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THE LEADER

SATURDAY ANALYST;

A REVIEW AND RECORD OF POLITICAL, LITERARY, ARTISTIC, AND SOCIAL EVENTS.

No. 522.
New Series, No. 12.

March 24th, 1860.

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At the BALLOT for the ELECTION of DIRECTORS, held on MONDAY MARCH 19, 1860, at the Offices of the Company, 32, NEW BRIDGE STREET, in pursuance of a demand made at the Annual Meeting, on behalf of Mr. JOHN RUNTZ, the following Votes were given, as certified by the Scrutineers, on behalf of the several Candidates:—
For Mr. CHARLES BENNETT,—
Personal Votes 543
Proxy ditto 683
Total 1,226
For Mr. JOHN ROBERT BURTON,—
Personal Votes 544
Proxy ditto 675
Total 1,222
For Mr. GEORGE WILLIAM BURGE,—
Personal Votes 529
Proxy ditto 665
Total 1,194
For Mr. PETER BUNNELL,—
Personal Votes 521
Proxy ditto 671
Total 1,192
For Mr. JOHN RUNTZ,—
Personal Votes 72
Proxy ditto 19
Total 91
The Chairman of the Company, Mr. John Gover, declared that Messrs. BENNETT, BURTON, BURGE, and BUNNELL were duly elected as Directors.
By order, JAMES INGLIS, Secretary.
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March 20, 1860.

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Memoirs of Joseph Fouché DUKE OF OTRANTO.

Edited by HENRY DAVIES, Esq., of Buckingham-street, Strand.

Fouché was the son of a captain in the merchant navy. He was born at Nantes in 1763, and by choice followed the career of teacher. In 1788 he obtained the situation of Inspector of Classes in the College of Nantes; was nominated by that city a representative at the National Convention of 1792; voted the death of Louis XVI. without appeal or remand; was named President of the Jacobins' Club. He was implicated in the conspiracy of Babeuf, his arrest decreed (1794), but was afterwards amnestied. By a decree of the Directory (1795), was named ambassador to the Cisalpine Republic, then to the Court of Holland, and lastly, Minister of Police. He gave his support to the nomination of Buonaparte to the Empire, and obtained in 1809 the Ministry of the Interior. But in 1810 Napoleon took him away from his functions, and appointed him Governor of Rome. After the campaign of Moscow he was nominated Governor of the Illyrian provinces (1813), a d in 1815 again Minister of the Interior. Louis XVIII. gave him the Ministry of Police. Exiled in 1816, he fixed his residence at Prague, afterwards at Trieste, where he died in 1820.

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SECOND READING OF THE REFORM BILL.

THERE is a family story, that in the nursery at Woburn some sixty years ago the child who attracted most attention and seemed best fitted to make its future way in the world, was the little fellow whose diminutive dimensions caused him to be named "the Wonder." Lord JOHN RUSSELL's present Bill is like its author, singularly small, but so far it resembles likewise its aristocratic parent in being marvellously lucky. Nay its very want of pretension and robust figure seems to be the talisman of its success. Had it been a large and liberal measure, it might have been the glory of those who brought it forth and cherished it; but it would have come in for hard knocks in the outset of its career, and that career would have been but brief. The Tory Opposition, however well disposed to greet anything for sake of getting rid of the question for the present, could hardly have abstained from giving battle on the second reading, had the measure been founded upon any great principle of popular enfranchisement like Household Suffrage, or had it involved the abolition of any considerable number of rotten boroughs. It does neither, and consequently the chiefs of the Carlton Club have agreed to let it go into committee without serious molestation, content, if they should be able, there to mitigate and mutilate its provisions so as to make them as a whole even more Conservative than they already are. In the eyes of the Radicals the Bill is hardly worth opposing. They do not object to anything it contains, though they complain of its many omissions. As for the Whigs, they look upon it as "a Wonder," comparing it with its elder brethren of the same stock, and are only too anxious to patronise and promote it by all the means in their power. They have an awful sense of the risk they incur lest a worse thing come upon them, should the present very mild offer be not accepted. The owners of borough property well know that they are liable to an action of ejectment on the title any day or hour; and though nothing that can be done by them or by anyone else can positively secure to Lord EXETER the lasting possession of Stamford or to the Duke of MARLBOROUGH the political fee of Woodstock, they have a notion that they will be somewhat better able to resist hereafter the claims of right and justice, if by a sort of amicable suit the whole question shall be gravely discussed in the High Court of Parliament, and a compromise on certain points entered into with its sanction. Nor do we profess to come in by way of interpleader to object to the proceeding. Every seat wrenched from the grasp of nomination and given to a populous county or town, is so much gained for the cause of progress. It is said that the loss of nominative power by the proposed transfer of five-and-twenty seats will be about as great to one of the old hereditary parties in the state as to the other; but the gain to the people will be of the whole five-and-twenty, if there be spirit and manliness enough in the constituencies to remember how long they have been kept out of their rights, and how deeply it behoves them to elect from amongst themselves men identified with their interests and wants, not popinjays of fashion, or fools of quality. And if some four or five hundred thousand householders in counties and towns shall be endued with the franchise by the present Bill, who do not now possess it, we shall rejoice heartily in such a reinforcement of the electoral garrison, closely beleaguered by the powers of privilege though the constitution still may be.

