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* Every description of Life Assurance business transacted. EDWARD S. BARNES, Secretary.

THEATRES AND AMUSEMENTS.

THEATRE ROYAL, DRURY LANE.

Lessee, Mr. E. T. SMITH.

The last six nights of the celebrated American actress, Miss Julia Daly.

Engagement of that favourite Tragedian Mr. Charles Dillon, who will appear on the 6th of February.

Continued and increasing success of the brilliant Pantomime, with the
GREATEST PANTOMIC COMPANY IN THE WORLD.

The grand effects and scenic displays by Beverley must be seen to be appreciated.—Vide Times and daily journals of Dec. 27.

The Reduced Prices, as usual, at this Theatre, viz.: Upper gallery, 6d.; lower gallery, 1s.; pit and upper boxes, 2s.; first circle, 2s. 6d.; dress circle, 1s.; stalls, 6s.; private boxes, for two persons, 10s. 6d.; do., four persons, 1, 1½, and 2 guineas each.

Tickets and places may be secured from ten till five daily, at the box-office of the Theatre.

To-morrow (Monday), and during the week, will be performed

IN AND OUT OF PLACE.

Introducing Miss JULIA DALY, the American comic actress, to an English audience, when she will sustain six characters, in which she will introduce the song, by Charles Nicolet, of "My lover was a sailor boy."

Letty Duster (a stage-struck chambermaid) Miss Julia Daly

Paddy O'Splutter (from Ireland, after a place, with the song, "Trust to Luck") Miss Julia Daly

Mlle. Adelaide (a French opera-singer, with the Tyrolean air, "On Mountain high," with guitar accompaniment) Miss Julia Daly

Mlle. Tip-ti-toe (a danseuse, with burlesque polka) Miss Julia Daly

Mynheer Von Hannibal Slipperfund-onleppusocks. Miss Julia Daly

Sally Snokerapple (a Yankee girl, ready for any place, with the song and dance of "Independence Day") Miss Julia Daly

Etiquette. Mr. Tilbury. Clod. Mr. Templeton.

After which, on the usual scale of magnitude and magnificence for which this theatre is celebrated, the Grand, Original, Magical, Comical, Historical, Pastoral Pantomime, founded on the old English story of the name, and entitled

JACK AND THE BEAN STALK; OR, HARLEQUIN LEAP YEAR.

The New and Splendid Scenery, with Novel Effects, by Mr. WILLIAM BEVERLEY.

The Grotesque Burlesque Opening invented and written by E. L. BLANCHARD.

Arranged and produced by Mr. ROBERT ROXBY. Jack, Mr. Templeton; Goody Greyshoes (his supposed mother), Mr. Matthews; Rose, Madame Boleno; the Weather, Miss Mason; Friar, Miss Ellen Howard; Crystalline, Miss Grace Darley.

Millicent, Morlauch and Balbo, with 100 Coryphæes and Ladies of the Ballet.

Harlequins—Signors Milano and St. Malne.

Clowns—Harry Boleno and Flexmore.

Pantaloon—Messrs G. Tannor and Beckingham.

Columbus—Madame Boleno and Miss Sharpe.

Sprites—Signors Nicolo, Maria, Gratzany, Timberley, Guardany, Lisco, Diagoni, and Co.

A GRAND MORNING PERFORMANCE of the Pantomime every Wednesday, until further notice. Stage-manager, Mr. Robert Roxby. Doors open at half-past six, to commence at seven o'clock precisely. Parties at a distance, addressing Mr. Nugent, box-office, with a post-office order, will be attended to.

DRURY-LANE THEATRE.

The BOYS of the ROYAL MILITARY ASYLUM (the Duke of York's School) with their celebrated JUVENILE BAND, will attend the Grand Morning Performance of the Pantomime on Wednesday next, February 1st.—Doors open at half-past one, performance will commence at two o'clock.

ROYAL ENGLISH OPERA, COVENT GARDEN.

Under the Management of Miss LOUISA PYNE and Mr. W. HARRISON.

SIXTH WEEK OF THE PANTOMIME.

Last Two Morning Performances, Wednesday next, February 1st, and Wednesday, the 8th.

First representation of a new Operetta on Thursday, the 2nd. Music by Henry Leslie.

On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday Mellon's Opera of

VICTORINE.

Messrs. Haigh, Santley, Corri, Honey; Misses Parepa and Thirlwall.

And every evening the great Pantomime of

PUSS IN BOOTS.

Messrs. W. H. Payne, H. Payne, F. Payne, Barnes, Talliens, Clara Morgan.

On Thursday (first time), Friday, and Saturday, a new Operetta, music by Henry Leslie, Libretto by J. Palgrave Simpson, entitled

ROMANCE.

Messrs. W. H. Harrison, G. Honey; Miss Louisa Pyne and Miss Thirlwall. To conclude with the Pantomime. The Pantomime written by J. V. Bridgman. Scenery by Messrs. Telbin and Grieve. Arranged and produced by Mr. E. Stirling.

Stalls, 7s.; Private Boxes, to hold four persons, from 10s. 6d. upwards; Dress Circle, 5s.; Amphitheatre Stalls, 3s.; Pit, 2s. 6d.; Amphitheatre, 1s.

Doors open at half-past six, commence at Ten minutes to Seven.

Stage Manager, Mr. Edward Stirling. Acting Manager, Mr. Edward Murray.

THEATRE ROYAL, HAYMARKET.

(Under the Management of Mr. Buckstone.)

Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, Miss Amy Sedgwick will make her first appearance in London in the character of Mrs. Haller in THE STRANGER.

And on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday appear as Constance in the LOVE CHASE. After which the great Haymarket Pantomime of VALENTINE'S DAY; or Harlequin and the Fairy of the True Lovers' Knot. Scenery by Fenton. Pantomimists, the unrivalled Leclerqs.

Positively the last Morning Performance of the Pantomime on Thursday next, Feb. 2. Commence at 2, conclude at twenty minutes past 4.

ROYAL OLYMPIC THEATRE.

Lessees—Messrs. F. Robson and W. S. EMDEN.

Monday, and during the week (Tuesday excepted) will be performed THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY.

Characters by Messrs. H. Wigan, W. Gordon, H. Rivers; Miss Cottrell and Mrs. Stirling.

After which, a new Extravaganza, by Robert B. Brough, entitled, ALFRED THE GREAT. Characters, Messrs. F. Robson, H. Wigan, G. Cooke, F. Vining, F. Charles, H. Rivers, H. Cooper, Franks; Misses Herbert, Nelson, Hughes, Cottrell, Mrs. Stephens, and Mrs. W. S. Emden.

To conclude with A BASE IMPOSTOR. Characters by Messrs. G. Cooke, H. Cooper, H. Wigan, Miss Cottrell, and Mrs. Stephens.

On Tuesday, LADIES BEWARE, Characters by Messrs. G. Vining, G. Cooke, Mrs. W. S. Emden, Misses Stephens and Hughes. After which ALFRED THE GREAT. Characters as before. To conclude with THE CLOCKMAKER'S HAT. Characters by Messrs. G. Cooke, F. Charles, H. Cooper; Mesdames Herbert, Stephens, and W. S. Emden.

Doors open at 7. Commence at half-past 7.

ROYAL PRINCESS'S THEATRE.

Lessee, Mr. A. Harris.

Re-engagement of the wonderful Dancer, Mons. Espinosa. Fifth week of Mlle. Marietta Rosetti, principle danseuse of La Scala, Milan, and the Delepiere Family. These highly talented children will appear every night.

The Royal Princess's Rifles on Parade every evening.

THE CRICKET ON THE HEARTH. Principal characters by Messrs. Ryder, Meadows, Frank Matthews, Cathart; Misses Carlotta Leclerq, Clifford, and Wadhams.

After which, the new grand comic Christmas burlesque Pantomime (by H. J. Byron, Esq.), entitled JACK THE GIANT KILLER; or, Harlequin King Arthur, and the Knights of the Round Table. Jack, Miss Louise Keeley; Clown, Mr. A. Forrest; Pantaloon, Mr. Paul; Harlequin, Mr. Cornack; Columbine, Miss Caroline Adams.

In consequence of the great success and demand for places, there will be One More Morning Performance of the Pantomime, Monday, Jan. 30.

Children under 10 years of age, half-price. Commence at 2.

ROYAL ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.

KING STREET, ST. JAMES'S.

Lessee, Mr. F. B. CHATFIELD.

Nearest theatre to Chislen, Piccadilly, and Westminster, the Park being open to carriages and foot-passengers all hours of the night.

Last Six Nights of the Pantomime.

On Monday and during the week, THE BORDERER MARRIAGE Miss Wyndham; Messrs. A. T. Craven and Charles Young.

After which the new and successful Tragic Ballet, entitled, MY NAME IS NORVAL. Miss Lydia Thompson, Miss Clara St. Casse, Mr. Barrett, and Charles Young.

To conclude with the Pantomime of PUNCH AND JUDY; OR, HARLEQUIN AND THE FAIRY OF THE CRYSTAL CAVES.

Reduced Prices—Pit, 1s.; Gallery, 6d.

Box-office open from 11 till 5 daily.—Doors open at half-past 6, commence at 7.

THEATRE ROYAL LYCEUM.

Sole Lessee and Directress, Madame Celeste.

On Monday next, January 30, will most positively be produced, with new Scenery, Costumes, Appointments, &c. &c., the new Historical Drama, adapted and written by Mr. Tom Taylor, entitled A TALE OF TWO CITIES, the entire production of which has been under the kind personal supervision of Mr. Charles Dickens. Principal characters by Mr. James Vining, Walter Lacy, Johnstone, Villiers, Rouse, Forrester, T. Lyon, Morton, Miss Kate Seville, Turner, Stuart, Mrs. Campbell, and Madame Celeste. To conclude with the New Grand Christmas Extravaganza and Comic Pantomime, founded on one of the popular German tales by the Brothers Grimm, and entitled, KING THURSHBEARD, THE LITTLE PET AND THE GREAT PASSION; OR, HARLEQUIN HAFIZ, AND THE FAIRY GOOD HUMOUR, in which is presented one of the most novel, costly, and brilliant effects ever witnessed on the boards of a theatre. Designed and Painted by Mr. William Callcott. King Threshbeard, Miss Julia St. George. Characters in the Harlequinade: Harlequin, Mr. J. Marshall; Clown, Mr. H. Marshall; Pantaloon, Mr. Naylor; Columbine, Miss Rosine. Box-office open from Eleven to Five daily.

GLEES, MADRIGALS, AND OLD ENGLISH DITTIES. EGYPTIAN HALL. (Dudley Gallery.)

In consequence of the very distinguished success which continues to attend these performances, the London Glee and Madrigal Union, under arrangement with Mr. Mitchell, will continue their Entertainment of Old English Ballads, Glee and Madrigals, for a short period every Evening at Half-past Eight, and on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday Mornings at Half-past Two.—Conductor, MR. LAND; Literary Illustrator, T. OLIPHANT, Esq. Reserved Seats, 3s. Unreserved, 2s. A few Fauteuils, 5s. each, which may be secured at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 33, Old Bond-street, W.

MR. CHAS. HALLE, HERR MOLIGNE, SIG. PIATTI, MISS SUSANNA COLE, and MISS PALMER, Will appear at the MONDAY POPULAR CONCERTS, St. James's Hall, on MONDAY EVENING next, January 30th, on which occasion the Programme will be selected from the works of BEETHOVEN. Conductor, Mr. Benedict. Sofa Stalls 5s. Balcony 3s. Unreserved Seats 1s.

MR. AND MRS. HOWARD PAUL

In their brilliant comic and musical Illustrations of Character at the St. James's Hall, Piccadilly, EVERY EVENING, (Saturday excepted.) New songs and characters, Mr. Howard Paul's Impersonation, "The Man who knows Everybody," creates a furore of applause. The wonderful "Living Photograph" of Mr. Sims Reeves Every Evening in "Come into the Garden, Maud," and new Spanish Song, by F. Wallestein, entitled "Lola." Morning Representations on Tuesdays and Saturdays at Three.

Stalls, 3s. Area 2s. Gallery 1s. Commence at 8. Howard Paul's "Book of Songs" (as sung in the Entertainment) free by post for six stamps.

THE HARRIS FUND.

COMMITTEE.

Messrs. Baber (W.), Brough (R. B.), Buckstone (J. B.), Butler (Henry), Chippendale (—), Cotter (Thomas), Garrett (L.), Messrs. Herrman (Louis), Mackenzie (D.), Purdy (G.), Roberts (E. T.), Tilbury (W. H.), Tomlins (F. G.), Vining (Frederick).

It is proposed by a few friends of the deceased to raise a fund for the Children of the late Charles Harris, who are left totally unprovided for—the father having struggled for years with misfortune, ill health, and many reverses and failures in his business as a Theatrical and General Bookseller. This appeal is earnestly addressed to professional gentlemen; for the "Theatrical Depot," which stood opposite Covent Garden Theatre for a half century, must be well remembered. Any member of the Committee will thankfully receive contributions; and Mr. Louis Herrman, of 92, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, who will gratefully acknowledge them, has kindly undertaken the office of Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

The following Subscriptions have been received:—

F. Vining, Esq., Royal Olympic	£1 1 0
Albert Smith, Esq.	1 1 0
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E. P. Addison, Esq., Olympic	0 10 0
Tegg, Esq.	1 1 0
E. T. Smith, Esq.	1 1 0
Walter Lacy, Esq.	1 1 0
William Creswick, Esq.	1 1 0
J. Stirling Coyne, Esq.	1 1 0
Miss Louisa Pyne	1 1 0
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L. Garrett, Esq.	1 1 0
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L. Herrman, Esq.	1 1 0
R. B. Brough, Esq.	1 1 0
G. Purdy, Esq.	1 1 0
E. F. Roberts, Esq.	1 1 0
W. H. Tilbury, Esq.	1 1 0
T. Cotter, Esq.	1 1 0
W. Baber, Esq.	1 1 0

The Company and Managers at St. James's Theatre, per H. M. Barrett, 11 7 6

The Indian Atlas, Review.

of POLITICS, LITERATURE, and ART, will be PERMANENTLY ENLARGED, on and after January 7th, to Twenty Folio Pages; enabling the Conductors to devote additional space to Reviews, of Books, Fine Arts, Music, and the Drama. Price Sixpence, stamped. Office, 6, Southampton-street Strand; and of all Newsmen.

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

THE account which Ministers have put into the lips of HER MAJESTY of the doings during the last six months, and of what they propose that Parliaments should do during the six months to come, is somewhat unequally divided into that which concerns our relations with foreign States, and that which affects our own domestic condition. The debate on the Address in the Upper House elicited nothing worth noting from the second and third-rate organs of the Government there, on either branch of their policy. Lord GREY's hyperconstitutional criticism on the administrative steps taken to reinforce our squadron on the coast of China, and for sending an expedition thither in concert with the French, to retrieve the disaster at the mouth of the Peiho, was summarily disposed of by the Duke of NEWCASTLE; and not all the rhetorical efforts of Lords DERBY and BROUGHAM could extract from Lord GRANVILLE any definite statement as to the intention of the Cabinet with regard to Italy. Very little more to the purpose was Lord PALMERSTON's general assurance in the Lower House, that we had at all times been ready to negotiate with one or more of the great Powers for the settlement of the Italian question on a constitutional basis; and that he and his colleagues would never concur or co-operate in the application of foreign force. The real question is not whether England would concur or co-operate in armed intervention to establish or to suppress liberty in the Peninsula, for nobody wants her to do so. The actual question is—will England forbid and prevent foreign force being used by other powers to re-enslave an emancipated people? There is no use trying to blink the matter. This is the question of the hour.

Ministers will have to make a clean breast of it respecting France and Italy. We have now had eight months of suspense, during which European enterprise has been stifled, and every species of improvement, in our own and other countries, has been kept standing still—because France and Austria could not agree as to what was to be done with Tuscany and Romagna. There is an end, indeed, to the tiresome altercation, as far as NAPOLEON III. is concerned; and if the Government of England would but declare itself resolved to recognise the spontaneous union of Central Italy with Piedmont as a *fait accompli*, the Pope and the Emperor might protest at their leisure; but peace would be secured, Italy made happy, and the industry of England liberated from the thralldom of misgiving in which it has now so long laid. It may suit perhaps the unpatriotic purposes of those politicians who seek to rise by toadying the Court and pandering to what they suppose to be its personal leanings, to oppose the renewal of the *entente cordiale* with the present ruler of France. Every sycophant of royalty by hereditary right affects, of course, to despise the *régime* established by universal suffrage. If they dared speak out, they would avow themselves, one and all, to be Bourbonists to the backbone. For the sake of those that are set on high amongst our people, we would cherish the hope that they will see the wisdom of abstaining from all that would, even by implication, seem to encourage this treason to the national weal. The interests of England demand—and the spirit of England will inexorably insist upon—good faith being kept with France, so long as France keeps faith with us. We will have nothing to do with her choice of rulers. If she prefers a man of genius, like her present monarch, to a *roi fainéant* of the old legitimate breed, it is no affair of ours; and we will not suffer any grounds to exist for the suspicion that dynastic prejudices govern our councils. Were the people of this country forced to talk of preferences, theirs would be all the other way. Their recollections of Bourbon policy towards England consist chiefly of ingratitude for hospitality, bigoted aversion to Protestantism, perfidy when pretending to act in concert, even about dynastic matters, and unextinguishable jealousy of our national greatness and renown. Whatever be his faults, NAPOLEON III. cannot be accused of these; but even if he could, that would not induce us to cabal or conspire with rival claimants of the crown he wears. The declaration of Mr. GLADSTONE on this subject will be received with satisfaction by the country. Speaking in the name of the Government, the Chancellor of the EXCHEQUER unreservedly declared that “the fears of too close an identity between the policy of England and the policy of France, which had been expressed by certain members of the Opposition, were, in his opinion, wholly groundless. There could not be too close an understanding between England and France, because it lay in the nature of the case—it lay in the circumstances of the two countries—it lay in the circumstances of Europe—that it was hardly a possible contingency that France and England should ever be associated in policy except for objects that were laudable in themselves, and beneficial for mankind.”

The commercial treaty just concluded will have to be defended by its framers, rather as a proof of their earnest-

ness in carrying out the political union of Western Europe, than upon its own intrinsic merits as a step in the direction of free trade. There is something ineffably clumsy and sadly incomplete in the manner of the thing, which nothing but the incidental, or rather the prospective value, of the thing itself can induce us to overlook. We bind ourselves not to impose hereafter duties above a certain small amount on foreign wines, brandies, and silken fabrics, in consideration of certain imposts, to be lowered eighteen months hence, on British coal and iron imported into France; but the other countries, whose products we, at the same time, offer to admit at lessened duties, do not agree to make similar concessions in return. Had we resolved to lower our tariff to all the world, for the sake of our own revenue and industry, people would have recognised in the act a supplementary and confirmatory attestation of our confidence in the self-sustaining worth of unfettered competition. But the treaty said to have been signed on the 25th instant at Paris, hardly admits of such an interpretation. It professes to be a bargain, and as such merely it certainly does not seem to be a very good one for us. Perhaps our admission that it is not, may tend to appease in some degree the suspicion and rancour with which it is viewed by certain classes in France. If we had made better terms for ourselves, NAPOLEON III. would never hear the end of taunts about his having been ear-wigged and cozened by RICHARD COBDEN, acting as an unavowed emissary of perfidious Albion. As it is, however, ministers had much better frankly admit that the true inducements to them to enter into the contract in question were those indicated by Mr. GLADSTONE. On Monday week, when he brings forward his Budget, the right hon. gentleman will have to confess that, for the present at least, he has agreed to abandon a considerable amount of revenue, now easily and inoppressively levied, for the sake of trying the experiment whether commercial relations may not be hereafter multiplied between the two countries; and that he must, therefore, ask us to submit for a time to some additional impost, direct or indirect, as the price of an additional guarantee of friendship with France.

Turning to the portion of HER MAJESTY's speech which relates to internal topics, we have a legislative bill of fare consisting chiefly of law reforms and estimates for more efficient national defence. We are sorry to observe no distinct promise of an amended Militia Bill. In every solid requirement of national defence the public are prepared cheerfully to acquiesce; but they are rather sick of the spluttering and swaggering of which they have had so much of late, and they are quite determined not to be fooled out of any extravagant sum for experimental works of fortification, or for the encouragement of any scheme of sham soldiering. The thing they want they are ready and willing to pay for; but the thing they don't want they won't have at any price. The nation is quite prepared to pay for its defence any amount of money that can be shown to be necessary. It has never been used to rely upon the patronage or protection of any condescending class or two; and, upon the whole, it would rather not. When volunteer corps are formed, to which the entrance fee is publicly announced to be ten guineas, and the subscription two guineas a year; and when the inducement held out by the captains of others to the coxcombs of their acquaintance is that “care has been taken that not a single snob shall be admitted,” it seems high time to pause and ask—what does all this mean; and what is it to end in? A national army and a national militia, and, as the materials for both, national rifle practice if you will—but a class army, by whatever name called, anti-national in its composition, habits, and tendencies, must not be suffered surreptitiously to creep into existence. Sectarian ascendancy and political ascendancy were found to be intolerable, and the self-respect of the middle classes has long ago trampled both under foot. It will assuredly not allow a military ascendancy, *en masque*, to establish itself.

The subject, however, upon which still more curiosity is felt respecting ministerial intentions, is that of Reform. Will they follow the sinister advice which has been given them by some who would lure them into an unpopular course, and then laugh at their discomfiture; or will they adhere to the plain dictates of common sense and common honesty in their mode of dealing with this great question? Will they begin by special pleading, as they have been recommended to do by men who ought to know better; or will they take their stand fearlessly amid the inherent difficulties of the subject, and manfully try to overcome them? In a word, will they bring in one good and comprehensive Bill, providing, as the Bill of 1832 provided, by varied enactments for the varied necessities of the case; or will they attempt to skulk from the responsibility of carrying a great measure, by dividing their recommendations into two or three separate Bills—prepared (whatever may be said to the contrary at starting) to be content if they can carry any one

fragmentary portion? Unless we are greatly misinformed there are some among the members of the Government who are weak enough to have been duped into the vain imagination that this breaking of their measure to pieces would be an admirable expedient for at once baulking their adversaries and bamboozling the people. If they be not greatly belied, they have been caught by the specious pretence that the extension of the Franchise is a subject apart from all others, and one which ought to be settled first, before discussing the mode of voting, or the re-distribution of seats. Nothing can be more untrue or unsound.

