

To the right of the Marquis of Lansdowne you will observe a Peer with a peculiarly sheepish expression, and enormous shirt collar—that is Lord Duncannon. In spite of his very silly appearance, his lordship is one of the few men of business in the Ministry, but the desk, not the house, is his sphere. Immediately adjoining the Ministers, on their right, and at the head of a bench that is scarcely separated from theirs, sits Lord Brougham. He displayed his usual sagacity in the choice of that seat. He is as it were, among the ministers, but not of them; yet the neutrality of his position is not so marked as to signify the impossibility of reunion. Behind the noble and learned lord, on the back bench, sits the Earl of Radnor. To his right sits the Marquis of Clanricarde, concerning whom even his friends are silent. Near him also sits Lord Denman, with that fine, severe face of his—the index of so much more than his mind contains.

THE BRITISH JOURNALS.

London Times, December 3.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Paris papers of Tuesday have arrived by our ordinary express. They are exclusively occupied with the Eastern question, and the debate on the address in the Chamber of Deputies, which may be regarded as a branch of it.

The most important fact connected with this subject, alluded to in these journals, and confirmed by our private letters, is, that the French Government had received positive intelligence that Mehemet Ali had accepted the terms offered him by the allies; that Ibrahim had in consequence been recalled into Egypt, with orders to avoid all possible collision with the forces of the allies, and that the preparations for the restoration of the Turkish fleet had actually commenced. 'Nothing more remains to be done,' observes a correspondent, 'but to obtain from the allied powers some concessions which will enable France to escape with honor from the position in which the treaty of the 15th July and its execution have placed her. To obtain such concession was, it is now unquestionable, the object of M. Mounier's mission to London, and this I state with a perfect knowledge of the denial given to the statement that his visit to the British capital had a political object. What the concession sought for may be, I know not, but something must be done to set France at her ease, and to heal her amour propre, in order that she may heartily accept a proposition to disarm that which will assuredly issue from the Congress to be held in Vienna next spring.'

The debate of Monday, which we notice at length elsewhere, did not, as the journals before us observe, advance the question a single step. The *Univers* states, that 'the sitting was remarkable for the following facts. Every speaker who took part in the debate concurred in censuring the address as prepared by M. Dupin, and every speaker declared in the most significant terms against any new alliance with England. Those speakers were almost unanimously applauded by the chamber, which since the commencement of this solemn debate, never evinced these sentiments in so evident and decisive a manner.'

The ex-official writer of the *Chronique de la Quinzaine*, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of the 1st inst., after devoting several pages to a review of the debate on the address in the Chamber of Deputies, observes, that that assembly could not with propriety adopt the project of address drawn up by M. Dupin, and that it must be sent back to the committee with the amendments proposed by several members of the house. 'Syria,' it admits, 'is now lost to Mehemet Ali. It would be an act of insanity on the part of France, therefore, to go to war in order to recover it for the Pasha. The loss of that Province should nevertheless be considered to have terminated for a moment only the Eastern question; and, as many unforeseen accidents may yet occur to complicate the question, as no faith can be placed in the declaration of the signers of the treaty of the 15th July, and as those who concealed its conclusion from their best friend may yet have some other *mauvais procédés* of the kind in store for France, the latter is bound to continue her armaments and increase her naval forces.'

Our Paris letters repeat that a modification of the cabinet was decided on, and that without it the majority on the address would be infinitely less than had been anticipated.

The *Commerce* says, that the fall in the funds on Monday was caused 'by the report of a new loan of 600,000,000, the terms of which were said to be, that for every 100*l.* subscribed in the three per cents, a rent of 3*l.* would be granted, together with an annuity to complete the difference between par and the price at which the loan would be taken. Thus, for example, if the loan were subscribed at 76*l.* there would be received for every 100,000*l.* paid into the treasury 3,000*l.* in Rentes and 24 annuities of 1,000*l.* each, or 12 annuities of 2,000*l.*

It was also said that the budget for 1841

about to be laid before the chambers by the Minister of Finance would amount to 1,140,000*l.* and an extraordinary budget of 750,000,000*l.*

'The only positive circumstance connected with the affair thus referred to,' says our private letters, 'is that a loan will take place. The funds are heavy to-day, as yesterday, but the liquidation is a chief cause of the depression.'