It seems to us a strange mistake in a man of Mr. DISRAELI's acumen and forethought, while he agrees in effect to allow the Bill to pass, that he should widen the chasm of jealousy and distrust between his party and the working classes in general, by denouncing the measure as one which largely and dangerously adds to their power. It does, in reality, nothing of the kind. It is truly observed by a writer in the *Daily News*, that, though "the phrase working classes be a very convenient one in political nomenclature, practically and descriptively it is the most vague and illusive of denominations;" and we agree with our contemporary that "a very little reflection will suffice to satisfy any candid mind that homogeneity is, of all qualities and characteristics, the last that it implies. Dissimilar trades have dissimilar habits, sympathies, and interests. They have never yet been found united for any good or evil purpose whatsoever. Two or three branches of industry may, on particular occasions, coalesce and combine, but no example can be shown of universal or unanimous concert of a practical or effective kind." Out of the three millions of people that inhabit the metropolis not five thousand will be added to the electoral roll by the new measure, and we doubt if one half of these will be men living by waged labour. Still fewer will be added to the county constituencies, and so few in one half the cities and boroughs, that the specific influence of the addition in each case will be confessedly inappreciable. There are, perhaps, a dozen or twenty manufacturing towns where the six pound franchise, were it the law of the land, would confer power on those who live by labour; but even there

it is absurd to talk of property and intellect being absolutely overborne by the facility with which a homogeneous mass of labour may be made to act in combination. The failure of the Builders' Strike a few months since was admittedly owing to the small amount of active support afforded it by other trades, and still more by the utter impossibility of inducing the masons and carpenters, the two branches most nearly associated and identified in feeling as to the cause at issue, to act together. If this be so upon a point where the very existence, so to speak, of the parties concerned was at stake, what probability is there of identity of action amongst widely dissimilar trades and callings, where mere political theories of government or taxation are in discussion? But were it otherwise, we cannot see what compensation Mr. DISRAELI can promise himself from the manifestation of so much fear and jealousy of the great industrial mass of the community, unless it be in the sort of terror he seems to wish to excite among the upper and middle classes, at the tortoise-step advance of democratic freedom.

We shall indeed be glad, nevertheless, if the Opposition, whatever their motives may be, should succeed in introducing in committee some of the amendments which their leaders speak of. The best of those, as yet indicated, is a provision preventing the payment of carriage hire for voters going to the poll. It is also well worthy of consideration, we think, whether the public portion of the necessary expenditure for hustings, polling booths, tally clerks, auditors, returning officers, &c., ought not to be borne by the county or borough-rate. The expense of elections, as we have often taken occasion to point out, is one of the greatest evils of the present system; and no reform could tend more directly to the benefit of the community at large, by contributing to abate the means and appliances of indirect corruption, than the amendments to which we have referred. As there is now no chance of the Bill going into Committee before Easter, we shall reserve any further suggestions, as to detailed modifications of its tenor, until a future occasion.

EUROPEAN POLITICS.