An extension of the suffrage in boroughs from £10 to £6 would make the constituency of many large towns—already too numerous—wholly unmanageable, while it would fail to render the constituencies of the forty or fifty boroughs that now possess from two to four hundred electors independent. The mischief of overgrown constituencies is quite as manifest in its effect on the representation as the mischief of diminutive ones. We are no advocates for uniformity, and we are quite content that there should always be the degree of diversity that would exist between constituencies of one thousand electors and constituencies of five thousand. But, when we have already in Liverpool and Manchester 18,000 voters respectively, in Marylebone and in Finsbury, 20,000, and in many counties from 10,000 to 12,000—it does seem something very like turning the whole subject into burlesque, to hazard the passing of a Franchise Extension Bill, of which the re-allotment of seats should form no part. The policy is doubtful enough of conferring the franchise without the protection of the ballot on persons in humble station, in small or moderate sized constituencies, as it is in these that intimidation will always be exercised so long as it is permissible by law. But it were a great aggravation of this evil, as well as of many others, merely to add to the numbers entitled to vote, without at the same time, and by the same Act, sequestering close boroughs and dividing a considerable number of the largest counties and towns.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH UNION.

WE do not remember a time when a distinct declaration of English policy upon an important foreign question, such as was contained in the QUEEN'S Speech on Tuesday was more likely to have a beneficial effect upon the affairs of Europe and our own relations with other States. And although Lord NORMANBY, combining the dullness of the dotard with the virulence of the partisan, sought to render service to the wretched cause of the dethroned potentates of Italy, and excite alarm in this country by flaunting pictures of the warlike preparations of France, the straightforward way in which the British Cabinet has met the assembled Parliament will strengthen the popular conviction, that if Europe is again compelled to witness an appeal to arms, the friendship between the Governments of London and Paris will be preserved intact. In this country we have a one-eyed party, who cannot see the connection between the vigorous movements of England to maintain her naval superiority, and the increasing consideration in which she is held by foreign States; but Lord NORMANBY, with more absurd and culpable blindness, ignores the general condition of Europe, and upon grounds of false reasoning recommends a distrust of France at the very moment when the policy of that great country is more in harmony with English views than at any former period of her history. It may be quite true that French arsenals and dockyards exhibit as much activity "as if they were going to war next week;" but unless a career of diplomacy is to be regarded as a process for losing one's wits, his Lordship ought to know enough of continental affairs to perceive that any suspicion of weakness or want of vigilance on the part of France would lead to a combined reactionary movement against all the advantages which Italy has gained through French assistance, and to an overthrow of that prestige of success in a good cause, which is a most important source of strength to the Empire of NAPOLEON III.

If the war preparations of France are spoken of, why not those of Austria?—who, while reducing the number of privates in her army, has so enlarged its framework, that it might on a short notice be made more powerful than before. What, also, of the Papal League, which is endeavouring to entangle Russia, and which is, to all appearances, rapidly treading the road to strife? At Rome, Count BUOL—going under the diplomatic veil of "benefiting his health"—reinforces Baron BACH, and assists in plotting reactionary and absolutist schemes. Already the Austro-Papal party have succeeded with Spain, Naples, and South Germany, and they are alleged to be in league with the ultramontane bishops in France, who hope to restore the Bourbons to the throne. The King of Bavaria supplies arms to a regiment recruited in his dominions for the service of the Pope; Wurtem-

berg has a concordat with the Holy Father; and, in spite of the opinion of the people, the rulers of Saxony and Baden have enrolled themselves among his supporters. The Morocco war, into which Spain was cunningly assisted by France, may for years render her aid to the Papal confederation of little effect; but enough disturbing elements remain to make the military and naval activity of France fully explicable without anticipating a quarrel with ourselves.

The conduct of Austria may, at any moment, lead to a revolution in Hungary, or further complications in Italy; and if the French Government is determined to hold its ground, it must be prepared to meet any decision to which the Russian Court may arrive. The Czar is certainly not friendly to Austria, and he has enough to do with his great and difficult measure of emancipating his serfs; but as an absolute sovereign, affecting to rule by Divine Right and despising popular will, he must dread the impetus given to liberal principles by the attitude of England and France, and it would be hazardous to predict the course he will take when the inevitable moment comes for the rescue of Venetia and the emancipation of Hungary. It is well that these facts should be borne in mind, because, although they ought not to lead to any desire for the cessation of prudent preparations in this country, they are sufficient to show that France is justified in increasing her armaments without the slightest reference to any probability of difficulties with ourselves. Indeed, if England and France are united in spirit, the physical power which they can wield may be the very means of preventing dangerous enterprises which the absolutist Powers might otherwise undertake.

Morally speaking, there can be no peace in Europe until liberal ideas have triumphed; but our looms and forges may be active, and our merchants indulge in their ventures without alarm, if the two most civilized and powerful nations are agreed that a rational doctrine of non-intervention shall be asserted and enforced. That more collisions of armed hosts will occur may be the unavoidable result of the transition-state of affairs; but although England will not have the absolute predominance to realize CANNING'S well-remembered quotation of *ÆOLUS* sitting upon his rock and ruling the storms, there can be no doubt we may have the power to mitigate the evils and embrace the benefits of the strife; and it has fallen to the lot of few sovereigns to utter words of greater power than those in which Queen VICTORIA has embodied the sentiments of the nation over which she presides, and claimed for the Italian people the absolute right to determine their own form of government and manage their own affairs.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND THE RIFLE MOVEMENT.

THERE is one advantage that will result from the volunteer system and its rigorous drills, apart from any warning or deterring influence the "movement" may produce abroad, which has not hitherto been alluded to by our contemporaries.

We allude to the valuable effects that will arise from more attention being paid to physical education. We do not mean to say that the daily marchings and countermarchings, laying down and picking up of rifles, were the first inklings we had that a strong body was a most valuable ally to a strong mind; and that, in fact, a strong mind doing anything in a puny body was like Captain Cook trying to go round the world in a cranky Thames wherry.

"Mens sana in corpore sano,"

being a motto we have had by us on copy slips, &c. ever since the days of THALES or of SOLON. But for the last ten years or so, there has been a growing impression that our educationalists were rather pampering the mind at the expense of its old friend and partner, the body; and symptoms of a reaction in favour of the latter have been visible, in various ways, to those thoughtful men who do the "thinking" for the nation, and, keeping their fingers on the people's pulse, report from time to time its indications of health or disease. Muscular christianity, or the doctrine of giving a man who gives you one blow two in return, which Mr. KINGSLEY preaches, has been one of the strongest literary diagnostics of this national alarm; and the author of "Tom Brown" has followed up this by showing that the peace-making upon which Christianity pronounced its eternal beatitude was best secured by hitting your antagonist as hard from the shoulder and as straight between the orbs of sight as possible.

Ten years ago or so, the Clubs were filled with elderly and rheumatic perennials, who prophesied that the greatness of the English nation had passed away with the wonderful men—"the three-bottle men"—of PITT'S time; that young fellows now spoiled their nerves with tea, and other womanish drugs; that fox-hunting no longer meant a long day's hard riding, from seven A.M. to four P.M., but was a mere steeple-chase flash of lightning,

burning out like a too combustible firework in a poor forty minutes; that the age was feverish and railway mad—that there was no boxing as there used to be when BYRON sparred with JACKSON all the morning, then went to a round of parties, returning home at daybreak to drink his tenth bottle of soda water, and write “Lara;” that, in fact, every one and everything was grown effeminate, weakly, and degenerate.

You would really have thought, to have listened to these old ravens of the Clubs, with their dyed hair and their padded frock-coats, that we were grown such a poor set of weaklings and imbeciles, that all the French had to do was to land at the London Docks, blow up St. Paul’s, sack Fleet Street, and turn Westminster Abbey into an opera-house—no resistance from us being possible, or to be expected. They talked as if the GEORGE III. men were made of steel and we of wax; as if their fingers were bigger than our legs; as if the swords they wielded in the Peninsula it would take three of us to lift. The drastic influence of public school life and university gymnasiums, of universal boating and cricketing all over England, they ignored, saying that we now only played at what they (the three bottle men) used to work. In fact, when the old Raven left you and went to his intellectual nightly rubber with old Colonel HANGER, Mr. CROKER and Mr. DUMMIL,—rather stiff about the knees and a little indistinct in voice, you looked upon yourself as one of a disgraced and fallen race—one of England’s Lower Empire, indeed.

The spectre removed to the card-room—undismayed by his dyed hair, the carefully gummed on scalp, and the Regency bow (even now so killing when in the “cold” manner, so fascinating when in a “warm” tone)—you begin, in the solitude of the lofty club smoking-room, to wonder if your old friend was really right. You, self-assertingly, strike out your hardy arms; you kick imaginary invaders with the powerful flexors and extensors of the “femur” that work like tough ropes; you recall wrestling grapples in the country; you remember fourteen hour rides and six hour walks. You begin to feel contradictory, and an advocate of the age’s manhood; you think of tremendous replies, that would have blown up the “Raven” as with a ten inch shell.

The next morning, as you roll from your bed—the exact warmth of a mild summer morning—into your broad shallow pan of a bath, breaking with a glassy crackle a slight silver paper surface of ice, you begin, however, quite to despise the “Raven,” and to grow less distrustful of the age. That same afternoon you get finally convinced, by accidentally taking up EMERSON’S “English Tracts,” and finding that he, as a clever, thoughtful, impartial American, who has seen the world, and with keen eyes too, says, “The English, at the present day, have great vigour of body and endurance. Other countrymen look slight and undersized beside them, and invalids. They are bigger men than the Americans;” “round, ruddy, and handsome,” he goes on to add, “with a tendency to stout and powerful frames.” He boasts with the pride of a child talking of a father of how we English ride and walk faster than all other people; how we hunt and trap and shoot all over the four hemispheres, and write sporting books for all the world. Does this look like degeneracy? You reflect, and long to go to the club card-room at once, and silence the “Raven.”

Still, we are secretly so far of the Raven’s opinion, that we think without more attention being paid to physical education the next generation must suffer. School is now such a serious affair; hours of work increase, and drive up hours of play frightened into timid corners. “The use of the globes” is now no mere ostentation of our Yorkshire friend of Dotheboys’ Hall; children now learn more sciences than they are years old. Young ladies are no longer confined to “Calisthenics and the Indian clubs,” but entangle themselves in EUCLID’S diagrams and dive deep into hydraulics. Even boys get an inkling of the turnpike-gates of examination that must one day be passed before the pleasant, smiling Sincure country is reached, and brace themselves for the leap. There is less play in life; rainy days begin earlier in the year; sunshine recedes back from the frontier of adolescence; and the schoolmaster, worried by barking rivals and exacting parents, shortens the hours of recreation, and gets into the habit of thinking every hour won from play a gain.

With the great city population, now that hours are late, and fields shrink so sensitively from the advances of the brick and mortar deluge, there is more than ever fear of our young men growing up pale, flabby, and incapable of sustained and vigorous exertion. Only imagine a city clerk now suddenly retiring, after the manner of the Greeks, to a disrobing room within the precincts of his bank, anointing his nude body with MACASSAR’S balmy oil, and making a dash down King William-street, followed by fellow athletes, to plunge into the Thames from London-bridge stairs; when, of course, the police would follow him in a boat, and take him off to the nearest sitting magistrate, as a lover of sanatory reform, who himself needed immediate moral reformation.

Yet PLATO, and all the wise men of Greece that we venerate, and spend half our youth learning to construe, would have refused to believe that any nation could exist whose striplings did not oil themselves daily, wrestle and box, and race and leap, and after that betake themselves, red-hot and dusty, to the necessary bath. So XENOPHON was trained to become in his old age a fine, old, fresh Eubæan country gentleman. So SOCRATES learned to draw his wise saws from the grapples of the naked youths of Athens, as he lay watching them under the dry olive trees, musical with the ceaseless cicada.

Sudden alarms about sanatory neglect indicate the sense of the necessity of some change existing in the mind of the alarmist. It is always your puny *homunculus* friend, with no chest, thready voice and fishy eyes, who bores you about the use of the dumb-bells, who beats his little band-box of a chest as he asserts that no man can live without boxing daily, and other self-evident fallacies. He is the man who tortures himself with cold water applied at uncomfortable and contrasting moments, who walks constitutionally when nobody else wants to walk, who gets quite fretful, noisy, and excited praising cold pump water, who requests you to pinch his arm, who insults big draymen, who disdain to touch such a doll of a man, and who he, therefore, thinks he has cowed and intimidated. But this does not prove anything against physical education, for perhaps without these bodily mortifications, TWITTER would not now be alive to brag of his stamina. To laugh at exercise advocates because it produces TWITTERS, is as absurd and unfair as to argue that water-drinkers are all invalids, because invalids generally have recourse, from sheer debility of constitution, to such cruel remedies for bodily incapacity as temperance or total abstinence. The body is the butt end of the mind, to use a military metaphor, and we think that this rifle movement will help to strengthen it nationally, just now that we are all getting more sedentary and business-like than ever. Your self-complacent man may show us nervous COWPERS and fragile POPES; but we find that iron men like NAPOLEON, and thinkers like the old soldier and stonecutter, SOCRATES, have really led and formed the world. In fact, our opponent has only got to allow as an hypothesis that two brains are of equal capacity, and it at once follows that whichever brain is lucky enough to be backed up by the strongest body—the body that can bear to sit, and think, and work, and act, and produce most in the day, will be the master of the lesser power—the conqueror of circumstances—the leader of men, and the victor in life’s race.

It is a small proof, yet we think we see, even in the fact of the universal introduction, within the last ten years or so, of morning cold baths, an argument that either our young men need bracing more than they used to, or that they feel more the necessity of being braced; brains soften more than they used to do; heart disease increases; diet is working on us; doctors tell us that, as in ELIZABETH’S time, sanguineous diseases were paramount, and in the Georgian era gastric diseases; so now, nervous diseases lead off the largest haul of victims into that dark region where the sun is not; and therefore it is that we rejoice to see the lion youth of England joining the volunteer ranks with such cheerful eagerness. They cannot, after the desk and the arm-chair, have too much of the goose-step, of standing-at-ease, of the drill generally. The lazy man, who can hardly be induced to walk a mile, can sometimes scarcely be stopped when he has walked two, so fond has he grown of the exercise of which he was once so ignorant. It cannot hurt a man to make him strong on the leg and sure of eye. The timid faults of envy and scandal will grow scarcer as men grow healthier. An hour’s drill will restore BRUISER an altered man to his poor little shrinking wife. As our national stomach improves in tone by exercise, our national temper will become, perhaps, more courteous and obliging. The British lion, then, will be less often mistaken for a bear.

But one penalty for all these benefits we shall surely pay, and it requires no MERLIN to prophesy them—our club and social meetings, for a time, at least, will be tormented with military jargon; gun tackle will crowd every sitting-room in which you can take shelter from the dreary monotones of drill. Young men, vain of youth, arrogant of wealth that they really have, and intellect, which they only fancy they have, will strut about the streets with the air of conquering CÆSARS in “Guy” dresses, as much like real soldiers as stage supernumeraries are, but in their own opinion ready to bury all the invading French in Plumstead marshes, or to turn Clapham common into another crimson Waterloo. But let us bear all this in good part; it is only the smoke that precedes the fire; and let us all be quite sure that in the hour of need or peril these sucking ALEXANDERS and beardless MARLBOROUGHs would rush on the enemy’s cannon as bravely as our three hundred LEONIDASs did a short time ago at Balaklava.

THE GRAND ARMY AT MASS.

AN order has been issued, it is said, by the Minister for War, forbidding soldiers in garrison at Paris or any other town in France from attending worship in parochial or conventual churches; and intimating that, for the future, provision would everywhere be made within barracks for the regular celebration of mass. The compliment paid to religion hardly disguises the distrust entertained of the priesthood. The courtly confessor of LOUIS XV. having shrived the dying debauchee, told the edified companions of his pleasures, that the King had made the "*amende honorable*" to God. LOUIS NAPOLEON desires, perhaps, to mitigate the wrath of the Church which he has certainly provoked by his policy, as much as his Bourbon predecessor offended Heaven by his contempt of private morals. What the languid penitence of the Royal sinner may have availed, we know not; but it is certain that the Imperial offender will be credited in account with no indulgence by the Church, for his delicate attention to the spiritual wants of his Guards and Zouaves. Such attention, as Dr. JOHNSON would have said, "had it been earlier had been kind;" but it has been delayed until a moment when its motive can hardly be ascribed, even by the most charitable, to the devotional instincts of the Government; especially when it is accompanied with an inhibition which reads like a bitter sarcasm embodied in an order of the day.

The truth is the Emperor feels he can no longer afford to trifle with the subversive disloyalty of the clergy for whom he has done so much, but who are bent upon showing the world how fathomless is ecclesiastical ingratitude. There is not a cathedral or important parish church in France, which has not been restored or beautified at the cost of the State during the last ten years; there are few prominent works of ecclesiastical importance, that have not had the benefit of Imperial help; and there are scores if not hundreds of the parochial clergy whose personal position has been raised from indigence to comfort by the munificence of the Eldest Son of the Church. But all is now forgotten in the rage and resentment he has kindled by his recent advice to the Pope to relinquish the worldly cares of sovereignty, and to be content with a guaranteed security for the possession in peace of the city of Rome. Spoliation and sacrilege are now the only vices with whose denunciation French pulpits resound. The doctrines of passive obedience, lately preached in their most Ultramontane sense, are inculcated no more. The powers that be are still said to be ordained of God; but as the highest of these powers is the enthroned successor of St. PETER, all resistance to his authority is pronounced to be at once anarchic and accursed—and *all* is uttered in italics.

And the lengths to which episcopal and pastoral denunciation has gone during the last fortnight, can hardly be believed by those who have no other means of information but such as are afforded in the public press. Seditious libel, outlawed wherever the civil jurisdiction extends, claims the privilege of sanctuary, and at the foot of the altar believes itself secure from molestation. The stern hand that struck down democracy, and stifled the voice of political discussion in the press, the *salon*, and the tribune, hesitates, as yet, to smite its surpliced adversary. But all that takes place beneath the sacred roof is daily reported by the emissaries of the police; and the Government cannot disregard its tendency. At a convent chapel, near Paris, a few days ago, a sermon was preached, by a well-known *abbé*, on the life and death of St. PETER; the character of his Imperial persecutor was depicted in significant terms, and the moral of the discourse was pointed in the pregnant words, "Remember what was the fate of NERO!" No wonder NAPOLEON III., whose flatterers have been so fond of comparing him to AUGUSTUS, should think it as well that his troops hear nothing about the CÆSARS who came to an untimely end. He well knows that though the votes of seven millions are said to have given him the crown, it is the arms of half-a-million soldiers that must preserve for him the sceptre.

The elements of a vast conspiracy against the restored dynasty are, indeed, now mingling, for the first time, in France. Doctrinaires and Jesuits, devotees of legitimacy and fanatical republicans, priests and protectionists—are seeking shelter and support from one another, and whispering vows of mutual help and common hostility. The clerical organisation, even without the aid of the monastic orders, furnishes facilities for wide spread combination that the enemies of the Empire have never had before; and it is worth the while of those who have the preservation of great monopolies to defend, to invest largely in the plot. We do not mean to say that disaffection has been or will be able suddenly to improvise counter-revolutionary designs in any practical shape; but we have had abundant proof of the rapidity with which disaffection comes to maturity on the other side of the channel. We doubt not that the intrepidity and self-reliance of the singu-

larly gifted man who out of nothing created for himself an empire, will prompt him to do wondrous battle in its defence; and, so long as he can rely upon the absolute fidelity of the army, it is not easy to see how his power can be seriously shaken. For this purpose, however, it is evidently essential that French soldiers should hear no more than their prayers when they go to mass. The Chasseurs de Vincennes and Voltigeurs of the Line will not be supposed to be very susceptible of theocratical impressions; but if we are told that "a word spoken in due season, how good is it!"—the converse may be, and probably is, matter of uncomfortable conjecture just now in the Imperial mind. Better, at all events, to be on the safe side, and to make sure that no sacerdotal finger is allowed to play with arms of precision. Very awkward things these arms of precision when you are not quite sure about the triggers; and very wonderful to think what a difference an almost imperceptible obliquity of aim may make in the future fate of empires!

THE POPE AND HIS TEMPORALITIES.

FEW subjects in our own age open a field for more interesting and instructive retrospect than the Papacy; none, perhaps, is more suggestive and confirmatory of the progress made by civilization and the true principles of liberty of thought and intellect during the last thousand years. It would scarcely be possible to conceive a stronger contrast than between the vigorous thunders launched forth by the powerful pontiffs of former days, and the weakling remonstrances, the maudlin plaints and peevish recriminations uttered by him who can scarce keep his seat on the chair of St. PETER. Nor can the change be accounted for by the different dispositions and natural temperament of the Popes themselves. Times, institutions, and men are changed since a Pontiff could excommunicate ROBERT, King of France, our own contemptible JOHN, or the daring and independent HENRY VIII. Formerly, whether a Pope was enjoying high and mighty state in Rome, or was an exile from his own land and virtually a prisoner in another, his authority was equally owned, his spiritual prerogatives held to be equally unquestionable and valid. How is it that poor PIUS IX., distraught as he is with perplexities and difficulties, and irritated by unwelcome interference, does not protest by means of ban and interdict, as his predecessors would have done? It is said that an encyclical letter or bull is to be issued in a few days, hurling curses and anathemas against all and sundry of his political enemies and opponents. Why is such an announcement received with incredulity and derision? What is it which withholds the Papal See from excommunicating the Emperor of the French, whom the Pope accuses of plotting to rob him of his territory? It is simply that the spirit of the age is changed. The Minister for Public Instruction, in addressing the pupils of the Polytechnic and Philotechnic Associations at Paris the other day, made use of a few words which well characterize the difference between the blind devotion formerly shown to the Catholic Church, and the independent action which Catholics are now disposed to exercise as their right:—"We will nowhere be promoters of anarchy and impiety. We fear God and keep the faith of our fathers. We are Catholics, and never under any government has religion been surrounded with more respect and protection." France, in common with the civilized world, though grown more moral, has given up its superstitious reverence for Rome. While turbulence and inclination to resist authority righteously exercised are rapidly disappearing, men are becoming more independent every day, and more tenacious of their inherent right to think for themselves. Nations have learned that when a country is prosperous, and governed by rulers who employ means well adapted to the conservation of the principles and institutions morally and physically congruous with the nature and peculiarities of its inhabitants and their traditions, it cannot do better than retain them, and should be slow to accept any substitute palmed upon it by the Vatican. A laugh of derision would probably be the greatest effect produced either in Catholic or Protestant countries, should PIUS IX. bethink himself of making use of the almost forgotten weapon of excommunication. Rumours of its employment in the case of Piedmont were afloat a short time ago, and it was declared that the papal threat was met by the counter threat that the king and his subjects would turn Protestants if the project were carried into execution. Even such a rumour is an important sign of the times, as marking the liberation of individuals and nations from the spiritual and intellectual thralldom in which they were formerly held. Probably there never was an age in the history of the Church when the Papacy was in so low a condition as that in which we now see it. It scarcely boasts a literary or political adherent who can be considered to stand one grade above mediocrity. This may be looked upon as a homage to the superior honesty and sincerity of

the present over bygone ages. Men are ashamed now-a-days to dedicate their talents to the glorification of a power whose mightiest efforts have ever been put forth to darken human intellect and intelligence, and retain men and women, princes and subjects in perpetual childhood and vassalage.

