spirit, blames Lord John Russell sharply for having described the German Courts as corrupted by Russia, and warns him of alluding so openly and uncomplimentarily to governments the people under which are so educated that you may buy bread in the Latin language if you do not know German. Yet Mr Cobden, who thus lectures Lord John on speaking so as to be heard by folks so learned as to know the Latin for bread, asserts for himself the right to speak without reserve, and as if debates were not reported, and uses this right pretty freely, and offensively, as regards France, and the ruling dynasty.

But when Mr Cobden has an argument in hand all principles and facts must bend to its exigencies. He will soon find all virtues in despotism. He already sneers at the generous sentiments of a free people, and talks like an old Tory lord of "pothouse politicians." Why are these Germans so much wiser than we are in their policy? not merely because their bakers know the Latin for bread, but because they have the advantage of an institution of despotism.

I say that if the English people had the conscription, as they have in Prussia, so that when war was declared every man in the country would be liable to be called out, and every horse and cart might be taken for the purposes of the war, we should be more chary how we called out for war. Our pot-house politicians would not then be calling out for war with Russia, but we should have a Government who would take a more moderate tone than they do, for they would have required those sacrifices that bring home the miseries of war to the people.

What is there, then, in Mr Cobden's view like a military despotism for the blessed ends of peace? If we had the benefit of a conscription we might be as averse to war as the

good Germans, even though our bakers do not understand Latin.

Statement is a plastic art with Mr Cobden. He does not scruple to represent Sir Wm. Molesworth as having told the House it was to have a six years' war, Sir William's words having been, not that the war would be of that duration, but that the country had the means of carrying on war with ease for half-a-dozen years; and he added that before the termination of that period it would be brought to an honourable close by a bold and vigorous policy. He charges Lord Clarendon with disingenuousness for arguing that the vast collection of materials of war in Sebastopol could only be for purposes of aggression, alleging against this inference that the strength of the fortress has been created since our army appeared before it, and that the ammunition and provisions have been arriving in convoys of from 500 to 2,000 carts at a time. The strength of the fortifications has indeed been increased since the commencement of the siege, but how? from the immense stores accumulated in the arsenal. The guns which have been forthcoming in such abundance did not travel by cart into Sebastopol, but were there, all ready for occasion. The earthworks have indeed been raised since the commencement of the siege; but the cannon to arm them had neither to be cast, nor transported, but were all at hand. They belonged to preparations of a long date.

Our recent successes in the Sea of Azoff make it necessary to Mr Cobden's argument to change the source of Russian supplies in the Crimea. If Simpheropol and Perekop had been taken, Mr Cobden would have asked, "What's the use? These were not channels of supply. It is from Kertch that the enemy derives his means of subsistence." But as the supplies from Kertch have been cut off, the opposite facts are ruled absolutely, and Simpheropol and Perekop are pronounced the great magazines of the Crimea. But whence come the supplies, whatever they may be, existing in those places, especially in the former? As for Perekop, its resources lie between the Putrid Sea and a tract of desert. And how happened it that those immense stores of corn were found and seized in the Sea of Azoff, out of any track but that to the Crimea? Persons well acquainted with the country have stated from the first that Kertch was the main channel of supply, and certainly it is much to be regretted that what has been done at last so successfully, and with consequences likely to be so important to the fortunes of the war, was not more promptly executed.

Mr Sidney Herbert has had the candour to correct Mr Cobden's statement respecting the Russian sources of supply, and he has quoted the French authority for the fact that the provisions seized by the combined fleets were destined for Sebastopol.

"SAFE AND HONOURABLE" PEACE.

Sir James Graham, following Mr Gladstone, implores us "to elevate our minds and thoughts," and to make peace with Russia on her own terms.

Mr Roebuck, commenting on the short time during which Sir James has entertained this view, remarked on Thursday night:

When the expedition to the Crimea was propounded by the Government (for it was propounded by the Government and not by the Generals), the Duke of Newcastle wrote a despatch to Lord Raglan in which he said there could be no peace for Europe until Sebastopol was taken and destroyed. That was the statement, and for that I hold the right hon. gentleman responsible.

To this Mr Sidney Herbert replied, or rather Gladstonized, after the following fashion:

Let me say, so far as those words are concerned, that is not a correct quotation. The Duke of Newcastle never said there shall be no peace. He said there will be no prospect of peace (hear, and laughter), no prospect of peace, until we can deal to Russia such a body-blow as shall induce her to submit to the terms we hope to get.

Mr Herbert would here be understood to say that the use of the term "prospect" of peace was meant to express, on the part of those who adopted the despatch, not any belief that the capture of the fortress and destruction of the fleet were an absolutely indispensable condition of peace, but merely that our adversary could never be expected to hold out a prospect that could lead to peace until that kind of chastisement had been inflicted on him. Could they have anticipated the submission already tendered, Mr Herbert and his friends would never have suggested anything so extreme as the design they made themselves parties to. In advising one of the combatants to knock so many teeth out of the other's head, they did it only that the other might submit in good time, and with a good grace.

But what are the exact words of the despatch? Are they as Mr Herbert describes them? We are sorry we must retort his charge against Mr Roebuck and say that his quotation is not correct. "Prospect of peace" is not the expression employed by the Duke of Newcastle; but "prospect of a safe and honourable peace;" and it may be left to any candid judgment to say whether language so carefully guarded does not convey its own meaning distinctly, not that such and such measures are those that will alone bring us the "prospect" of peace, but that such and such things are indispensable to render "peace" itself honourable and safe.

We will quote the exact words. They are to be found in pp. 116 and 117 of the Third Report of the Sebastopol Committee. They form part of a secret despatch addressed to Lord Raglan by the Duke of Newcastle, as the war organ of the Aberdeen Cabinet, on the 29th of June, 1854; in which the Commander-in-Chief is for the first time directed to undertake offensive operations.

I have, on the part of her Majesty's government, to instruct your

lordship to concert measures for the siege of Sebastopol, unless, with the information in your possession, but at present unknown in this country, you should be decidedly of opinion that it could not be undertaken with a reasonable prospect of success. The confidence which her Majesty placed under your command her gallant army in Turkey is unabated; and if, upon mature reflection, you should consider that the united strength of the two armies is insufficient for the undertaking, you are not to be precluded from the exercise of the discretion originally vested in you; though her Majesty's government will learn with regret that an attack from which such important consequences are anticipated must be any longer delayed. The difficulties of the siege of Sebastopol appear to her Majesty's government to be more likely to increase than diminish by delay, and as there is no prospect of a safe and honourable peace until the fortress is reduced and the fleet taken or destroyed, it is on all accounts most important that nothing but insuperable impediments, such as the want of ample preparation by either army, or the possession by Russia of a force in the Crimea greatly outnumbering that which can be brought against it, should be allowed to prevent the early decision to undertake these preparations.

Who will doubt the plain meaning conveyed by these words? "There is no prospect of a safe and honourable peace until the fortress is reduced and the fleet taken and destroyed." We will add another question. Was it not solely because of the language thus addressed to him that Lord Raglan overcame his own scruples and undertook the expedition? His answer to the Duke's despatch, dated the 19th July, is not yet made public, but we believe it will be found to establish the fact that Lord Raglan had to overcome much personal doubt and hesitation in ordering the British army to the Crimea, and that he only consented because Sir James Graham, Mr Sidney Herbert, Mr Gladstone, and the rest of the Ministry, thought there could be no safe and honourable peace until Sebastopol was reduced and the Russian fleet sunk or captured.

THE PRINCIPALITIES.

The Times is doing excellent service to English interests, both political and material, by directing public attention to the condition and prospects of the Danubian Principalities. Whilst, according to Mr Cobden, "there is no part of the United States of America which has made such rapid progress in wealth and internal production since the repeal of our Corn Laws as the southern provinces of Russia," we venture to assert that up to the period of the Russian invasion, which the member for the West Riding did so much to encourage, the progress of Southern Russia was far outstripped by that of the Danubian Principalities. Nor will this superiority on the part of Moldavia and Wallachia be wondered at if we remember that not only can they import our manufactures in return for their corn,—while the "youthful barbarism" whose interests Mr Cobden so zealously advocates is a strictly protectionist power,—but it is also to be observed that no one saving only Lord Derby and Mr Cobden, has ever believed that all the corn exported from Russian ports is grown in Southern Russia. It is not from Tamboff, whatever the gentleman who has the "greatest commercial relations with Russia" (and this description indicates that he is a Greek) may have told Mr Cobden to the contrary, that Russia derives her chief supplies of wheat for foreign export, but in a great measure from the plains of Podolia, a part of that Poland which the Manchester manufacturer would so unwillingly see released from the grasp of Russia. By means of the Dniester the mart of Odessa is mainly supplied with the wheat which Lord Derby formerly believed, and Mr Cobden now assures us, is the product of "Southern Russia."

But whether the progress of Southern Russia be such as Mr Cobden describes (of which we have at present no evidence whatever, except that of his anonymous Greek informant), the progress of the Principalities is established beyond a doubt. In the three years preceding the war our imports from Russian ports in the Black Sea have not doubled, whilst those from Moldavia and Wallachia are more than tripled. And the fact that those countries enjoy, under the suzerainty of the Sultan, perfect freedom of trade, renders the question of their annexation to any protectionist power one of some commercial importance to this country. Moreover, as the great alluvial plain stretching along the left bank of the Danube, and the undulating hills which lie between the Carpathians and the Pruth, are capable of furnishing England with an almost inexhaustible supply of corn, it is essential that the only outlet for this produce, namely, that through the Danube and the Dardanelles, should not fall under the command of a power sufficiently strong to venture on cutting off the supply as Russia has already done during the present war, and, according to the latest advices, is doing at this moment. We shall be unable to congratulate ourselves on not "having done amiss," unless we take rather more security for this transit than Lord Aberdeen obtained by the Treaty of Adrianople.

But even the great commercial advantages which would be secured by the independence of these provinces, and the destruction of Russian preponderance in the Black Sea, are inferior in value and importance to the political results to be obtained by protecting not only the industry and commerce of the Principalities, but their political institutions also, from the aggressions and intrigues of their neighbours. The first step was made in this direction about twenty years ago by Lord Palmerston, when, to the great annoyance of the Russian Government, he appointed English Consuls General to reside in the capitals of Bucharest and Jassy. By this measure it was that the systematic persecution and corruption, by which the "youthful barbarism," under the pretence of protecting, sought to check the progress of these Christian countries, were for the first time fully brought to light.

We entirely agree with the *Times* in considering that the reinstatement of Prince Stirbey, after he had refused to obey the summons of the Turkish Government, was a measure of the very questionable expediency. But we owe this reinstatement, as we owe the construction of the principal earthworks at Sebastopol, to that policy of conciliating Austria which we have constantly deprecated. The policy of Austria, and the interests of this country, are diametrically opposed to each other as regards the Principalities. It is notorious that the Cabinet of Washington does not look with a more long eye upon the Island of Cuba than the Court of Vienna upon the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. She therefore seeks to advance that party among the Boyars, which, because it is inimical to the reforms that the body of the nation universally demands, is obliged to lean upon foreign assistance; just as the little Princes of Germany trust to Russia for support. For a few months in 1848 the liberal party in Wallachia was in the ascendant, and although their demands were extremely moderate, being confined to the abolition of serfage, the extension of education, the formation of a national army, and some reforms in the constitution, they were made a pretext by Russia for occupying the country, in order that she might carry on from thence her operations against Hungary. It is to the national party in the Principalities that Lord Aberdeen's government should have given its support; but the *ignis fatuus* of an Austrian alliance led them astray. Prince Stirbey was reinstated, the old order of things re-established, and the reformers discomfited or expelled from the country.

It is perhaps premature to discuss the question whether the two Principalities should be united under a single Hospodar: but we think there can be no doubt that their political independence (saving always the suzerainty of the Porte) should be at once guaranteed by France and England. An immense impulse would be given by such a measure to the prosperity of these countries; for at present the rich landowner, who in a good season receives several thousand pounds for the produce of his estate, prefers dissipating his gains in gambling or luxury to investing them in improvements, of which some Russian general may perhaps reap all the benefit. *Uncertainty respecting their future destiny* is the incubus which weighs on these countries; remove it, and they will make a spring in prosperity that must distance even Tamboff, supposing that wonderful province to possess all the qualities which Mr Cobden and Lord Derby attribute to it.

MORE BISHOPS.

The "Third and" (happily) "the Final Report of the Cathedral Commission," just issued, winds up with a modest proposal for founding a round dozen of new bishoprics. It admits that the Ecclesiastical Commission has no surplus funds for that or any other purpose (this body, indeed, always at the verge of insolvency, has already more than half its property mortgaged to Queen Anne's bounty), and it lays down the comfortable episcopal principle "that in no case should a new see be erected, unless a sufficient income, with a suitable residence, be provided." Nevertheless and notwithstanding, it recommends the immediate erection of four new sees, and records its opinion that eight others ought also to be founded.

Now, to set aside and overlook for the moment all the other plain and palpable objections to so monstrous a proposition, let us just attempt to "realise" what the foundation of twelve new bishoprics would involve.

First of all, the twelve new bishoprics are to have not merely incomes, but "sufficient incomes," say 3,000*l.* a-year; that is, 36,000*l.* a-year in all. Next, they are to have not only residences, but "suitable residences;" and what episcopal palaces are apt to cost, the records of the Ecclesiastical Commission show, and the Bishops of Lincoln, Ripon, Gloucester, and Oxford can tell. Then, the twelve new sees must necessarily have cathedral churches; so that, what with suitable residences and new cathedrals, we shall at once get over head and ears into "bricks and mortar," out of which no man knoweth at what cost he will emerge, and bishops (as experience at Risholme, Cuddesdon, and Wells testifies) least of all men.

But when we have got the twelve new bishops, and they have got twelve sufficient incomes, and twelve suitable residences, and twelve cathedral churches, each of these cathedrals must of course be presided over by a dean—so that to twelve new bishops must be added twelve new deans. Now the "Third and Final Report" states that deans cannot be reasonably had in England for less than 1,500*l.* a-year, though already we have at least some for two-thirds of the money, at 1,000*l.* a-year. Here, then, is an additional 18,000*l.* a-year for twelve new deans, subordinate to the twelve new bishops.

But to every cathedral, besides a dean with his 1,500*l.* a-year, the report recommends four canons residentiary with 750*l.* a-year a piece—that is, 2,500*l.* a-year more than the present law allows to that description of sinecurist—or 3,000*l.* a-year for every cathedral; which, multiplied by twelve, yields us again 36,000*l.* a-year. To recapitulate, before going further:

12 new bishops	36,000 <i>l.</i> a year,
12 new deans	18,000 <i>l.</i> "
48 new canons	36,000 <i>l.</i> "

So that, at the very first step, and without any provision for "suitable residences," or new cathedrals, we find 90,000*l.* a-year requisite for stipends alone; and the grave and reverend seigneurs (eight out of the eleven being clerics), who make this modest proposition, confess that they do not know whence a stiver of the money required is to come. They

babble a little, indeed, about "local contributions," and they insinuate the propriety of again separating the episcopal from the common fund of the Ecclesiastical Commission—a step that would in all probability bring that body under the operation of the winding-up acts, or the jurisdiction of the Court of Bankruptcy.