THE proceedings of the Emperor of the French with reference to the annexation of Savoy are not calculated to increase the comfort of Europe, and the Germans may not be wrong in viewing the matter with considerable alarm; but if their governments had been worth the cost of sustaining them, the only part of the question which is really of European interest would have been effectually secured. We allude to the position of the districts of Genevois, Chablais, and Faucigny, which were made neutral—that is mongrel and debateable by the settlement of 1815, and which, notwithstanding the untruthful pretence of NAPOLEON III., are far from desiring to come under his yoke. It was an absurdity to expect the Swiss to defend a territory which they were not to possess; and if France should now, in spite of their protestations, and the obvious danger to Germany, persist in pushing its military frontier as far as the Lake of Geneva, the chief blame of the situation ought to fall upon the German sovereigns, who, by their petty jealousies and contemptible reactionary principles, have nullified the power of the race unfortunately burdened with their misrule. South Germany, so far as its princes are concerned, is in league with Austria, and in seizing a position which dominates Switzerland, NAPOLEON III. leaps over a barrier which protected its frontiers against the operations of France. We shall deeply deplore any evil that may befall the brave, industrious, and freedom-loving Swiss in consequence of their proximity to dangerous neighbours; but the Germans will deserve any mischief which their own misconduct entails. Not only have they failed in the plain duty which belongs to an enlightened people—that of supporting the cause of Italy against her Austrian oppressors—but they have forced the cabinet of the Tuileries to prepare itself to encounter the probable hostility of the Confederation, if the course of events should compel France to engage in another conflict with the armies of Austria.

German papers see in our Treaty with France a proof of fear and humiliation. According to them, we have made concessions in the hope of purchasing peace. It is astonishing that any sane persons should make such an absurd mistake; but unluckily the Germans seem incapable of viewing political facts except through the spectacles of previously-conceived prejudices; and they are so blindly drifting towards danger, that it is quite time to warn them that if they plunge into it, they must get out of it as well as they can, without English aid. The physical strength of Germany will never be concentrated, and available for useful purposes, until it obtains a sound moral basis; and no one can have read the diplomatic correspondence recently published, without being grieved and ashamed of the unfortunate fact, that, in all its efforts to sustain liberal principles, our Government has

completely failed in eliciting from Prussia one generous sentiment or one noble thought. In reply to their fears for the safety of the Rhine, we do not hesitate to tell the Germans, that if they will not be strong through the ascendancy of liberal opinions, little sympathy will be felt for them in this country about any territorial question.

One-half of "king-deluded Germany" has constituted itself the abettor of Austrian despotism in Italy, and the Jesuits hope, if the war is renewed, to drag the other half into their toils. As a firm supporter of progress and right, Germany would be safe enough, but it will arrive at no such dignified position until it ceases to be the land of petty courts, selfish intriguing sovereigns, and reactionary ministers, such as HUMBOLDT's correspondence has exposed to public gaze. It is lamentable that the German race should be so little, and count for so little, when Austria is, to all appearances, moving steadily towards a renewal of hostilities, and with the avowed policy—as we recently showed out of Count RECHBERG's own mouth—of endeavouring to bring about a general European war. If Germany were wise and honest this evil intention might be certainly frustrated, but as she is, misguided and disunited, it is not improbable that, instead of ruling the circumstances which most concern her, she will be ignominiously dragged at the tail of events.

The conduct of the Sardinian Government is inexplicable, except we regard it as preparatory to a fresh war. The sudden cession of Savoy has all the appearance of a purchase of French aid, to be delivered when required; and Count CAVOUR, who has shown himself an able statesman, would scarcely burden the oppressed finances of his country with the expense of a large addition to the national army, unless he had good reason to believe that the Austrians would follow up their protests against the annexation of Central Italy by contriving some pretext for an appeal to arms. Four thousand Austrian soldiers are already in the service of the Pope, under the command of the Austrian General MAYERHOFER, and three thousand more have been sent to reinforce the despot of Naples, whose conduct is so bad as to have drawn from Lord JOHN RUSSELL the emphatic warning, that if his subjects rise and expel both himself and his dynasty, he need expect from this country neither moral nor material aid. All these are warlike symptoms, and we cannot wonder if France should take such steps as she may conceive necessary, not only to combat Austria, but also to meet the German Confederation if it should oppose obstacles to the successful prosecution of a new campaign.