The separation of the temporal from the spiritual power of the Pope has been repeatedly mooted at different times and by various writers. The plan advocated in the pamphlet which has so long engrossed public attention, may be characterized as a family project, since it is nearly identical with one conceived by the first NAPOLEON, and recently brought into public view. The Napoleonic decrees relating to the Papacy, prepared by the minister ALDINI in 1808, professed to keep in view the maintenance of the temporal power of the Pope, while it secured the rights of the Roman population. It is these two divergent principles which the present Emperor seeks to unite. While we cannot conceive any just reason why the City of Rome should be burdened with a Government too onerous to be borne by the more extended territory of the Papal States, we can but rejoice in any reduction of the Pope's dominion, as preparatory to getting rid of his temporal power altogether. On this ground the blindness and obstinacy of the Pontifical Government in refusing to acquiesce in the transfer of the Legations is advantageous for the rest of his oppressed States. It is morally certain to result eventually in the loss of the Marches and Umbria, which would, in the contrary case, have been assured to the Pope for the present. It appears that, so far as the Emperor of France was concerned, the simultaneous appearance in London of the report of ALDINI; and at Paris of the pamphlet *Le Pape et le Congrès*, was completely fortuitous. Yet both view the subject in the same light, arrive at identical conclusions, and prove that nothing but the separation of the temporal from the spiritual power can remedy the sufferings of the people, and restore the lost splendour and influence of the Catholic religion. According to the provisions suggested previously to 1815, the temporal government was to be destroyed, not only in the Legations, but throughout the whole territory which had belonged to the Pontiffs. Rome was to be declared free, together with its dependencies. It was to be governed by a Senator and a Municipal Council composed of forty citizens. To the Senator was to belong the executive power, while the legislative was vested in the Council. The provinces remaining to the Pope were to be annexed to the kingdom of Italy. The Pope was to enjoy an income of two millions, derived from civil taxes, and to retain possession of the Church and palaces of the Vatican and Holy Office. Thus he would resume his primitive sacerdotal ministry; Rome would be restored to a government congenial with its history and traditions; and while it enjoyed its own senatorial liberty, it was to partake of the splendours of an imperial city. The author of this plan, ANTONIO ALDINI, was a Bolognese by birth, and nearly related to the celebrated GALVANI. From 1797 he took an active part in the political events of the Continent. Having previously been an advocate at Rome, he had obtained a thorough insight into the political constitution of the clerical government. He subsequently became professor of law in the University of Bologna. Here his ideas expanded by the contemplation of the wide field opened to Italian publicists by the French Revolution, and he applied himself to the development of the grand principles which were to replace feudalism, absolutism, and theocracy. Excited by the events which Napoleonic energy was hurrying forward, he passed from theory to practice. First, he became Minister and Plenipotentiary of the Bolognese Republic at Paris; then President of the Republican Congress at Modena; subsequently President of the Council of Elders of the Cisalpine Republic; State Counsellor after the battle of Marengo, member and president of the Legislative Councils. After this NAPOLEON kept him near his person, as minister for the affairs of Italy, nominated him count, and created him Grand Dignitary and Treasurer of the Order of the Iron Crown. During this period he represented the practical sense of the Italians, as accompanying the genius of the Revolution. Not until the Allies entered Paris did he give up his post, and then the esteem in which he was held by the Powers of Europe, was so great that the Austrian Emperor, FRANCIS, invited him to Vienna, to remain during the Congress. Here, though divested of his official character, he was often consulted by the principal diplomatists, and had frequent conferences with them. His project with regard to the Papacy met with the full approbation of NAPOLEON I., though the turn of political events prevented him from carrying it out. It was kept secret until 1856, when it was brought forward, but only to be rejected. The present position of the Legations, however, renders it worthy of re-examination, and proves that this arrangement, or some modification of it, is essential to the tranquil settlement of Italian affairs.]

THE COMMERCIAL TREATY.

AMONGST the many topics to which the opening of Parliament has suddenly imparted a great interest, the commercial treaty with France stands out very prominently. Next to Italy and the Congress, it was placed foremost in the Royal Speech. It has already occupied attention in both Houses. It concerns the welfare of the two greatest nations of Europe. Many of the subjects eagerly announced and breathlessly discussed at the opening of every session soon pass into oblivion. The rush of business is then always far too great to last. As it subsides it deposits much rubbish with one or two legislative nuggets, like the Reform Act of 1832, or the Corn-law Repeal Act of 1846, at which the nation rejoices. Whether or not the sanction to be given to the commercial treaty with France be one of these, or whether, like the former treaty, concluded in 1787, this treaty is to be interrupted by war before much benefit can well come from it, lies hid in the womb of time. We can only write of present hopes and present facts: the treaty is well intended; the results are beyond the control of the two negotiating Governments.

We agree with every speaker of either party, that commercial treaties are, in the abstract, wrong. The particular treaty is only defended, apparently, because it will enable the French Emperor, who finds the task difficult, despotic though he be, to carry through the free-trade measures he has announced. The French are not convinced by our great prosperity since 1842 that free trade is universally beneficial. They are aware that under the restrictive system, amidst war, and blockades, and prohibitory orders in Council, England also made considerable progress. Her success then confirmed the old creed, that progress was the result of restrictions intended to promote it. Except some wine-growers and the inhabitants of commercial towns, the bulk of the French are still favourable to protection and prohibition; as our landowners and shipowners, and even the bulk of our people were till a comparatively recent period. Our wine duties, originally intended to check the trade of France, and still preserved for revenue reasons, after the original object is scouted by every intelligent man, serve to keep alive there old prejudices against free trade, especially against free trade with England, and strengthen the obstacles which stand in the Emperor's way. The two Governments being now allied, and the two nations disposed to be on friendly terms, to increase this disposition and cement their friendship the political obstacles to the extension of their mutual trade should be removed. The Emperor proposes to do his part, but he is bound to monopolists till 1861; and they being very powerful, may even then be able to resist his avowed and good intentions. By at once modifying our wine duties as a condition of a treaty we shall strengthen his hands against his monopolist subjects. Between now and next year the French will experience, as we shall experience, benefit from the reduction of our wine duties; and he will then be able, we hope, aided by treaty obligations, to carry into effect his free-trade measures. The commercial treaty, therefore, not defensible on *trade* grounds, stands firm on the higher grounds of general policy and humanity.

Neither Mr. COBDEN in promoting it, nor any other free-trader, nor any speaker in Parliament, can now believe that Governments can in any degree promote the extension of trade, except by removing restrictions on it. Trade is mutual service, founded on the special advantages or peculiarities bestowed by nature on individuals and places, causing exchanges which are beneficial to all. It is as natural a growth as population, —as grapes in one climate and strawberries in another. It is carried on by individuals for their own benefit, not by nations in their corporate capacities. It is one part of the individual industry by which all are fed; and Governments have no more to do with it than with ploughing or weaving. They never, in fact, interfere with any part of this natural and necessary business without deranging it. Commercial treaties may remove some restrictions, but they necessarily impose some. Every regulation is a restriction. They are, at no time, *per se*, defensible, but regarded as instruments for attaining the high political objects adverted to, they may be justifiable. We imprison and hang our fellow-creatures, expecting thereby to prevent crime; so we agree to a commercial treaty, expecting thereby to allay prejudices and promote the friendly union of two nations long accustomed to regard each other as rivals or enemies. It will only increase trade as it sets trade free.

Some loose statements are made about wine being a luxury, and therefore a proper object of taxation. It is made a luxury to the multitude by high duties. "They stand," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "like a wall of brass between a poor man and a glass of wine." Pictures, statues, books, newspapers are all luxuries in the same sense as wine. Man has existed without it and without them, and can exist without it and without them.

But man was then a savage, and the use of luxuries is one attribute of civilization. To impede the use of them is to check progress. A tax on wine is not quite as bad as a tax on bread, but very nearly; and when imposed or maintained to keep alive political enmities, is as detestable as a corn law. From the earliest ages till now wine has been, and wherever it can be obtained, still is in common use, and is only a luxury if clothing be a luxury. It gives enjoyment, and, used with discrimination, prolongs life.

If the reduction of our wine duties be one part of a general remodification of our taxation, so much the better. It will equally let in the wines of all countries, and negative completely the idea of subserviency to France. There are other things besides wine which should be released from the tax collector's grip. Our cumbrous and complicated system needs simplifying as well as reducing; but the task of making it what it ought to be seems gigantic to the dwarfs who are paid for managing the affairs of the nation. We must be content, therefore, we are afraid, with such a reduction of the wine duties as will be acceptable to the French, rather than seek for such a reform of our system as would be just to ourselves. The wants of the State are said to stand in the way; but the State exists only for the people, and the revenue, which crushes enjoyment, impedes progress or cuts short life, is utterly at variance with the sole purpose for which the State exists and revenue is levied. Vast quantities of stuff manufactured out of apples, rhubarb, gooseberries, whisky, &c. are sold for wine, and therefore we decline to believe that a considerable reduction of the duty will injure the revenue. When it is cheaper to import wine than to manufacture it, the fraudulent manufacture will be given up, and no wine will be drunk which has not paid duty. The instant the reduction of the duty is announced, too, preparations will be made to meet the expected consequences. More goods will be manufactured for the foreign market, more will be exported, and there will be increased importation. There will be more revenue from other sources. But if the fear of loss to the revenue be not unfounded, the high ground on which alone this commercial treaty can be justified puts an end to the pretext for levying our wine duties. They stand in the way of peace and of progress, and are contrary to the welfare of society.

Undoubtedly it would be preferable to get rid of them for our own sakes without any commercial treaty. Every nation, like every individual, must take care of itself. To make its policy dependant on the policy of another nation is to sacrifice independence. But all treaties equally do this, and free-trade politicians, in making a commercial treaty, only conform to an old custom. It binds contracting nations by other obligations than those of trade, which arise at all times from, and are always enforced by, their mutual interests. At present, there is a tendency to union between nations—rubbing off their political peculiarities. Trade makes them averse from angry contests, and unites them in one common community. This is a natural progress which the treaty may promote. Strange to say, the present general armament of our people, from a resolution to resist all attack from abroad, has the same tendency: it keeps brutal force in awe, and keeps the paths of trade and amity open.

RE-ENSLAVEMENT.

WE see no reason to question the authenticity of the curious document which has lately been published as a memorial addressed to the Legislature of Maryland. On the contrary; its insolent inconsistencies and absurd injustice reproduce with photographic fidelity the present feelings and temper of the South. *Se non è vero è ben trovato* will scarcely apply to it. It is much too truthful to have been invented; and those who doubt its genuineness can have little knowledge of the attitude which Slavery has now assumed in the United States. The logic of the memorialists is not one whit more halting and monstrous than that employed by all the other defenders of Slavery, even by politicians who aspire to the Presidency; and the measures it demands have been already carried out in more than one Slave State. It is, of course, a stupid contradiction to complain that the free negro population is of "idle and depraved habits," and immediately afterwards denounce it bitterly as doing the work which the "poor but worthy white citizens" are entitled to; but all this preamble of reasoning is merely the compliance with American custom, which requires a wordy "whereas" before each resolution, and no more needs to be based upon reason and justice than did the arguments of the wolf who intended to devour the luckless lamb. The whites have the power in Maryland, and can as well get rid of free negroes as their brethren in Arkansas, who, by a law passed in the last session of their Legislature, gave the poor creatures the option of emigrating before the 1st January, 1860, or of becoming slaves. Any diversity of

action will arise from the difference in the relative position and strength of the two States. Maryland is small, and borders upon free States; its free population is also larger than that of Arkansas, and, in the present temper of the public mind, any measure of this kind might lead to a serious collision. If this apprehension does not act upon the Legislature, we entertain little doubt—the more especially as the governor of the State has in his recent message recommended legislation with respect to the coloured population—that the prayer of the memorialists will be granted so far as to give the free negroes the option of emigrating or becoming slaves. At present, the poor whites of Maryland, even rejoicing, as they do, in the support of the far-famed Baltimore "rowdies," cannot hope to find representatives prepared to prevent the free negroes from quitting the State, reduce them to slavery, and divide them amongst the worthiest claimants.

If similar measures are not asked in the other Slave States it is from no repugnance to the injustice involved in them. The whole of the Southern States are now in a condition in which no proposition intended for the defence of their pretended rights appears absurd, much less unjust. We have the legislatures of nearly all of them passing most stringent laws against the free coloured population, and voting the most outrageous resolutions against their Northern confederates. We have the Governors, the legal representatives of their States, writing messages almost diabolical in their character, and then we have speeches outcapping the wildest flights American oratory ever before attained. Nothing is too wild or ridiculous for the Southern "gentlemen." The Virginian students at the Medical College in Philadelphia lately held a meeting, at which they resolved that their duty to their native State required them to eschew Free State teaching, and went back in pomp to Richmond, where the Governor received them, and delivered an oration to the crowd gathered to receive them, which although superlatively ridiculous, is yet bepraised throughout the whole South, and even by its partisans in the North, as a magnificent oration, the genuine emanation of a statesman's mind. Governor Wise started then what has now become a great "craze" of the South—isolation from, and independence of the North. No more Northern manufactures or Northern teachers for him. The South is to use only manufactures of her own make, including philosophy, medicine, and religion. And this stupid idea is seriously taken up, so far at least, that it has been solemnly determined in some places that only those New York merchants and bankers should be dealt with who are thoroughly sound upon the "goose" question. There is another Southern "craze" which affects us more particularly, although we can well afford to laugh at it. England, which in the eyes of a genuine Continental politician is always engaged in stirring up peoples against their rightful masters, and provoking squabbles from which she makes a large profit, is almost as useful a bugbear to the American politician. She has by her infernal arts provoked the "irrepressible conflict." Canada is the seat of a plot against Southern peace, and it is only by completely crushing her that the gentlemen of the South will be able to live in comfort, and thrash their niggers just as they please. So a war with England is preached, and the cry is caught up with avidity by the democratic newspapers of the North, which have Irish readers to tickle. The Southerners, however, wild as they now are, are too wide awake to quarrel with us. If it is important for us to get their cotton, our purchase of it is absolutely essential to them. If we left them one year's stock on hand, one half the planters would be bankrupt. But that, knowing this so well, the South should now, for the first time, preach war with England, proves the state of excitement to which it has been lashed.

It must recover speedily from its frenzy, or its ruin is sealed. Passive resistance is the only way to prolong the maintenance of the "domestic institution," and a sensible, gradual manumission alone will avert its violent overthrow. Slavery propagandism, or even the effort to vindicate the justice and legitimacy of the institution, is a gross absurdity. The only justification of Slavery is force, and that is not proved by blasphemous perversions of Scripture, or historical sophistries, but by a quiet determined attitude. When the force departs, the poor justification it gave goes too, and slavery itself ceases. No sophistry would ever persuade a man of sound mind to become a slave himself, and none, therefore, can make him admit the justice of slavery, unless he is already a slave-owner in possession, or one in heart. The "poor whites," the great curse of the South, require no arguments to induce them to believe in Slavery, because the great object of their lives is to have a couple of blacks to work for them, and allow them to lead in comfort a lazy, useless life, shared between bar-rooms and political "caucuses;" and the Irish believers of the North are so readily convinced, only because they are jealous of the free negroes, who are much better workmen and servants, and would themselves like to have niggers to knock about,

—quite forgetting that every argument which justifies the bondage of the negro would equally justify their own reduction to that state. The abolition of Slavery in the United States is, sooner or later, inevitable; and the only question for the slaveholders is, how can it be effected with least loss of property and danger of life to themselves. That is just the question, however, which they obstinately refuse to consider. Their policy is that of the old saying, ascribed to METTERNICH, but in vogue long before his day, "*Après moi le deluge*;" and with a blindness which may almost be called judicial, they are now doing their best to prevent gradual abolition, and make the overthrow of the institution sudden and dangerous. The presence of a number of free negroes by the side of the slaves, which has been held in Maryland, Arkansas, and other States too great a danger to be borne, was really, although probably productive of some slight inconveniences, a safeguard against violent change, and a promise of an emancipation followed by order and good will. So long as the slave and the free negro—the one working for an owner, and the other enjoying his liberty—were side by side, the slave had a gleam of hope, a prospect of freedom, although distant, before him. He did not feel that an incurable taint attached to his blood, and that the white man was his avowed and irreconcilable enemy. Freedom was a boon, open, even if its avenues were hard to tread, to the slave. It is no longer so. The whites of the South have said to the blacks, "We don't regard you as human beings; we allow no ray of hope to shine upon your race; you are our servants, and shall for ever be so." And the blacks will reply by a deadly hatred, which will find its manifestation for a time only in those occasional acts of unmentionable brutality which even now throw a terrible sense of insecurity over the family of the slave-owner, and its final satisfaction in a violent overturn of the whole system of force and fraud to which Southern "Chivalry" obstinately adheres.

DISCOUNT.

THE minimum rate of discount at the Bank of England within the last ten years has varied from 2 per cent. in 1852, to 10 per cent. in October, 1857. At the latter period there was a commercial crisis; at the former, political events abroad had checked new or speculative enterprises, and we gather from these figures that 8 per cent., the difference between them, is more than trade can bear: the profits gained in it generally do not equal this sum, and though it may prosper when it borrows at 2, it will be bankrupt when it cannot get loans under 10. Though the Bank rate was at 10 in October, 1857, six months before, in April, it was at 6½; and then, in the very height of the speculation, the Bank lowered the rate from 6½ to 6, and to 5½ in July. When it should have checked, it stimulated the fever, and then blamed the disease it promoted. Between October, 1857, and July, last year, the rate was successively reduced from 10 to 2½ per cent. Since then the lowest rate at which the Bank would discount the best mercantile bills not having more than 60 days to run, has continued at 2½ per cent. Last week the Bank raised the rate to 3 per cent. The rate fixed by the Bank does not absolutely govern the money market, but influences its condition. Much business is very often done both below and above this rate, but it may be considered as the central point to which the oscillations on both sides tend.

When persons can rarely borrow on the best landed security below 4½ per cent., 2½ and 3 per cent. does not seem a high rate for bills, which may be dishonoured before they come to maturity. At some periods mercantile bills cannot be discounted at all, or the holders are willing to give 8 or 10 per cent. for money, and cannot get it; at other times they may get it at 1½—it has even been obtainable for short periods at 1 per cent.; but the rate of interest on good landed securities rarely varies, in modern times, more than between 4 and 5, or at most between 3 and 6 per cent. The demand for loans on landed security, and the supply of the money usually devoted to such loans, are, therefore, at all times, much more equally balanced than the demand and the supply of money for discount. The former is a permanent investment, and to it only goes the capital not required to carry on the current business of society. The latter is, by its nature, temporary, and to it is devoted the saving which cannot be, or is not required to be, permanently invested. All the balances in the banker's hands belonging to his customers; all the spare cash of individuals which they do not like to lock up, nor like to keep idle and unproductive in their drawers, may be considered as the discount fund; and prudent bankers usually employ two-thirds of the money belonging to their clients in this or some kindred manner. For their security it is essential that the bulk of their loans should be speedily returned to them; to lock up their funds in land, in manufactures, or mines, is contrary to the business of banking, and is generally fatal to the banker.

The totals of these two funds, those destined to be permanently invested, and those to be employed in current business, are continually varying as profit and saving are great or small, and as there are more or fewer opportunities of employing capital actively with advantage. For these funds, too, the demand is continually varying; but it varies principally as business varies, because the carrying on of business is essential to the existence of society. Though the rate at which bills are discounted varies continually, and at times to a great extent. On the whole, however, it is astonishing that the savings of one class should be always fully equal to the wants of other classes. The figures we have given, 2 and 10 (the rate of 1 being entirely exceptional), embrace the extremes for a very long period. Since the peace of 1815, 4 per cent. has been about the average; and the habitual variations have been limited to between 2 and 6. The high rate for many months preceding October, 1857, was the consequence mainly of the impulse given to trade by the gold discoveries. By an infelicitous use of language, which confounds capital with money, money, judged by the rate of discount, was made dear by making it abundant.

For the last six months the Bank rate has been 2½ per cent., and the rate in the general market has been generally something lower through the whole period. For the same period speculative trade has been almost suspended, and new enterprises have been very few. At present, the people on the Continent and here are recovering from panic. Speculation, to some extent, is growing up, and new enterprises are beginning. When the Bank lowered the rate in July last from 3 to 2½ per cent., it possessed bullion to the amount of £17,941,791; now it has only £15,844,498. At this time last year it had £19,186,269. It was not, therefore, from an influx of bullion that it lowered the rate in July; but at that time in Lombard Street the rate had fallen for the best bills to 2½, and the demand for mercantile accommodation was very slack. Now, besides having parted with £2,100,000 of bullion since July, the demand for mercantile accommodation has become brisk. It has advanced £1,700,000 more on private securities than then. Clearly, since then a great alteration has taken place in the ratio between the amount of funds loanable for current business and the demand for them.

This alteration seems likely to increase. The demand of gold for the Continent has latterly become unusually active—a corroborative sign of the increase there of industrial enterprises. Credit is very much less diffused there than here, and to begin new enterprises there requires capital in the shape of the precious metals. The Bank returns tell us that the issue of bank-notes was £32,855,315 at the beginning of last year, against £29,643,005 now. As business has increased in activity, the issues of the Bank have decreased, because that activity causes gold to be taken away for the Continent. Actually, the business of the country requires £2,100,000 more Bank of England notes now than at this time last year, and there are issued £2,200,000 less. It is not possible to supply a more conclusive proof of the impropriety of the legislation, which makes the amount of credit money required by our business depend on the demand abroad for bullion.

The promised changes in the commercial policy of France cannot fail to stimulate enterprise very much, both abroad and at home. For some time the demand for bullion on the Continent is likely to continue and increase; most probably, too, enterprise will again go ahead here. It is going ahead in the United States;—it will go rapidly ahead there when the Emperor's programme is known. We shall probably, therefore, see a still further diminution of gold in the Bank; a further curtailment of its issues; a greater demand for capital, both abroad and at home; there will be a greater discrepancy between the supply and the demand, and a further rise in the rate of discount. The great extension of business in 1857, though it then went too far, showed the way how to achieve much by small means. The essentials of great trade are rather co-operating producers in different places and in different branches of industry, acting with confidence in one another, than great capital, unless the term be used as synonymous with great skill or useful instruments,—a theoretical principle which was fully established by the practices of 1857. In 1860, it will again be extensively acted on, and probably with more complete success, making the trade of 1860 far surpass that of any previous year.

A NEW LIGHT.