But this, frightful as it is, is not all. For the theory of cathedrals requires minor canons, singing men and boys, organists, vergers, and other officers, as well as a bishop, a dean, and four canons residentiary; and if these be put down at another 10,000*l.* a year (a moderate estimate), we shall have the round hundred thousand a year made up.

Such, on data furnished by the Report itself, appears a fair calculation of the financial part of the proposition it contains—when that proposition is fully worked out.

Sending a bishop *in partibus* out to Labuan was a folly, but this demand for twelve new bishops at home is rather an impudence—especially when it is remembered that the last Census Return proved that of the population of England and Wales attending Divine Service on a Sunday, more than one-half of them dissented from the Church of England.

With this fact established surely the logical conclusion is, that instead of wanting a dozen more bishops we safely might dispense with a few.

THE LITERARY FUND.

At the last annual meeting of the Literary Fund a special committee was appointed to inquire into the expediency of applying for a new charter, by which the administrative body might be made more efficient, and the institution itself more honourable to literature as well as more serviceable to literary men. This charter committee has made its report, which is signed by Mr Dickens as its chairman, and is agreed in offering, among others, the subjoined recommendations:

That henceforth the administrative body of the Society should have the power of granting revocable annuities to distressed men of letters and scientific writers, to the extent of a certain limited proportion of the income derivable from the Society's real property or vested funds.

That henceforth the administrative body of the Society should have the power of granting relief by way of Loan.

By the former of these recommendations, your Committee would place the Society in the position of sometimes anticipating the claims of a meritorious writer, and of sometimes being able to afford him continuous assistance, without imposing upon him the degrading necessity of an annual renewal of a formally-certified application and statement of distress. By the latter of these recommendations, your Committee would address the Society's usefulness to the unquestionably deserving case of a Literary Man who may have insured his life; who, without being in absolute want, or reduced to a state of pauperism, may be unable, through any one or more of a variety of causes, to pay the particular premium for this or that year, on its becoming due; who would be essentially benefited by a Loan, without interest, for that purpose; and who might be heartily glad to be assisted by a Loan, when he could not reconcile it to his feelings to apply for a grant of money.

To these plain and natural suggestions for the more complete "protection and relief of persons of genius and learning in distress," the special committee adds a proposed definition of the constitution and duties of the council. It recommends that all questions of income and expenditure shall be discussed by the council, and that in voting the supplies it shall have full power to discuss every point connected with the distribution of the funds, and to offer any suggestions on this subject to the general committee. The general committee is forthwith to consider such suggestions, and if it should reject them twice, then appeal is to be made to a special general meeting, at which the sense of the entire Society will be taken. Grants of revocable annuities made by the general committee are in every case, it is suggested, to require ratification by the council. If the latter should twice refuse to ratify, and the general committee persist in its grants, then, as before, appeal will have to be made to a special general meeting. It is recommended, also, that members of the council should have a right to be present, without voting, at all meetings of the general committee; that the council should hold quarterly meetings, and should also meet by special summons on the part of any five members either of its own body or of the general committee; that the members of the council (half of them being, if possible, experienced members of the general committee) should be elected by a general meeting; that their whole number shall be twenty; and that one-fifth shall retire every four years.

To these suggestions the special committee has appended, as unanimously confirmed, the report of a sub-committee approving certain propositions drawn up by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, one of their number.

The recommendations so endorsed point to the use of the Society's rooms as a place of resort open daily to members between the hours of eleven and three; to the gradual formation of a library by donations from authors and booksellers, for the use of members; and to the establishment of occasional evening meetings. A part of the proposed new plan is that all persons following literature as a pursuit, and all distinguished foreign men of letters, should be eligible as associates, with access to the rooms on the same terms as if they were members of the Fund; and it is pointed out that the introduction of this principle in the form stated could be effected at a cost quite insignificant. At the same time it is urged that the members of the Society will do well to "bear in mind the intention of its originators, remembered in the existing charter: namely, that the Society should establish a hall or college, for the honour of literature and the service of literary men." The report of the sub-committee closes with the expression of a strong belief that the management of the Fund in this spirit would lead promptly to a very large extension of its means.

"We submit to you that the truest economy the Society can observe, is that judicious management of its ample means, which, by rendering it nationally creditable to Literature (as well as helpful to distressed

writers), shall attract the widest possible range of sympathy and confidence. In all these recommendations, therefore, we have had a careful and anxious reference to the growth of the Society, the extension of its usefulness, the increase of the number of its subscribing Members, the enlargement of its funds, and the strength of its claims upon the public respect and support. We make them with a profound conviction that they are calculated to advance all these ends."

If to this we add the comment with which it is accompanied in the report of the charter committee, it will save us the necessity of expressing in language of our own what we believe to be the spirit, and are very certain would be the effect, of the changes proposed.

Your Committee have little to add, in further explanation or support of the views thus set forth. They have adopted them as essential features of their present Report, because they consider it reasonable that the Literary Fund Society, possessed of real property to the amount of (in round numbers) thirty thousand pounds; possessed of landed estate yielding two hundred pounds per annum; and further supported by Royal patronage, and by annual donations and subscriptions from the Public; should endeavour to conform itself to the spirit and requirements of the time. They consider it reasonable that Literature in general (and consequently the Public, whose interests are inseparable from it), should derive some greater service and better representation from a Society so endowed, than the bestowal, year after year, of the interest or a part of the interest of its property, on supplicants for its bounty, and the accumulation to no other purpose of a large capital. They consider it reasonable that the Literary Fund Society, incorporated thirty-seven years ago, should remember in eighteen hundred and fifty-five the astonishing diffusion of Literature among the English people since eighteen hundred and eighty, and should, in the greatly altered circumstances, aspire to something beyond the mere eleemosynary association with Literature, and presentation of it to the community. And your Committee hold that this becomes a positive duty on the part of the Society, when a wider range of action than that to which it has restricted itself for thirty-seven years, was manifestly contemplated by its originators, and is apparent on the face of the existing Charter itself.

Your Committee beg leave to represent to you that they have not a doubt that the general sympathy and support would be freely given to your Society, established on the broader basis which they recommend; and that they consider it very questionable whether it could long hold a high place, even among the Charities of the country, by remaining stationary as to the amount of good it does, and as to the amount of revenue it annually expends in doing it.

A legal question of course arises out of these various propositions. It has to be determined whether they are consistent with the terms of the present charter, or whether a new charter or Act of Parliament may be required to cover them. But however this may be decided, it is certain that no difficulty of any moment ought to be allowed to hinge upon such a question. If the existing charter be no obstacle, that will be well; but if it be, it is an obstacle not difficult to surmount. The meeting at which the matter is to be decided will be held next Saturday in Willis's Rooms.

INSURRECTION IN SPAIN.

Carlism is once more endeavouring to raise the standard of revolt in the Spanish provinces. The Duke of Vittoria himself has declared the danger to be serious, and has obtained all necessary powers from the Cortes. We should, however, much doubt whether the partial risings of armed bands here and there of forties and fifties contain the elements of any dangerous insurrection. Money might no doubt produce such a result; but the German Powers, who replenished the coffers of Don Carlos, have more than sufficient occasion for money at home, and the French Legitimists are certainly not rich enough, even though aided by the Church, to undergo the expense of a Spanish revolt. Legitimacy, as the principle of a political party, exists even less in Spain than in France. For what are Legitimist principles, without personal attachment to, or respect for, the persons of the pretended sovereigns? The Count de Montemolin inspires no sentiments of the kind; and the real truth is, that it is the malcontents of the Moderado party who under Carlist colours have got up the present attempt.

It began in the army, known not to be Carlist, however monarchic; and the signal for the attempt, being the desertion of a troop of military, took place in Saragossa, a town in which not a single Carlist exists. The different risings are confined to Aragon, a notoriously constitutional province, while the Basque provinces and Navarre, in which the Carlist element does exist, remain waiting to see what power of resistance the Constitutional malcontents can show, before they think it worth while to display the standard of genuine Carlism.

It is this military jealousy of Espartero, rather than any fanatical attachment to the Pretender, which has given birth to the late disturbances, and of course the old French or Orleansist party are ready to fan the flame. The *Journal des Débats*, which represents the opinions of those who admire and are grateful for the Spanish policy of Louis Philippe, represents the present troubles as provoked by the new law for alienating the goods of the clergy, and denounces that law as spoliation and unjust. The present Spanish Government, however, is merely undoing the mischief of the Orleans policy, which sought to reconstitute the power of the clergy and render it predominant over that of the municipalities. That Orleans system of governing Spain has been found impracticable. The ministry, which is now engaged in destroying it, is not merely an Esparterist but an O'Donnell Cabinet—Moderado as much as Exaltado; and whatever measures these two combined and previously conflicting parties admit, and agree to promote, must indeed be a necessity. The Orleansist prints therefore prophesied that a ministry combined of Espartero and O'Donnell would not last for a day, that rivalry and intrigue would soon dissolve it, and restore the parties to their old antagonisms. But the contrary has been the case. Even amid the discussions and changes of other members of their cabinet, Espartero and O'Donnell remain firmly united, support each other, and render each other impregnable, for each commands the support of the only two rational and patriotic shades of opinion in civil life and in the army. Against them the Orleansist malcontents can prove but a faction;

and as to Carlism, however it may have shown fight when tolerated by France and salaried by the Eastern Powers, it is now devoid of all such connivances or support, and, confined to its native resources, will not be able to survive an insane effort of a few days or weeks.

It is to be regretted that at such a moment the Spanish Cabinet, by the perverse blundering and vanity of one of its members, should have deprived itself of the presence and counsel of the British Minister. Lord Howden is on his way to England.

AN ORGANIZED HYPOCRISY.

The ticket-of-leave system would seem to have been devised to supply a want of that involuntary homage which vice is said to pay to virtue, and to give practical effect to the injunction, "assume a virtue if you have it not." There was doubtless a lamentable dearth of hypocrisy, and the ticket-of-leave system was invented to pass rogues deficient in that respect through a school of simulation. Every knave knows that he has only to cant himself into the good opinion of the chaplain, and the prison doors are then open to him, and he returns to prey on society. The proficiency in hypocrisy attained under this system is marvellous; and the manifestation of it is the number of incorrigible scoundrels who, thanks to the good report of reverend gentlemen, are now pursuing their avocations in the streets. There are forty thieving like one now in the immediate vicinity of Bow street Police office, and wonderfully edified would the chaplains be who have vouched for the reformation of these worthies if they heard the language of their penitents, for it seems that they indemnify themselves for the cant by which they ingratiate themselves with their spiritual guides, and obtained their good report, by the filth and foulness of their tongues when restored to the liberty of vice and crime. Mr Jardine has rendered an important service to society by speaking out on this subject, and representing his magisterial experience of the magnitude of the nuisance.

The jail chaplains virtually grant indulgences for crime upon certain shows of penitence which impose upon them. These reverend gentlemen are most unwisely entrusted with a dispensing power over the law of the land, and what the judge and jury have done for the ends of justice they may at their good pleasure set aside.

FOREIGN CRITICISM ON ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH.

From the borders of Germany and Italy, May, 1855.

[This letter was in type before the late successes, which, it is hardly necessary to observe, would be likely materially to have modified several opinions expressed in it.—Ed. Ex.]

I cannot convey to you an idea how painful it is to the English traveller abroad to observe how much his country has sunk in the public estimation of Europe during the last year. No one can be more perfectly aware of the utter injustice of the conclusions on which this is based. I know full well that England and France, that is, the West, are as much possessed of real power and resources as ever, and that with constancy and wisdom they must prevail. But we have talked and promised too much, have betrayed and published too much, and have given the world such signal proofs of incapacity, that men forget the justice of our cause, and turn round to admire the successful resistance and boldness of Russia, until, from being an aversion and a bugbear, the Czar has become a hero. I have seen in the Italian Punch, the *Fiachiella*, a picture of Russia sleeping, and three hornets, indicated as England, France, and Austria, buzzing about the sleeper, by whose side a Cossack exclaims—"Were he to awaken how he would brush away these insects?" Such are the sentiments that ultra-liberals indulge in. The very republicans resemble the rest of mankind in worshipping success, and in ridiculing and condemning all that appears not to be so.

One might have hoped better of the Germans; but I am sorry to say that since the great failure of 1849, the party that remains most unpopular, and is still the butt of everyone's jeers and every one's contempt, is the constitutional party. The constitutionalists and moderates certainly failed then; and here, it is said, are the great representatives of constitutionalism and moderation, the English and their statesmen, undertaking a great war, and showing themselves as incompetent as Von Gagern himself to compass a practical end in it. You will be surprised to be told that the mean and scoundrelly conduct of Prussia and of Austria during the last war, a conduct unexampled except in the history of those petty Italian princes whose deeds and whose policy Machiavel records—you will be surprised to be told that there are honest Germans who admire this trimming and deceit. I have heard honourable and educated Germans speak slightly of the heroes of the Alma and of Inkermann, whilst they extolled the *finesse* and profundity of the Emperor Francis Joseph and Count Buol. This pair of worthies, all admit, would have gone with England and France and against Russia, had England and France proved victorious. But the two countries having failed, and having proved themselves quite unequal to execute their promises of giving the Danube to Austria, the latter power must take what she can get of it from Russia. We think this mean. But I hear Germans of education and station maintain that to show address is the first political virtue, and that despotic governments are alone of any value, for they alone can tack and trim, and wait on the future.

The Emperor Napoleon the Third said in one of his state papers that it was a mistake to compare the present rivalry between France and Prussia with the rivalry which existed between the countries at the commencement of the century. For, said the French official writer, the German people then supported the Prussian court. But let not France and England flatter themselves with German or with Italian support in their present struggle, undertaken and carried on as it is without reference to any boon to be conferred upon any people. The war and the negotiations have both been carried so strictly within aristocratic, royalist, and diplomatic limits, that the people universally have come to believe that

the war does not concern them; and instead of lamenting the failure of the allied armies before Sebastopol, there reigns an indifference which flings us wandering English into disgust and despair.

It is useless to deny that we have greatly lost character by our alliance and our cordiality with Napoleon the Third. I am a strong abettor of that alliance and that cordiality, which is just and due; but I cannot blink the fact of our having greatly lost in reputation by it. The only thing that could requite us would be success. For our gratuitously flinging ourselves into the arms of France, and wilfully challenging and disturbing the existing settlement of Europe without achieving anything, is such a reproach to our wisdom and such a slur upon our consistency, that it is impossible to convey an idea of how much it tells to our disadvantage.

The most untoward result is certainly the contempt brought upon constitutional government itself. For as to England, it can afford to have detractors, it can outlive and outshine enemy and calumny; but at a time when Prussian and other theorists so triumphantly pointed to the utter unfitness and incapacity of the constitutionalists and of their system to succeed in doing what their great Frederick did,—for example, convert a second-rate kingdom into a first-rate empire,—to have this corroborated by the vain attempts of Great Britain to keep up an effective army in the field, with effective generals to command it, or even capable commissaries to feed it, is certainly the most mortifying fact that could be furnished to the retrograde party.