It is expected that Count CAVOUR will make arrangements to preserve what the French Government calls the "autonomy of Tuscany," as even the staunchest adherents for annexation to Sardinia are desirous of keeping their Leopoldine code, which—framed under the enlightened influence of BECCARIA—is one of the best in Europe; and they would also protest against allowing their country to sink into the position of an ordinary province. Difficulties of detail would speedily vanish if Italy could be freed from the expense and anxiety which the conduct of Austria entails. Even without the additional 75,000 men which are to be raised, the army kept by Sardinia, Tuscany, and the Emilia, is out of all proportion to the population and resources of the country; but we could not wish to see a man less under arms while Austria preserves her threatening attitude, and, through the possession of Venice and the Quadrangle, would be able to overwhelm any moderate force. This state of tension cannot last long, and it would not surprise those who are acquainted with the Austrian Court to hear that FRANCIS JOSEPH had suddenly resolved to risk his crown and dynasty in another war.

For the present, Austrian intrigues in Russia do not seem to have succeeded, as Prince GORTSCHAKOFF has recovered from the "state of health"—a purely diplomatic malady—which was to be the excuse for his retirement if the Czar could be induced to give up his services and take a HAPSBURG partisan in his stead. It is also a satisfactory symptom that the Czar, in his recent speech to the committees of twenty-four Governments, continued to enforce the claims of the serfs, and reiterated his determination to ameliorate their condition—a great national movement, which will require the suspension of aggressive designs.

The attitude of England should be watchful and firm; but while Parliament is bound to obtain adequate information and check the conduct of the Cabinet, we want neither KINGLAKE fireworks, nor constant puffs of NORMANDY smoke.

WAR WITH CHINA.

WHEN Mr. GLADSTONE, in his Budget Speech, debited the national account for the year with no greater sum than £500,000 for the probable expense of the impending Expedition to Peking, the more serious of his hearers stared incredulously, and those of more impulsive temperament laughed

aloud. What could he mean by talking of a bagatelle vote of this description to defray the cost of one of the most difficult and questionable enterprises ever undertaken by venturesome obstinacy or ambition? When NAPOLEON planned his memorable expedition to Moscow, he had for the base of his operations the neighbouring States of Germany, whence he was able to launch an army consisting of half a million of men, amply supplied with an abundant commissariat and all the munitions of war. He had to traverse, indeed, several hundred miles of thinly-populated and ill-cultivated country, and to encounter a brave and disciplined enemy: but he was not dependent on the regions he proposed to overrun for provisions, and if his antagonists were numerous and brave, he had much to gain in a political sense by successive victories over them. The state of the case as between our Government and the Chinese is in every respect different, and in every respect the difference is disadvantageous. The base of the ELGIN expedition against China is between four and five thousand miles from the first scene of its operations. Every item of commissariat, every pound of gunpowder, and every ton of coals must be borne that distance over sea before it can be landed on the outermost rim of the vast empire Lord PALMERSTON threatens to humiliate, if not to dismember. Thence to the inland capital the distance is greater than that which NAPOLEON had to traverse after he had crossed the Vistula. Glory there is none to be sought or hoped for on the way. A swarming peasantry may be bargained with by our sutlers, or bullied by our soldiers in detail, and wholesale contributions may be exacted from towns and villages by order of our commanders; but military reputation cannot be acquired anyhow, though the safety of the devoted troops who are to form the expedition may be hazarded, and the lives of the greater portion of them forfeited by the way. Sir DE LACY EVANS was told by ministers the other night that he reckoned too high when he assumed their number to be 40,000 men; a careful silence was observed as to what their numerical strength was really to be; and we are left to conjecture, therefore, whether the actual number of victims doomed to be sacrificed in vindication of Mr. BRUCE's reputation as a diplomatist be twenty, twenty-five, or thirty thousand. All we are told is that these gallant men are to scramble and scuffle their way as best they can from the mouth of the Peiho to Peking; and that when they get there, they are to remain long enough to humble the pride and wound the prestige of the Imperial Government, get the Treaty of Tien-tsin ratified, and then make their way back again as best they may. All this is easily said behind the red box in the House of Commons at Westminster: it sounded just as easy forty years ago in NAPOLEON's Cabinet at St. Cloud, to say, Go to Moscow, sleep in the Kremlin, dictate a spoliation treaty, and return triumphant by Christmas Day: but every wise counsellor of the French Government in 1812 deprecated the desperate and wanton enterprise, and foretold its failure; and every humane and disinterested statesman in England at the present hour, publicly or privately, deprecates the foolish and cruel expedition projected against Peking.