PERIODS continually arrive when many facts previously ascertained in the same science, or in different sciences, throw light on each other, evolving some general truth, the expression of which constitutes an epoch in science. Such an epoch seems now arrived. The *National Review*, treating of the origin of species,* and the

* *National Review*. No. XIX. Article, "Darwin on the Origin of the Species."

Westminster Review, treating of social organism,† concur in ascribing to the influence of the material world the formation of different species. The former adopts unreservedly Mr. DARWIN's view, that the competition of plants and animals for food has a great influence in determining new varieties, and what species shall exist. The latter believes that "every species of organism has resulted from the average play of the external forces to which it is subjected during its evolution as a species." These statements are identical with the principle of Mr. BUCKLE's theory of civilization,—that it begins in, and is continued by material circumstances. Men, animals, insects, plants, all things which live, are endowed with desires, appetites, appetences, &c., which goad them into activity, make each and all seek the food adapted to it, and in proportion as classes or individuals are successful in this *mêlée*, or battle of life, they increase or grow, sprout into varieties, and fill the places assigned them in the universe. The principle of population or life is, on this statement, as prolific, or, according to MALTHUS, as *super*-prolific in all animals, insects, and plants, as in man; and their number is entirely dependent on the food they can, by the exertions of these appetences, procure. At the same time, they are all guided and instructed by the facts of the material world. This is a strange generalization. Is it correct and true?

We are all sensible that our life depends on the sun. Its vivifying power gives food to our exertions. The life of plants, and of animals on which we subsist, depends on the same vivifying power. It is the source of all light. If the assertion be correct, that coal is sun-light concentrated in extinct vegetable life, the sun is also for us the sole source of all heat. CUVIER, OWEN, and other comparative anatomists, have successfully traced one type, or one form, through all animal life; and all animals and plants, according to their life, are affected by the circumstances resulting from this common source of light and heat by which they are surrounded. The strange generalization is correct. The whole universe, and of course animal life of all kinds, is regulated by laws common to the whole.

To circumstances similar to those we every day witness—such as the wearing away of the banks of rivers, the passage of earthy materials from the land into the ocean, &c., &c.—geologists trace the growth and formation of the world through successive ages. According to the writer in the *Westminster Review*, society is a growth; not a manufacture, and is accordingly regulated by the same laws as regulate all growth, including that of the minute animals and vegetables made individually visible only by the microscope. That the moral and intellectual life of man should be regulated by the same laws as the existence of fungi, is hard to conceive. But there can be no doubt that the growth of society depends, like that of the meanest insect, on the food it can command. It is equally certain that the moral and intellectual life of every individual depends on the society in which he is born and lives. Only in Europe, and only in England,—not in America, amongst the red men,—not in Australia, amongst the black men, could a SHAKESPEARE, a MILTON, and a NEWTON exist. Now, as the moral and intellectual life of individuals depends on society, and as the growth of society depends on the food it can command, as this depends on sun and seasons, common to all creatures on the earth, it follows quite in accordance with the common or vulgar opinion, that all creatures have one and the same CREATOR, and that our intellectual and moral being is regulated by laws common to all living things.

The great object of the writer in the *Westminster Review* is to trace by analogies the operation of these common laws in forming society, in forming man, and in forming the very lowest living beings which the microscope has yet revealed to us. If in principle he be right, he carries out his analogies so minutely as to expose himself to ridicule. We regard the matter as much too important to subject it to this kind of treatment. To illustrate the importance of such doctrines, we may remark that overwhelming force is added to all the arguments for abolishing Corn Laws, and all other impediments to industry, by the principle stated by Mr. DARWIN, and assented to by both Reviewers, "that all life depends on food," and is for ever struggling to obtain it, and will be great in proportion to the food which can be obtained. All such laws and such impediments, therefore, are at variance with the laws of man's existence, with the laws of God, and are opposed to the welfare of society. Believing, accordingly, that the analogies between the growth of society, the growth of animals and plants, and the moral life of man are highly instructive, we shall not attempt to raise a laugh at the minuteness of the Reviewer. We must, however, state two objections to his mode of treating the great subject.

The whole analogy, and all the arguments founded on it, is between society as a *natural* growth, and all the other parts of creation as a *natural* growth. In truth, the analogies are the results of natural laws supposed to be the same. The Reviewer, however, institutes his comparisons and his analogies between the other parts of creation and society as it is politically manipulated. And so curiously far does he carry his views, that the analogies are between the other parts of creation and society as it exists in England, not society as it exists in some common features throughout the globe. This mode of treating the subject is imperfect and erroneous. To us English it is especially so, because we have continually witnessed our political society driven in spite of those who have attempted to direct it, in a direction adverse to their principles. The concentration of power in one hand, a principle of

most political societies, and of ours as well as that of the French and the Chinese, though nominally maintained here, is in reality set aside. The governing power is no longer the sovereign, it is the press. There is a perpetual desire and a perpetual attempt to reform political society, because it is not in accordance with the natural form and growth of society. To some extent society is every where manufactured or manipulated. We complain that it is so; we struggle to throw off this manipulation, and we continually succeed. It is, therefore, not in accordance with the natural growth of society. But many of the analogies of the Reviewer are with the condemned manipulations, and not with the natural forms of society. This makes them frequently incorrect, and exposes the whole argument to ridicule. All the analogies ought to be instituted between the rest of creation and society as it grows naturally, and not with society as it is politically and by human design manipulated in any country whatever.

Our other objection to his mode of proceeding is, that it is fundamentally unphilosophical, and makes the subject, otherwise attractive, very repulsive to many readers. We do not need to reason about what we know, and all reasoning is from the known to the unknown. Now society and human nature, however imperfect is our knowledge of them, are much better known to the whole of us than are the *Protozoa* or the *Hydra*, or any classes of microscopic animalculæ, to the most diligent explorers. There is hardly any one important point in their pursuits about which they do not disagree. The observation may be extended from the physiological phenomena of the presumed first formation of cells to the division of animals into species and genera. We have only recently begun to investigate natural history; man and society are known to us partially from the beginning. It is to reverse philosophy, therefore, to reason from zoophytes to man, instead of from man to zoophytes. The course pursued by the naturalists leads to the degradation of man. That the same laws which govern man and society may be traced in the organization of the lowest animals, is only wonderful; but to tell man that he is made like the things he unwisely despises; that he is not different from a *protozoa*, is also repulsive. If it be a fact, that the same laws—another form of expression for the same CREATOR—regulate the whole organization of the universe, from the least living thing discovered by the microscope to the furthest star, the mode of getting at the fact in the direction either of minuteness or vastness, is to proceed from man—from the known to the unknown. To begin at the star or at the *protozoa*, is unphilosophical, and the conclusions appear in a form needlessly offensive. We regret this, for all parts of knowledge are intimately connected; and the analogies between man and the rest of creation throw a clear light on his duties, and on important political questions. The present study of the physical sciences does not, as supposed by some persons, impart certainty to other knowledge. On the contrary, the late researches into physical science have, above all things, demonstrated the uncertainty of its principles. About facts there may be no disputes; but about *forces* and laws scientific men are just now more uncertain than for ages. Their researches end rather in ignorance, in wonder, and reverence, than in certainty; and, to approximate to a solution of the phenomena of *force*, they are obliged to take refuge in the laws of the mind. Investigations into matter give no explanation of electricity, gravity, and kindred forces.

SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCE—THE "ASSESSOR" PROPOSITION.

LAST week Dr. ANGUS SMITH read a paper before the Society of Arts on "Science in our Courts of Law," which, although very badly put together and exhibiting a want of comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the subject, served the purpose of raising a discussion and eliciting several opinions—among others, that of Vice-Chancellor WOOD, who occupied the chair. Some portions of Dr. SMITH's essay are scarcely intelligible, and although he claims to be an "expert" in science we could not allow him to be an "assessor" in English composition or logic, when we find him indulging in such foggy platitudes as—"We see science moving with irresistible force, gradually *seizing more and more of the rights, and properties of every subject and of every government.*" If the learned doctor were to give evidence in this style concerning a poisoning case or a water bill, we do not imagine that the jury or committee would be more enlightened than if he delivered an oration in Patagonian or Bengalee. We do not allude to this for the sake of quizzing a well-intentioned reformer, but because it is an illustration of that want of precision in thought and language which often makes so-called scientific evidence a source of perplexity and dilemma. Having represented science as feloniously appropriating our rights and properties, Dr. Smith furnishes us with two statements, which he calls "principles," to guide us in considering the question. Here are the words of them: "1st. That science is the ultimate referee in cases where it can give a clear answer, and that suitable arrangements should be made for obtaining the unprejudiced opinion of those who have studied it. 2nd. That in all difference of opinion, whether in social or physical law, and in all difficult cases, the instincts of man, in a free country, will take the lead, right or wrong."

The first paragraph, we suppose, means that cases should be decided according to the best knowledge that can be obtained; what the second is about we have not the remotest idea; although it talks of "instinct" it exhibits none of its precision, and we fail to detect any reason in the collocation of the words. Tumbling through a great deal more singular and scarcely articulate verbiage, the Doctor manages to arrive at his conclusion; and after elaborately deciding

† *Westminster Review*. New Series, No. XXXIII, Article, "The Social Organism."

all that the scientific man shall not do, or be in reference to courts of law, he proposes that a scientific assessor shall be appointed to sit as assistant judge, that "a position shall be given to the scientific man (*i.e.*, witness) independent of the barrister," and that "scientific men shall be allowed to deliver their evidence in writing." The most important of these proposals is for the appointment of an assessor or assessors to be nominated by the Crown, and in the Rev. VERNON HARCOURT's scheme of a bill for this purpose the duties of the office are thus set forth:—"That the said assessor shall, conjointly with the judge, hear the evidence, and, if need be, under his sanction examine the witnesses on scientific points, and advise the judge as to the scientific bearings of the evidence." Sir WILLIAM PAGE WOOD pointed out—what Dr. SMITH might have learned from reading almost any criminal trial in which scientific evidence is adduced—"that it is a great mistake to suppose that a witness had difficulty in making a clear connected statement upon scientific matters in the witness-box;" and after touching upon other points, expressed his belief that "it might be beneficial in *strictly scientific cases* to appoint assessors to sit with the judge, who should be bound to give their opinion in public, as well as the reasons upon which that opinion was formed." But he added that the responsibility should remain with the judge.

Public interest in these questions is mostly excited in criminal trials, which are rarely, if ever, "strictly scientific;" and without hastily deciding against assessors in any shape, we may remark that it would be highly inconvenient to have two judges on the same bench—one restricted to the scientific features of the case, and the other bound to survey and consider all its bearings. Moreover, a source of fallacy which runs through Dr. SMITH's paper, and infects much reasoning on this question, is the assumption that scientific men—"scientists" as Dr. SMITH and Mr. CHADWICK horribly designate them—are essentially different from other men; or are the exclusive possessors of methods of reasoning as well as of technical knowledge and procedures. Now, if we omit the reasoning belonging to the highest branches of mathematics, this is far from the case; and ordinarily educated, clear-headed persons are competent to follow and test the accuracy of scientific evidence when it is properly placed before them and sifted in their presence. If we deny this, we strike at the root of judge-and-jury trial, and must, in all cases in which scientific evidence is involved, leave the decision entirely in the hands of a single "expert," for if there were two they might quarrel, and illustrate the proverb that "doctors disagree." In cases relating to complicated conditions of the human organism, we must often, as the best evidence we can obtain, take the opinion of a well practised surgeon or physician who has seen the patient, and it is not reasonable to expect that the medical witness shall be able to convey in either a written or a verbal statement such a minute and comprehensive account of the grounds of his decision, as shall prove to all other persons, the precise amount and character of the derangement he alleges to exist. If a doctor should conclude that a child was ill of the measles who was covered with pustules of small pox, there would be ample cause for rejecting his testimony; but where natural and poison-induced diseases bear a strong resemblance to each other, and scientific men are not precisely agreed as to the minute grounds of distinction between them, the positive impression one way or the other of a skillful physician ought to have its weight, to be lessened or increased by collateral circumstances. In such a case, if two addresses were made to a jury, one by the scientific assessor, excluding the bearing of non-scientific circumstances, and another by the judge, who would feel himself more or less relieved of the duty of dealing with the scientific evidence, it is difficult to conceive that the plan would work well. Sir W. P. WOOD evidently sees the impropriety of allowing the assessor to be a sort of private witness, influencing the mind of the judge, but not amenable to the observation of the jury; and the witness character of such a functionary—always witness to opinion, and often to fact, as where he affirms the sufficiency of a certain process of detection—renders it inconvenient that he should be protected from the ordeal of an examination.

There is another operation of the assessor plan which ought to be considered, and that is, its action in removing from the class furnishing scientific witnesses a considerable number of their ablest men. We have so many good lawyers that we can spare enough to supply the bench without weakening the bar; but the number of scientific experts known to possess sufficient knowledge and skill to make their evidence of the first value in a difficult investigation is very small, and if all the best were taken to form assessors enough to attend all courts and circuits, considerable harm would be done. A demand for scientific witnesses would, of course, soon create a supply, but the existence of a class of men who make a trade of selling scientific proof one way or the other, is already a serious evil, and as a rule juries should be cautious in attaching much weight to the statements of any evidence-monger at all.

In the course of the discussion at the Society of Arts the operation of scientific evidence in patent cases, and the incompetency of juries to deal with them, was alluded to as proving the need for a new system. But it must not be forgotten, that we are by no means agreed as to what amount of protection a patent ought to give, and as inventions and processes multiply, this difficulty must increase. We have already protected so much, that nobody knows its extent; and when the state sells a new patent, the purchaser buys a guesswork article, estimated partly upon his own judgment, and partly according to that of his professional adviser. The fact is, that invention grows too big for the patent process to comprehend it, and between the desire to protect a new inventor, but at

the same time not to deprive the public of too great an amount of free working ground, we are constantly getting into a fix. These, and other considerations, tend to place the patent question, with its attendant evidence, in a category distinct from that of scientific evidence in ordinary cases, and we come back to the inquiry what are our principal desiderata in this respect. First, we think, comes the need of a public prosecutor, and a more precise way of preparing evidence of all kinds, scientific included; then we want a better education of the middle class, from whom juries are ordinarily selected, and the institution of popular lectureships on medical jurisprudence; and lastly, and chiefly, we require a better training of the experts themselves, who now contradict and dispute with one another about every point of importance that can be raised.

RELIGIOUS REVIVALS.*

BETWEEN the formalism of the Churches, and the depth and wealth and fruitfulness of the Religious Life, there is a wide region. It is in this region that we encounter Religious Revivals.

In the somewhat heavy and pretentious but thoughtful book which Mr. Wilkinson has dedicated to the subject, we find much to commend: but there are serious limitations and objections to be arrayed against his views and conclusions. No pious or intelligent person would think of ridiculing the recent religious revivals in the North of Ireland and in some parts of England and Scotland; but no one gifted with what may be called the religious genius, or capable of appreciating the nature of religion, would assign them a high value or expect from them grand and abiding results. The question is not whether convulsionary movements like the present are half impostures, half insanities; the question is—what relation the present convulsionary movement holds to the divinest devotional and moral principles. Mr. Wilkinson treats all who are disposed to criticise the movement as mockers, or cold philosophers; but many of them may be the lowliest adorers of the Infinite God, yet turn from the obstreperous and the hysterical simply because they are adorers. What is profoundest, most prolific in the religious sentiment, is mystical, seeks secrecy and silence. Take it as represented and expressed in the Gospel of John and in the *Imitation of Christ*, and you find it solemn and serene—hushed, like some great forest which no human eye or human foot hath yet penetrated. We leave the Sadducees to deal with the revivals as they think proper: we are not Sadducees. We rebuke, however, the Pharisaic presumption on the part of Mr. Wilkinson and his friends, which scorns as a Sadducee every one who does not deem horrible noises, hideous contortions, necessary to the awakening of the soul, and to its outpourings of prayer and of praise. A religious revival, as distinguished from the religious life and from a religious reformation, is a reaction against the apathy of sects; whilst it proclaims that barren theological dogmatism has obliterated the faintest trace of moral teaching. We are intimately acquainted with the working of the Presbyterian system in that part of Scotland which is nearest the first scene of the revival in Ireland, and we can testify that an explosion now and then of ferocious bigotry was the only sign of vitality ever given.

It is from Scottish Presbyterianism that the North of Ireland has received whatever it has of a religious character. Now, Scottish Presbyterianism was an admirable discipline—though it is ceasing to be so,—but it never was a religious nourishment. We have frequently felt that it was a most erroneous notion to regard the Scotch as a religious people; they are a highly acute and intellectual people, chained by a theological creed, controlled by an ecclesiastical government equally despotic. There is no room here for the play of the religious instincts, even if the religious instincts in Scotchmen were strong, which they are not. The mass of the Presbyterians in Ulster, like their Scottish progenitors, have bowed to the thralldom of a creed of an ecclesiastical organisation; they have not, however, been, any more than the Scotch themselves, a religious people. But in the midst of religious penury there was abundance of Orange fanaticism; that is to say, there could not be religious love, but there could be party hatred. Indeed, the religion of many persons in the North of Ireland seemed to consist in cursing the Pope. Scottish Presbyterianism, so far as we are aware, has never produced a single devotional book. Interminably argumentative, fiercely polemical, it had no time and no temper to give to the worshipper the smallest morsel of spiritual food. If, also, by its inquisitorial machinery, it enforced moral duties, it taught none; and who can deny that the Calvinistic doctrines of election and reprobation are essentially immoral? But were not the Scotch a moral nation? In many important respects they were; but this arose from the puissant and ceaseless action of the Scottish Inquisition over every family and every individual. From inevitable circumstances, this Inquisition, both in Scotland and in Ireland, has, in modern days, relaxed its grasp: hence a dead theological mechanism, without any moral power. Is there not here field enough, is there not necessity enough, for a religious revival? The details of this revival, and of other similar revivals contained in Mr. Wilkinson's volume, are overwhelmingly repulsive. Of all pathologies, the most disgusting is the pathology of religion in its abnormal manifestations. When the ancient and venerable bond between health and holiness is broken, we know that madness and misery are not far off—and through these Atheism, the titanic audacity of denial. Granting that the revival, even with its delirious excesses, is better than death, better than the dreariness of the desert; granting that some enduring moral benefits may be left behind by

* *The Revival, in its Physical, Psychological, and Religious Aspects.* By W. M. WILKINSON. London: Chapman and Hall.

the wild agitation, we ought nevertheless energetically to insist that holiness is merely the health of the soul. The more, then, the soul is unhealthy, the more it is unholy. Religion is the blending of joy and of awe: it is the consciousness of the Unseen—it is the identity with it. The most religious natures have been the least clamorous in their utterances of adoration. By gorgeous ritual, by pregnant symbol, they tried to give breath to their rapture in the presence of the Invisible. It is loathsome to be furnished with what Mr. Wilkinson calls the dynamics of prayer, to have hysteria, epilepsy, catalepsy, &c., disputing the ground with the Holy Ghost.

The lethargy of the churches no one in England deplores more than we deplore it. But there are only two ways in which it can be vanquished; first, by the assertion of a valiant individuality, whatever may become of churches and creeds; and, secondly, by claiming a development as harmonious for the religious life as the march and music of the stars. Men will fall very low if they are not convinced that there is a heroic, immutable, incorruptible morality, independent altogether of theologies; they will fall lower still if they do not see in the religious life the return to the healthier, which means holier, commune with God. In these kingdoms at this hour there are no voices to preach sublime virtue, none to declare the true nature of the religious life, for which religious excitement is foolishly mistaken. The order of the universe is, it seems, to be worshipped by disorder. It is silly to tell us that out of religious excitement something nobler than itself may arise. Out of religious excitement assuredly the religious life never yet sprang; and the more we are content to accept religious excitement for the religious life, the more impossible are we rendering a complete religious redemption.

The places affected by the Irish Revival will, in ten years, have rushed back to a worse than their former indifference and sin. Nowhere in the world has religious excitement been so absolutely the substitute for the religious life as in the United States of America. But has not each fresh religious excitement left America more depraved than before—more sunk in every abomination and iniquity? We pretend neither to judge God's mysteries, nor to limit His miracles. But the religious life must be as slow as it is stupendous in its operations, otherwise it loses its affinity with life in general. Mere conversion, or the mere adoption of a faith, differs entirely from the religious life, though so often identified with it. He who cometh under the influence of the religious life is not converted, does not adopt a faith. God steals so insensibly into his soul, that it is only by a great gladness, by a great love to God and the brethren that he knows thereof. An appeal to a vulgar wonder, to a gross incredulity is easily made; and, by ghastly pictures of hell-fire, and by an accumulation of melodramatic agencies, thousands may be convinced one moment that they are the children of wrath, and the next that they are the children of grace. But what is the process other than materialism and charlatanism combined? Our age, in truth, is so materialistic, that even its spiritualism is only a materialism of a subtler sort—a clever or clumsy theatricality, as it may be. To speak the whole of our thought with utmost frankness, we are afraid that Protestantism is galvanising itself, and trying to galvanise society.

Far below the religious life must ever stand religious revivals, as we have said. But what the Covenanters did in Scotland, and what the Camisards did in France,—though only a form of religious revival, was a revelation of God's glory and of man's valour, and beauty, and love. Yet who would venture to compare these noble Covenanters, these noble Camisards with the howling creatures in Ulster and America? We are filling India with almost as many Missionaries as troops. But is there ought more furious or fantastic in the performances of the Hindoos before one of their idols than in the antics of an Ulster man or woman before Jehovah? Our countrymen are drifting fast toward Fetichism; the louder they yell, the uglier the gestures—the better the Christian. Mr. Wilkinson is an accomplished master of the legerdemain whereby what is detestable in other religions is made adorable in Christianity. Is Christ—Christianity—thereby honoured? We think not. If we have not already reached, we are approaching the time when all religions will be tested with regard to their merit, and not with regard to their authority. If you are a Fetichist in England, you are a no more exalted being than a Fetichist in Africa or in Hindostan.

Mr. Wilkinson's phrases are ponderous, but they are not persuasive; there is a touch of the Jesuit in him. Will he oblige us by showing how we are to distinguish between sacred books produced in one part of Asia, and sacred books produced in another? We reverence all religions too much to scoff at any. But how fatal the blow you strike at Christianity by asserting that to be permitted to the Christian which is not permitted to the Buddhist. Verily there is no humble Christian disciple, no deep Christian mystic, no undaunted Christian martyr, who could so speak or who has so spoken. Religion from its very name is inclusive, is Catholic; it confesses that all its countless daughters have, however defaced, a celestial loveliness; that it is not willingly but unwillingly that man is undutiful to his Omnipotent Father; that how far soever he may have gone astray he always rejoices to return; that the loneliest orisons are the most welcome at the starry gate; that religious revival is of earth, while the religious life is of Heaven, and that the religious life never arrives till nations have wearied themselves in trying to imitate it.

PEERS AND BARONETS.