It tends much to the Emperor Napoleon's credit that he has been able to change his generals without exciting discontent or inconvenience. He thus shows himself master of his armies and of their officers. Our statesmen, on the other hand, are so afraid of bringing home a discontented general officer, that they appear to prefer inactivity in the field to an inconvenient critic in parliament. And indeed our constitutional system strikes the foreigner as quite as much a failure by the inaptness of opposition, as by the bad success of the War office. For parliamentary opposition fights its battles, harasses ministers, and weakens the government and its action, yet whilst it suggests no improvement, no better policy, and puts forward no superior men either as commanders or civilians. The old system has failed; yet to what end does opposition strive save to bring into power the very originators of the old system, the Tories? In fact the English Parliament appears, to those who read its debates at a distance, to be quite as incapable of doing more than show impatience at the very men whom it selected yesterday and would repudiate to-day. And in the very midst of them to see one of those ministers who plunged the country in war ready to come forward and demand peace, with the acceptance of Russian offers—this gives foreigners a sad proof of the shallowness of our leading statesmen, and of the want of all depth or soundness in the views which led them to attack Russia.

In fact our debates are as much calculated as our bulletins to degrade us.

FREE TEACHING AND ENDOWMENT RECONCILED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'EXAMINER.'

Sir,—Various plans for the extension of education among the labouring classes are now under consideration. But in none of them, nor indeed, as far as I know, in any writings or speeches as yet published, is there any suggestion of a principle which I have long thought deserving of discussion, and which I would briefly designate as the union of free teaching with endowment; its practical application being an endeavour to extirpate vice and ignorance, as Alfred is said to have destroyed wolves, not by employing stipendiary agents, but by giving to teachers a specific remuneration in proportion to the number of those to whom, by efficient instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, they may open the way to the fields of useful knowledge.

Will you assist in bringing the matter before the public, if indeed any question relating to the peaceful progress of the country can command a moment's attention, while war absorbs our thoughts and drains our purses? It is now many years since I first discussed the subject with some of my private friends, when I wrote upon it much more than I can ask you to print, or, indeed, expect to be read, howsoever printed. First I sent my thoughts to a valued friend, an ardent supporter of the Free Kirk of Scotland, as a contribution to the cause which I supposed him to advocate—that of free teaching combined with a public endowment. But I soon learnt that I was too free for the free when it was discovered that Christian and Pagan (not to speak of the divisions which rend the garment of our common faith), were to be equally benefited by the plan; excepting in so far as truth must, I conceive, prevail on a fair field in a contest with error, and light gradually at least dispel darkness when brought fairly into opposition. Others again, trusting as much as I distrust the Government (I mean all governments of whose existence I have any knowledge), and distrusting as much as I trust the capacity and disposition of the people to select good and reject bad teaching when the two are equally placed within their reach, have objected strongly to the almost complete independence of State control which it was proposed to give to teachers and scholars. We have since advanced towards more liberal principles than then prevailed; but still the interference of Government, in a degree which I cannot but think very mischievous, is urgently called for by many excellent and able men, by most indeed of those who stand prominently forward as the friends of public education; and I do not expect, therefore, that the principle which I advocate will generally find favour. That, however, is only an additional reason for wishing to have it discussed, although it deters me from entering on minute details, while the general principle is, as I believe, still a novelty to the public mind. It seems to me sufficient for the present to mention briefly the grounds on which I would rest my scheme, and still more concisely to sketch its leading features.

First.—That Government, as such, ought to give no preference to any religious opinions in measures adopted by it for the furtherance of knowledge; however much it may be desired that the members of it should be, individually, men of earnest faith—not time-servers. And that it cannot reasonably be expected to improve or invent in the art of teaching more than in any other art; but, on the contrary, is likely, if it meddle with the working of our schools, to retard improvement and prevent invention.

Secondly.—That it is impossible to exclude religion or irreligion from teaching if we go beyond the merest elements of schooling.

Thirdly.—That it therefore follows that Government, in providing an endowment for teachers, in order to save children from the ignorance to which the poverty or recklessness of their parents would otherwise condemn them, should either not interfere at all with what is taught, or should confine itself to the object of ascertaining that in return for its endowment such a power of reading, writing, and arithmetic is imparted as may fairly be held necessary for all; leaving to individual teachers, and other humane and instructed labourers in the field of education, to extend, each in his own sphere, the scope of their instruction, with entire freedom in matters of opinion, not distinctly barred by the penal code.

Fourthly.—That the choice of teachers should be left to the people.

Fifthly.—That we should endeavour to extirpate ignorance and vice by assigning to the teachers a specific sum proportioned to the number of those who are registered as under their tuition, or whom they may efficiently instruct in reading, writing, and arithmetic, Government taking no cognizance of what they teach more than this.

Sixthly.—That though a minimum number may be fixed as necessary to constitute a school or congregation, no limit shall be placed on its magnitude—skilful teachers being of course at liberty to employ as many assistants as they may see fit to enable them to direct the instruction of large numbers.

Seventhly.—That existing endowments shall not be interfered with further than by providing that the teachers, who benefit by them, shall not

come upon the fund to be provided under the proposed scheme (whether drawn from the Exchequer or raised by local rates), excepting in so far as would cover at the established rate per head.

I will not trouble you with further details; probably you will think I have already encroached too much on your space and the patience of your readers. Nor have I time or knowledge to trace the effects of Government assuasion is strong, that it could do so, from the Chinese and Spaniards has generally tended to stereotype error, and miserably to check the real education of the people, which they have professed and often fondly hoped to promote: while at the same time I would venture with some confidence to predict that by enlisting the free services of the many good, instructed, and zealous men who might be enabled and induced to labour in the cause by the scheme I have ventured to suggest, we should speedily make such inroads into the regions of vice and ignorance which surround us in this vast metropolis, as would cheer the heart of every lover of his kind, and go far to remove the great opprobrium of modern civilisation.

Yours, &c., H. M.

THE LITERARY EXAMINER.

A Memoir of the Reverend Sydney Smith. By his Daughter, Lady Holland. With *A Selection from his Letters*, edited by Mrs Austin. 2 vols. Longman and Co.

We owe these volumes to the devotion with which the memory of Sydney Smith was cherished by his widow. She, who knew well that the world loved her husband for his wit and kindness, and admired though insufficiently his wisdom, knew also that he was loved for only half his worth. The years of her widowhood were supported to the last by the hope, as she wrote, "of seeing that published of him, which to me far exceeds all the brilliancy of head that the world took cognizance of, but which I least valued; well knowing what the world knew not, the perfection of his heart, and his fearless love of truth." She urged the composition of the Memoir, from materials collected indefatigably by herself, on her friend Mrs Austin, whose health proved not equal to the task; and at last she died with the desire of her heart unaccomplished, but bequeathing her papers to her daughter, wife of Sir Henry Holland the physician. Lady Holland has now fulfilled her mother's wish, by writing such a Memoir as will enable the world to understand her father's character more nearly in its full integrity. Mrs Austin at the same time has arranged such of his letters as could honestly be published, and illustrated them with a delightful preface full of sound and helpful comment. The two volumes thus formed are issued side by side, and constitute a single work.

Agreeing as we do entirely with the feeling that has led to the publication of these memorials, we shall endeavour, in such brief notice as our space admits, to dwell most upon those points of Sydney's life and character which have hitherto been least before the world. Having this object in view, we are led necessarily to dwell chiefly upon the facts of his life which are more likely to instruct than to amuse the reader. We shall quote a few only of the bon-mots which abound in the volumes, and shall linger long over the period of youth during which character is formed, devoting to that period indeed this week our whole attention; endeavouring throughout to illustrate beauty and strength of character, rather than to tell the entire story of a life.

Sydney Smith was born at Woodford, in Essex, in the year 1771, and was the second son of his parents, who had in all four sons and a single daughter. Sydney's father, Mr Robert Smith, was a man of considerable talent, who affected oddities of dress, and lived, in an odd way, a somewhat roving life, in the course of which he contrived to waste a little independence. He had married early a very beautiful and noble-minded girl, the youngest daughter of M. Olier, a French emigrant from Languedoc. The eldest daughter of this gentleman maintained his family by the establishment of a successful ladies' school in Bloomsbury square. The personal beauty of the Miss Olier who became Mrs Robert Smith, was inherited by her eldest son Robert, and by another son, though not in any conventional sense by Sydney. Sydney received, however, doubtless as an inheritance from her and her French forefathers, much of the constitutional gaiety that he possessed; and if any of his native talent came to him from his father, it came tempered with his mother's virtues, and modified by the high tone of feeling which her children caught from her. The charm of this lady's mind was felt even by the school-fellows of her sons, who gathered round them when they had a letter from their mother, and begged that they might hear it read aloud.

The mother was proud of her four sons. They were all clever, discussed and argued about books as soon as they had learnt to read them, and were "an intolerable and over-bearing set of boys," their father said, until they found their level. As their ages did not differ widely, to save them from too close rivalry they were not all sent to one school. The first and third, Robert and Cecil, went to Eton, where Robert shared with John Smith, Frere, and Canning in the writing of *The Microcosm*. Sydney, after a preliminary training at Southampton, went with his youngest brother Courtenay to Winchester, where, through a public school discipline of neglect, misery, and starvation, he rose to the rank of Captain, and stood with his brother Courtenay so far in advance of his schoolfellows, that a round robin was sent by the latter to Dr Warton, the Head Master, in which they "refused to try for the College prizes if the Smiths were allowed to contend for them" "any more, as they always gained them."

As Captain of Winchester College, Sydney Smith became entitled to a scholarship and afterwards a fellowship at New College Oxford, and to New College he went, after having been sent for six months to Mont Villiers, in Normandy,

for the acquisition of the French language, which he spoke afterwards with fluency. As those were times of revolution, he was at this period enrolled, for the sake of safety, as "Le Citoyen Smit, Membre Affilié au Club des Jacobins de Mont Villiers." At New College, with the least possible delay, he obtained his fellowship, which was worth a hundred a year. His father, then considering him able to support himself, withdrew his help. From that hour Sydney Smith lived by his own exertions.

But in youth and throughout life, "as judicious as if he were the dullest of human beings," Sydney took a sensible view of his position. No false shame ever led him out of the right path. Fellows of New College were remarkable consumers of port wine, but with a hundred a year the most sociable person in the world knew that he must avoid any such bond of fellowship. Sydney Smith, therefore, not only lived at Oxford on his scanty income without incurring one farthing of obligation, but even paid out of it a debt of thirty pounds left owing at Winchester by his young brother, Courtenay, who had gone to India. There Courtenay afterwards became a supreme judge, and amassed a considerable fortune.

To send Courtenay and Cecil to India, and to educate Robert for the bar, had cost as much money as the father could afford. Sydney's taste and ambition had been directed also to the bar, but his father, after giving up a project of sending him out to China as a supercargo, forced him into the Church. He received therefore the Church as his profession, and although not taking it by choice, yet, without murmur then or thereafter, he manfully and nobly set himself to the performance of his duty. He was ordained, and became the curate of a small village in the midst of Salisbury Plain. A butcher's cart came once a week from Salisbury, and then only was meat to be obtained. He often dined upon potatoes sprinkled with a little ketchup. The Squire—a Mr Beach—at first asked him in usual form to dinner on a Sunday; but, very soon discovering the charm of his society and his rare worth of character, desired his more intimate acquaintance. He owed to himself the unbounded confidence in his ability and prudence which induced the Squire at length to urge that he would give up, at the expiration of the two years for which it was taken, his curacy among the plains, take the young heir to the Squiredom as his pupil, and go with him to the University of Weimar. The offer was accepted, and, as Sydney himself tells us, "we set out; but before reaching our destination, Germany was disturbed by war, and, in stress of politics, we put into Edinburgh, where I remained five years."

Sydney Smith was twenty-six years old when, in the year 1797, he put into Edinburgh, with his pupil, Mr Beach. The remuneration he received for his services to the young gentleman was liberal, but he was one of those true teachers whom no money can overpay,—not only learned, but also wise, noble, and full of every good gift that can exert a wholesome charm upon the young. From his lecture on Wit and Humour a friend of Sydney Smith has taken a few sentences which he regards as a most perfect though involuntary sketch of the mind that suggested them.

"The meaning of an extraordinary man is, that he is eight men, not one man; that he has as much wit as if he had no sense, and as much sense as if he had no wit; that his conduct is as judicious as if he were the dullest of human beings, and his imagination as brilliant as if he were irretrievably ruined. But when wit is combined with sense and information; when it is softened by benevolence and restrained by principle; when it is in the hands of a man who can use it and despise it; who can be witty and something more than witty; who loves honour, justice, decency, good nature, morality, and religion ten thousand times better than wit; wit is then a beautiful and delightful part of our nature. Genuine and innocent wit like this is surely the flavour of the mind. Man could direct his ways by plain reason, and support his life by tasteless food; but God has given us wit, and flavour, and brightness, and laughter, and perfumes, to enliven the days of men's pilgrimage, and to charm his pained steps over the burning marle."

The writer of that passage acted up most fully to his own ideal. In person Sydney Smith was inclined from the first to become stout. "Sydney," one of his college friends used to say to him, "your sense, wit, and clumsiness always give me the idea of an Athenian carter." The Athenian carter walked beside a noble team in modern Athens. Brougham, Jeffrey, Horner, Playfair, Scott, and many more were then preparing for their work in pulling forward a new generation. The healthiest intellectual society in Europe was then to be found at Edinburgh, among the young men of genius who received Smith with delight into their circle, and of whom there were few who did not learn to love him with an almost tender affection.

When he had been two years in Edinburgh, Sydney resolved to crown with marriage an old standing affection of his own for Miss Pybus, his sister's intimate friend and schoolfellow, a lady whom he had known from childhood, and to whom he had been long engaged. Her brother, Mr Charles Pybus, a prosperous politician, frowned upon the match, which brought to his sister a happiness so perfect as it is the lot of but few women to enjoy. But then the question asked by the brother was, what else could he bring her? Soon after they had returned to Edinburgh to set up housekeeping, he came dancing to her joyously with six thin little silver tea-spoons, which he threw into her lap, saying, "There, Kate, you lucky girl, I

"give you all my fortune!" His wife had a small portion, which against her mother's wish he took care to secure strictly and entirely on herself. The price of a costly necklace furnished a house. Mr Beach soon afterwards paid a thousand pounds to his son's tutor, which, being put into the stocks, formed Sydney's independent property. Mr Beach afterwards sent to him his second son, and at the same time the son of Mr Gordon, of Ellon Castle, was entrusted to Sydney's care, 400*l.* being paid with each.

Sydney's first child was a daughter, whom he christened by a name of his own concocting, Saba; she it is who is now the writer of his Memoir. Very soon after the birth of this daughter, Sydney, being with Brougham and Jeffrey in a top flat in Buccleugh place, Jeffrey's residence at that time, proposed the getting up of a review. He was appointed editor, and under his care the first number was brought out. The boldness with which liberal opinions were supported by the young reviewers in a day when such opinions had to battle against all discouragement, the clear-sightedness with which wrong was detected in established institutions, upon which, now that they are overthrown, we are accustomed only to look back as to the errors of our grandfathers, every one knows. It is needless to speak of it. In this battle against all wrong and injustice no eye was so true as Sydney Smith's. One of his companions, pointing out how in the zeal of youth the energies of his companions tended often to excess, and party spirit led even mature minds to extravagance, says that "yet in the midst of this Sydney Smith showed, 'from the outset, a singular union of courage and good sense, without a tincture of the extravagance by which, in 'so many young men of ability, they were at that time accompanied. He did not hesitate to embrace and avow 'a sound principle, however obnoxious; but neither enthusiasm or party spirit could carry him a hair's-breadth beyond 'what his judgment approved.'" In that spirit of sound sense governed by a high morality, which pervaded all he said and all he did, Sydney Smith waged war through the pages of the *Edinburgh Review* against one social evil after another; but nobody kept stricter watch than he did over the evils of excess into which liberality of thinking might be led. "I must beg the favour," he wrote long afterwards to Jeffrey, "I must beg the favour of you to be explicit on one point. Do you mean to take care that the 'Review shall not profess infidel principles? Unless 'this is the case I must absolutely give up all connection 'with it.'" With the highest reverence for holy things, and a sincere love for the Church of England, Sydney Smith combined always a noble spirit of toleration. He shrunk from an infidel, but he claimed brotherhood with Christians of every denomination. He even, in his later days, preached one of Channing's sermons (on War) from the pulpit of St Paul's Cathedral.