In a speech, remarkable for condensation of varied and valuable matter, as well as for clearness and calmness of exposition, Sir J. ELPHINSTONE described in the recent debate the circumstances in which the expeditionary force will be placed, from the moment it began to penetrate into the interior. He reminded Lord PALMERSTON of the fatal precedent which his own official experience furnished in Cabul. We there unrighteously and unwisely risked and lost a British army, for sake of the phantom termed "the due recognition of our dignity and influence" by a remote and semi-barbarous court. By the intrepidity of our soldiers we had forced our way through all obstacles and privations to the goal of our insane ambition; but when established there we had found, as the French found at Moscow, that its permanent retention was impossible, and amid the horrors of mid-winter, our isolated troops had to attempt their retreat encompassed by myriads of pitiless and exulting foes. Yet, looking at the map of Russia or that of Afghanistan, the madness of neither 1812 nor 1830 seems comparable with that of 1860. And what is the pretext put forward for this fearful trifling with the lives of tens of thousands of our brave troops, confessedly without the chance of winning even the barren recompense of martial fame? The Premier professes to repudiate all thoughts of territorial acquisition. Remembering, as we do, how the same phrases have been invariably used whenever we were beginning any of our wars in India, and remembering how all these wars have ended, we own we have but little faith in self-denying promises of this kind. Just now "annexation," however, stinks so strongly in the nostrils of Europe, that we are not surprised at Lord PALMERSTON's disclaimer. The Foreign Secretary is equally anxious to repudiate the notion of our going buccaneering for Sycee silver. What-

ever the coming war may cost, we must have the honour of paying for it ourselves. Unofficial calculations set down the probable cost at nine or ten millions sterling; and among official men it is confidently admitted that we shall be very lucky if we get off with five millions. The Secretary for War goes a step further, and tells us that in his opinion we have got on the wrong road, but that he is afraid to propose retracing our steps at present. He honestly confesses that he sees anything but advantage in certain stipulations of the Treaty of Tien-tsin, the irksome character of which to the Chinese caused, as we all know, the delay in its ratification: nevertheless Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT is prepared to back our diplomatic blunders by an expedition in which we hazard the lives of say five-and-twenty thousand men, and incur the financial waste of many millions of money. Nobody can point out any tangible benefit to be derived in any event from the proceeding. A good deal is said about the necessity of vindicating our insulted honour by the capture and demolition of the Taku forts; and if that were all, we own we should give ourselves little trouble about the matter. But this is a mere preliminary, on which small stress is laid. It cannot be for this that an army is to be transported four or five thousand miles, with all its huge and cumbrous train of baggage and camp following. Neither is it conceivable that, for the sake of extorting a mere apology from the Chinese Government, hazard and cost on a scale so enormous would be incurred. The talk about an apology for the collision at the mouth of the Peiho, and about the necessity of demolishing the Taku forts, is mere empty sound signifying nothing. A greater and guiltier purpose will be inevitably imputed to those who have planned the expedition in concert with our annexing ally, the Emperor of the French. The shifty and colourless Lord ELGIN is to be sent out once more with sealed orders, to direct operations in the Yellow Sea; and if any one can cover over the violent and rapacious policy of which he is content to be the instrument, with plausible semblances and fair words, the noble lord will do it. But let Lord ELGIN understand distinctly that no amount of family connection or Court interest will be able to hold him harmless, if, under his authority, the great resources of a great empire should be lavished on an unworthy or abortive scheme. Parliament may not insist upon knowing beforehand what his instructions are, but it will assuredly exact a stern account from him ere the year comes round of all that is done under his direction in China. He has himself admitted over and over again that it would be alike impolitic and wrong to attempt to exact from the Chinese Government any conditions of peace that would tend to humiliate it in the eyes of its subjects, and thereby to disorganise its power. From the day the Mantchou Empire begins to crumble under the shock of European violence, a ruinous conflict of European races for the division of its spoil will infallibly commence; and once commenced, who shall foretell its ending? Russia cannot, and France will not, remain passive spectators; while England plays the same reckless game of territorial aggrandisement in the Flowery Kingdom that she has for upwards of a century been playing in Hindostan. Our net gains in the latter are certainly not so clear as to beguile us easily into a repetition of the policy that has saddled us with the care of Southern Asia, and laden us with the cost of its forcible acquisition.

NEW BANKRUPTCY CODE.