MR. BRIGHT has lately brought the Peerage into some notoriety. He has thought it worthy of his abuse, and one source of popularity may be found in the disdain of a democrat. Peers of the better

sort are of a retiring disposition. They shun large towns, but are well known in the country. In London, Birmingham, or Manchester they would be lost; and if they wandered up the High-street at Preston, a Lancashire "lass" would not mind treading on their toes with her clogs; should they move about the black country, one of the aborigines might possibly "heave 'alf a brick" at any one supposed to be an aristocrat. But it would be better if, as well as abusing them, we took care to know something about them.* When we make an attack, it is convenient to know our opponent's strength. If we wish to abuse a man, we certainly ought to find out his weak points; if we wish to praise him we should know his virtues, lest, being mistaken, our blame fall harmless, or our praise be mistaken for satire. In truth, there is about as much ignorance existing even in the best-informed middle classes about the Peerage, as there is about anything else in the world, save the millennium and the British constitution. Not all of us have seen a lord; in fact, very few. *Non omnibus datum est habere nasum.* Time was when we, like others, took an unknown thing to be magnificent. We were first awakened from our dream by seeing an Irish marquis borrowing money in a little back parlour from a feeble old woman, he himself at the time rejoicing in a ragged shirt collar and wristbands frayed out to their utmost. What! we were ready to exclaim with the song—

"What! that THE KING! what that man there?
Why I seed a man at Bartlemy fair
More like a king than that man there."

But our earl was a real live peer after all. Our measure of wonderment still exists with many of the young and middle age. Those who write should afford a pretty good criterion of ideas of the educated on the subject—and yet take our modern plays and novels, and mark what the peer or the baronet is there. Take Bulwer's creations—Bulwer, as we shall see, is a "Bart." himself—and what glittering spasmodic dolls the dukes, earls, marquises, and barons are his. Earls and dukes are popular in novels; viscounts the authors omit. Baronets on the stage are generally wicked, clever, dare-devil fellows—very effective, no doubt, but not real; "good men and very good bowlers," to quote Costard, but for "Alexander i' faith. You see how it is, 'tis a little o'er parted." The utter nonsense which female writers give vent to about their noble heroes is immense, and never enough to be condemned whilst they can beg, borrow, steal a peerage (the books, by the way, are books of reference, and may be found in the large reading-room at the British Museum). We write this for the benefit of lady novelists, one of whom objected, with half the world, to Mr. Thackeray's Sir Pitt Crawley, "You draw your characters very well, but surely you must be wrong, indeed utterly mistaken, in making a baronet such a coarse, brutal clown; oh, you are wrong." "That, madam," said the great author, "is the only character I have painted without exaggeration, and most closely to nature itself." We have no doubt that he spoke the literal truth. When Vanbrugh drew his Sir Francis Wronghead, or his Sir John Brute, he did not give us a poor ideal in Pelham costume and yellow kid gloves.

A few statistics of the peerage taken from the books under review will help us amazingly. The kingdom, or rather the three kingdoms, is populous with peers. Burke's volume has upwards of twelve hundred pages in very small type, containing only a very short digest concerning each peer or baronet. Of dukedoms we have twenty-seven; marquises, thirty-eight; earldoms, about two hundred and thirty-one; viscounties—or, as Sir Bernard puts it, viscountcies—seventy-seven, not counting "Viscount Williams;" of baronies, we have three hundred and eight. From these, also, we have hundreds of courtesy titles; so that, what with the lords in reality, i.e., barons, and the courtesy people, we may double the latter number. Of baronets, a lesser hereditary nobility, we have close upon six hundred. Of these, of the baronets of James I., we have only thirty-one remaining; of King Charles I., forty-eight; of Charles II., seventy-eight; of James II., four; William and Mary, six; Anne, eight; George I., nine; George III., three hundred and forty; and of Victoria, one hundred and five. Amongst the very freshest creations of these latter will be found Sir Archdale Wilson, of Delhi, Sir Henry Havelock, Sir John Lawrence, Cunard, and Nicholson, besides the Parsee baronet, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy.

Amongst so many, it follows that the aristocracy, as they are conventionally termed—although the word means a form of government, not a class, and our aristocracy cannot claim to be the *apivrai*, i.e., "the best"—it follows, we say, that amongst so many, some must be fools, knaves, dolts, vicious, and the like: no class is exempted from the common lot. Many, also, must be clever, good, brave, noble, generous, great, and wise. Proud most of them are. If you were to take one boy out of any family, call him "My lord," give him place, obedience, subservience even, attention and honour—single him out for preference, and overwhelm him with it at school and college, at home, and in the world, he would be a very remarkable boy if he did not imbibe proud, lofty notions, and think himself better than the rest. We think that it must be conceded that the members of the peerage generally do think themselves better than the rest. *They are nous autres; we are the people; noblesse oblige:* aye, aye, it does, and in more senses than one. The Queen herself, who is, by the way, in some sense a peer, appeals to the pride of the baron when she terms him "right honourable," and "right trusty and well beloved." The viscount she is more polite to; moving, we may say at once, in a *crescendo*

* *Peerage and Baronetage.* 1860. Twenty-second Edition. By Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King-at-Arms.
Dodd's Peerage and Baronetage. 1860. Whittaker & Co.
Hardwicke's Shilling Peerage. 1860. Hardwicke.

up the peerage, he is "Our right trusty and well-beloved cousin." The earl is served no better than the viscount; but the marquis is most honourable, our right trusty and entirely beloved cousin," and is a "most noble and puissant prince." Whilst a duke is "his grace," is besides "most noble," and is a "most high, noble, and potent prince" into the bargain.

Now it appears to us that one cannot exhaust the dictionary upon any set of men, either by way of vituperation or praise, without having some effect upon them. Sarah Duchess of Marlborough always lived as a princess, and we know now one duchess dowager who in her own house is as great as any queen alive. What Goldsmith said of Englishmen generally—that they had pride in their port, defiance in their eye—is essentially true of the English aristocracy: it must be so. We cannot dispute the fact; we must look for compensating qualities in them. To set apart any class of men as a privileged class is not very consistent with modern progress, nor with true Christianity; neither is a standing army, nor a hired advocate. Mr. Biglow hits the right nail on the head when he writes of war,—

"I kinder thought Christ was agin war and pillage,
An' didn't go shootin' folks down in Judee;"

which is certainly true. Neither did He establish a privileged class. Nothing can be more certain than that He rebuked his disciples for quarrelling for rank and precedence: "Let him who would be chief among you *serve* the rest." The Quakers, the Moravians, and the Plymouth brethren totally exclude rank; and surely these sects are good Christians. What then is the reason that we retain it—possibly find benefit from it—certainly bow down to the coronet?

There be several reasons. Expediency is perhaps chief of all. Archdeacon Paley, as many a Cambridge man will remember, not only gives his celebrated watch argument in proof of the design of the Creator of the world, but he gives a very curious illustration, that of the pigeon, to establish the utility of kingship. The solid old reasoner is not more complimentary about the lords. "The design of a nobility in the British constitution is," says he, "first to enable the king to reward the servants of the public in a manner most grateful to them, and at a small expense to the public; secondly, to fortify the regal power by surrounding it with an order of men naturally allied to its interests; thirdly, to stem the progress of popular fury." These reasons are now somewhat antiquated. We are now pretty well aware that the nobility cannot stem the popular fury; nay, that the people are no longer furious, but quite as well if not better informed on most matters than the peers; but, says our author, "An hereditary nobility invested with a share of legislation is averse to those prejudices which actuate the minds of the vulgar; accustomed to condemn the clamour of the populace, disdaining to receive laws and opinions from their inferiors in rank, they will oppose resolutions which are founded in the folly and violence of the lower part of the community!"

That law of nations, Progress, which the peerage as a whole does not believe in, has changed all this:—

"Not in vain the distance beacons. Forward, forward let us range,
Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change."

The nation now debates, judges, pauses, and reflects, and seldom adopts that which is immature. Our neighbours accuse us of slowness, but we know that our sloth is but deliberation. The House of Lords has helped us to gain this character, and the upper chamber of the senate hath more than once saved the nation. It may be all very well for the Manchester party to call the "Lords" a drag, and to liken them to that waggoner who put the drag on his wheel when he was going up hill; if the Lords have now and then withstood a good measure, they have more often prevented bad ones from passing; they have a certain dignified slowness in their pace, such as grave and reverend seigniors should have—but on occasions they do their work splendidly, and reflect a credit on that great constitution of which they form a part. It is right, also, since the people can well afford to allow them, and since they are not excessive, to have their privileges. What they are, Burke shall shortly tell us:—

"The Peerage of the British Empire," says he, "illustrious beyond compare by deeds and by descent"—Sir Bernard would use the same flourish of the nobles of Hesse Homberg or the hereditary council of Fiji,—"has many privileges." These, shortly, are:—Freedom from arrest in civil actions; from attending at juries, courts-leet, or sheriff's turns. To be tried in cases of treason or felony by their peers. To be allowed to give their judgment not on oath, but on their honour. To be tried in courts erected for the purpose, in Westminster Hall, and at the expense of the crown; of sitting covered in courts of justice during the proceedings; of voting in parliament by proxy; of wearing robes of dignity in parliament. One baron, Lord Kinsale, has the privilege of being covered in the presence of royalty; lastly, the whole peerage has the privilege of bearing supporters to their arms.

All these, in effect, are favours more in name than in reality. A duke is, after all, as much amenable to the law as a common man. That the law is expensive is not the peers' fault. The peerage is a high order in the community, and is recruited from the orders below. This brings us to the important article of descent. Paley, archdeacon and Tory though he was, objected to some of their privileges; but in effect, they do not work badly—a totally worthless nobleman does not gain much by belonging to his order. It is only the eyes of the vulgar and small-minded which are dazzled by the glory either of the coronet, the robe, or the privileged station.

As regards descent, in which we learn from our author that the

peerage is "illustrious beyond compare," we shall find, on turning over the twelve hundred leaves of Burke, that more than eight-tenths of the nobility claim, like our old friend Christopher Sly, to have come in with "Richard Conqueror," or, to use Burke's words, William the Norman. This claim, small as it is, may, in the great majority of cases, be doubted. That excellent Conservative, BENJAMIN DISRAELI, in "Coningsby," set it aside altogether, and asserted that the herald painters who decorate the panels of their lordships' coaches, knew more of genealogy than the peers themselves.

"The question is," said Coningsby, "whether a preponderance of the aristocratic principle in a political constitution be conducive to the stability of a state, and whether the peerage, as established in England, generally tends to that end. We must not forget in such an estimate the influence which, in this country, is exercised over opinion by ancient lineage."

"Ancient lineage!" said Mr. Milbank, "I never heard of a peer with an ancient lineage. The real old families of this country are to be found among the peasantry; the gentry, too, may lay some claim to old blood. I can point you out Saxon families in this country who can trace their pedigrees beyond the conquest; I know of some Norman gentlemen whose fathers, undoubtedly, came over with the Conqueror. But a peer with an ancient lineage is to me quite a novelty. No, no; the thirty years of the Wars of the Roses freed us from those gentlemen. I take it, after the battle of Tewkesbury, a Norman was an uncommonly scarce animal."

Disraeli is not far from wrong. The belief in ancient lineage may be seductive, but the folly of blood relationship is easily exposed. Granted that we are descended from Alexanders or Agamemnons, it does not follow that we are great, brave, and successful generals. An illustrious descent, like a light at the back of a mean transparency, only shows up the faults of a bad man, and can add no honour to a good one. Besides this, as more than sixty peerages are *recently* extinct, we may reasonably suppose that all great houses do not have heirs male. MACAULAY was first and last peer of his house. The Duke of Wellington was not a Wellesley; his name was Colley; his grandfather, Richard Colley, assumed the name of Wesley, since euphonised into Wellesley. The Earl of Clarendon is not a Hyde—paternally, he is a Villiers. The Duke of Northumberland is not a Percy; his real name is Smithson; his ancestor, Sir Hugh Smithson, having received the honours of the house of Percy simply because his wife's grandmother was a Percy. The Marquis of Normanby, though Constantine Phipps, contrived to get a re-creation of the Normandy title belonging to Constantine Phipps's mother's first husband. Lord Strafford is not a Wentworth; Lord Wilton is not an Egerton; Lord de Tabley is not a Warren. Earl Nelson is paternally a Bolton; his father was Thomas Bolton, his grandmother the great Nelson's sister. Lord Anglesea is not a Paget; his grandfather's name was Bayley. The Duke of Marlborough is not a Churchill, his real name being Spenser; he bears the Churchill arms and title because his ancestor married the great duke's daughter.

We have here—and we might multiply instances till our readers would tire—three great names, Wellington, Marlborough, and Nelson, in whose blood we have shown a deflection which should make one pause before boasting of high descent, letting pass without mention the accidents of spurious offspring, to which every great house is subjected as well as every poor house. Our last instance shall be of a man of genius, or, at any rate, of successful talent, who has won for himself, by his political cleverness, an hereditary title—Sir Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer Lytton. Of him, Burke, aided no doubt (since he claims and solicits original information), by the novelist's own pen, says, "Sir Bulwer is the third son of William Earle Bulwer, of Heydon Hall and Wood Dalling, Norfolk, Esq., Brigadier General, by Elizabeth Barbara his wife, daughter, and sole heiress of Richard Warburton Lytton, of Knebworth Park, Herts. This gentleman was descended," says the authority, in a note, "from Turol, surnamed Bolver, one of the war titles of Odin. The lands of Dalling, conferred upon this Norman by William the Conqueror, are still in possession of his descendant." Descendant,—how? The blood has twice run out in the male line; and the name should be either Robinson, or Warburton—not one ounce, we should think, of that belonging to the "Lytton who fought at Askalon," or the gentleman who took one of the war titles of the Saxon god, remaining in the family. Many is the time that we have wondered at the delicate Norman face of Sir Bulwer, as shown in Maclise's portrait, and thought of his great nobles, his gentle highwaymen, and his philosophic murderer, Eugene Aram; but until we saw him in the flesh, we only awoke from half the dream to find that he had little claim to Norman blood, and *entre nous*, as little to the Norman likeness.

The many wars and vicissitudes which this kingdom has undergone, have of course thinned the ranks of the Norman peers. Of the aggregate number of peers, our list at the beginning of this article will give some proximate notion. They amount to several hundred. Yet after the cessation of the Wars of the Roses, twenty-eight temporal lords only were left to meet in Parliament; in Henry VIII.'s time, there were only thirty-six in his first parliament; on the accession of Queen Elizabeth only fifty-six; and so on. George III. was a great peer maker, and created upwards of two hundred and fifty British, and two hundred and sixty-eight Irish peers.

Looking at the peerage from these points, we shall conclude with the maxim of Bosola in Webster's "Duchess of Malfy," that—

"Glories, like glow-worms afar off, shine bright,
But seen too near, give neither heat nor light."

The exorbitant pretensions of some to high birth, and the exaggerated notions of others in regard to the benefits to be derived therefrom, make such a review of the truth necessary. A peer, after all, can only be a titled gentleman, and can gain nothing from

a false notion of his power, his importance, or his honour, and cannot be offended when he has to exclaim,—

"Eh quoi ! j'apprends que l'on critique
Le *de* que précède mon nom."

It is one of the great privileges of our peerage that its ranks are from time to time recruited by new men, and these new men, judiciously selected, do add to its strength and lustre. Beyond these soldiers and law lords, the assembly is composed of large-acred squires, gentlemen of noble birth, with handles to their names, who are hereditary legislators, and who, by their place and station, and by their weight and example, do certainly refine us, and win us from the mere worship of worldly success, money, notoriety, and other base ends to which a country without a higher class seems always to run. If we cannot bow down, as many do, to mere rank, remembering not, with Disraeli, that the best blood of the country runs in the veins of its peasantry, but that we, too, are men of good lineage, and, above all, Englishmen, we may still regard the peerage with some deference. We should be as far from the senseless animosity of the demagogue, as from the wholesale subservience of the sycophant. We, too, have our class. If we sometimes hear of silly lectures being given by lords, and of silly mediæval retrogressive speeches being made by them, of sentiments avowed by them, which make it an anomaly for the same feudal baron, with feudal title and feudal pride, to travel on a railway invented by one of the people which he despises and would trample on—we must remember that others of the class are men of very high bearing, patrons of learning, of liberty, and of art; that that very feudal pride aided us against the tyranny of priest and king; that it is still the natural element of an important part in our constitution, keeps us from many whimsical and popular follies, and gives the world a living proof of the love of order and law possessed by the people, and of the stability of our England's institutions.

Let us also remember that if the forms of greatness change from age to age, that the spirit in those forms remains the same, and that the warrior of former times re-appears as the great orator of the present day; and as in the really pure race of Stanley, the next generation may furnish a true statesman, who, combining the tastes of the aristocracy with the large-hearted and wise liberality of the people, may greatly help the nation on to a completer civilization.

M. VILLEMMAIN AND THE PAPAL QUESTION.*

"WHY should I play the Roman fool, and die on mine own sword?" These words of Shakespeare might be very appropriately put into the mouth of M. Villemmain, and in fact of all the French liberals who are indiscreet enough to espouse the cause of the Pope against the Emperor, and to maintain the illegality or iniquity of any attempt to wrest from the Father of the faithful the government of a people whose liberty he unceasingly represses. M. Villemmain, in his antipathy to the present rule in his own country, draws his sword on behalf of the troubled Pontiff upon the Emperor, and forgets that if imperial despotism is pernicious and detestable, papal despotism is far more so. He is evidently conscious of all the evils in France which may be justly traced to want of freedom, and yet would prevent the recovery of freedom by the oppressed Italians. Here is an opportunity of overthrowing one tyranny at least, and we should have anticipated that the liberal party would have eagerly seized it; but on the contrary, we have now before us a pamphlet by one of its most learned and distinguished members, in which is set forth an elaborate advocacy of the papal pretensions. Perhaps it is only another instance of the recognised truth, that distress makes the sufferer selfish and envious. If France cannot be free, then let Italy too remain enslaved. The mistake of this policy is apparent. The sooner Italy is liberated, the sooner will France share its liberty.

The object of the writer's attack is the famous brochure of "*Le Pape et le Congrès*," and the line of argument which M. Villemmain takes up is that any interference with the extent of the papal dominions is illegitimate, as being an infringement of all principles of international law. If the territory of the Holy See, he argues, is not inviolable, what guarantee has any Power that some stronger Power or combination of Powers may not strip it of its most valuable possessions? The title of the Pope to the sovereignty of the States of the Church is as well founded and as indisputable as that of any potentate in Europe to his hereditary crown. Whence have certain powers derived the most important territorial augmentations? From treaties. And whence has the Holy See received its temporal aggrandisement? From treaties. Why then, asks M. Villemmain, shall these treaties be regarded in one case as sacred and inviolable, and in the other as so much waste-paper?

Such is the general bearing of the writer's argument. It is specious enough, and it is supported, as might have been expected from so erudite an author, by a variety of quotations from historians, philosophers, and ecclesiastics, from Ammianus Marcellinus down to Pius VII. The spirited resistance of the last-named pontiff to the first Napoleon, and the fearless demand for his restoration to liberty made by the National Council of French bishops in 1811, are described in terms of zealous admiration, and sundry allusions to Gregory VII. may give rise to the suspicion that M. Villemmain intended his pamphlet to be not only a controversial reply to "*Le Pape et le Congrès*," but also an exhortation to the Holy Father to hold his own (or rather what is not his own) with an immovable

obstinacy, not inferior to that with which Pius VII. opposed Napoleon I., and Gregory VII. the Emperor Henry IV.

On the whole, we may consider this reply inadequate to "*Le Pape et le Congrès*," in spite of the inconsequential and singularly imperfect character of the latter production. M. Villemmain has failed to demonstrate the proposition on which his whole argument is based, and the reader remains unconvinced that the Pope has any right whatever to hold a sway repugnant to the entire body of his subjects; and he has failed equally in showing that what a Congress has given a Congress may not take away. In one point he takes a very allowable opportunity of administering a rebuke to the cant—for we can call it little else, coming from such a source—of the author of the obnoxious pamphlet, who, it will be remembered, urges that a large state ought and must give room for the "generous activities of public life," to which M. Villemmain thus retorts: "This is a theory of by no means constant application. We might ask, in fact, whether political life exists for all large states, whether it is thriving amongst them, whether they all have those 'generous activities of public life' to which the author alludes; or whether there are not, on the contrary, some very great states in which this public life is peculiarly repressed." (p. 13.) This is hard hitting.

M. Villemmain's pamphlet is an indication that an entire and sweeping abolition of the temporal power of the Holy See would not encounter more determined opposition than will its partial deprivation proposed in "*Le Pape et le Congrès*."

GOG AND MAGOG.*

WE are not ashamed to confess that we belong to that class of persons for whom Mr. Fairholt has written this learned and entertaining little volume. We had, indeed, a vague notion that musty records must exist in our city archives concerning the history of those doughty and highly painted giants, who from their lofty pedestals beside the clock have looked down upon so many banquets and festivals; but we had no idea of who was Gog, who Magog, or why they were selected for those eminent positions. Mr. Fairholt has diligently and long inquired into this matter; has sought for light in the histories of other civic giants on the Continent and elsewhere; has illustrated his subject by inquiries far and wide into the curious subject of giants, and has at length furnished us with what may be sought for in vain in the pages of Stow, Howel, Strype, Northouck, Maitland, Seymour, Pennant, and all other Historians of London—a history of Gog and Magog.

Let us at once get rid of a popular error which the very title of Mr. Fairholt's book might help to confirm. The giants are properly not Gog and Magog at all; for although in some ancient stories their names are so written, the best legendary history informs us that the name of the one is Gogmagog, and of the other Corinæus. So often have we gazed upon those mysterious figures when we were boys, and had no better recreation in the occasional holiday of an ancient City school than to loiter in Guildhall, that we do not hesitate to say that Corinæus is the giant standing with spear and shield upon the right hand side of the spectator as he looks towards the great western window in the Hall. Gogmagog is he who, with reverent beard and quiver full of arrows, and with a pole in his hand, at the end whereof is a chain and spiked ball, stands in the corresponding corner.