As a writer, Sydney Smith was qualified by his unrivalled vivacity of speech, and by the directness and marvellous good sense with which he spoke upon the true merits of every question, to win complete attention from the public. He was born, as his daughter justly says, for a teacher of the people; and he never failed to use his powers without dread of consequences in the interests of truth and justice. No man in his time laboured more vigorously and effectively in the diffusion of sound sense.

While at Edinburgh Sydney Smith attended lectures in the medical classes, and frequented the hospital. He had done the same at Oxford, with so much zeal that the Professor of Medicine wished to persuade him into the career of a physician. For he felt that a knowledge of medicine would enable him as a clergyman to be a helper to the poor throughout his parish; and of the knowledge so acquired he did throughout his life make use with remarkable judgment and discretion, for the help of his poor neighbours and the comfort of his family.

In 1803, Sydney's age then being thirty-two, the education of his pupils was completed, his income was seriously reduced, and the world lay barren before him. His wife, confident in his talents, urged him to London, and in the following year he had quitted Edinburgh and was established in a small house in Doughty street, the choice of that locality (which will be hereafter associated, too, with the outset in life of another man of wit and genius, and Sydney's ardent admirer) being determined by his fondness for the company of lawyers. A severe struggle against poverty was then commenced, in which Sydney was aided by loans from his brother Robert; and the proprietor of Berkeley chapel in John street, Berkeley square, whose property was in a languishing condition, found its sittings suddenly filled after his engagement as a preacher there. In his sermons, as the Bishop of Norwich wrote, Sydney Smith "plainly showed 'he felt what he said, and meant that others should feel 'too.'" A friend also procured for him the post of chaplain to the Foundling Hospital, with a salary of 50*l.* a year. Yet the struggle to support his household was most difficult, when there was offered to the young clergyman the lease of a chapel then occupied by a sect of dissenters, called the New Jerusalem. To occupy it, however, he required a license from the rector, and this was refused, in spite of appeals so full of good sense, and so Christian and manly in their tone, that it is impossible to think with respect of any rector able to resist them. But by this time Sydney's wit had recommended him to brilliant social circles; his brother's marriage with Miss Vernon, Lord Holland's aunt, backed the claim of his own merit to be recognized at Holland House; and upon the reputation he had now acquired as a preacher, followed suddenly the great success of his lectures on Moral Philosophy, given at this period of his life in the Royal Institution. His lecturing there had been suggested by

Sir Thomas Barnard, the same friend who had procured for him the chaplaincy at the Foundling Hospital. The scheme was a wonderful success. All the well-known charm of Sydney Smith's manner, the geniality of his wit, the truth and depth of his feeling, his quick transitions of emotion, his never-clouded brilliancy of expression, every quality he possessed had in these lectures more or less scope for a display that surprised the town. "Nobody else, to be 'sure," said Mr Horner, "could have executed such an 'undertaking with the least chance of success. For who 'could make such a mixture of odd paradox, quaint fun, 'manly sense, liberal opinions, and striking language?"

The proceeds of the lectures enabled the young clergyman to furnish a new house in Orchard street, where two more children were born to him, a son who died in infancy, and his youngest daughter. Still he was without permanent means of living, and fought with poverty in his own open honest way, making no false show, inviting the wealthy without shame to dine with him upon his single dish, enjoying all that is most real in the delight of the best society, and quite unencumbered with the drag of false pretensions. He was at work, then, indefatigably for the *Edinburgh Review*, happy at home, and full of the most joyous spirits. In 1806, he being then thirty-five years old, the Whigs came into power, and the small Yorkshire living of Foston-le-Clay was obtained for him from Lord Erskine by Lord Holland's intercession. At nearly the same time he startled the country suddenly by the anonymous publication of *Peter Plymley's Letters*.

At this point we come to a new phase of Sydney Smith's career, and starting from this point, we propose next week to resume and complete this partial illustration of his character.

Journal of a Tour in the Principalities, Crimea, and Countries adjacent to the Black Sea, in the Years 1835-36. By Lord De Ros. J. W. Parker and Son.

Countless as have been the books published concerning the war, because of it, or descriptive of the countries affected by it, we should be almost disposed to single out this little volume of 160 pages as the most pleasing and satisfactory of all. The war has only had so far to do with it as to suggest its publication. It is the journal of a tour made twenty years ago with no view to a book, and is only published now because of the unexpected interest thrown around the places mentioned in it. But its contents are so genuine and unforced, so plainly and sensibly written in every part, the observation so good, and the description so quiet and humorous where anything whimsical in character is under view, that we have found the little book more informing as well as entertaining than many books of twenty times its pretension.

In July 1835 Lord De Ros, then Major De Ros and well esteemed as a cavalry officer, accompanied Lord Durham, whose embassy was proceeding to Russia, as far as Constantinople, where he was met by an English naval officer, Capt. Drinkwater, whom the Government of that day had named, with himself, to a quasi-secret service in those regions. The hardly concealed designs of Russia against the Porte were much talked of at that time, and rumours having reached Downing Street of preparations for war in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, Lord Palmerston resolved to send out one military and one naval officer to ascertain by personal inspection whether any unusual preparations were perceivable in fortresses, military stations, ports, and arsenals. Of course this could not be done without the Emperor's consent in some form, but there was good ground for asking it, Lord De Ros drily remarks, since only very recently, at the Emperor's request, "the British Government had permitted a complete inspection of all our 'naval establishments and arsenals by a captain of the 'Russian Navy.'" In a subsequent entry of his journal, after describing a foreign officer learning seamanship on board an English frigate, Lord De Ros adds, "I must 'say I cannot discover the advantage of instructing other 'nations in our practical seamanship merely because we 'happen to be at peace with them at the present time."

The consent of the Emperor was not withheld, and to it were added all the civilities which, in Russian diplomacy, play an equal part with the incivilities. At Kiev (where, as in every other city or fortification they visited, they found evidence of the abundance and efficiency of warlike preparation) they were introduced to the Emperor himself, and subsequently, at one of the "military colonies" of South Russia, called Petricowka or Novipraga, they attended him at a grand parade of sixty-four squadrons of cavalry and thirty-two pieces of cannon. "The heavy cavalry," says Lord De Ros, "were the finest troops I ever beheld. The 'Emperor talked to me a good deal about these troops. I 'admired one squadron extremely as it passed, upon which 'he said, *Dites a mon ami Lord Palmerston que j'ai trois 'cents pareils.*" The following day there was a parade of forty-two squadrons and thirty-two guns, and afterwards a review of six hundred boys of the colony, with a colonel of twelve years old. "The Emperor seemed 'obanted, laughing and talking with them like a boy. 'They were as completely drilled as regular soldiers, one 'of them giving the trumpet signals by a shrill sort of 'chant." These little anecdotes, and the pressing desire of the Emperor to take the English officers with him to St Petersburg, are highly characteristic.

Of those cavalry colonies, we may add, established for the purpose of raising large military forces in the agricultural districts, in the proportion of so many men and horses to

so many acres and ploughs,—the soldier having no actual concern with the peasant beyond the fact of being quartered upon him,—we have seen nowhere a better account than in Lord De Ros's journal.

The reader will be interested to see its simple mention of the scenes of our latest successes.

Nov. 7th.—By daylight we found ourselves under Mount Caucasus, on the Circassian coast, and being to the southward of our course, we coasted upwards till we reached Anapa, which is a gloomy, desolate-looking place, like a fortified barrack-yard, with extensive entrenchments, a great many guns, and a number of stacks of hay and grain, but not a vessel in the roadstead, nor any sign of trade or commerce, nor, indeed, anything of a port or harbour. After examining it as well as we could, considering the weather, which was dreadful, our steamer's head was turned westward. In the evening, we ran up the Straits of Yenicalé, and are now at anchor in the port of Kertsch, a place of some commerce, with many vessels in the roads. Kertsch is remarkable for having been the seat of government of Mithridates, the famous King of Pontus, and one of the most inveterate and dangerous enemies of the Romans. Upon the hills above the town are seen a number of hillocks or ancient tumuli; in such as have been opened, many curious relics have been found, showing them to have been tombs of princes and warriors, but no tradition exists as to who they were or when they lived.

It must have been strange to the writer of the journal to read again, after an interval of nearly twenty years, his quiet mention of scenes and places since become so memorable, and in which he has himself played no undistinguished part—

Nov. 13th.—We went on shore very early to Colonel Semenow's, and actually found him getting ready (nobody is ever ready here except for dinner), and Mille. Rosen's horse saddled in the yard, with another for Drinkwater. We sallied forth in the wind and rain, and went over the whole of the lines, from some points of which there are beautiful views of the harbour and roads.

The roadstead, or great harbour of Sebastopol, is formed by the little river Ousen, or Tchernaya, which, running down in a westerly direction from Inkerman, expands, at about four miles from the sea, into a large and deep creek, sheltered by high land, and capable of containing a numerous fleet. The southern shore of the roadstead is (commencing from its entrance) indented by several lesser creeks, between which are high ridges, or tongues of land, sloping down to the water's edge, and ending in low points. At the point of the first or west-most ridge, as you enter the roadstead, is placed the Alexander Battery, with barracks on the high ground behind it. The second ridge is occupied by the town of Sebastopol, and rises up to a considerable height with regular streets to the telegraph, a little above which it terminates abruptly with a deep ravine, at the bottom of which is the lagoon at the head of the south harbour. The point of the third ridge is called Paul's Point.

The bay (a small one) between the Alexander Battery and the town is called Artillery Bay, on the town shore of which are the barracks of the artillery.

Between the town and Paul's Point, the south harbour, as it is termed, runs inland the whole length of the town, which overlooks it all the way. This south harbour has again a small inlet just within Paul's Point, which is called the Ship's Bay.

The general plan of the land fortification of Sebastopol is to embrace with a single line of entrenchment, with redoubts at seven or eight of the most commanding angles, the great ridge of land upon which Sebastopol is built, together with the adjacent harbour, barracks, and public works.

In pursuance of this view, the line of entrenchment commences with the Alexander Battery, on the point of the western ridge, at the entrance of the great harbour. From thence it runs, with a wide sweep to the southward, along the commanding crest of the high ground behind Artillery Bay, till it crosses the head of the inner harbour, where that inlet becomes merely a shallow lake. To have included it with the deep valley in which it terminates within the lines, would have extended them too much, so the work is carried across the water by a fortified causeway a good distance above the shipping, and up the other bank, where, continuing over the height, it terminates in a battery upon the shore of the outer harbour close to the new aqueduct, constructed by Mr Upton, for bringing water from Inkerman to Sebastopol.

After leaving Sebastopol, we are taken a voyage to the Danube, and within a fortnight have reached the Russian frontier town on the Pruth, Sculeni. Then we pass the Pruth into Yassy, make acquaintance with the French consul, M. Duclos, who is in bad health, poor man, and no wonder, for he takes daily twelve pills composed by Morison, "le fameux docteur Anglais qui a tant fait pour l'espèce humaine." But we must give a little sketch of our journalist's inn at Yassy.

Our inn, the Petersburg Hotel, is a very queer place. We were waited upon at dinner by a creature like the third ruffian in a melodrama, who stood gazing at us with his arms folded, assisted in his functions by two Jews in long black robes and sashes, all wearing large moustaches. Our room opens into a gallery, in which is the bar, and a huge, fat German landlady, scolding a way at all rates, while her husband is playing at billiards in an adjoining room with his son-in-law, a Moldavian dentist; and occasionally a Yassy dandy, in his fur gown, drops in.

As we have no time to lose, we have bought a capital sledge, and start to-morrow for Silistria, leaving Allan and our carriage here to await our return. We have engaged Lombardi, a courier, to go on ahead of us to Silistria and back, for travelling in this country without one is impossible. His regular profession is candle-snuffer at the Yassy theatre, but he goes a trip when occasion offers. He is very efficient, well acquainted with the country, and bears a good character. He is very proud of his performance on the key-bugle, borrowed from the orchestra of the Yassy theatre.

Next day we reach a still more romantic village, after passing a great lean wolf prowling about (a Russian we suppose) a hundred yards from the high road.

We reached a village called Wasloui, where there was no inn, but we were received most hospitably by the Ispravnik, or chief man of the village. He was dressed in furs and silks, like a Turk, and evidently rich, but lives in a common cottage with only two rooms, besides the kitchen and offices. In the largest of these, which was fitted up with a divan along one side, but no other furniture except one table, he received us, and took off our cloaks himself. A gipsy girl then pulled off our boots, and another brought in a great brass basin and jug, and held it while we washed our hands, the Ispravnik himself presenting us with towels, quite in the patriarchal style of hospitality. After this came in a man in a silk bed-gown, who carried a tray of sweetmeats and two glasses of fresh water, which we were to taste and sip. Next appeared another gipsy servant with coffee, and we then (being

dying of hunger) had to sit in solemn silence for half an hour, making civil dumb show to the Ispravnik, till he conducted us to dinner in a very small white-washed place like a pantry. We had all sorts of birds and fowls cut up in different ways—very good—and wine from his own vineyards.

Here was another encounter on the road, pleasanter than that with the wolf:

About ten o'clock we breakfasted at Stroechty, in a Jew's tavern, where there presently arrived, from the contrary direction, the Cocona Mariola Micoleski, a lady of large fortune, travelling with her family to Yassy. She and her little son were in a sledge with eight horses; two footmen behind, armed with long silver-mounted muskets, and four men, with swords, guns, and pistols, riding by the side. Her aunt and daughter followed in a sledge drawn by six horses, with two gipsy maids and one man-servant. Another sledge and six seemed full of gipsies, with sausages, bread, cheese, wine, and all kinds of provisions. The whole party joined us in the common room, where we all breakfasted together, the lady most kindly pressing us to try all her provisions, while the daughter—a pretty girl, with a clear olive complexion and dark hair—sat cross-legged on the divan. She arrived at that position by a single spring from the floor, executed with astonishing ease and agility, and seemed amused at the surprise we testified. The gipsies ran in and out waiting upon them. In the outer room were the Cocona's and our suite, eating and chattering, with the exception of our Jewish coachman and postilion, who were saying or chanting their prayers, with a sort of tin talisman tied on their foreheads, in a corner of the kitchen, not the least disturbed by the din around them. We parted from the Cocona with many civilities, and away she went at a great pace for Yassy.

A fortnight later, when travelling through Galicia towards Vienna, Lord De Ros met some Austrian officers at dinner with the Governor of Lemberg, and among them a young English officer, then in the Austrian service, whose name has since obtained a glorious though mournful distinction.