HEARTILY as the mercantile classes have reprobated the existence of the Bankruptcy law, it was never more severely and more justly condemned than by the ATTORNEY-GENERAL. No country in Europe, he said, had so bad a law. It had been denounced over and over again. It had been radically changed; it had been continually altered and amended; but it was still more complained of than ever, and the last days of the law were worse than the first. To collect debts the cost is about five per cent.; using the instrumentality of the Court of Bankruptcy the cost is thirty-three per cent. Bankruptcy business is, in consequence, done out of court; and this expensive apparatus is nearly as useless as it is costly. In 1858 the number of adjudications in Bankruptcy was, according to the ATTORNEY-GENERAL, six hundred and sixty, while the number of compositions and arrangements, tantamount to withdrawing bankruptcy cases from Bankruptcy courts, was computed to be eight thousand. The stringent provisions of the Bankruptcy law, founded on inhumanity rather than justice, and the cost of the process, induce the creditor to forego its supposed advantages, and save as much of his property as he can without having recourse to it. Can anything be more useless than an expensive court, which keeps away suitors? It is a mockery of justice. How to remedy the accumulated evil has been the diligent study

of the ATTORNEY-GENERAL, and he declares that his greatest difficulty arises from previous legislation. It stands in the way of improvement. Such are the ascertained results of the legislative labour which at the beginning of every session we hopefully require shall be renewed and extended.

The Attorney-General proposes a great alteration in the law of Bankruptcy, and in the Court to administer it; will he be more successful than his distinguished predecessors? When Lord BROUGHAM, in 1832, made a sweeping alteration, reducing thirty commissioners to five, appointing official assignees, &c., the brightest hopes were entertained of his success. Soon, however, numerous evils sprang out of his measures; new laws, which excited new hopes, were passed to rectify them, and the result is an accumulation of bad laws. The charmer who gilds our lives seems to have no natural place in legislation, and only leads us to believe in its promises to deceive and betray. The hope now expressed, therefore, by all the mercantile authorities who have spoken on the subject, that the ATTORNEY-GENERAL has hit the right nail on the head, is probably unfounded. Some ten or twenty years hence some other Attorney-General will do for him what he is doing for Lord BROUGHAM, and sweep away with contempt the legislation with which he is now encumbering the ground.

Following the course which has at length bogged us, the ATTORNEY-GENERAL proposes to extinguish the five Commissioners, and appoint one Bankruptcy Court, to be presided over by one Judge. The five Commissioners are occupied by judicial business only fifteen hours a week—three hours a day each for five days. They give contradictory decisions, award or withhold certificates capriciously, are amenable to no superior authority, and rather impede than promote the administration of justice. Subject to the one condition, that they may be called on to assist in carrying out the Act, they are to have their full salaries for life. Even this condition they may escape from by accepting two-thirds of their present income. The administrative portion of the bankruptcy business, as contradistinguished from the judicial, will be confided to the Registrars of the Courts, to the official and creditors' assignees. The former are to take charge of the bankrupt's estate in the first instance, and are afterwards to hand it over to the creditors' assignee. They are, however, to audit the accounts of the latter, and it is hoped that both may be kept vigilant and honest by watching each other. The messengers, too, who receive from £1200 to £1700 a year each, and employ deputies at 3s. 6d. per day to perform their duties, are to be swept away. The Court is to be simplified, and the one Judge who is to preside over it, and have the entire administration of the Bankrupt laws, is to be placed on a par with the Judges of the Courts of Equity and Common Law. He is to have £5000 a year. To him will be made all appeals from district courts. He will sit and decide all cases of contention in public. He will transact administrative business at Chambers, and will be the supreme Judge for Bankruptcy as the Lord CHANCELLOR is for Equity. His tribunal will be limited to the one species of law, and in that he may come to be very expert.

The seat of this general Bankruptcy Court is to be at Basinghall Street; but there is also to be a London district Court of Bankruptcy, presided over by another and lesser judge, and holding its sittings in Portugal Street. Middlesex, Herts, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, and Essex are embraced by the London district. There are to be seven other districts, each having a court with one Judge. Birmingham, Bristol, Exeter, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, and Newcastle-on-Tyne. The Commissioners who are now in these districts are to be continued; but a power is given to Her Majesty in council to alter the districts, and it is hoped that ultimately the county courts, which are immediately to have jurisdiction in bankruptcy, may absorb the whole of the district business. We have had in modern times a great number of new courts established, and it would be highly satisfactory to reduce them without departing from the great principle of carrying justice to every man's door.