Their history is this: According to "Caxton's Chronicle of England," the Emperor Dioclesian had three and thirty daughters, of remarkably strong minds; for whom, to get rid of them, he obtained three and thirty husbands. The ladies, rebelling, agreed to slay a husband apiece and be free; which done, their father, to punish them for their crimes, sent all to sea in one vessel, with six months' provisions. After long sailing, they reached an island, which they named Albion, after the name of the eldest lady. The island, we must suppose, though since become remarkably populous, was then scarcely inhabited: but the Evil One, feeling a special interest in these refractory ladies, provided them with visionary husbands, the result whereof was a numerous progeny of horrible giants, who ruled over this land for many a day. So things went on, according to another version, until Brute, of whom we read in "Geoffrey of Monmouth," and in "Milton," having got foot in England, and being prepared to improve the same, as an earnest reformer, was opposed in all his schemes by Albion, the son of the lady of that name, and his brother giants, who then tyrannised over the isle, and were in fact the Conservatives and country party of those days. With huge clubs of knotty oak, battle-axes, whirlbats of iron, and globes full of spikes, the giants came on. After various fortune, the men of huge stature were by a stratagem overthrown, and pursued into Cornwall, where Corinæus ruled. Albion was slain by Brute, fighting hand to hand, and his two brothers, Gog and Magog, otherwise Gogmagog and Corinæus, giants of vast bulk, were taken prisoners and led in triumph to the place where now London stands. Upon those risings upon the side of the river Thames, Brute founded a city, and, building a palace where Guildhall stands, caused the two giants to be chained to the gate of it as porters. It is in memory of this, according to the legends, that their effigies stand to this day in Guildhall. We must not, however, disguise the fact that history is obscure and frequently contradictory on these points. According to old Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gogmagog was a horrible monster, whom Corinæus, to amuse the Court of King Brute, slew in single combat; and now we look again at Gog-

* *La France, l'Empire, et la Papauté, Question de Droit Public.* Par M. Villemmain, Membre de l'Institut. Paris, 1860.

* *Gog and Magog; the Giants in Guildhall, their Real and Legendary History.* By F. W. FAIRHOLT. London: J. O. Hotten.

magog in Mr. Fairholt's picture, we seem to discern in his countenance a crestfallen expression—a certain air of baffled wickedness which we never remarked before, and which confirms this version. In justice to the giants let us not forget another version, which declares that "Corinæus and Gogmagog were two brave giants, who nicely valued their honour, and exerted their whole strength and force in defence of their liberty and country; so the City of London, by placing these their representatives in their Guildhall, emblematically declare that they will, like mighty giants, defend the honour of their country and liberties of this their native city, which excels all others as much as those huge giants exceed in stature the common bulk of mankind." For this account, however, there is no earlier authority than the "Gigantick History," published by Thomas Boreman, in 1741: and we are afraid that it is merely mythical, growing out of the popular feeling towards Gog and Magog. For the people evidently loved their giants: they were associated with all their *fêtes* and holidays; and to this day, we believe, form part of the Lord Mayor's annual procession. Anciently, Gog and Magog were two vast figures, made only of wickerwork and pasteboard. The present two substantial giants were, at the city charge, "formed and fashioned" by one "Captain Richard Saunders, an eminent carver, in King-street, Cheapside," somewhere about the year 1708.

Mr. Fairholt hardly solves a question which will strike most of his readers. Why are giants so universally connected with civic display? Chester, Coventry, Salisbury, Antwerp, Douai, Arras, Brussels, &c., have all their giants. We believe that they had their origin in the histrionic performances with which the ancient *bourgeoisie* of England and the Continent were wont, after the fashion of more powerful governments, to amuse the people. For these they appear to have dramatised or otherwise represented popular legends already well known. The history of Gogmagog and Corinæus was, no doubt, one of those which were annually brought forward; and the giants, we suppose, being elaborately constructed, were preserved, and made to do duty from year to year. The names of Gog and Magog are found in the Bible, and Mr. Fairholt has some curious remarks upon the traces that may be found of them in Oriental legends.

It was right that this memoir of the old city giants should be written before their history and the grandeur that anciently surrounded them are for ever forgotten. As late as the middle of the last century Mr. Fairholt informs us that the great stone hall in which they stand was filled with small shops, and formed a gay bazaar. The "Gigantick History" from which we have quoted was sold by its publisher "near the Giants in Guildhall." But civic glories are fading fast. An all-devouring centralization, of more than doubtful benefit, is fast consuming the city's ancient power and independence. When last we sauntered into Guildhall the workmen were peaceably engaged in a labour of sacrilege that, of old time, would have set the city in a blaze. They were removing the venerated monument of Alderman Beckford, the great champion of City Radicalism, to make way for the monument of the great Tory soldier, the Duke of Wellington. The change was effected without riot—indeed, we believe, without remark. The giants looked down upon the change with faces, as it seemed to us, of deeper crimson than before; but the people merely watched the workmen, as if no cry of Wilkes and Liberty had ever been heard within those walls, and pressgangs and general warrants had always been allowed to go forth unquestioned.

SOCRATES.*

The student of history has no more melancholy task than to trace the career of one of those pioneers of nascent Truth, whose fate in every age of the world it has been to lay down their lives for the creed they preach. To be persecuted, despised, rejected, and undone, such is the sacrifice that Truth has ever demanded of men who dared to be her herald, and well it is that in every case their glory has proved equal to the risk they ran, and that the names of such live for ever, long after their bodies rest in peace; and on the brow of none has posterity placed a nobler crown than that which rests on Socrates, the pagan philosopher of Athens,

Whom well inspired, the oracle pronounced,
Wisest of men.

He enjoys, too, the advantage of having met with one among his pupils who was able to do justice to his teaching, and whose works, unsurpassed for beauty of style and illustration, still remain the storehouse from which moralists of every age have drawn, as from a flowing fount, whatever could adorn their pages, or render their lessons more easy to understand. On none of the writers of Greece is the impress of the beauty of nature more clearly stamped than on Plato—the most eloquent of all, who in everything that was lovely around, saw a type of something still more lovely in the moral nature of man within. His Dialogues should be in every hand, and we therefore welcome with pleasure a volume from the able pen of Dr. Whewell, which promises in an adequate manner to throw open this treasure to the English reader.

In Socrates, as in many another who has been the chosen apostle of the highest truths, there was nothing to attract or allure "the many" to his side. Rude of speech, in appearance plain, with throat-bare cloak and unshod feet he walked by the side of the polished and luxurious citizen of Athens, and heedless of everything forged his conversation on one and all alike. And when we remember that the object of these colloquies was to prove the ignorance of the

persons who engaged in them, and their utter folly in supposing that they knew anything at all, we need not wonder when we find that hatred and jealousy were roused against him, who sought in such a novel way to propagate the practice of virtue and enforce the stern duties of morality. The whole city were against him; and, supported singly by the approval of the internal monitor conscience, that reigns supreme, and which he called his Demon, to his seventieth year he stood his ground, and nobly pursued the course he had marked out.

There can be nothing more pathetic in the range of history than the Moralist of Athens standing at the bar of his country to receive its last award. After a life of self-denial spent in labouring to bring men to the knowledge of the duties they owe themselves, and to a higher conception of their work below, he stands forth to meet his sentence at the hands of those whom he has sacrificed all to save. Rectitude of purpose unflinchingly pursued and blameless integrity are there in his person, to be judged by the selfish bigotry which represses the one and the proud ignorance that refuses to acknowledge the other. And the result was, as it has ever been, that the life of Socrates, noble as it was, was still more ennobled by his death. Martyrdom, indeed, has never failed to raise to the highest rank of heroism those who have passed through its fiery trial; and many a name that would have perished long ago, or only survived to be abhorred, has thus been saved from such a fate. But no commendation is too high for the glorious martyr of virtue of whom we now speak, and his last defence is one of the most touching addresses that we have ever read, which, after many a noble passage, thus concludes:—

"But you too, my judges, must be of a good courage with regard to death, and must bear in mind this one great truth, that to a good man it matters not whether he live or die; nor are the gods regardless of his course: and so even I, helpless as I seem, am sure that this has not happened to me by chance, but that it is good for me to die and be removed from this scene below, and I bear no grudge against those who have condemned and accused me here."

Charity was not so common a virtue in those or after days, as that we should despise the smallest approach to it we can trace, and it must have sounded strange on the ear of selfish and time-serving Athens to listen to a man who could forgive the enemies who had broken up and destroyed his home, and were about to consign him to an unjust and ignominious death. But she reaped abundantly the harvest she had sown; and the words of the despised criminal who fell a victim to her blindness, that it would be long ere she found such another as himself, were amply and mournfully fulfilled. Four hundred years after, in the days of the Apostle Paul, we find the very same Athens again rejecting a teacher of the truth, and still devoted to the study of the unknown gods. The very charges that are brought against the one are almost verbally the same as those that were urged against the other: Socrates was condemned because he believed in other than his country's gods: Paul was a babbler because his gods were strange, and the similarity may surely serve to invest the Pagan moralist with something of the interest that attaches to the career of the Christian saint. To those who would further study the practical morals of the former, as presented to us in the works of his pupil Plato, we can do no better than recommend the series of volumes by Dr. Whewell, of which the first has just been issued. The dialogues are arranged in chronological order, and to each is appended an argument; while the matter, which consists partly of a terse abridgment and partly of vigorous translation, is illustrated by able notes. English readers have to thank the author for having brought home to them what we are sure, if rightly read, will be "a joy for ever," and for having enabled them for themselves to verify the justice of posterity in having reversed a verdict which, more than two thousand years ago, was passed on one of the most celebrated characters of that or indeed of any time.

NOVELS OF THE DAY.*

IT is impossible for any novelist to succeed who does not, as a primary element, supply himself with a sure foundation in the shape of an efficient plot. To write two long volumes, composed of merely conversational or dry descriptive chapters, is not to produce a novel, in the proper meaning of the word. A novel is, after all, a difficult form of composition, requiring not only the imaginative and perceptive faculties, but much general information and actual experience of the world. In these days of light literature, unfortunately, the rage for novel-reading is only outrun by the mania for novel-writing: the consequence is, that so much trash is presented to the public in the shape of "tales" and "romances," that it becomes really dangerous to speculate in a book, unless we have the name of a well-known author as a guarantee for the respectability of its contents.

We do not wish the reader to infer, from the foregoing remarks, that Mr. Wise's new work, "The Cousins' Courtship," is entirely devoid of any sort of individual merit. On the contrary, there is, here and there, dispersed throughout the two volumes, some little bits of genuine poetic feeling, which gleam pleasantly and refreshingly through the long wilderness of uninteresting detail. Still, however, they are only gleamings in the wilderness; and we doubt much if the patience of the general reader will allow him to wade through so

* *The Cousins' Courtship.* By JOHN R. WISE. 2 vols. Smith, Elder, & Co.
Meg of Ellbank, and other Tales. By the Author of "The Nut-Brown Maids." Originally published in "Fraser's Magazine." John W. Parker & Sons.
Quills; a Novel. By the Baroness TAUTPHILUS. Richard Bentley.

* *The Dialogues of Plato.* By Dr. WHEWELL, Trin. Coll., Camb. MacMillan. 1859.

many tedious chapters in order to arrive at these brighter portions, which, after all, can only be likened to so many specks of light upon a darkened surface. In fact, "The Cousins' Courtship" is, as a novel, utterly unreadable. It possesses not the slightest incident that can claim for a moment the undivided attention of the reader. The characters are all imperfectly conceived, and still more imperfectly developed; moreover they fail in eliciting, almost without exception, the smallest amount of sympathy. The author has, indeed, shown considerable talent in filling the pages of two decently-sized volumes with little or nothing to write about. We are aware of that perfectly legitimate proceeding on the part of novel readers, —namely, skipping the duller and less agreeable portions,—and we were surprised, in the present instance, to find to what an extent we might indulge in this laudable license without the slightest detriment to the story.

A series of tales, formerly published in *Fraser's Magazine*, now collected for the first time, constitute, on the whole, a volume of very pleasant reading. The scenes are chiefly laid in Scotland, whose national peculiarities are well depicted by the author. Meg of Elibank, and Lady Strathmore's daughters, are particularly worthy of commendation.

Quits, a novel by the Baroness Tautphäus, author of "The Initials," is again issued for the approval of the public. The fact of its having attained a third edition is a sufficient guarantee of its merits.

QUARTERLY REVIEWS, AND OTHER SERIALS.

IT is all in vain—he may try—but the Quarterly Reviewer cannot keep pace with the politics of the time. A new serial is, of course, ambitious, and must attempt a display of political acumen, and political influence, and political prophecy—for your political writer is a great seer into the future. No wonder, therefore, that Bentley, in his fourth number of his "Quarterly,"* should come out with a great political article on "The coming Political Campaign." Alas! scarcely has it appeared, than the whole aspect of things has changed. The relations of the French Emperor with the Pope have been determined; Free Trade in France has been initiated, and the reaction of these great events on our Government has commenced, and imposed new conditions on parliamentary parties. Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Bright must yield to the pressure, and alter their tactics to suit unexpected contingencies. Whereupon the argument of the article falls to the ground, and the whole becomes almost waste-paper. Assuredly, a much better article might have been turned out by a less prejudiced writer, but the result could scarcely have been different. An article on "The Ordnance Survey" is much better—scientific, direct, intelligent, and intelligible. With the exception of the Highlands of Scotland, and a portion of Northumberland and Cumberland, the whole of the British Isles has now been surveyed and drawn; and, notwithstanding the obstructions caused by the disputes in Parliament as to the scale on which the maps should be published, the remainder of the work is once more steadily progressing. The Reviewer treats with well-merited scorn and contempt "the fussy ignorance which prompted the parliamentary crusade against scientific exertion." Literary papers on Georges Sand and Ben Jonson follow—old subjects, not yet exhausted, but not pressing for notice. New periodicals frequently afford a field for this kind of prize-essay writing. In those of long standing, such stock subjects have already been treated, and are not in general permitted to be resumed. "Mill on Liberty" is somewhat late on the ground; but the Reviewer grapples ably with the difficulty that the democrat apprehends—the control of individual will and opinion by society. There is peril in all republican institutions, and one which has been felt in America, that each man's next neighbour may become a tyrant and spy on his actions and thoughts. Mr. Mill rightly demands the completest development of the individual compatible with the liberty of others and the preservation of society. Society does not, at present, permit this, but opposes the moral coercion of public opinion, and the physical force of penal law, to the natural growth of individuality. The individual is so brought up as to prefer even conformity to choice: thus the mind is enslaved from the birth. The Reviewer evidently thinks that the picture is overcharged, and the facts overstated. Custom, he holds, though powerful, is not omnipotent. The existence of Puseyism in an anti-pope country like this appears to the writer to be a proof in point; and evidently, too, his preferences are to that line of thinking. To us that fact proves the contrary. It is merely reactionary—an effort to restore a custom which was nearly slain but not yet dead. Such is the feeling that lies at the bottom of all reactionary movements; they would have us go back to a state which we have almost left. Nay, but the freed man must go forward, or return to the slavery which he fears to quit. Thought and its expression should be absolutely free;—action requires restraint, but the smallest possible is the best possible. In the Reviewer's opinion, however, liberty may be very well for the highest class of minds, but for those of average capacity authority is necessary.

We deliver ourselves from this metaphysical circle, and recognise with much pleasure an able article on "Domestic Architecture," and a decidedly original though rather ill-considered essay on "Modern English," in which the works of Dr. Trench and Mr. John Russell Bartlett's book on Americanisms are supposed to be reviewed. We regret that the writer should have narrowed his subject to newspaper literature, and that some of his remarks should betray an unphilosophical and common-place mind. It is a good topic spoiled

by bad treatment. We agree with him, however, in his preference for Teutonic words.

An elaborate review follows of Müller's "History of the Literature of Ancient Greece," as continued by Dr. William Donaldson. There is also a just and sympathetic article on the Earl of Dundonald's autobiography, which does the editor great credit. Altogether it may be said that this number of the *Review* is an improvement on the last.

The *British Quarterly Review* for the present January contains nine respectable articles, and the usual epilogue on affairs and books. Among the former we select an essay on "Wordsworth," remarkable for its originality; not ignoring, however, the merits of the leading article on "Oratory," and the theological paper on the "Natural and Supernatural" according to Mr. Horace Bushnell, of New York. There is also a paper on Mr. Mill and Liberty, in which both are rather severely treated.—No. 38 of the *Assurance Magazine* contains some excellent papers on population, mortality, and statistics.—No. 35 of the *Ladies' Treasury* presents its usual allotment of subjects, which are treated with ability and appropriately illustrated.—*Cassell's Popular Natural History* has arrived at Part X., which is mainly occupied with the varieties of rats and mice, of which interesting engravings are given. The same publisher's *Family Bible* also proceeds satisfactorily. Part VIII. carries us down to vii. Deuteronomy. The illustrations continue to be good.—Mr. Charles Knight's *English Cyclopædia* still maintains its well-earned reputation. Part XII. ends the third volume, and concludes with the article "Eyre."—The story of *Plain or Ringlets* is continued. Part VI. is equal to its predecessors.—Among some smaller books of the season we may notice the *Christmas Book*, a brochure describing "Christmas in the Olden Time, its Customs, and their Origin," and which contains some really curious matter. It is published by James Pattie.—J. H. and J. Parker have sent out another number (XI.) of their historical tales in aid of Church principles, entitled *The Conversion of St. Vladimir, or the Martyrs of Kief*. It is a tale of the early Russian Church.—We have also received the January Number of *The North American Review*, which contains the best article on "Tennyson's Idylls" that we have yet seen. All the papers are indeed excellent;—the subjects are important:—viz., "The Assyrian Empire;" "The Commerce and Currency of the United States;" "The Condition and Needs of the Indian Tribes"—a topic of remarkable interest; "George Canning;" "The China Question;" "Wesleyan Methodism;" "Washington;" and "The Literature of the Italian War;" besides the usual miscellaneous collections. It is seldom that such an imposing array of titles can be set forth from a modern Review. There is, indeed, vigour in the critics of New York.

LETTER FROM ITALY.

(SPECIAL.)

ROME, 18th January, 1860.

WE all know the story of BOCCACCIO's Jew who went to Rome, and came back a Christian. There is no need for alarm—it is not my intention to repeat a story which most of us have heard a great deal too often. As for those who don't know it, I can only refer them to the columns of any daily paper, where, before many weeks are past, they are sure to see the anecdote related "à propos de bottles" at the commencement of a leading article. Meanwhile the object of my own allusion to the stock story is, to introduce the remark, that at the present day the Jew would have returned from Rome hardened in heart and unconverted. The flagrant profligacy, the open immorality which in the Hebrew's judgment supplied the strongest testimony to the truth of a religion that survived such scandals, exist no longer. Rome is, externally, the most moral and decorous of European cities. In reality, she may be only a whitened sepulchre, but at any rate the whitewash is laid on very thick, and looks uncommonly like stone. From various motives this feature is, I think, but seldom brought prominently forward in descriptions of the papal city. Protestant and liberal writers slur over the facts, because, however erroneously, they are considered inconsistent with the assumed iniquity of the government and corruptions of the Papacy. Catholic narrators know, perhaps, too much of what goes on behind the scenes, to relish calling too close attention to the apparent propriety of Rome. Be the cause what it may, the moral aspect of the Eternal city seems to me to be little dwelt upon, and yet on many accounts it is a very curious one.

Next to Glasgow, Rome is perhaps the most Sabbatarian of cities which it has been my fortune to come across. All shops, except druggists, tobacconists, and places of refreshment, are hermetically closed on Sundays. Even the English reading-room is shut throughout the day. There is no delivery of letters, and no mails going out. A French band plays on the Pincian during the afternoon, and the Borghese gardens are thrown open—but these, till after sunset, are the only public amusements. In the evening, the theatres, it is true, though not the opera, are open. But then in Roman Catholic countries Sunday evening is universally accounted a feast. On Fridays every theatre is closed, and once a week or more there is sure to be a saint's day as well, on which shops and all are shut—to the great trial, sometimes, of a traveller's temper. The amusements of the public are regulated with the strictest regard to their morals. There are no public dancing places of any kind, no casinos or "cafés chantants." No public masked balls are allowed, except one, I think, at the opera, on the last night of the carnival. The theatres themselves are kept under the most rigid surveillance. It is only during a small portion of

*Bentley's Quarterly Review. No. IV. January, 1860.

the year they are allowed to be open. Every thing from the titles of the plays to the petticoats of the ballet girls undergoes clerical inspection. The censure is as unsparing of *double entendres* as of political allusions, and Palais Royal farces are Bowdlerized down till they come forth from the censorship dull and innocuous. A ballet at the Princess's compared with one at the "Apollo" was a wild and voluptuous orgy.

The same system of repression prevails everywhere. In the print shops one never sees a picture which even verges on impropriety. The few female portraits exhibited in their windows are robed with an amount of drapery which would satisfy the most puritanical of our Crystal Palace reformers. All books which have the slightest amorous tendency are scrupulously forbidden, without reference to their political views. Indeed, the censorship is extended to private libraries. An Italian gentleman, a resident here, had to my knowledge to obtain a special permission to retain a copy of ROUSSEAU'S works on his own book-shelves; and this, I believe, is no uncommon case. At street corners you may see exhortations against profane swearing, headed "Bestemmiatore, orrendo nome;" but this is the only "writing on the wall" witnessed in Rome. The number of wine-shops seems to me very small in proportion to the size of the city, and in none of them, as far as I can learn, are spirits permitted to be sold. There is another subject which will suggest itself at once to any one acquainted with the life of towns, but on which it is obviously impossible to enter here. It is enough to say that what the author of "Friends in Council" styles, with more sentiment than truth, the "sin of great cities," is not found in Rome. Not only is public vice kept out of sight, as in some other continental cities, but its private haunts are absolutely and literally suppressed. In fact, if priest-rule were deposed, and our own sabbatarians and total abstinence men, and "societies for the suppression of vice" reigned in their stead, I doubt if Rome could be made more outwardly decorous and virtuous than it is at present.

This then is the fair side of the picture. What is the aspect of the reverse? To judge fully, it is necessary to get behind the scenes—a thing not easy for a stranger anywhere, least of all here. It is my object, in these letters, rather to note those facts which any traveller might observe for himself, than to put forward my own impressions. Even if there were no other objection, it would be useless to quote individual stories which have come to my ears, and which would show Rome, beneath its external propriety, to be the most corrupt, debauched, and demoralized of cities. Each separate story can be disputed or denied, but the weight of the general evidence is overpowering. I have talked with many persons, Romans, Italians, and foreign residents, on the subject, and from one and all I have heard similar accounts. Every traveller I have ever met with, who has made like inquiries, has come to a like conviction. I once heard Rome described by an appellation which I cannot repeat, but which I believe to be too fearfully deserved. In a country where there is practically no press, no public courts, no responsible government, and where even no classified census is allowed to be taken, statistics are hard to obtain and of little value when arrived at. Personal evidence, imperfect as it is, after all, is the best you can get. Now there is very little drunkenness in Rome, I freely admit. With the exception of French soldiers on fête days, you rarely meet a drunken person, even at night; but then the Italians, like all other natives of warm climates, are naturally sober. On the other hand, beggars are universal. Everybody begs; if you ask a common man your way along the streets, the chances are that he asks you for a "buono mano." Now, even if you doubt the truth of SHERIDAN'S dictum, that no man could be honest without being rich, it is hard to believe in a virtuous beggar. The abundance too of lotteries shakes one's faith in Roman morality. A population amongst whom beggary and gambling are encouraged by their spiritual and temporal rulers, is not likely, in other respects, to be a virtuous or a moral one. The frequency, too, of violent crimes is a startling fact. A few hours ago, a man was stabbed by a robber in a large hotel, not three doors from where I write. The fact that the victim was a stranger, and a man of fortune, has called attention to the occurrence, but the crime itself makes no noise and excites no surprise. To my eyes the very look of the city and its inhabitants is a strong ground of suspicion. There is vice on those worn, wretched faces—vice in those decaying hovel-palaces—vice in those streets, teeming with life, and dirt, and misery. In fact, if you only fancy to yourself a city where there are neither manufactures, nor commerce, nor public life of any kind; where the rich are condemned to enforced idleness, and the poor to enforced misery; where there is a population of some ten thousand clergymen in the prime of life, without occupation for the most part, and all vowed to celibacy; where priests and priest-rule are omnipotent, and where every outlet for the natural desires and passions of men is carefully cut off—if you take in all these facts, you will not be surprised if to me, as to any one who knows the truth, the external propriety of Rome seems but the saddest of its many mockeries.