Among the party, which only consisted of a few officers, was a young Irishman, Mr Nolan, who is in the Wilhelm Hussars, and who has obligingly offered us every assistance and service. General Langenau gives him, and two other Irish officers in the same regiment, a very high character. Nolan took us after dinner to the theatre, where we saw a Polish play, of course unintelligible to us, but evidently with much drollery in it, as one could perceive from the dumb show and spirited acting. In one part of the play the children of a family were represented taking a music lesson, one girl learning the violin, and two little things playing on clarionets, quite as a matter of course in young ladies' education. Great laughter was excited by a dandy in the performance drinking a bottle of eau-de-cologne. After this we returned to the general's to tea, and found an agreeable society of Austrian officers and their wives.

Jan. 2nd.—Young Nolan showed us his detachment of Hussars, wild-looking creatures to look at, but in excellent order, and capably mounted on large clever horses, by no means the ponies which we used to imagine the Hussars must ride to be *en règle*. I asked the age of one horse. "We don't exactly know," was the sergeant's answer; "he was a wild horse, and we caught him last year in Transylvania."

This was the impetuous hero of the Balaklava charge, who, soon after Lord De Ros thus saw him at Lemberg, quitted the Austrian service and entered the 15th Hussars.

The Louvre; or Biography of a Museum. With two Plans. By Bayle St John. Chapman and Hall. *Imperial Paris; including New Scenes for Old Visitors.* By W. Blanchard Jerrold. Bradbury and Evans.

Visitors to the Paris Universal Exhibition, who are not already familiar with the treasures of the Louvre, will do well to arm themselves with Mr Bayle St John's book, got up rapidly it may be, but written well, because written from a full information, with the knowledge of a good deal of unpublished matter got from a past director of the Louvre, M. Jeanron, and with a free use of known available materials. Without being at all bound to assent to the whole of Mr St John's criticisms, the English visitor to the Louvre will be thankful for his help, and when he comes home may put this book upon his shelf as something not unlikely to prove agreeable and serviceable to members of his family who sit at home and read.

Mr Blanchard Jerrold's little volume contains a series of pleasant sketches of Parisian life, some of them reprinted from *Household Words*, all of them showing good observation and a lively strain of writing. It will not occupy much space in anybody's pocket, and will be an excellent companion for readers on the rail to Paris.

The Physical Atlas, a Series of Illustrations of the Geographical Distribution of Natural Phenomena. By Alexander Keith Johnston, F.R.S.E., &c. A new and enlarged Edition. Part VIII. Blackwood and Sons.

The eighth part of this noble undertaking contains new engravings of the River Map of Europe and Asia, and two reproductions with all requisite addition and improvement of the well-known Natural History maps of Rodentia and Reptiles. The text has been carefully looked through, and a new essay on the Salt Lakes of Continental Basins, by Professor Rogers of Boston, is now added. The regular issue of a work executed on so great a scale—it is now within four parts of completion—reflects no little honour on all persons who are devoting their best care and labour on the enterprise. The first edition of the Physical Atlas was a volume of which we were entitled, as a nation, to be proud. It supplied with a rare perfectness the want not of this country only, and its rapid sale was an inevitable consequence. By making the second edition, as this is, so clearly an improvement on the first, Mr Johnston secures for his Atlas a pre-eminence that it is not likely to lose during the lifetime of the present generation. It is indeed a work of magnificent range and completeness.

The numbers attending the Museum of Ornamental Art at Marlborough-house during the month of May were as follows:—7,230 persons on the public days, and admitted free; 564 persons on the students' days, and admitted as students on the payment of sixpence each, besides the registered students of the classes and schools.

THE THEATRICAL EXAMINER.

ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA, COVENT GARDEN.

Now that we have taken time enough to consider, we think we can solve what we described last week to be one at least of the great questions of the day, namely, what on earth is the meaning of the story of the new Italian opera, *Il Trovatore*. Once upon a time—we are in a great hurry to display our knowledge—long ago, twenty or thirty years, indeed, before the rising of the curtain, there was a Spanish Count who had two infant sons. And as it fell upon a day, there was an old gipsy, "an inauspicious and 'ghastly woman,' found in the morning by the cradle of the second-born, who stated herself to be engaged about his horoscope, but who was considered to be looking at it with the evil eye. The baby awoke screaming—"he arose "with piercing lamentation, the effect of incantation. The "hideous sorceress was then arrested, and doomed to perish "in tormenting fire." We quote from the libretto, when we quote at all.

The poor old gipsy may have visited the Count de Luna only for his spoons; at any rate it was a cruel thing to burn her, and so thought her daughter Azucena, a most sensitive and loving woman, the young mother of an infant child. She followed her own mother, child in arms, to the place of execution, saw her pricked forward by the sword-points of the soldiers, was tossed back when she would struggle through them for a last embrace, but heard through their jeers nothing but the old woman's wail, "Mi Vendica,"—my avenger. Directly afterwards she saw her mother burnt alive, watched all her tortures, and was filled by the sight with a mad passion that ran through her after-life. The old woman's wail, Mi Vendica, never again died from her ears, and her own voice learnt to repeat its boding note. Of course she resolved on vengeance, and at once began it in true gipsy style by stealing the child which her mother had been burnt for looking at. She would burn that alive on the place of her mother's execution,—but when the fire was lighted and she took the child to throw it in, its infant cry touched all the woman in her. In a passion of grief she put it aside, until before long the passion of grief changed to another passion, as the scene of her mother's execution rose upon her memory. With averted eyes she completed the horrid purpose, but no sooner began to look at what she was about than she found that she had not burnt the right baby. She had destroyed her own, and therefore, whether to satisfy her vengeance or her love we cannot tell, adopted little Master Garzia, de Luna for her son Manrico. Now Manrico is *Il Trovatore*, or the Troubadour.

The old de Luna died. He had believed and not believed in Garzia's death, when "of a young child, sent "tered around, still stained with blood, the bones were "found." But he had a presentiment that the boy lived, and, dying, he bequeathed to his eldest son the task of hunting for his brother. So he being dead, his eldest son was Count de Luna in his stead, and grew to be a fine grandee of Spain, while Garzia became known as Manrico, the proscribed chief of a horde of gipsies in the mountains of Biscay, a man with a decided taste for music.

Now there was a certain fair lady of whom nothing is known beyond the fact that she was called Leonora, that she lived in a good house with a great deal of attached garden ground, and that she is to be identified with Madlle Jenny Ney. The Count de Luna loves this lady, and is much annoyed at the attentions paid to her by *Il Trovatore*, a mysterious troubadour. This troubadour is Signor Tambrisk, the proscribed gipsy, and the lady has been won by his singing. The brothers, who do not know that they are brothers, thus become rivals in love. As these facts are developed very clumsily in the course of the libretto, it is advisable that the audience should have discovered them before the rising of the curtain.

We shall now in a few words tell the tale, and criticize the opera while we are telling it. In the first scene a bit of the preceding story is sung by Signor Tagliafico, Ferrando, the Count's confidential friend, to a noisy chorus of domestics, early in the morning, near his lordship's bedroom door. The music, which is meant to give the audience the horrors, is well executed, but fails of its purpose. The next scene is by moonlight in Leonora's garden. The troubadour sings a love song off the stage. The lady is lured out by it, the Count (who is the new baritone singer, Signor Graziani) comes to the garden courting, and the lady perplexed by a cloudy night, mistaking him for the troubadour, is led to put her arm about the neck of the wrong lover. Enter the troubadour, who becomes wild at what a gleam of moonlight shows him. The lady explains her mistake and corrects it, whereat the Count in his turn becomes wild, and the two brothers, of whom nobody knows that they are brothers, rush out with drawn swords to fight a duel. So ends act the first, of which the music is below the average merits even of Signor Verdi.

It is important for the audience now to understand that a great battle is fought behind the curtain. The duel has expanded privately into the battle of Pellilla between the troops of the Count and the gipsies under Manrico. In the course of that battle the Count's life is in Manrico's power, but a mysterious fraternal instinct stays his hand. He is, nevertheless, defeated, scored with wounds upon the bosom, and left for dead upon the battle field. His gipsy mother, Azucena, makes search for his body, finds life in it, nurses him and saves him from the grave. Only the gipsies know that he is living.

The second act opens among the mountains of Biscay

with a rather effective gipsy chorus, which Madame Viardot, as Azucena, interrupts with a wild Moorish chant, containing some part of the story of her mother's death. Now for the first time the attention of the audience is fixed. The genius of the great actress-singer puts a spell upon the house. The very defects of Verdi's music are wrested to the purpose of the artist, and serve to give dramatic colour to the fitful spirit of the gipsy. The wailing echo of her mother's cry, 'Mi Vendica,' the fierce hold taken upon her imagination by the horrible spectacle of her mother's execution, which she presently relates, the mad-dening horror with which she reverts to her infant son, dening horror with which she reverts to her infant son, thrown by her own hands alive into the fire, give opportunity to Madame Viardot for displaying her powers in a dramatic scene of the most effective kind. It is unluckily allowed to run into an anti-climax. Enter a gipsy messenger, whose story Azucena, though she is present, is bound by the necessities of the story not to hear. Ruiz, a gipsy chief, has seized the town of Castellor. Near the town is a nunnery, in which Leonora, who believes Manrico to be dead, proposes that same evening to take the veil. She must be carried off before she does so. Manrico instantly demands a horse, and departs, after a scene of wild expostulation from Azucena—out of which Madame Viardot does her best in vain to make something. He does not tell where he is going, and her only fear is lest horse exercise may cause his recent wounds to bleed afresh. The scene then changes to the convent. The Count also has made up his mind to steal the lady. He and his men are first upon the spot. When he is about to achieve his purpose, Manrico appears suddenly as from the grave. Afterwards the gipsies rush in, and, in the midst of a good deal of noisy music, carry Leonora off, a willing prisoner. So ends the second act.

The third act opens in the camp of the Count de Luna, who is besieging Castellor, determined to fetch Leonora out of the same fortress. No time is supposed to have elapsed, and it had better be supposed to be any distance or no distance from Biscay to Castellor. Azucena, wandering in search of her adopted son, has been caught prowling round the Count de Luna's camp, seized, bound, and dragged before him. There she learns into whose power she has fallen, is recognised as the fiend who destroyed the infant, and devoted to the stake. Her roving, melancholy, gipsy spirit, and her abject crouching fear, bursting out suddenly into a flash of wild defiance, are finely acted and most exquisitely sung by Madame Viardot. She is dragged off, and her adopted son Manrico is next shown to us within the walls of Castellor, upon the point of leading his bride to the altar. From this point, with a few exceptions, to the end, the music of the opera improves in character. We have heard nothing of Verdi's so worthy of a lasting place upon the stage as the concluding portions of *Il Trovatore*. A little duet between the Troubadour and Leonora, sung to a soft organ accompaniment as they are on the point of entering the chapel, *L'onda de' suoni mistici*, contains positive marks of originality. The martial chorus which succeeds the interruption of the wedding by the news of Azucena's capture brings the third act to a close with some effective music.

By the omission of a weak scene between the Count and Leonora, the fourth act, as presented now at Covent Garden, will do more for Verdi's reputation than anything of his that the English public has yet heard. Manrico, who has been taken in an unsuccessful sally, is shut up with Azucena in a tower. Leonora, coming in search of her troubadour, hears his voice as she stands under the window of the prison. Signor Tamberlik in his dungeon, Madlle Jenny Ney upon the stage, backed by a chorus of unseen priests chanting the miserere for a parting soul, give fine effect to the music of the first half of this act. The last scene is within the dungeon. Azucena, who is exhausted by her trials and her passions, and who shudders at the dreadful image of the stake, after a good duet with Manrico, falls asleep with the desire to end her days in peace among the mountains of Biscay, and a low melody to this effect murmured by her in her sleep backs a passionate interview between Manrico and Leonora. The lady has given herself to the Count in return for the life of the Troubadour, who spurns her for the purchase. It was only her dead body that she meant to give, for she has taken poison, and the Count enters in time to see her die of the effect of it. He immediately orders the Troubadour out to the scaffold. Then Azucena wakes, stumbles upon the body of a woman, and asks for Manrico. The Count draws a curtain from before an extensive grating, and shows her the scene of execution, the headsman wiping his axe, and Manrico in his coffin. Suddenly, then, she is awakened from the first pang of despair by noticing that the cry of her mother has been answered. She explains to the Count that he has chopped off his lost brother's head, and falls with the cry, "Sei vendicata, o madre!"

And so the curtain falls upon *Il Trovatore*. Assuming that a name in the bill is of more value than a voice upon the stage, we must congratulate the public on having the services of Signor Tamburini added now to those of Madame Grisi. His voice as a singer is entirely gone, but there can be no doubt that his name is Tamburini still.

HATMARKET.

Mr Henry Smart's opera of *Berta, or the Gnome of Harzburg*, has been produced at this theatre with a most genuine success. The libretto, which is about a baron, and a forest-ranger, and a village girl, and the lost heir to a castle, is an entanglement of commonplaces; but the opera is a musical work of more than ordinary mark. It has been many years waiting for a hearing, and is not heard now with such advantage as can be had only in a musical theatre; but

it is very liberally placed upon the stage by Mr Buckstone, and is sung with taste and feeling by Mr and Mrs Sims Reeves, Mr Weiss, Mr Manvers, and Miss Harriet Gordon. Like worse English operas, it will supply a pleasant collection of new songs and duets to the drawing-room, among which we may specify two—'Sad was the hour,' and 'Methinks I hear the merry bells.' But the opera will do also much more than that; it will raise the character of Mr Henry Smart among musicians, and it will live to be sung to our children, if they should happen to turn out clever enough to do what we have not been able to do—establish for themselves an English lyric stage.

ST JAMES'S THEATRE.

M. Levassor, whom everybody knows, aided by Mademoiselle Julie Teissiere, of the Gymnase, whom everybody will be glad to know, establishes at this theatre an entertainment of his own, consisting partly of such proverbes and vaudevilles as can be acted by two persons, partly of songs dramatically rendered. At first starting the songs prove to have hit most perfectly the public taste. M. Levassor, giving in character the *Père Bonhomme*, or others equally full of some form of French life and feeling, can delight a London audience with a new sensation. Mademoiselle Teissiere, too, sings pretty French romances; and between the singing and the acting there is certainly no lack of pleasure to be found at M. Levassor's "Soirées et Matinées Recréatives et Comiques."

THE FINE ARTS.

The Royal Gallery of Art. Part VII. Colnaghi and Co.

The three works in the seventh part of this engraved selection from the Royal Pictures are very various in kind. The first is the *Silence* of Annibale Caracci, the Virgin imposing silence on the infant John lest he awake the sleeping Jesus. It is already known through engravings, and as engraved in this series by G. Lévy loses nothing of its grace.

The second picture engraved, and one that engraves well, is a water-colour drawing by Mr H. Warren, the President of the New Society of Water-colour Painters. It is *The Fountain in the Desert*, exhibited and bought by Prince Albert in 1844. Mr E. Radclyffe is in this case the engraver, and has done his task worthily.

The third engraving is one of which the original is unknown to the public, it being taken from a picture of Mr T. S. Cooper's, privately commissioned by the Queen. Its subject is a favourite cow with her calves in *The Farm at Osborne*. The cow was one selected as a gift for the Queen by the corporation of Guernsey, because she added to all other good points a well-defined natural mark of V in white hair upon the forehead. The picture looks well as executed by Mr Cousins, but the white V is an accident not very suitable for any artist's purpose, and when engraved suggests uncomfortably the idea of some flaw in the plate.

Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. By Michael Angelo Buonarroti. Colnaghi and Co.