The *Univers* asserts that 'the French government is at present occupied with an important negotiation which it is endeavouring to advance with the greatest activity. Its plan is to marry one of Louis Philippe's sons either the Duke de Montpensier or the Duke D'Anmale, with Queen Isabella of Spain. The English journals,' adds the *Univers*, 'have had information of this project, and have disapproved of it, which proves that the English cabinet is determined to destroy the French interest in Spain as she has done in Egypt and in Syria.'

Our Paris correspondent asserts, that on the contrary his Majesty had for ever relinquished every speculation of the kind, and that the great probability was, that after all, the proposition that her Majesty should marry the son of Don Carlos would receive the sanction of the British Government.

The *Austrian Observer* publishes a letter dated Corfu, the 13th ult. from which it appears that the tranquillity of Epirus had been disturbed by a band of 1,200 or 1,500 Albanian plunderers. On the 2nd the Pasha of Jenina, Said Pasha, marched 800 regular troops against them, drove them out of the districts of Berat and Primiti, and followed them to the remotest parts of the Province, where they dispersed them completely.

Liverpool Mercury, Dec. 4.

THE FRENCH CHAMBERS.

The discussion on the address commenced in the Chamber of Deputies on Wednesday evening, the 25th ult. Marshal Saut said that he was president of the council when the difficulties of the Eastern question originated, and he had again accepted that office, with the responsibility attending its conclusion. France, he said, was ready to engage in war provided it was dictated by justice and dignity of the country: she never would accept a peace that was not honorable and was determined on maintaining unimpaired the balance of power in Europe. Such was the mission the new cabinet had undertaken. Peace would, he believed, be the result. He had witnessed himself the feeling of the English people towards his country, for he never considered the honor paid to him in England as addressed to him, but to the nation he represented. France might rest assured that he would not compromise her dignity at the end of his career. He had formerly served her with his sword, but he now served her as a citizen.

M. Thiers succeeded the Marshal, and a solemn silence ensued. He said the Chamber would appreciate his motives for addressing it at so early an hour. He would abstain from all recrimination, and merely state facts, and not impute to his predecessors the responsibility of the present situation. France, before the first of March last, had not been fortunate in several negotiations; she had failed in Poland, in Italy, and in Spain. (Murmurs from the Centre.) In the East she could not expect to be more successful. Her policy was to preserve the Ottoman Empire from the fangs of Russia. Although the alliance between England and France had been greatly shaken by the hesitation of the latter in regard to Spain, she was nevertheless disposed to give up many points, in order to remove the protectorship of Russia over the Ottoman Empire. England then proposed to unite their fleets at the mouth of the Dardanelles; if the Russians were marching on Constantinople, to summon them to stop, and if they refused, either to demand the entrance of the passage, or force it conjointly. To this plan the French cabinet did not accede, although it would then have been perfectly easy to engage England in a war with Russia. In the course of further negotiations, England made to France a number of propositions contrary to her interest, dangerous even, which the cabinet of the 12th of May honorably refused. Amongst them was the proposition to wrest by force the Ottoman fleet from the Pasha. When M. Thiers entered office M. Guizot was instructed to propose and obtain for the Viceroy the hereditary possession of both Egypt and Syria. England directly opposed it, and from that day France found herself alone against the Four Powers. To this he yielded. He urged the Pasha to accept of Syria for life; this proposition appeared to him very moderate and acceptable, and he moreover declared to Mehemet Ali that if he did not subscribe to it, France would not endanger the existence of her alliance with Great Britain by supporting his pretensions. The Consul of England, Mr. Hodges, had irritated the Pasha to such a degree, that the latter had declared that he would not give up Adana, and would order his son to cross the Taurus. The agents of peace opposed his wishes, but M. Thiers never held out to the Pasha any promises of direct support. France had in the east immense interest of fifty years standing, and, though a firm partisan of British alliance, the moment he (M. Thiers) perceived that France could not retain a real influence at