ROME, 20th January.

I have just received from Florence a copy of the correspondence between the Archbishop of Florence and Baron RICASOLI on the question of the Evangelical Catholics, and as it throws considerable light on the tactics and policy of the Italian Church and the Italian Liberals I enclose a translation. We really seem to be on the eve of some great change here.

The Archbishop of Florence and Baron Ricasoli.

SIR,—When the author of the pamphlet, "The Catholic Church of Rome is the only true Church of Christ," several editions of which have been published in Florence, came and told me that the Minister of the

Interior had forbidden its further publication, I refused to believe him, so extraordinary did the fact appear. When, however, I was shown the written notification of the prohibition from the delegate of Saint Giovanni, I could no longer refuse my credence. I am ignorant whether this prohibition comes directly from your Excellency, or whether, as I deem more probable, it is due to the indiscreet zeal of some subaltern official; but whatever may be the case, I feel it an urgent duty to lift up my episcopal voice, and, laying aside that system of patient forbearance which some have styled weakness, to speak to you with that Christian freedom which befits me as bishop, and which is none the less fitting towards you, whom public fame reports to be one of those rare spirits who, by reason of the loftiness and manliness of their minds, take great delight in frank words and brave deeds.

You, sir, are a Catholic, and rule a Catholic people; you are therefore under an obligation to cherish and foster prudently the preservation and growth of that faith which you profess. I use the word "prudently" because I would not have you suppose that I am a suppliant to you on behalf of religion and the Church for that insidious guardianship which only fetters and debases its object, or still less for that species of protection which, consisting solely in persecution and oppression of dissentients serves but to confer odium on the cause so protected. What I ask for is that wise and prudent care, which at once fostering the beneficent institutions of the Church, respecting her sacred ordinances, honouring her ministers, and facilitating her freedom of action, tends to increase her estimation and her influence, to the no small gain and profit of civil society itself. This care I as a bishop have every right to demand from you a Catholic ruler. But must I speak the truth? Be it the fault of men or of the times, it seems as though that just and reasonable preference of which I have spoken has given place to the very opposite sentiment, and that, subject to certain feints and pretences kept up for decency, every attempt is made to frustrate, weaken, and embarrass the action of Catholicism.

You cannot but be aware that for some time past there have been opened in this city to the grievous scandal of the righteous, public schools of error (I say public schools because a place where everybody is able and invited to enter is a public place, no matter whether it belongs to an individual or a private society). You must also be aware that persons are enticed into these places by every manner of inducement, not excepting that of money, persons too of every age and every class, and especially the poor and ignorant people, as well as inexperienced youths, who are more easily wheedled over by the seductions and imposed upon by the sophistry of the preachers. I leave it to politicians to decide whether civil toleration of religious creeds need be carried to such an extent as to leave room for such brazen-faced and corrupting proselytism—whether accustoming the people to hold all things, even their very conscience cheap, tends to create those manly virtues and that spirit of self-denial and self-sacrifice to the calls of duty which are necessary to make men brave and free—whether the encouragement of the "faith which works miracles" can be replaced with advantage by sowing in men's minds the doubt that paralyses, or the disbelief that brutalizes; for this fact indeed must be well-borne in mind, that doubt and disbelief are the ordinary results produced amongst the people by religious disputes and controversies, chiefly carried on in the name of a doctrine whose essence is negation—whether finally, in the present state of Italy, agitated and excited as she is by so many and so various passions, it is prudent to add to the flames so terrible and so dangerous a fuel as that of wounded consciences and religious passions? Whether this is advisable or not, is no difficult matter to decide. I, sir, however, must ask you how it is, that where strangers from Naples and other countries are allowed to rant and rave against the ancient and blessed faith of our forefathers with the knowledge and toleration of the Government, there priests and Catholics are forbidden to ascend the pulpit in order to explain and defend our faith, if they happen not to be Tuscan subjects?

The citizenship of any part of the great Constitutional Italian Kingdom, even of the old and new provinces themselves, governed by our King elect, is not sufficient; a certificate of unmixed Tuscanship is a *sine qua non*, as if the voice and the priesthood of Catholicism, like some petty quibble of the ecclesiastical law, could be confined within the narrow limits of a single province. I ask you, sir, how is it, that while the new preachers vituperate with impunity the Catholic clergy in their public declamations, and by stimulating the base and furious passions of their auditors, hold up the priesthood to suspicion and hatred,—pretending, forsooth, that the priests, in order to prey upon popular ignorance and stupidity, give the people puerilities for doctrines, abominable and ridiculous superstitions for sacraments, and worship an impure harlot (I shudder to think of it) for the ideal of the dearest, purest, sweetest, and holiest beauty—how is it, I say, that a fervent priest and a zealous curate are not permitted to denounce from the pulpit these fearful blasphemies that are uttered daily, or these abominable insults with which, by word of mouth and by writing, in highways and byways, the sacred person and the authority of the Holy Pontiff are daily outraged, (without there being present appointed spies, often ignorant and always malevolent, who treasuring up some casual word or phrase not sufficiently weighed, or wilfully distorted, run off with all speed to lay informations before the tribunals, to be followed by trials and warnings, and all kinds of persecution)—how is it that while cheap newspapers, penny pamphlets and almanacks are printed freely and sold openly, in which impiety revels in its misrule, corrupts with filthy and wicked words and with still more filthy and wicked prints not only the heart and mind of our people but even that clear common sense and innate delicacy which distinguishes them above all other nations and accustoms them to throw aside all reverence and to trample all authority underfoot—yet, at the very same time, a little book of some few pages is forbidden like poison? A book, which in an easy and simple manner, after the fashion of a catechism, holds up a great and important truth, and warns the good to avoid the dangers with which they are threatened by error! What justice, I pray, do you call this? Was it, forsooth, as it has been asserted, because the publication of this little pamphlet would have given offence to the adversaries of our common faith? Yes, truth is always hateful to error; but what of this? Ought truth to be banished from the earth, or ought its mouth to be closed with a double seal? I myself have no love for that infatuated and indiscriminate zeal which considers it has made a great point when it has armed fury in

defence of truth, and has discharged its ignoble quiver full of vituperations, without perceiving that by such conduct it dishonours the holy cause it wishes to defend: but this book is not of such a class, and had it been such I should not have given it my sanction. But even had the book been such, I ask again why is such tenderness shown for a few schismatics who disagree with us and among themselves, while none whatever is shown for the whole remaining population who agree in holding the doctrines of Catholicism? Do you, perhaps, suppose that the conscience of the latter is too callous to feel, and that their hearts are not bitterly hurt by those shameless articles and those unworthy caricatures which are allowed to pass freely from hand to hand; by those impious treatises, which come from abroad, and which now that the last barrier has been removed by you inundate us without stint or pause; by those tracts which the new preachers busy themselves in circulating, selling them for next to nothing, or even giving them away, and which are full of poisonous calumnies and impudent falsehoods against the Pope, against the priests, against the saints, against the sacraments, against everything we hold most dear and love most reverently. By such books, for example, as 'Impious Rome,' the 'Cardinal's Cabal,' 'the Priest and the Woman,' the 'Cock of Caiaphas,' the 'Errors of the Romish Church exposed by the Word of God,' the 'Bible and the Prison,' and such-like productions? Would that your Excellency knew what deep and cruel wounds these things inflict upon the hearts, not only of fervent believers, but even of those in whom the distractions of the world seemed to have deadened the faith implanted and cherished by the piety of their mothers! Would that you knew what indignation was arising and was ever swelling to more formidable proportions on account of such intolerable licence, so that, in fact, greater indignation could not be created by open patronage of error! I myself am so terrified at this indignation, that I have thought it my duty, as a Bishop and a citizen, to bear with patience the imputation of pusillanimity, sooner than strike a spark which might be followed by so vast an explosion; and, instead, as I was strongly urged on every side, of exhibiting this deep grief of mine to the public gaze (with the certainty that my voice would find a solemn echo in every heart), I prepared to turn myself to you alone, appealing to your religion, to your political wisdom, to your justice. Listen, I beseech you, to my prayers, and even if that be true, which some friends of yours go trumpeting about, but what I hold to be a grievous calumny, namely, that the desire or hope to win over the support of a great foreign Power, and thus to further your political schemes, causes you to disregard your duty as a Christian, and to offend the religious feeling of your fellow citizens—O then, I pray you, still remember that the Jews too, having rejected the kingdom of God, in the interest of their country and their nationality, lost both one and the other!

As for what concerns myself, being appointed by God and by the Church guardian of the faith of this illustrious city and of this noble people, celebrated above all for its religious glories, I am resolved to fulfil the whole of my duties; and now that the gentle measures of prudence are exhausted without success, instead of that same charity which has made me gentle and submissive to the necessities of the time, and which as long as the faith was not in jeopardy my conscience approved of, I shall put on that fiery zeal which befits those who fight the battles of the Lord. I am prepared for all, and I well know that when I was consecrated Bishop I devoted myself to tribulation, to toil, to persecution, and to martyrdom. And what I have sworn, that, by the grace of God, I will perform.

May your Excellency excuse the frank freedom of my language; but I believed that, by so speaking, I did you honour. May God give you good counsels, as the high gifts which adorn your mind render it an object of attachment to all, and to me especially, who hold you for my son in Christ Jesus, and who would be thankful to show myself in truth what I have now the pleasure of subscribing myself,

Your most devoted servant,

GIOVACCHINO, Archbishop of Florence.

At the Archiepiscopal Palace, 9th December, 1859.

Reply of Baron Ricasoli.

Your Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Grace,—Your revered letter of the 9th instant has kept me in much perplexity, because on the one hand it exhibits the most laudable anxiety for the Catholic faith, while on the other your "zeal for the Lord's house" drives you beyond the ordinary limits which define the relations between a Bishop and the State.

As, however, your Grace has employed a frank freedom of speech solely for a good object, so I have resolved to answer without official phraseology, as my desire too is loyally to appease your Grace's apprehensions, and to enter on certain public and private explanations.

Whenever your Grace condescends to examine coolly the times in which we live, and the present political conditions of the State, which knows how to unite liberty with order, you will soon be convinced that no religious creed, and least of all the Catholic creed (being in our country that of the majority) can henceforth even dream of, and still less dread persecution of any description whatever, either from individuals or from Government. In consequence the "crown of martyrdom" can only be the object of unavailing aspirations, since even if you could find anybody ready to shed his blood, you could not find any one who would care to take it. In our days the question is not about the persecution or the protection of religion, but about liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, provided always that public order is not disturbed. This liberty, which belongs of right to every being responsible to God, which is a fact acknowledged by the conscience of mankind, and which is a principle of public law in every civilized state, does not hinder the Catholic religion, though no longer the dominant creed, from being at once the prevailing faith, and the creed professed by the Government and honoured in every manner.

The only limits imposed on this pre-eminence and these honours consist in the non-exclusion of other creeds and in non-interference with other forms of worship. All this without question is a novelty in our country, but the Catholic Church will not lose ground in face of this new fact, as it has not lost ground in those States where the fact is already old and long established. I will support my case by the words of a great Catholic and a great statesman, whom Pius the Ninth chose as his minister, and who, in truth, for Pius the Ninth sacrificed his life,

"Is it necessary," so wrote Count Rossi, "to go through a course of history in order to prove that the Church, in its external action, has always taken facts into account; has always followed with admirable prudence and high sagacity, the different developments of society, and has known how to adapt thereto her action and her influence? Such is the plain truth. Let no one, therefore, come and dare to describe the Church as persisting blindfold in a beaten track, taking no account of outward facts, and considering mankind as beings condemned to absolute inaction. No; the Church has read more wisely the laws of Providence. Providence which has made mankind and society, susceptible of improvement, has prescribed for them change and progress. In consequence, the conduct of the Church must inevitably be subject to change, unless she is to find herself in opposition to the laws of Providence."

Hence, your Grace ought not to consider the Catholic religion as opposed by the State, even if other religions are allowed to exist, and other forms of worship are carried on unmolested. This permission for all creeds to exist together, is, I repeat, an abstract right, and an unalterable fact. I can with confidence affirm, that the Government never has permitted and never will permit the right in question to be abused or converted into a source of public danger or detriment. Proselytism is forbidden and punished; any incitement to mutual ill-will is forbidden too and punished. Any opportunity that might give rise to public disorders is forestalled or removed. Even my recent proceedings on this subject are a proof, that though the Government acknowledges no authority in the State save its own, yet it knows how to stand firm in the faith of our forefathers without persecuting any one, and without permitting any one to violate that liberty which of all is most sacred, the liberty of one's own conscience.

The acts, however, of a lay Government, independent of all external authority, cannot be censured as directed against any creed, as long as they preserve that public order which it is the duty of Government to maintain. What tends to promote or frustrate this object is a matter on which Government alone, and none else, is competent to decide. If Government forbids the publication or the republication of any work, it is actuated by some pressing motive which may not be apparent to the public. This, however, is no obstacle to the publication of such sentiments, for, as your Grace is well aware, in the perilous matter of the press, there are two courses established by our existing laws—publication namely, either with Government permission, when the work has less than a certain number of pages; or subject to the restraint of the censorship when the work in question is too large to be one of those pamphlets which pass at once from hand to hand, and which, sometimes, however unobjectionable in themselves, may be dangerous at the particular moment. To speak now of another matter to which your revered letter alludes, I have the honour to remark that if the State thinks fit, in these times, to remove the possibility of such embarrassment as might occur if our pulpits were occupied by other than Tuscan subjects, the State has no intention whatever of depriving Catholic believers of their religious instruction, (which certainly can be administered abundantly to them, and of sound quality by the Tuscan priesthood,) but rather fulfils a duty, which the "Servants of the Sanctuary" themselves ought to recognise as equally sacred a one with any other.

It is difficult for a spectator to form a correct judgment of the acts of Government, more especially when his investigation is not altogether unbiassed by preconceived opinions. When, however, these acts are considered impartially, in their real aspect they will appear to be caused by sound reasons, and always directed with a view to the public good, never with the intention of giving offence to religion. The franker are the relations between the Bishops and the Government, the more certain is this object of being realized. I therefore have the honour to beseech your Grace to apply to the Government in any scheme which it seems desirable to you to carry out, assuring you at the same time that you will find amongst us a constant purpose of promoting what is good, and hindering what is evil. By this means too many illusions would disappear which create a belief in facts that have no existence, but which nevertheless may produce hurtful consequences.

Meanwhile I count it the highest honour to sign myself

Your Grace's most devoted Servant,
RICASOLI.

At the Ministry of the Interior, Florence. 14th December, 1859.

LETTER FROM GERMANY.

HANOVER, January 23rd, 1860.

AN interesting and important meeting—more especially interesting as affording evidence of an active and self-sacrificing public spirit—has just been held at Bremen. On the 13th inst. the Association of Political Economists for North-western Germany commenced their discussions. This is a branch of the Association, whose meetings at Frankfurt I have already reported, formed with the view to enlighten the people upon the best means of developing the resources of the country. The patriotic efforts of these associations have, as I believe, had great influence in bringing about the alterations which have lately been made in the laws bearing upon the handicrafts in Austria, and there is every reason to hope that similar results will follow in all parts of Germany. The subjects discussed are so exclusively social and commercial as to leave no possible excuse for men of any party or country to hold aloof from them, or to give any cause for interference on the part of the authorities, who in Germany are particularly jealous of public meetings for the discussion of national affairs. These associations, and annual, or, as they are likely to become, half-yearly meetings, are the "still small voices" destined gradually to swell into the rallying cry of all Germany. The aim of this north-western branch association is to continue the work of the Frankfurt Association by discussing the economical questions of the day that especially affect the countries of Hanover, Oldenburg, and the territory and city of Bremen, which are so closely connected with each other, and in the hope that their example will induce other States to establish similar societies. At this meeting

four questions were debated, viz. (1.) The right of settlement—a very serious matter for Germany at present, when it costs but a few dollars to carry a family to America, where land is cheap, and settlement and citizenship to be had for the asking. (2.) The treatment of German ships in foreign ports, particularly in those of France, Holland, and Spain. It was proposed to agitate for measures of retaliation, but, after a lively and intellectual debate, free trade principles prevailed. (3.) Uniformity of weights and measures. (4.) The division of landed property. The discussion upon this last subject led to some curious revelations as to the modifications which the custom of gavelkind has undergone in different countries. In most parts of Hanover and Oldenburg land can be sold only by permission of the Government. In some parts the eldest son inherits the estate, in other parts the youngest. This second meeting has excited so much interest that a third has been advertised to meet at Oldenburg, on the 22nd and 23rd of June next, when it is proposed to challenge to public discussion the supporters of the guild laws in these quarters. On the 16th inst., the Legislative Assembly of Frankfurt adopted the resolution to abolish all the privileges of the guilds in that city, and thereby enable every man to gain his living according to his industry and capacity. Among other instances of the blind injustice of these twopenny-halfpenny oligarchies, a member of the Assembly stated that a poor woman who sold bread in a hut, just outside the Gallus Gate, was only permitted by the bakers' guild to do so on condition that her hut had no windows.

On the 16th inst., the Prussian Government laid before the Upper Chamber the draft of the law relating to marriages, adopted during last session by the Chamber of Deputies; and the draft of a law respecting marriage settlements in the province of Westphalia. In the Chamber of Deputies at the same time were exhibited, the budget for 1860, four drafts of a law for regulating the land tax, debated last session, and amended, so that eight per cent. of the nett proceeds is to form the rate for the entire monarchy; and a bill brought in by the Minister of Trade for the suppression of usury. The Minister of the Interior has announced the presentation of a bill defining the electoral districts. The revenue of 1860 is calculated at one hundred and thirty-one million thalers.

The Conferences opened at Berlin on the 11th inst., upon the question of the coast defences, are concluded. The plenipotentiaries of the several states concerned have adopted the proposals of Prussia, which will be shortly submitted to the Federal Diet for its agreement, with the points touching Federal territories of governments holding aloof from the Conference. It is asserted in military circles, that whatever may be the issue of the question, Prussia has resolved to make the fortress of Minden in Westphalia the centre of her defensive system.

At the sitting of the Federal Military Commission lately, when the revision of the military regulations of the Germanic confederation was brought under consideration by the Wurtzburg Conference States, the Prussian plenipotentiary gave an explicit declaration as to the basis upon which Prussia was disposed to accede. Prussia declares that no good can be expected to result from the revision proposed, unless in the first place every article practically impossible be expunged from the Federal war compact. Among the articles practically impossible, Prussia reckons above all those relating to the selection and the responsibility of the Federal General in chief. At present, according to Article 11th, when war is declared and the armies of the Confederation are mobilized by resolution of the Diet, the forces of the several States become instantly one grand whole, under the command of the General appointed by the Diet. The Federal Commander's authority is supreme. He himself draws up and executes the plan of operations; and all the commanders of the several armies are bound to show implicit obedience, for he alone is responsible for the conduct of the war. This, in the opinion of Prussia, is the theory, but is not, nor ever can be, the practice. The several contingents are independent organisations, and the military suzerainty of the individual States is carefully preserved. There is further to be considered that the federal contingents of the two great powers of Germany, Austria and Prussia, stand not only independent and isolated, as do all the smaller contingents within the army of the Confederation, but that they form integral parts of two other armies, which are beyond the control of the Diet; the Austrian contingent being part of the Austrian army, the Prussian contingent being part of the Prussian army. And these two contingents form by far the most important part of the Federal army. Is it likely, argues Prussia, that the royal Prussian contingent or imperial Austrian contingent will separate itself from the main body for the purpose of joining a new military organisation which till that moment hardly existed, and with which it may possibly have little or nothing in common? It is opposed to the nature of things, which, in case of war, would tend to unite the smaller contingents with the larger; that, in fact, the lesser States must lean for support upon the larger military organisations of Austria and Prussia. The article of the Federal military compact relating to the chief command, Prussia declares to be totally impracticable; for neither a King of Prussia nor an Emperor of Austria would ever surrender his military supremacy over a part of his army, or descend from his position as commander-in-chief, to become the subaltern of the Federal Diet. This view of the question was borne out by the events of 1840 and 1859. Prussia proposes, as the sole resource, a double leadership,—Austria on the one part, Prussia on the other. The principle of the double leadership of the Federal army must form the basis of the revision.

In the accoutrements of the Prussian infantry, the following alterations have been proposed by a Commission of Inquiry, which

has just terminated its sittings at Berlin: (1.) Head-dress, instead of the present "Pickel Haube," in use since 1843, a very low-crowned helmet, without any ornaments, the fore and hind peaks to be retained as in the present helmet; the chin straps to be of leather instead of brass. (2.) The coat to be of loose cut, and double-breasted, lapping well over chest and abdomen; either a turn-down collar, or if upright scooped out in front. (3.) Trousers to remain of the same cut, but without lining, instead of which each man to be supplied with drawers. (4.) One pair of boots, with tops twelve inches long, and so wide as to admit of the trousers being tucked into them when the troops are on the march or manœuvring; and a stout pair of shoes in the knapsack. (5.) Belts to be thinner and narrower, and side arms altogether of smaller size. (6.) All wood in the knapsacks to be removed, the lining to be of papier-maché, steeped in a preparation of gutta serena; they are to be one inch and a half lower, and one inch narrower. Straps to be retained, but thinner and narrower. The officers to wear no epaulettes, and carry revolvers.

The bulletins published from time to time respecting the king of Prussia's health have been hitherto very laconic, though so worded as to hold out hopes of an ultimate recovery. Since the opening of the Prussian Chambers, however, the bulletins have become much more explicit, and the world is informed that His Majesty is progressing so favourably, as to be able to take exercise in the open air for hours together. On the other hand, the Regent has issued an order prohibiting the opera balls and other courtly festivities usual at this period, on account of the precarious state of the king.

RECORD OF THE WEEK.

HOME AND COLONIAL

ON *Tuesday, Jan. 24*, Queen Victoria in state opened the second session of the sixth Parliament of her reign. Our Parliamentary summary will be found elsewhere.—On the *17th January*, Prince Alfred arrived at Florence, and on the *20th* he rejoined the *Euryalus*, at Leghorn.