We are indebted to Mr Harford of Blaise Castle for the publication of this fine print of the Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. It has been executed by Herr Winkelman of Berlin, under the direction of Mr Lewis Gruner, and its dimensions are three feet five by one foot six inches and a half. A finer specimen of printing in colours than this work presents we do not know that we have seen. Large as it is, when we bear in mind that it is a reduction from a work covering the ceiling of a chapel one hundred and thirty feet long and upwards of forty broad, we need not wonder that we are overwhelmed by the profusion of detail. Prophets, Sybils, Holy Families;—the Creation and the Fall, and the Redemption;—sacred genealogies, allegorical forms, and architectural emblazonments, produce at first sight surprise and bewilderment, the latter feeling being increased by the fact that to be seen fairly as a whole, the picture has to be held, ceiling-wise, over the head. But the execution is altogether most beautiful and masterly. The print is dedicated to Sir Charles Eastlake, and is sold at a price that ought to induce many to possess so faithful a record of one of the most stupendous monuments of human genius.

Views in Norway. From Original Pictures by James Randall, Esq. Colnaghi and Co.

These views have the value of a contribution to our knowledge of an interesting country, as well as the beauty and attractiveness of works of art. They consist of a series of large and beautifully-executed lithographic engravings from pictures which appear to represent with a rare truth and fulness the leading aspects of Norwegian scenery. They are preceded by a brief and clear general account of the country, and are so selected as to represent fairly mountains, valleys, firds, lakes, rivers, waterfalls, old churches, villages, and (in an exquisite frontispiece) the Norwegian capital. The subject of each plate is succinctly described, and thus one may see and (so to speak) read off Norway in twenty minutes, by help of the typical reproductions of the country brought home to our eyes by Mr Randall. The pictures are of great merit as works of art, but their principal charm lies in the impression conveyed by them of their being true copies of the scenes they undertake to show. In either sense there is not one of them that, apart from its place in a book, is not worth the honours of a frame.

We regret to be obliged to defer our concluding notice of the Royal Academy Exhibition.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL NEWS.

FRANCE.—QUEEN VICTORIA'S VISIT TO PARIS.—The approaching visit of the Queen of England to their city begins now to form a topic of interest to the gossip of the Parisians, and indeed at all the towns along the line of route. Preparations for the reception of Her Majesty and the Prince Consort have been already commenced at Boulogne, where they are to occupy an extensive suite of apartments at the Hotel Brighton, at which establishment Prince Albert stayed during his visit to Boulogne last year. The apartments destined for the accommodation of her Majesty are at present in process of redecoration, for it is said the Queen will stay at Boulogne a day or two, and be present at a grand review of the Army of the North. The Emperor will of course come from Paris to receive her Majesty. There are to be very gay doings, and most of the houses adjacent to the hotel are already let to families of distinction. The precise day for the arrival of these august visitors is not definitively fixed, but a much earlier period is talked of at Boulogne, than any hitherto named, for it is generally supposed there that the visit will take place towards the close of the present month.

MISCELLANEOUS FACTS.—It is reported upon alleged good authority that the Empress Eugénie is *enroute*.—The 'Moniteur' contains decrees confirming seven promotions to the rank of officer and eighty-five nominations to that of chevaliers in the Legion of Honour, and the grant of 230 military medals, made by the Commander-in-Chief of the army of the East.—The Italian actress, Madame Ristori (who, it appears, speaks French like a native), has received an offer of an engagement at the Théâtre Français, with a salary of 80,000*fr.* a-year, and two months' vacation. The lady, it is said, requires four months' vacation, and that, at present, is the sole obstacle to a contract. Each must look to her laurels.—M. Dien has just discovered a comet in the constellation Gemini. There is, however, some doubt as to whether it is a new one, or the re-appearance of that which was witnessed in 1556, and at the time was predicted would be seen again about the present period.—Letters from Constantinople by the last mail speak of the Sultan having it in contemplation to visit France about the middle of August.—One of the aides-de-camp of General Pelissier is Prince Polignac, son of the Minister of Charles X.—Madame Alboni is engaged to appear at the Grand Opera in Paris in the "Prophete." M. Verdi whose opera of the "Sicilian Vespers" is in preparation, demands that twelve representations of his opera should take place before Madame Alboni's appearance, fearing that her appearance will divert the public attention too much from his opera. The directors refuse, and the matter is still pending.—The 'Moniteur' contains a decree authorising corn and other articles of food to enter French ports without payment of navigation dues until the 31st of December, being an extension of six months from the previous order.—A letter from St Petersburg in the 'Constitutionnel' says: "The intelligence of the entrance of the allied fleets into the Sea of Azoff, which reached us by telegraph from Nicolai, has caused the greatest sensation in St Petersburg. The government is accused of having neglected the defence of a sea which was the last refuge of the commercial fleet of Southern Russia. There may be seen in the fact of the abandonment of the Straits of Kertch and Yenikale, a fresh proof of the egotism which inspires the policy of the Czar. Millions had been spent on Sebastopol, and nothing done for the protection of the Sea of Azoff."

AUSTRIA.—The official correspondence of the 6th inst., in reporting the close of the diplomatic conference, states that the Russian plenipotentiaries took the Austrian proposition into consideration, and that Austria is still ardently striving to effect a mediation upon the bases of peace laid down. Generals Crawford and Letung, appointed military commissioners of Great Britain and France at the headquarters of Baron Hess, are about to return home, their presence in Austria no longer answering any useful purpose.

FOREIGN GLEANINGS.

The Bey of Tunis died on the night of the 1st of June. His cousin, Sidi Mohamed Bey, ascended the throne without obstacle.

According to a new ordinance, issued by Sir R. Gardiner, the governor of Gibraltar, no printer will be able to print any publication not previously examined and licensed by the government-secretary under penalty of 100 dollars, to be levied by distress and sale of his goods and chattels, if not instantly paid.

The Piedmontese Convents bill has received the royal assent, and thus become the law of the land. The provisions of the Act will be immediately put in force in a number of contents.

A despatch from General Gurra, dated May 31st, announces the total defeat of the Carlist bands in Lower Aragon.

A despatch, dated Galatz, June 1, says: There was a great fire last night in the Artillery and cavalry stables, close to the ammunition depot. The Austrian garrison succeeded in extinguishing the fire, but 103 horses were burnt. The cholera is said to have appeared in the Austrian army in Galicia.

On the 6th inst. General Espartero went to Aranjuez, to present to the Queen the resignations of MM. Madoz, Lugen, Luzuriaga, Aguirre, and Santa Cruz. Their presumed successors are—MM. Brull, Martinez, Zabala, Fuente Andres, and Huelves.

A despatch from Constantinople of the 2nd of June in the 'Constitutionnel', states that Riza Pasha has been dismissed, and that Mehmet Ruchdi has been named Seraskier in his place. Darbakhor Pasha, General of the Imperial Guard, has been dismissed, and is replaced by Selim Pasha.

From the West Indies, we learn by the mail of the 12th ult. that the islands were healthy, with the exception of St Thomas's, which was suffering from yellow fever, but was confined principally to the shipping. At Jamaica commercial affairs had considerably improved.

STATE AND CHURCH.

THE COURT.—The Lord Chamberlain, by command of the Queen, has issued cards of invitation for a grand concert at Buckingham Palace on Wednesday, the 20th inst., at which the principal artists of the Royal Italian Opera will assist, under the direction of M. Costa.

BATH ELECTION.—A very sharp contest took place for the representation of this city on Monday, between Mr Tite, the Vice-Chairman of the Administrative Reform Association, and Mr Whately, Q.C., which terminated in the return of the former by a majority of fifty over his opponent. At the close of the poll the numbers were: Tite, 1,179; Whately, 1,129; majority for Mr Tite, the Administrative Reform candidate, 50.

GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENTS.—The office of Counsel to the Admiralty, vacated by Mr Phinn's appointment as second Secretary to the Board, will be filled by Mr Atherton, Q.C. The following are some of the arrangements already completed with reference to the reorganisation of the military departments: Mr T. Howell has been appointed Director-General of Contracts; Mr J. B. Godley, now one of the Income-Tax Commissioners, will be Director-General of Stores. No appointment has yet been made to the office of Director-General of Army Clothing, but Mr G. D. Ramsay will be Assistant Director-General of this department. Sir J. Burgoyne will retain his office of Inspector-General of Fortifications, and Mr Hensell remains Clerk of the Ordnance.

DR GAINFORD, Dean of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford University, died on Saturday at the deanery, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, after a short but painful illness, having transacted the business of the college till within two days of his decease. Dr Gainford was Curator of the Bodleian Library, a member of the Hebdomadal Council as Head of a House, Prebendary of St Paul's

and Llandaff, Fellow of the Academy at Munich, and a corresponding member of the Royal Institute of France. His services to literature as a first-rate critical Greek scholar are great. He is one of the very few classical scholars of the present day whose reputation is European, and no doubt can be entertained that, as a Professor, Dr Gaisford has been the most distinguished of the whole Oxford body for many years, and that it will be no easy matter to supply his place.

THE HEALTH OF LONDON.—In the week that ended on Saturday the deaths of 1,073 persons—viz., 542 males and 531 females—were recorded by the London registrars. The number of deaths that occurred last week under twenty years of age was 530, which is nearly a half of the total number. The rate of mortality is now diminished among octogenarians, and, instead of seventy or even ninety of that class who died in colder weather, the number now returned is only thirty-two. The returns of cases referred to the epidemic class of diseases present no very remarkable feature. Last week the births of 714 boys and 688 girls, in all 1,402 children, were registered in London. At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean temperature of the week was 49.4 deg., which is 6.8 deg. below the average of the same week in thirty-eight years. The highest temperature occurred on Sunday, and was 72.8 deg.; the lowest on Wednesday, and was 39.2 deg.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, June 5.

THE TURKISH CONTINGENT.

The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH called attention to the convention entered into between her Majesty's government and that of the Sultan, on the 3rd of February last, for the employment of the Turkish troops in the British service. He now wished to ask what progress had been made in the formation of such a body of troops?—Lord PANMURE regretted the delay that had taken place in the formation of those troops, from which he hoped that the allied armies would receive much advantage. He apprehended, however, that the fault did not lie with either her Majesty's government or the government of the Porte, but it arose from the fact that the Turkish troops concentrated at Constantinople, and from which it was anticipated the Turkish contingent would be taken, had been suddenly called away by Omar Pasha to the seat of war, and all the available troops of the Sultan had been thus withdrawn. The Porte, therefore, with the most perfect readiness, offered to detach from the army of Omar Pasha a body of troops to form the contingent; but her Majesty's government declared that it was not advisable to weaken the strength of the army at the seat of war. It was therefore proposed, and the proposition was now being carried out, that troops to form the contingent should be withdrawn from the army of the Danube. This was a suggestion from Omar Pasha himself, and the arrangement of this body would soon be completed.

THE VIENNA CONFERENCES.

Lord LYNTHURST asked whether Lord Clarendon had received any intelligence of the close of the Vienna conferences; and if so, whether he was prepared to lay on the table the last proposal made to or by Russia? Lord Clarendon: I this morning received information from her Majesty's minister at Vienna that a conference was yesterday summoned by Count Buol, and that he then made a proposition to the Russian plenipotentiaries. I believe the Russian plenipotentiaries—I am speaking from a short despatch received by telegraph—requested to know whether they might send that proposal to St Petersburg. Upon the French and English ministers being consulted, they said they had no instructions to agree to such a proceeding, and Count Buol then said that, having fulfilled the engagement undertaken by Austria—to endeavour to find the elements of accommodation between the contending parties—and having failed to discover such means of accommodation, he considered there was no further use in conferences being held; and the conferences were accordingly closed. (Hear, hear.) With respect to the question as to whether the proposal which was made at the conference will be laid before parliament, I do not think there can be any objection to the production of that proposition.

NEWSPAPER STAMP DUTIES BILL.

This bill was read the third time, and passed.

Thursday, June 7.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY BILL.

The LORD CHANCELLOR, on the order of the day being read for the recommittal of this bill, explained the various amendments which he proposed to introduce into the measure, the general effect of which may be described as intended to render the clauses for reforming the general body of the University of Cambridge in unison with those contained in the bill passed last year for the University of Oxford. In the case of Dissenters, it was proposed that they should be allowed to proceed to the degree of Masters of Arts on the understanding that such Masters of Arts were not to become members of the Senate, unless they subscribed the Thirteen Articles.—Lord LYNTHURST observed, that the proposed amendments were of a nature to transform the bill altogether into a new measure. The house could have but one object in view, and that was to form the best possible constitution for the University of Cambridge. So far as the present governing body was concerned all the commissioners recently appointed, with the exception of the Bishop of Chester, had reported most favourably of it.—The Bishop of CHESTER explained the circumstances under which he had declined to sign the report alluded to by Lord Lyndhurst.—Their lordships then went into committee on the bill, when Lord POWYS proposed an amendment to clause 5, to the effect that the Masters of Arts should stand in the same relation to the governing body of the University of Cambridge as the Masters of Arts in Oxford stood to the Hebdomadal Council.—After some discussion, the amendment was negatived.—The remaining clauses were then agreed to.

Friday, June 8.

BURIALS IN THE METROPOLIS.

The Bishop of LONDON moved an address to the Crown respecting the inadequate provision made for burials in the metropolis. The evil he complained of was much increased by the Act of 1853, which closed many of the old burial grounds before others were provided. An immediate remedy for this deficiency was essentially requisite.—Earl GRANVILLE stated that the subject was under serious consideration by the government.—The Bishop of LONDON, on this intimation, withdrew his motion.

The Roman Catholic charities bill was passed through committee. The education of poor children bill was read a second time. Their lordships rose at a quarter past seven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, June 4.

THE VIENNA CONFERENCES.

Lord PALMERSTON said, in reply to Mr T. Duncombe, that the representatives of the various powers were to have assembled at Vienna on the 15th inst. to close the conferences, but the result was not yet known.

THE BLOCKADE IN THE BALTIC.

Sir C. WOOD, in answer to Mr J. G. Phillimore, gave an unequalled contradiction to a Russian statement, that Captain Watson, of the blockading squadron in the Baltic, had renounced the principle laid down by the British government at the beginning of the war,

that a neutral flag would be allowed to cover the cargo. Captain Watson's notification was strictly in accordance with the principles laid down by the British government.

THE ADJOURNED DEBATE.