Constantinople, he had sought to establish her supremacy at Alexandria, because he considered that she would have a point d'appui in the east to maintain her ascendancy in the Mediterranean. He knew that the British Cabinet would not assent to the maintenance of the Pasha in Egypt and Syria for life. He was aware that such was the determination of the British Cabinet, and he would have considered himself unworthy of the confidence the King and country had placed in him if he had not assumed an imposing attitude. He had resigned because he saw a probability of war. He would have ordered the fleet to Alexandria, and war might very probably have been the consequence. Up to the signature of the treaty of July, France negotiated, that treaty signed she armed—but the present Cabinet had decided on peace at any price. (No, no.) 'It must be so. I will not believe that you are not good citizens; and if you had not resolved on peace, would you have checked the armaments? ('Hear, hear,' and 'Bravo, bravo,') Our influence in Europe is lost for ever.'—Dupin demanded to be heard in defence of the address, and said, 'We are the friends of peace, but are not afraid of war. There are wars which we would not enter into, and there are others which we would gladly undertake.'—Guizot then rose to reply. He was continually and unmercifully interrupted; first, by Piscatory, who, having been called to order, rose in anger and rushed out of the Chamber, then by Thiers, then by Berryer, by Taschereau and others, besides the usual or unusual parliamentary expressions. The policy of France, he said, did not shame her; she had little to repent, and nothing to revenge. (Hear.) The Spanish, Belgian, and Italian questions were settled; their solution did not involve the question of war or peace. As to the change of ministry, it was demanded by the fact that the passions of Frenchmen had been unduly excited, and faction inadequately denounced or repressed. (Hear, hear.) 'This gentlemen was the motive for the formation of the present Cabinet. It was not formed for the maintenance of peace a tout prix. Such a word is shameful to utter and shameful to hear. Who has a right to attribute to us such a desire? Who amongst us has, like the chief of the present Cabinet, gained victories for his country? Who in this Chamber have the right to call themselves better patriots than we are?' (Cries of 'Hear, hear,') The rest of his speech on Wednesday was confined to a personal defence of the calumnies urged against him. On some interruption from M. Thiers, he said, 'When Mr Pitt discussed in Parliament the question whether war should be declared against the French Republic or not, his speeches turned upon the question itself, and no one made of it an object of insulting or revolutionary qualifications. No, you do not wish for war a tout prix, nor do we desire peace a tout prix. You were a Cabinet composed of men of courage and ardour, who thought war imminent, and therefore prepared for it. We, on the contrary, think that peace ought to be the solution of the present crisis, and that, if there had been war, the fault would have been with yourselves.' (Sensation.)

On Thursday, after M. Passy had read several documents in defence of the late Government, M. Guizot re-ascended the tribune, and entered on an analysis of the negotiations antecedent to the treaty of July. He said that in the course of the negotiation several propositions were made, and he must say, for the sake of truth, and in order that it may be known to France, his firm conviction was that England, as well as the other Powers, but England above all, was sincerely desirous of an amicable arrangement with France. He was convinced that not only the English people but the English Government and Lord Palmerston himself, had the French alliance at heart. (Hear.)

A voice from the left: 'Nevertheless facts have spoken clearly.'

M. Guizot continued, 'I stand in this tribune to speak what I believe to be the truth, and never was it of more importance to my country to know it. What, Gentlemen, the Government of the King firmly adhered to its first proposition of arrangement; it would not depart from them, and yet it would not have it said that it had not the English alliance at heart. The Hon. M. Thiers knows better than any body else what importance is attached to it, and it was right. Nevertheless, it held firm as regards the East, to its ideas, and to its first propositions. This is what England herself did. Why should you conclude from this that England has not the French alliance at heart? England might retort upon you the reproach. (Exclamations from the left.) From what I have here said, Gentlemen, I only intend to draw this conclusion, that on both sides the desire of an approximation was sincere; that on both sides, if there has not been an approximation, it was because to the point of difference there was attached on both sides an extreme, and in my opinion, exaggerated importance.' He then stated that Lord Palmerston, though attaching the utmost importance to the possession of St. Jean d'Acre as being the key of Syria, nevertheless consented to waive that point, and he mentioned the circumstance as showing the sincerity of the hope of arrangements which led to the concession. After entering at great length into an account of the preliminary negotiations, M. Guizot said he had undoubtedly believed that before the definite signature of the treaty by the Four Powers. The fact would have been communicated, and a last opportunity afforded