The public health is slightly improving; the Registrar-General's weekly return, on *Tuesday, Jan. 21*, shows the mortality to be below the average: deaths, 1,297; births, 1,858; prevailing disease, bronchitis.

On *Friday, Jan. 20*, died Sir W. C. Ross, R.A., the great miniature painter, aged sixty-six; he is said to have painted two thousand portraits.—On *Monday, Jan. 23*, expired the Right Hon. M. T. Baines, aged sixty; he was a Queen's Counsel, and had been Recorder of Hull, President of the Poor Law Board, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; entered the House of Commons in 1847.

On *Wednesday, Jan. 25*, a meeting was held of the Ballot Society; Lord Teynham agreed to introduce a measure, embodying the ballot, into the House of Lords; Mr. Berkeley was requested to bring it into the House of Commons.—On *Monday, Jan. 23*, the Northern Reform Union met at Newcastle, to discuss the prospects of a satisfactory reform measure being passed.—On the *25th Jan.*, the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution approving of the Emperor Napoleon's new commercial policy.—On the *same day*, an assembly of the inhabitants of Chelsea was held to further their claims to representation; Mr. Torrens M'Cullagh addressed the meeting.—On *Thursday, Jan. 26*, a deputation waited on Lord John Russell, with a petition to Parliament in favour of Parliamentary reform, signed by ten thousand citizens of London. His Lordship agreed to present the petition.—An influential and enthusiastic meeting of the citizens of Glasgow was held on *Thursday, Jan. 26th*, to sympathise with the Protestants of Hungary in their struggle for civil and religious freedom. Mr. Henry Dunlop, of Craigton, was in the chair, and the speakers were the Rev. Drs. William Anderson, Smyth, and Robson; Revs. George Jeffery; John Henderson, of Park; Alexander Hastie, ex-M.P.; William Paton, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce; and Bailie Young. Some strong resolutions were passed, and it was determined that the resolutions should be sent to Kossuth for transmission to Hungary.

On *Wednesday, Jan. 25*, the Convocation for the province of Canterbury assembled. In the Upper House the question of occasional services was discussed; in the Lower House a demonstration was made against the abolition of church rates; both houses adjourned till February.—A great meeting of Roman Catholics was held at Newcastle-on-Tyne on *Monday, Jan. 23*, to express sympathy with the Pope; an address to the Pope was adopted, and resolutions condemning the public press.—On the *same day* at Edinburgh, a large meeting memorialized Government for the release of Martin Esculante, a British subject, sentenced in Spain to nine years' penal servitude for distributing Bibles there.—On *Tuesday, Jan. 24*, a crowded meeting was held in the Regent's Park Chapel, at which it was proposed to petition Parliament to put down Sunday bands in the parks; this was negatived, and an amendment in favour of the music carried.

On *Wednesday, Jan. 25*, was launched at Portsmouth the *Prince of Wales* screw steamer, 4000 tons and 131 guns; the *Princess of Leiningen* named the new ship.—On the *same day* a rifle corps was set on foot at University College.

On *Saturday, Jan. 21*, John Bagshaw, late M.P. for Hythe, appeared in the Chelmsford County Court to be discharged under the Insolvent Act; the judge sentenced him to eight months imprisonment for fraud on the opposing creditor; afterwards, on payment of debt and costs, he was permitted to be released.—On the *same day* was tried the case of Lavigne, an oboe player, against E. T. Smith, lessee of Drury Lane Theatre, for breach of engage-

ment. Defendant repudiated engagement, which had been made by his agent, Maplestone; verdict for plaintiff, damages £31 10s.—On *Monday, Jan. 23rd*, a rule was granted to compel one Pratt an attorney, to answer charges preferred by the Rev. J. H. Hatch, now in prison for an indecent assault.—On *Tuesday, Jan. 24th*, at Bow-street, the American, Dover, accused of murder on the high seas, was ordered to be detained and given up to the American authorities to take his trial.—On the *same day* the case of Emery v. Chat-terton (lessee of St. James's Theatre), an action for breach of engagement, was decided; verdict for the plaintiff, damages £80.—On the *24th Jan.* the two American mates at Southampton accused of numerous murders at sea, were arrested by order of the American consul, and brought before the magistrates to complete the evidence necessary to send them home for trial.—On *Tuesday, Jan. 24th*, the Master of the Rolls gave judgment in the case of Daugars v. Rivaz. The pastor of the French church in St. Martin's-le-Grand had been displaced; and the question was whether the congregation had the right to eject a minister lawfully appointed; judgment for the pastor.

On *Saturday, Jan. 21*, at Southampton, a boat belonging to the Great Eastern, having on board Captain Harrison and eight others, was capsized. Captain Harrison, a boy named Ley, and Ogden the coxswain, were drowned; the rest saved.—On the *same day*, at New Cross Colliery, seven colliers were killed by a chain breaking as they were descending the pit.

A telegram arrived on *Monday, Jan. 23*, from India; on Dec. 18, a fire broke out in the Governor-General's camp; important papers and property destroyed; no lives lost.

At Mincing-lane, on *Wednesday, Jan. 25*, sugar went off without spirit, and quotations not altered; coffee steady, at full prices; tea, demand continues active at a slight advance; rum, active; tallow, fluctuation unimportant. At Liverpool, on the *25th Jan.*, no change to report in cotton;—sales 8,000 bales, of which 2,000 for export; yarn market at Manchester on the *same day*, firm. In London and in the country, supplies of grain fell off; disposition on part of millers to buy; barley and beans at late rates; oats unaltered. On *Monday, Jan. 23*, the London Discount Company declared a dividend of 5 per cent. On *Tuesday, Jan. 24*, the North British Australian declared a dividend of 6½ per cent.; and the National Bank a dividend and bonus amounting to 14 per cent. On *Wednesday, Jan. 25*, the National Discount Company, and the English, Scottish and Australian Chartered Bank, each announced a 5 per cent. dividend. On *Thursday, Jan. 26*, the Bank of England did not as was expected, make any alteration in the rate of discount. At the close of business consols were 94½, 94½ for money, and 94½, 24½ for the account. French 3 per cents. closed at 68f. 55c.

FOREIGN.

On *Friday, Jan. 20*, the cotton manufacturers of St. Quentin held a meeting to petition the Emperor Napoleon to institute a strict inquiry before effecting a change in the protective duties.—On *Sunday, Jan. 22*, a decree was published convoking the French Senate and legislative body to meet on the 23rd Feb.—On *Monday, Jan. 23*, the commercial treaty with England was signed by Lord Cowley and Mr. Cobden for England, and MM. Rouher and Baroche on the part of France. The treaty will be published on the 3rd Feb., and put in force in July, 1861.—On *Wednesday, Jan. 25*, the *Moniteur* published the Finance Minister's Report to the Emperor; a surplus of three million francs is expected in the budget for 1861; the redemption of the public debt is nevertheless suppressed; and the army and navy budget are both increased.—On the *same day*, M. Thouvenel took the oaths of allegiance to the Emperor as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

On *Saturday, Jan. 21*, the new Sardinian ministry was officially announced: Count Cavour, General Fanti, Signori Cassinio, Vegeszi, Mamiani, Jacini.—On the *same day*, the new premier dissolved the Chamber of Deputies. Chevalier Buoncompagni had been summoned from Florence to confer with Count Cavour.—On *Monday, Jan. 23*, the Count's journal, the *Indipendente*, announced that nothing now opposes the Prince of Carignan's assumption of the Regency of Central Italy.

On *Tuesday, Jan. 17*, an attempt was made at Florence to assassinate Baron Ricasoli by means of an explosive shell; one person only was hurt, a servant of the Baron.

General Filangieri and the whole of the Neapolitan ministers resigned on *Saturday, Jan. 21*, in consequence of the King's desire that the Neapolitan troops should enter the Papal States. The King sent for Sig. Troja Murena to form a Government.

The new Belgian loan of 45 millions was opened on *Monday, Jan. 23*, when ten times the amount was subscribed.

Madrid telegrams announce another action on *Monday, Jan. 23*, between the Moors and Spaniards, on the Martin river; Spanish loss, of course, insignificant; Moorish loss very heavy.

On the *10th Jan.* the Pemberton Mills, at Lawrence, Massachusetts, fell in, burying in the ruins the whole of the workpeople employed; afterwards a fire broke out among the ruins. There are 69 persons killed, 48 missing, and 206 wounded.

The American mail, which arrived on *Wednesday, Jan. 25*, brings information from Mexico of the advance of Miramon with 5,000 men, to attack Juarez at Vera Cruz. It was reported that the British minister had left Mexico for Vera Cruz.

THEATRES AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

MR. C. E. HORSLEY'S new oratorio "Gideon" was rehearsed at St. James's Hall, on the *19th inst.*, by the Vocal Association. As the work was suddenly fixed for performance at the Glasgow Festival

a month sooner than the Association or perhaps the composer expected, every allowance should be made for the notable short-coming of a chorus mainly amateurs, and reading a new work almost at sight. The musical copies, again, may not have been revised. The organ part was certainly not ready to support the choir: and with all his genius the composer is not the practised conductor to neutralize *impromptu* so many unfavourable elements.

Did we intend our observations to end here, we should not violate the nominal confidence imposed by the invitation we received, in common with other fourteen hundred guests, to a "private rehearsal." But, as amidst the ample discouragements he may have received, one favourable though candid opinion may not be displeasing to the talented composer, we have no hesitation in giving ours: that the "Gideon," if not superior to Mr. Horsley's previous compositions, is one extremely rich in musical power and elegance. As it is described as a Lyrical Oratorio, no exception can be taken to its pervading character, as being even more secular than the "Creation." The overture, the first song of *Ebed*, (Mr. Sims Reeves); the aria, "O Mighty God of Israel!" sung by the same: the chorus of the Baal worshippers; the pure and original chorus of angels; the superb one, "Down with the Shrines of Darkness;" and a very secular duo, "O Lord, canst thou be with us?" are all gems in the first part. In the second part, Madame Novello created the sensation of the evening, by the sweet religious feeling she infused into *Zillah's* air, "Thou givest thy beloved sleep." The air for *Joash*, "Will ye plead for Baal," will also rank among the beauties of the Oratorio. To conclude, the air, for *Zillah* and chorus, "Deep in the Shades," and *Gideon's* grand one, "O my God, make them like a wheel!" will, we apprehend, be admitted, when more favourable circumstances shall permit of more detailed criticism, as marked proofs of the composer's poetical imagination and technical skill.

At DRURY LANE THEATRE, a Miss Julia Daly made her appearance on *Monday*, and sang, played, and danced through six different characters; the best of which, because evidently drawn from nature, was her Yankee girl. She has a good person, a powerful voice, and can dance with no inconsiderable skill; and as she has also complete confidence, she makes the most of her talents. The house, which was crowded to see the still popular pantomime, loudly applauded, and so Miss Daly may be considered a success, though she has not the distinctive talents of Mrs. Barney Williams, nor of Mrs. Florence.

PARLIAMENT.

THE opening of Parliament is a sight sacred to select eyes. Of the eight and twenty millions of British subjects in the three kingdoms, perhaps fewer than seven and twenty thousand have had the right and the good fortune to be bodily present at this august ceremony during the present reign. At any period, the proceedings are imposing and important; on the recent occasion they were doubly so. While the European continent is seething and bubbling in all the agony of undefined forebodings and of impending change; while each European power stands in pre-arranged attitude, ready, in case of need, to fly at the throat of its neighbour or to defend its own, England, prepared for all contingencies, was on Tuesday last busied in nothing more warlike than preparations for treading in the peaceful path of Parliamentary routine. The House of Lords presented a sight worthy of a great nation. The Peers in their robes; the Commons below the bar; the great officers of State about the throne; the throne itself occupied by the Royal Lady who rules over the illimitable British Empire; the PRINCE CONSORT, and the jewelled bevy of English beauties thronging the galleries, formed a *tableau*, we dare venture to assert, unmatched for moral and physical grandeur in any other empire. The time, too, had its significance. Great and important matters at home and abroad, yet to be settled, gave additional weight and interest to the expected speech. That speech is now before the country; it speaks of matters various, domestic and external, every one of which demands, from its gravity and probable action on the future, separate consideration for itself. The country at large will not fail to note the leading topics, so widely different from commonplace royal speeches. Every Englishman will see that the part which England has now to play in the affairs of the world, is one that at once ought to cause her to feel serious and proud. When royalty and its attendant train had disappeared, business in good earnest set in. It was evident that the parliamentary gladiators had, during the recess, trained themselves vigorously for the coming combat. LORDS FITZWILLIAM and TRURO, as mover and seconder of the address in the House of Peers, were heard with that decorous attention which marks the aristocratic branch of the Legislature. EARL GREY followed in that strain of cantankerous ability which makes him such a dangerous political opponent, and such an unpractical statesman. The noble earl, as might be expected, was satisfied and dissatisfied. He dealt out praise sparingly, balancing it with a suitable allowance of censure. He liked the Government declaration on the subject of Italy—he disliked the French commercial treaty, and the contemplated Chinese war. He tried what a little bit of opposition might effect, and he moved a sort of subdued censure in relation to the Chinese war, which, as a keen parliamentary tactician, he well knew would stand no chance of being carried. The Duke of NEWCASTLE, nothing loth, took up the gauntlet thrown down by the crotchety earl, and in a few pithy sentences disposed of the objections. Parliamentary usages in all that Government had done or proposed to do with respect to the Chinese war, had been rigidly kept intact; the war with China was contingent, and the honour of the country was not to be sacrificed to the interests of the tea trade. As to the commercial

treaty with France, nothing was concluded, and nothing would be concluded until Parliament gave its solemn sanction. The Marquis of NORMANBY broke new ground, and set up a little opposition on his own account. The topic was distasteful to the audience, and the noble marquis certainly failed to impress his isolated and effete views of the Italian question on his brother peers. Lord BROUGHAM gave the House the benefit of octogenarian wisdom, showing, however, a spark of the old political fire. The Earl of DERBY, from whom the Government belt had been wrested by Lord PALMERSTON then entered the "ring," and showed that he meant mischief. With great adroitness the noble earl made feints on various portions of the address, and then came forward with his grand *coup*, on which he and his party evidently reckoned as the sure means of inflicting the first direct blow on a vulnerable part of the ministerial fabric. Earl GRANVILLE, with great adroitness and effect, parried the attack, and succeeded in convincing their lordships that the noble and expectant earl had been unmistakably taken in by certain unauthenticated telegrams—thus cleverly succeeding in placing in no very dignified position the head of the great Conservative party. The Address, of course, was carried, Earl GREY's amendment falling almost abortive.

In the Commons, pretty much the same tactics were observed. Mr. ST. AUBYN and Lord HENLEY were the mover and seconder of the Address. Mr. DISRAELI was soon on his legs; but, with less adroitness and tact than his chief, he made precisely the same charge as Lord DERBY, but in less guarded terms, and was met by a curt and crushing reply from Lord PALMERSTON, couched in less courteous, but certainly more forcible, language than was resorted to in the decorous Upper House. The Address was agreed to, and thus ended the first parliamentary skirmish between the respective champions, in which, to use the discarded phraseology of the "Ring," the Government gave most punishment, and had the best of the wordy set-to. This would appear to augur well for the Government party; but it is clear that the Opposition do not mean to let Ministers repose on a bed of roses this session. Wednesday was devoted to another little side-wind debate on the Speech, in which the *dii minores* found an opportunity of having out their say. Sir H. WILLOUGHBY found words of disapprobation to bestow on the Chinese war. Being a great financial economist, of course he was bound to regard the war as a means of infringing on his economical theories. Sir J. PAKINGTON viewed the state of our commercial relations with China with anxiety. Lord FERMOY, in virtue of Hibernian extraction, took care that Irish matters should have a full share of attention, no matter how irrelevant to the question before the House. Mr. CARDWELL, however, dealt with his Lordship's murmurs in such a fashion as to leave nothing to be desired. Mr. S. FITZGERALD having protested against the contemplated treaty with France as every way objectionable, the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER recommended the hon. member to reserve his denunciations until he knew what he was denouncing. The treaty would soon be on the table of that House, and then he should be prepared to defend it, on the ground that it was in strict conformity with our own commercial system, and had no political significance. Some preliminary business was then gone through, and the address agreed to. On Thursday, in the Lords, the Marquis of NORMANBY gave notice that he would, on an early day, ask of her Majesty's Government whether they had any knowledge of papers, said to exist at Paris, relative to the rumoured negotiations between Sardinia and France, for the annexation of Savoy to the latter kingdom. He did not intend to raise any discussion on the question, but simply to put the question for the purpose of receiving information. The noble lord then made some explanation relative to what he had said during the debate on Tuesday night. Upon this Lord BROUGHAM drily remarked that the best thing that could happen to Italy was that all the minor states should unite themselves under Sardinia. In the House of Commons, Lord ELCHO, in pursuance of his motion to that effect, called the attention of the Secretary-at-War to some disparaging remarks of Lord MELVILLE, the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, with regard to the volunteers. Mr. SYDNEY HERBERT said, that the Duke of CAMBRIDGE had written to the noble lord on the subject, and had received a reply from him expressing his regret for having made use of the expression in question. Mr. DIGBY SEYMOUR complained of Tractarian practices at St. George's-in-the-East and elsewhere. Sir GEORGE LEWIS believed the objections that had been made in regard to the practices in the church referred to the manner in which the ceremony was performed, and not to the doctrines preached from the pulpit. The Government had no intention of introducing any bill on the subject.

STATE DOCUMENTS.

QUEEN VICTORIA'S Speech upon the opening of the second Session of her sixth Parliament, on Tuesday the 24th January, 1860:—

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN:

It is with great satisfaction that I again meet you in Parliament, and have recourse to your assistance and advice.

My relations with Foreign Powers continue to be on a friendly and satisfactory footing.

At the close of the last session I informed you that overtures had been made to me to ascertain whether, if a Conference should be held by the Great Powers of Europe, for the purpose of settling arrangements connected with the present state and future condition of Italy, a Plenipotentiary would be sent by me to assist at such a Conference. I have

since received a formal invitation from the Emperor of Austria and from the Emperor of the French to send a Plenipotentiary to a Congress, to consist of the representatives of the eight Powers who were parties to the Treaties of Vienna of 1815; the objects of such Congress being stated to be, to receive communications of the Treaties concluded at Zurich; and to deliberate, associating with the above-mentioned Powers the Courts of Rome, of Sardinia, and of the Two Sicilies, on the means best adapted for the pacification of Italy, and for placing its prosperity on a solid and durable basis.

Desirous, at all times, to concur in proceedings having for their object the maintenance of peace, I accepted the invitation, but, at the same time, I made known that, in such a Congress, I should steadfastly maintain the principle that no external force should be employed to impose upon the people of Italy any particular Government or Constitution.

Circumstances have arisen which have led to a postponement of the Congress, without any day having been fixed for its meeting; but whether in Congress or in separate negotiation, I shall endeavour to obtain for the people of Italy freedom from foreign interference by force of arms in their internal concerns, and I trust that the affairs of the Italian Peninsula may be peacefully and satisfactorily settled.

Papers on this subject will soon be laid before you.

I am in communication with the Emperor of the French with a view to extend the commercial intercourse between the two countries, and thus to draw still closer the bonds of friendly alliance between them.

A dispute having arisen between Spain and Morocco, I endeavoured, by friendly means, to prevent a rupture; but, I regret to say, without success.

I will direct papers on this subject to be laid before you.

My Plenipotentiary, and the Plenipotentiary of the Emperor of the French having, in obedience to their instructions, proceeded to the mouth of the Peiho river, in order to repair to Pekin to exchange in that city the ratifications of the Treaty of Tien-tsin, in pursuance of the 56th Article of that Treaty, their further progress was opposed by force, and a conflict took place between the Chinese forts at the mouth of the river, and the naval forces by which the Plenipotentiaries were escorted.

The allied forces displayed on this occasion their usual bravery, but, after sustaining a severe loss, were compelled to retire.

I am preparing, in concert and co-operation with the Emperor of the French, an expedition, intended to obtain redress and a fulfilment of the stipulations of the Treaty of Tien-tsin.

It will be gratifying to me, if the prompt acquiescence of the Emperor of China in the moderate demands which will be made by the Plenipotentiaries shall obviate the necessity for the employment of force.

I have directed that papers on this subject shall be laid before you.

An unauthorised proceeding, by an officer of the United States, in regard to the Island of San Juan, between Vancouver's Island and the mainland, might have led to a serious collision between my forces and those of the United States. Such collision, however, has been prevented by the judicious forbearance of my naval and civil officers on the spot, and by the equitable and conciliatory provisional arrangement proposed on this matter by the Government of the United States.

I trust that the question of boundary, out of which this affair has arisen, may be amicably settled in a manner conformable with the just rights of the two countries, as defined by the First Article of the Treaty of 1846.

The last embers of disturbance in my East Indian dominions have been extinguished; my Viceroy has made a peaceful progress through the districts which had been the principal scene of disorder, and, by a judicious combination of firmness and generosity, my authority has been everywhere solidly and, I trust, permanently established. I have received from my Viceroy the most gratifying accounts of the loyalty of my Indian subjects, and of the good feeling evinced by the native chiefs and the great landowners of the country. The attention of the Government in India has been directed to the development of the internal resources of the country; and I am glad to inform you that an improvement has taken place in its financial prospects.

I have concluded a Treaty with the Tycoon of Japan, and a treaty regarding boundaries with the Republic of Guatemala. I have directed that these Treaties shall be laid before you.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS:

I have directed the Estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. They have been prepared with a view to place the Military and Naval Services, and the defences of the country, upon an efficient footing.

I am glad to be able to inform you that the public revenue is in a satisfactory condition.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN:

I have accepted, with gratification and pride, the extensive offers of voluntary service which I have received from my subjects. This manifestation of public spirit has added an important element to our system of national defence.

Measures will be laid before you for amending the laws which regulate the Representation of the people in Parliament, and for placing that representation upon a broader and firmer basis.

I earnestly recommend you to resume your labours for the improvement of our Jurisprudence, and particularly in regard to Bankruptcy, the Transfer of Land, the Consolidation of the Statutes, and such a further fusion of Law and Equity as may be necessary to ensure that, in every suit, the rights of the parties may be satisfactorily determined by the Court in which the suit is commenced.

I am deeply gratified to observe that the great interests of the country are generally in a sound and thriving condition; that pauperism and crime have diminished; and that, throughout the whole of my empire, both in the United Kingdom and in my Colonies and Possessions beyond sea, there reigns a spirit of loyalty, of contentment, of order, and of obedience to the law.

With heartfelt gratitude to the Almighty Ruler of Nations for these inestimable blessings, I fervently pray that His benignant power may guide your deliberations for the advancement and consolidation of the welfare and happiness of my people.

THE LEADER

AND

SATURDAY ANALYST.

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