The adjourned debate on the prosecution of the war was then resumed by Mr M. GIBSON, who reviewed the progress of the last debate, and concurred in the opinion then expressed by Sir J. Graham, that the views of Mr Disraeli were more rational and more likely to lead to an early and honourable peace than those expressed by the government. The question now before the house was the motion of Mr Lowe, to which he must say "No." He had himself brought forward a proposition the converse of this, and as he had been charged with postponing it in consequence of an intrigue, he would now state that the responsibility of its postponement rested entirely on himself. He denied the doctrines of the peace party had any influence in inducing the Emperor of Russia to go to war, and he assigned the articles that appeared in the leading journals as a much more probable cause of the war. That war he understood to be undertaken for the defence of Turkey, and for that alone; but ghastly phantoms were ever and anon conjured up as to the colossal power and the aggressive tendencies of Russia. The members of the government, it was plain, did not themselves believe in these phantoms, for in despatches recently laid before the house those ministers were lavish in their praise of the moderation and integrity of the Russian Emperor. The limitation of the Russian fleet was puerile, but to insist upon it, and to make a question so narrow the cause of a great war, was unheard of in the history of this country. He thought the Russian proposal was better for Turkey than ours, for he was satisfied that it was all in favour of the interests of Europe that the straits should be open to ships of war of all nations. Why should they not make the Black Sea as open to all nations as the Baltic? But it was a mistake to suppose the only danger to Turkey arose from Russia; the time had been when her independence and integrity were threatened from the west. It was not the first time that Russia had interfered to protect Turkey from invasions secretly directed by a western power. He thought it would be far better that they should allow matters to rest where they now were—existing aggression having been repelled, and we retaining the right to repel all aggression in future. As the conferences were now closed, and we were entering upon a new war of aggression, he asked the government to give some explicit declaration of the object for which the war was to be carried on. It could not be for glory—it could not be from fear of disgrace; he called upon the house then to pause well and consider before they committed themselves to a war for indefinite objects.—Sir W. MOLESWORTH said the question now before the house was, whether we ought or ought not to have made peace upon the Russian proposals. He denied that the objects of the war had yet been gained. In order to avoid war, the allies had lowered their demands on Russia to the lowest possible point; as that object had not been gained, but they were compelled to draw the sword, they were entitled to increase their demands. That right had repeatedly been asserted by Lord Aberdeen's government. The objects of the war, as he understood them, were to prevent the dangerous aggrandisement of Russia at the expense of Turkey, and to maintain the international law of Europe, by punishing Russia for her violation of it in the unjust invasion of the Danubian principalities. These objects were not to be attained by the Russian terms, which would require the allies to keep up a constant war establishment in the Mediterranean. Mr Gladstone told them the other night they had got three-and-a-half out of the four points, and asked what they were now quarrelling about? He would reply that they were quarrelling about that very thing without which all the rest were valueless—the destruction of Russian preponderance in the Black Sea. He agreed with him in defending the Crimean expedition. But he never concealed from himself that that expedition committed them irrevocably to a contest with Russia, from which there was no middle course between an inglorious retreat and the destruction of Sebastopol. Her late concessions were only the effects of fear, and intended to create a Russian party in that house. His own impression was that peace on the terms suggested by Mr Gibson would be a confession of defeat on the part of the allies, and would immeasurably enhance the reputation of Russia. It would endanger the alliance, and would be a heavy blow to the interests of Western civilisation. Such a recreant peace would make every Englishman blush, and would cause every colonist to be ashamed of the pusillanimity of the mother-country.—Mr J. M'GREGOR insisted that no peace should be concluded till Sebastopol was destroyed, and till Russia made full indemnity to the allies for the expenses of the war.—Lord DUNGARVAN made his maiden speech in support of a war policy. He deprecated the speeches of such statesmen as Sir J. Graham and Mr Gladstone, as calculated to have a pernicious influence on the country at home and our allies abroad. He congratulated the house that Russia had rejected the allied propositions, which, he believed, would never have been enforced. On the other hand, he agreed with the prime minister that the counter-propositions of Russia formed no concessions at all. He should be sorry if this country went to war merely to support its prestige; but, at the same time, he deprecated the idea of now destroying the prestige we had acquired by concluding a dishonourable peace. Under these circumstances he would support the first part of Mr Lowe's amendment, but not the second part, which would have the effect of embarrassing the government.—Mr BAXTER also objected to any vote that would hamper the executive government, and this objection, he thought, applied to both the amendments now before the house.—Mr H. BAILLIE was against making peace on Russian terms, as he considered the terms proposed by the allies wholly inadequate to the exigency.—Mr M. MILNES recommended that no ship of war belonging to any nation whatever should be allowed in the Black Sea.—Sir E. DERRING hoped that ministers would insist upon higher terms than they had yet demanded.—Lord ELOHO was anxious to mark his dissent from the sentiments expressed in the speech of Mr Gladstone, a speech which he deeply regretted, as he believed the country would accept it as a sufficient explanation of the blunders that had occurred, and would consider "lukewarm" as the reason of "too late," but which he regretted still more because he believed it would tend indefinitely to postpone the prospects of peace, which Mr Gladstone seemed so anxious to attain. He maintained that there was great danger in Russian power unless it was checked in time; and the propositions commended by Mr Gibson were intended not to check Russian power, but to leave it as it was. He was in favour of the government propositions, which, he believed, contained the principle of limiting Russian power. But for himself he believed that the road to a secure peace lay through Sebastopol. Therefore, though it gave him the greatest pain to separate himself from his friends on this question, yet he was prepared to leave the question in the hands of the government, believing that they would not continue the war a moment longer than was necessary to secure a lasting peace.—Lord C. HAMILTON defended the Russian propositions as more effectual for the maintenance of peace, while it would not needlessly humiliate Russia.—Sir E. B. LYTTON reminded Mr Gibson that the sentiment of honour which might be given up by an individual was essential to the existence of a nation. And he could not believe that the honour of England would be kept unstained if we were now to accept terms of peace which Turkey herself would indignantly reject. But Mr Gibson and some others were consistent, for they had always opposed the war. But he could not understand how any members of the government which commenced the war should suddenly assume the language of the Peace Society. If Mr Gladstone limited his defence of the war to the protection of Russia, how could he remain a member of the cabinet which changed the war into an

aggression on the Crimea! He advised a course which would have involved us in a charge of desertion of Turkey, and of perfidy to France. He had heard it insinuated, indeed, that the French government would have accepted the Russian terms if we had advised such a course. If that were so, he could only express his gratitude to our government that they had declined such a responsibility, for he was sure a peace so patched up would have shaken to the centre a government that was essential to the peace and stability of the continent of Europe. He examined at some length the propositions of Russia, and contended that they were more dangerous to Turkey than was the state of things before the war began. He did not dispute that the allied propositions were also inadequate, and he thought all this proved how fortunate it was that the conferences were broken off. But, before coming to that point, he would press upon the advocates of the Russian terms to consider what they were doing. Every speech delivered in that strain served to nerve the Russian arms, and to encourage Russian resistance. What could Russia infer from these propositions, supported by names of such high influence in this country, but that they foresaw the speedy exhaustion of English resources and the relaxing of English vigour. He did not question the patriotism of these gentlemen, but it did seem to him that they were serving the cause of the enemy. Coming to the resolutions before the house, he could not properly support any of them. He objected to the amendment of Mr Lowe, that it was not only an interference with the prerogative of the crown, but that it was a needless interference with the free action of this house. With regard to the future policy of the war, he recommended the government to use less supplicating language to Austria; to leave her alone, and we should speedily bring her to us on our own terms. He strongly deprecated a war of nationalities, which he objected to not because it would establish republics, but because he was sure this government would be unable to establish in liberty the promises it wrote in blood. Let us (said Sir Edward in conclusion) adhere rigidly to the objects for which we commenced the war—the maintenance of the independence and integrity of Turkey, with such guarantees as statements might project and victory enable us to accomplish. As to the means by which those securities were to be obtained, that was not the affair of the House of Commons. The strategy of the war must rest with the allied cabinets, whose plans must be executed by councils of war. But though the end of the war should be purely protective, it was impossible that the means employed should be purely defensive. If we would drive Russia into our terms, we must cripple her where she could be crippled. It was true, as had been said in the course of the debate, that we could not crush the power of Russia in Russia. But when she pretended to be more than Russia, we could and must deprive her of the means by which she sought to overleap the tangible barriers which separated from Europe a power which united the arts of Machiavelli to the armies of France. In that sense we could and would, by the blessing of heaven, crush the power of Russia to invade and destroy Turkey. (Cheers.) Mr Gibson had sought to alarm them by dwelling on the infinite duration of the war. But the war would not be long if we would only be in earnest, and would limit ourselves strictly to the pursuit of its legitimate objects. In these days war was money, and it was impossible for any nation to sustain a long war with a short purse. The resources of Russia were now being exhausted. There was no country in which recruiting was so costly, or in which it imposed so severe a burden upon the owners of the soil by taking away their serfs, and by restricting commercial intercourse, and thus preventing the replacement of capital. She might dissimulate to the last. But peace would come suddenly and knock loudly for admission at that door which we had not closed against peace, but against a felonious counterfeit, who would steal through disguised under her garments, and with a concealed sword in her hand. (Loud cheers.) The right hon. gentleman had talked of the verdict of history upon the transactions now passing around us. Allow me (said Sir Edward) to anticipate the verdict which history will pronounce. Allow me to suppose that the time will come when some philanthropist will ask what service we in our generation have conferred on the human race—suppose he were some one trained in the schools of Oxford or the institutes of Manchester. (Hear, hear.) It might be said that there was a power commanding an army as numerous as the hordes of Xerxes; embodying all the forces of barbarism, and lying upon the outskirts of civilization; left there to develop her own internal resources, unmolested by any state, though all dreaded her power and her policy. Long pent up by nature in her own legitimate domains, she ever strove for an outlet to gratify her ambition. She crept to her object by the dissimulating guise of successive treaties, which promised peace, but graduated spoliation by the opportunities of war. At length, upon pretexts too gross to deceive the common sense of mankind, that power proceeded to break through the limits which had hitherto confined her. Then I trust, sir, that the historian will say that in our generation we, the united families of England and France, made ourselves the vanguard of an alarmed and shrinking Europe, and did not sheathe the sword until we had redeemed the pledge which we had given to humanity on the faith of two christian sovereigns, and had obtained the objects which justice and liberty require. (Loud cheers.)—The LORD ADVOCATE concurred in almost every sentiment expressed by Sir E. B. Lytton. He thought the peace party were to blame for the origin of this war; and when Mr Gibson attributed the origin of the war to the articles of the press, which persuaded Russia that there would be no cordial union between England and France, he forgot that this was really an admission that Russia was only waiting for an opportunity to attack Turkey. He then at some length defended the policy of the government.—Mr COBDEN moved the adjournment of the debate, which, after some discussion, was agreed to, and the debate was adjourned till the next day.

Tuesday, June 5.

CLOSE OF THE VIENNA CONFERENCES.

Lord PALMERSTON announced that intelligence had been received from Vienna that the conferences had finally closed. The announcement was received with general cheering.

THE ADJOURNED DEBATE.

The adjourned debate on the prosecution of the war was resumed by Mr COBDEN, who, after clearing away certain preliminary objections to the course which he and his party had taken upon this question, declared that they dealt with the honest interests of England, and he maintained that its just interests were in harmony with the interests of the whole world. He expressed his astonishment at the speech of Sir W. Molesworth; he had never heard, he said, a speech so utterly at variance with all the previous declarations of the speaker. He excepted to Sir W. Molesworth's statement of the question, which really was, he insisted, whether the plan proposed by the government was the best and only plan that could be devised, and whether the difference between the plan proposed by Russia and that proposed by our government was such as to warrant the recommencement of the war. He compared the two proposals, pointing out what he conceived to be the shortsighted policy which had dictated the terms offered to Russia, and which might be detected, he said, in the protocols. He urged the apparent inconsistency between that Lord John had misapprehended the bias of public opinion in Germany with regard to the war, to which he believed it was adverse. If the English people had the conscription, as in Prussia, they would be a little more chary how they called out for war. After the treaty which had confined Russia to her own territories, why not have contented ourselves with sending our fleet to the Black Sea, and refusing to enter upon land operations until the great powers of Germany were willing and ready to join us, instead of taking upon ourselves



to fight the battle of civilization for the whole world? What were we now fighting for? To reduce, it was said, the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea. But that preponderance resulted from her commerce and her vast shipments of produce there, and, so long as these continued, all the powers upon earth could not take it away. Germany had been detached from us; what might be the consequence if, by and by, it should be proved that the war was opposed to the inclination of the government and people of France? After a highly unfavourable review of the prospects of the ensuing campaign in the Crimea, Mr Cobden contended that the war had been recommenced upon a point of difference almost infinitely minute; that the invasion of Russia by a land force was an infatuation; that we had attempted too much; and, in obedience to a cry out of doors, had undertaken a task more difficult than any nation had ventured upon before. He blamed the government for having played falsely and treacherously, and warned them that there would be a heavy reckoning for them hereafter.—Mr COLLIER considered that the real significance of this debate was that it had explained the cause of our failures during the war, showing that, up to a very short time, there had been a peace party and a war party in her Majesty's government. That cause was now removed, the Russian element, that of weakness, having left the cabinet. Reviewing the speech of Mr Gibson, he accused it of contradictions and fallacies, and, with respect to the resolution before the house, he thought that the declaration of Lord Palmerston, that the conferences had been broken off, put an end to its object; and that the amendment of Sir W. Heathcote should be negative, and that of Mr Lowe adopted.—Lord H. VANE was of opinion that the concessions of Russia on the first two points, and especially in admitting Turkey to the European system, afforded a satisfactory security, and that the last Russian proposal upon the third point would have effected its object as well as ours. He looked, he said, with great apprehension at a continuance of the war, and, if a favourable occasion offered, he hoped the government would take advantage of it, in order to conclude a peace honourable to us and not humiliating to Russia.—Sir S. NORTHCOTE thought the real cause of the failure of the negotiations was not the act of Russia in refusing the proposal of the allied powers, but that of those powers in putting a particular interpretation upon the third point, and insisting upon it as a *sine qua non*. With respect to the question before the house, he was prepared to vote against the amendment of Mr Lowe.—Major REED, on the other hand, would support that amendment, because it would carry out most fully what he believed was the desire of the people—the vigorous prosecution of the war.—Mr EWART, as an earnest friend of peace, believed the time had come for vigorous action, and that such a course was not contrary to the principles of peace, but, in existing circumstances, was highly favourable to them. The war he considered justifiable in order to put down the preponderance of Russia, which threatened not only the independence of Turkey, but the liberties of the world.—Mr VANSITTART urged the necessity of defining distinctly the present object of the war, and that the government should make up its mind what were the terms that should be insisted upon.—Mr F. SCULLY said the speech of Mr Cobden had failed to convince him. Some of his arguments were, he thought, exaggerated, especially those which related to matters connected with the negotiations. Great allowance should be made for the government in the management of the war, considering the difficulties they had to contend with, even in parliament. Mistakes had been made, but to a great extent they had been rectified, and he thought they had used a wise discretion in the negotiations for peace. He hoped the house would determine by a large majority to carry on the war with vigour until peace could be obtained on fair and honourable terms.—Mr CROSSLEY retained his opinion that we should have confined ourselves to a strictly defensive war. With regard to the negotiations, he believed that the third point would not have produced a permanent peace; the terms for that object must be not only honourable to ourselves but to our opponents.—Mr J. PHILLIMORE commented with much severity upon the speech of Mr Gladstone—a speech, he said, crowded with fallacies, and which left him, in common with Mr Collier, at no loss to understand how it had come to pass that our magnificent military preparations had shrunk to miserable defensive operations, and disaster had followed victory.—Sir J. GRAHAM said he had never risen with feelings of greater embarrassment and difficulty than upon that occasion, and that he must appeal to the generosity of the house, since the opinions he was about to express were not in accordance with those of the majority. He had been of opinion, he said, and he still retained it, that the war was just and necessary, and the real question at issue was, had the objects for which the war was undertaken been obtained, or did the conferences at Vienna afford a fair ground of probability that the means of obtaining these objects did not exist. He wished to know from the government—first, what was the proposition lately made by Austria which England had rejected; and, secondly, whether, in their opinion, the four points were still regarded as the basis of any future arrangements with Russia, or whether these points had been abandoned, and fresh terms were to be offered. He did not deny that during a war it was perfectly legitimate to vary the terms of peace; but the object of the war should be kept steadily in view, and should not vary with the incidents of the war. The avowed and, he considered, the sole object of this war was the maintenance of the independence and integrity of Turkey. He agreed that it was no politics to humble an adversary by force of arms, and he proceeded to state what were the original demands of Russia, and to contrast them with the concessions which she was willing to make at the conferences, insisting that this alteration of tone had been gained by force of arms. The test of the concessions was, in his opinion, well laid down by Lord J. Russell, when he said that in a treaty of peace the honour of the adversary should be consulted. Sir James reviewed and commented upon the discussions at the conferences. He acknowledged that he was a party to the proposition for limiting the Russian naval power in the Black Sea; but he was bound to state that it was never regarded by him as an *ultimatum*; that it was not accepted by France as an *ultimatum*, and that it was not proposed at Vienna by France or England as an *ultimatum*; and the result of the discussion in that house had convinced him that as an *ultimatum* it was not tenable. On the other hand, he considered that the Russian proposition contained the elements of an adjustment. Although not the friend of Russia, he contended that the honour of Russia must be considered—that she must not be pushed to the wall; and, esteeming the restoration of peace one of the greatest blessings that could be conferred upon this country, he deeply regretted that any opportunity should be lost.—Lord J. RUSSELL said the observations made during the debate upon the negotiations, and particularly the remarks of Mr Cobden, rendered it incumbent upon him to offer some explanations. He accordingly went once more cursorily over the proceedings of the conferences, vindicating, as he proceeded, the part he took in them against the criticisms of Mr Cobden. With reference to the third point, he maintained that the only mode of causing the cessation of the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea was by diminishing her naval force there; and although it had been said that the plan would be ineffectual, he was of a different opinion, because he believed that, if the Russian government began building more ships in the Euxine, the suspicions of Europe would be roused. With respect to the very serious question—namely, if we were forced to continue the war by finding the only terms that would provide a security for the Turkish empire refused, what was now the object of the war? His answer to this question must be a general one, that the object still was the security of Turkey against Russia, and to obtain some material guarantee for the peace of Europe against the aggression of that power. The particular mode