to France for explanation. He believed this to be the ill treatment of which France had a right to complain. 'I am convinced,' said he, 'that the Powers that signed the treaty of the 15th of July had not in that treaty any hostile intention, or any menacing after-thought towards France and her Government. I am satisfied that there has been between the allied powers and France upon the question of the East, with respect to the relations existing between the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt, and as to the best manner of regulating them, a difference which I deplore, nothing more. I find merely that others think differently from me; but if my opinion has any value, and only from the position in which I am placed, the Chamber has some interest in knowing it. Whenever their happens to occur in France a movement a little lively, a little beyond ordinary, Europe sees in it a revolution, whenever the Powers unite together and agree together for some determined object, France sees in it a coalition. This is very plain, very natural, on one side as well as the other, and no one has a right to complain, but men of sense,—men who are called upon to influence the affairs of their country, ought to judge these matters coolly as well as other matters. Yes, the treaty of the 15th of July has placed France in a difficult situation; the treaty of the 15th of July has placed France upon an important question in a state of isolation in Europe, and of coolness towards her best and surest ally. Such is the fact in its truth and its extent; such is the fact for which it is necessary to make provision, and for which it is necessary to take a certain attitude, and to adopt certain preparations. But if you adopt an attitude, if you make preparations, which correspond with it, not with regard to this state of things, but to other circumstances; to circumstances much more grave, much more menacing, more pressing—then, gentlemen, you place France yourselves in the perilous situation in which you state she is; you are yourselves the authors of the danger; you prepare yourselves the coalition which you speak. (Loud applause from the ranks of the majority.)

No great interest of France has been attacked, neither her independence, nor her free activity, nor her wealth. What is attempted in the East may lead to other things than what are meant. Questions may arise then—events may spring up to which France cannot remain a stranger. This is a reason for arming and being in readiness. It is not a reason for our raising up the West events and questions still more grave, and which would not rise naturally. Small account has been held of the friendships of France. They demanded her concurrence; she refused it on the terms proposed. They proceeded by themselves with little courtesy. This was a *mauvais procédé*, but not an *acte de front*.' In conclusion he said, 'I have always seen in very critical moments, the sentiment of duty, and of responsibility, and of possession of the Chamber, and give them intelligence, a courage, and an energy, which in tranquil times, would have failed them. They do the rest of the world. This is what happened in 1831. We have often said of ourselves, without the Chambers, without their presence, without their co-operation, without that legal explosion, that organized strife of the public passions and reasons, Government could never have resisted a warlike and revolutionary tendency, that strong and so natural. The country could never have found within itself so much will and energy to maintain its government on the eve of a second trial? May we hope a second success? (Many voices, 'Yes, yes,') I do not know, my anxiety is great, but my confidence is the same. (Sensation.) It is by the Chambers alone—by their support—by the sincere and complete discussion which takes place in their bosom—that the country can be enlightened and danger averted. ('Very well,' 'Bravo,' prolonged marks of assent.) The Minister, in descending from the tribune, was surrounded by a great number of deputies, who made him their congratulations.)

The debate was then adjourned, the speech of M. Guizot having occupied the whole of the day.

INDIA.

Bombay, September 30.—My last letter related the capture of Khelat, the capital of Beloochistan, by the son, or rather the nephew, of Mehrab Khan, killed there last year. The former, in whose name the revolution had been carried on, is but a boy of twelve years of age. The chief whom the British political agent had last year put upon the man and the sword, made terms for himself, and surrendered to town. Lieutenant Loveday, the British officer who commanded a small force there, was taken prisoner, and has been removed to the stung.

The town and fort of Kahun, the one of the wild-est of the Beloochees, has been besieged by the Murrees; but Captain Browne, who commanded there, defended it with great gallantry. Major-General G. G. G. of the Bombay Grenadiers, set out on the 12th August from Sukkar, in order to relieve Kahun.—His detachment consisted of 600 Sepoys, 250 Poonah horses, and 200 camels, having a train of 1000 camels, besides loads laden with provisions, ammunition, &c. He passed with great difficulty through the defiles of the mountains called the