must depend, as it had been already said, upon the events of the war. It would be presumptuous to point out now what other terms of peace we, in conjunction with our allies, should think it necessary to demand; but this object had been secured even by the abortive negotiations—namely, that Turkey would be considered one of the powers of Europe, forming part of the system of the balance of power, and that her independence and integrity would be recognized.—Mr ROEBUCK moved the adjournment of the debate until Thursday.—This motion provoked a discussion of some length, but was eventually agreed to.

Wednesday, June 6.
MATRUOTH.

The debate on Mr Spooner's motion for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the Maynooth grant, which stood adjourned from May 1, was resumed by Mr Serjeant O'BRIEN, who opposed the measure, contending that the Maynooth endowment had been granted by Sir R. Peel after deliberate discussion as an act of justice and for purposes that were satisfactorily fulfilled.—Mr WHITESIDE examined at great length the educational system practised in Maynooth as it was exhibited in the report of the commissioners and by other authorities. That system he pronounced to be vicious in itself and un-English in the principles which it inculcated among the students.—The SOLICITOR-GENERAL for Ireland controverted many of the statements hazarded by Mr Whiteside, especially such as related to the predominance of priestly influence and the alleged monopoly of public offices in Ireland by the Roman Catholics.—Mr T. CHAMBERS traced many of the evils and disorders that had arisen of late years in Ireland to the existence of Maynooth.—The debate was again postponed to the 27th inst., on the motion of Mr Maguire.

Thursday, June 7.
THE ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Mr ROEBUCK opened the adjourned debate by stating the reasons why he considered that the war should be proceeded with vigorously, so as to obtain an honourable peace. He adverted to the opinions expressed by Sir J. Graham, observing that he was curious to know what had occurred between the time of that right hon. baronet's leaving office, up to which he had advocated war, and the time when he had become an advocate of peace. When an appeal was made to this country last year on the ground that the independence of Europe was threatened by Russia, by whom was that appeal more heartily made than by Sir J. Graham? "We all recollect, when the war-trumpet was sounded, how the right hon. gentleman blew into it. (Hear, hear.) We all recollect the speeches at the Reform Club and at the Mansion-house. (Cheers.) It was said then that the war which we were about to wage was to be a war of freedom against slavery, of civilization against barbarism, of constitutional government against despotism. It was said that the attempt of Russia to enslave Turkey was her first step towards enslaving Europe, that she was not intent simply upon swallowing up Turkey, but that her design was, by placing herself in Constantinople, and assuming to herself the rights of the Turkish empire, to obtain a dominion over Europe. It was not merely that an insolent embassy had been sent to Constantinople, that Russia had crossed the boundaries of the Turkish empire, and that we were told that there was a standing threat against Europe, and that it was necessary, for the safety of Europe, that Russia should be crippled and her power of offence taken away. It was not Turkey simply that we were called on to protect, but Europe, civilization, and the liberties of mankind. (Hear, hear.) Well, we went to war, and disasters followed." Mr Roebuck then recapitulated the circumstances attendant on the fall of Lord Aberdeen's government, and said that Sir J. Graham remained in the government constructed by Lord Palmerston until the discussion arose respecting the appointment of the Sebastopol committee, when he retired. "These circumstances," said Mr Roebuck, "I point out because they are the most significant circumstances which occurred between the time when the right hon. gentleman advocated the war and the time when he advocates peace; and I ask him, and I ask the house, what has happened since to make him a peace advocate? It was quite clear, when he joined Lord Palmerston's government, that this committee of inquiry would go on; it was as certain that motions would be made in this house involving the consideration of the conduct of the war. The right hon. gentleman being a prominent member of Lord Aberdeen's government, we have a right to consider that everything done and said by that government was done and said by the right hon. gentleman himself. When the expedition to the Crimea was propounded by the government—for it was propounded by the government and not by the generals (hear)—the Duke of Newcastle wrote a despatch to Lord Raglan, in which he said that there could be no peace for Europe until Sebastopol was taken and destroyed. That was the statement made by the government, and for that statement I hold the right hon. gentleman responsible. When the conferences at Vienna ended—I don't mean the day before yesterday—but when they ended in reality, before that sham scene was enacted in this house, had Sebastopol then fallen? (Hear, hear.) I will allow that the Russian fleet had been destroyed, but suppose that at that moment we had made peace—I ask this house and I ask every thinking man what would have been the result of such a proceeding? Would it not have been the universal opinion in the East that England and France had been conquered—would it not have been the general opinion there that the fleets and armies of France and England had retired with disgrace and discredit; would it not have been plain to the smallest tribe in the East that we had left the Crimea because we could not take Sebastopol, and because we could not obtain the objects for which the war was entered into? (Hear, hear.) Yet this is the conduct which the right hon. gentleman asks us to pursue. Suppose we had made peace, as the right hon. gentleman would have had us, would Europe have been safe—would the Turkish empire have been safe? (Hear, hear.) True it is that the Russian army had retired beyond the Pruth—that it had evacuated the Principalities—but what security have we that in two years afterwards she would not have been across the Danube again? What does the house think of the political morality which would recommend us to undertake a war to obtain such paltry ends as those with which the right hon. gentleman is satisfied? The right hon. gentleman is one of those who cannot plead unweariness in the resolutions he takes. What he does he does with great deliberation. I don't say that he always acts prudently (a laugh); but that, if he acts imprudently, it is with his eyes open. It was with his eyes thus open that he undertook this war; and for what did he induce the people of England to leave their peaceful vocations and sacrifice their blood and treasure? Was it simply that the Russian should retire beyond the Pruth, keeping all his armies and his power intact and as great as ever, and with the reputation of England and France reduced? That is all we would have obtained by following the right hon. gentleman's advice. We should, indeed, have had a peace, but a dishonourable peace, and our power would have been weaker than when we entered into the war." (Hear.) He did not however impute to Sir J. Graham that he was the friend of Russia, but that, from a mistake in judgment, he was not the friend of England. (Hear, hear.) Mr Roebuck then adverted to Lord J. Russell's language at the Vienna conferences, and said:—"A Minister of England really understanding the position of his country and the part that Austria was playing, would have whispered in the ear of the latter power talismanic words which, when I name them, I know will rouse the voice of members of this house against me. But I am as sure as I am of my own existence that the time shall come when the three words which I would have mentioned to Austria shall be the watchwords of freedom and the forerunners of good government in Europe. The words I mean are—'Poland, Hungary, Italy.' (Hear, hear.) It may be said that I am now arousing nationalities.

Sir, I take the part of nationalities against despots always; and I believe that Austria, if these words had been whispered in her ear, would have understood her position, and would not have played fast and loose as she has done with the people of this country and of France, but would have trembled before the spirit that would have been conjured up before her at the sound of those names. I know what I incur by the statement I now make; but although, feeble as I am, I cannot maintain as I would wish the belief that I put forth, yet I am strong in the conviction that these three words are talismans to Europe." (Hear.) Mr Roebuck concluded by expressing the hope that "as we entered into this war, so we shall continue it—that we shall be firm, bold, straightforward—that what we gain we shall in no self-denying spirit unwarily give up—that what in the cause of civilization against barbarism, of Europe against Russia, we acquire honestly by our arms we shall maintain firmly by the same means—that, our object being to cripple Russia, what we take we shall keep. These are significant phrases, and I mean them to be such. To cripple Russia we are not to consider her honour (hear), but we are to consider mankind as our allies in the struggle, and that in crippling Russia we are fighting the battle of mankind, and benefiting the whole human race." (Hear, hear.)—Mr S. HERBERT defended the course adopted by the ex-Ministers, and urged that they had supported and aided in carrying on hostilities under the belief that the war was strictly defensive, and were justified in opposing it now that its character was changed. After adverting to the confusion of ideas and conflict of opinions on the subject of the war, he argued that the objects for which we first engaged in the conflict were sufficiently attained, and commented upon the absurdity of prolonging the struggle merely for the purpose of humbling a power whom we were still inviting to become once more our friend. Contending that the successes obtained against Russia had been undervalued, while our own disasters were exaggerated, Mr Herbert remarked that if now some splendid triumph were achieved in the field, the country, in the fulness of its satisfaction, would accept a peace without examining the conditions too closely. He referred to incidents in the campaign of last year, and read extracts from despatches to prove that he had not been idle or indifferent while in office, and then proceeded to analyse the propositions presented at the Vienna conferences, with the view of showing that they contained the elements of a safe and honourable peace.—Mr DRUMMOND confessed to a change of opinion, but in a reverse direction to that experienced by the late Secretary at War. Having begun by deprecating war, he now felt convinced that we must continue to prosecute it. Proceeding to criticise the conduct of Ministers, the professed objects of the war, and the opinions propounded by different members, he found proof of incompetence, futility, and inability on all sides. Whatever might be the fortunes of the conflict in detail, he believed that the inevitable result of the war would be to destroy Mahometanism, and to leave the French masters of Constantinople.—Mr Serjeant SHEE opposed the amendment proposed by Mr Lowe, arguing that opportunities for negotiation might still present themselves, and that it was inexpedient to tie up the hands of the government from re-opening diplomatic communications.—Mr ALCOCK censured the conduct of the past military operations, but professed his willingness to confide future proceedings to the present administration.—Sir H. WILLOUGHBY, from some personal knowledge of the local circumstances involved, denied the possibility of arranging a permanent peace on the basis of declaring the Euxine a *mare apertum*. He intended to support the motion of Sir F. Baring.—Sir W. CLAY believed that the policy pursued by the government had been able, and in accordance with the spirit of the country.—Lord R. CECIL denied the justice or the prudence of making the limitation of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea an *ultimatum* in the negotiations for peace.—Mr BRIGHT complained that, under the secret system of diplomacy, the house was debarred from the discussion of many important questions until events had been decided, and the time for useful interference gone by. This he observed had been the case last year and at present. They were not allowed to discuss the war until it was proclaimed, or the conferences until they were concluded. Peace, he argued, should be advocated by those who believed that the objects of the war had been attained, as well as those who considered them not worth attainment at the cost of bloodshed. Examining the ostensible purpose of the war as explained in the speeches of ministers, the hon. member contended that nothing definite could be elicited. We did not fight for nationalities, nor for conquest, nor for any serious destruction of the Russian power. The only practical object presented to us was the security of Turkey, and this it was confessed by the government themselves could not be absolutely, but only conditionally obtained. He then argued, and decided in the affirmative, the question whether the basis on which Russia proposed to settle the "third point" offered the means of such conditional security. On the other hand, the demand of a limitation of the Russian armaments in the Euxine was humiliating to Russia and ineligible as a principle of pacification. Even if the propositions of the allies were somewhat preferable to those of Russia, was the difference, he asked, worth the sacrifices and the bloodshed consequent upon a continuance of the war? On all accounts he denied that the government were justified in breaking off the conferences upon such considerations, and declared that they had proved themselves guilty of rash and inexcusable recklessness. Mr Bright afterwards enlarged upon the serious consequences which war was entailing on the country in the exhaustion of its resources and the enhancement of debt and taxation. At present we were spending 75 millions a year more than sufficed to carry on the government of the United States, our nearest rival in commercial competition. If the war lasted six years, as anticipated by Sir W. Molesworth, we should have a burden of 450 millions to embarrass us in the race. Declaring that he had no confidence in the administration generally, he referred to the speeches and conduct of the principal members of the cabinet in succession to show that they did not deserve his confidence individually.—The Hon. F. SCOTT moved the adjournment of the debate, which was agreed to, after a few words from Lord Palmerston, who trusted that the house would consent to bring the discussion to a close on Friday evening.

Friday, June 8.

Lord J. RUSSELL stated that a change was about to be made in the governorship of Gibraltar.

On the motion that the house at rising should adjourn until Monday, Sir W. MOLESWORTH took the opportunity of vindicating himself from the charge of inconsistency on the peace question which had been alleged against him by several speakers in the recent debates.—Mr COLLIER also explained some passages in his speech which had been supposed to accuse Lord Aberdeen of criminal intentions in the conduct of the war.

THE ADJOURNED DEBATE.

The adjourned debate on the war policy was resumed by the Hon. F. SCOTT, who censured the government for their reticence, and declared his belief that the house ought to have interfered at an earlier period to inspire or control the administration.—Sir F. BARING explained the motives which had led him to frame the amendment which was now under discussion. In it he had abstained from giving expression to any opinion concerning the conduct of the government, believing that the time for judgment on that question was not come. Circumstances had, however, changed since his proposition was drawn up, and he was, therefore, perfectly willing to alter its terms, or withdraw it altogether, if any substitute should be proposed by which the great issue at stake—namely, the prosecution of the war—could be definitively presented for discussion and decision. The right hon. bart. afterwards proceeded to advert to some of the general topics suggested by the recent negotiations at Vienna.—The ATTORNEY-GENERAL reviewed the several pleas

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PERFECT DIGESTION and STRONG NERVES (without medicine) are restored to the most delicate and delicate food, which saves fifty times its cost in other means of cure.

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VICTORIA LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY, 18 KING WILLIAM STREET, CITY. Benjamin Hawes, Esq. Chairman. Thomas Neill, Esq. Deputy Chairman.

GREAT BRITAIN MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY, 14 WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON, and 30 BROWN STREET, MANCHESTER. The Chichester, Chairman.

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