Besides providing for the formation of respectable courts to administer the law both in the metropolis and in the county districts, the ATTORNEY-GENERAL alters very considerably the law to be administered. He abolishes the distinction between trader and non-trader, and subjects all insolvents alike to the provisions of the Bankruptcy Code. This carries with it a necessity for defining and altering the stringent regulations for determining what is an act of bankruptcy. It would never do, as Sir FRZROY KELLY pointed out, to have simple debtors declared insolvent for acts which make traders bankrupts. Accordingly the acts which constitute bankruptcy are defined, and debtors have in many cases optional courses left open to them. To form a correct opinion of all the alterations the new measure makes in the Bankruptcy code would require a considerable study. The Bill, ex-

clusive of schedules, consists of five hundred and thirty-three distinct clauses, and exclusive of the index fills one hundred and fifty pages. We doubt whether the ATTORNEY-GENERAL himself is quite prepared to say what will be even the probable operation of this immense mass of legislation. We must content ourselves with saying that the Bill is plainly and carefully drawn, but is much too voluminous, complicated, and detailed to be readily analyzed and easily comprehended.

We are glad to see, though the Act does not extend to Scotland and Ireland, that the courts and authorities there are required to act as auxiliaries in giving effect to the decisions and processes of the English Court of Bankruptcy. A provision, too, is expressly introduced to prevent English bankrupts who have, within three months, ordinarily resided and traded in England, from having recourse to the bankrupt laws of Scotland, and to empower the English Bankruptcy Court to summon such bankrupts to show cause why the petition against them should not be prosecuted in the English courts. We see, too, with satisfaction, while many facilities are given for carrying cases into the Bankruptcy Courts, that no obstacles are thrown in the way of those arrangements between debtors and creditors which have latterly become so common. On the contrary, care is taken to prescribe measures by which they are legalised. As the new court will be empowered and required to prosecute for all misdemeanours it discovers in the conduct of bankrupts, and such misdemeanours are to be punished with not more than two years' imprisonment, the criminal jurisdiction of the court, which consisted in withholding certificates or giving certificates of different descriptions, is done away. It is made imperative on the court to appoint, within a limited time, a day for the final examination of the bankrupt, when, if his accounts be filed, and the court do not, for good reasons, otherwise determine, his complete discharge, with his exoneration from all his previous pecuniary obligations, follows. This is an improvement on the old practice. Care, too, is taken to provide that the courts shall sit every day in the year, except Sundays and the usual holidays. In order that this may be done without inconvenience, the LORD CHANCELLOR is authorized at vacation time to appoint temporary judges to administer the Bankruptcy law. The professed desire to unite humanity with diligence, to inflict the least possible suffering, and cause the least possible delay in satisfying the creditors and relieving the debtors, is extremely creditable to the ATTORNEY-GENERAL, and we should gladly believe that it may be successful.

We miss, however, in this great measure that deference to the mercantile classes which on this subject they claim and is their due, and the Bill is founded on that supreme confidence in the legal classes of which they have long complained. The Bankruptcy Court is to do for them very minutely what they require legal authority to do for themselves. At the same time, the Bill does not distinguish with accuracy between the laws required for their guidance and the mode of administering them. It establishes at once a new code and a new court. It is much more a detailed means of administering the surrendered property of debtors for the behoof of creditors, than a measure to check undue confidence, extravagance, and resulting insolvency. If any improvement be expected in trade morality from an altered method of distributing debtors' property, there will be disappointment. Even as a mere measure of administering property it is defective, by the large extent of each bankruptcy district, which will cause waste of time and money. It leaves the English system in this respect much less convenient than the Scotch. By continuing Sheriffs' Courts, formerly common to both countries, the northern part of the empire has a civil as well as a criminal tribunal in every county. Under its direction, bankrupt property is appropriated, sequestered, and distributed amongst creditors at a cost of 12 or 13 per cent. That we lack such a civil tribunal, and were obliged not long ago to establish county courts, while we retained very numerous local criminal tribunals in our Justices, was one of the consequences of our having left an old feudal jurisdiction in the hands of the landed gentry. They clung to it to punish poachers, but they declined to be the unpaid instruments for settling contentions between debtors and creditors. This is one of the disadvantages of our peculiar squiredom, to which, according to Mr. DISRAELI's lately acquired wisdom, the nation is indebted for its liberties. Till he stated this on Monday we had no doubt, whatever may be the vices of town folk and traders, that to their zeal in the cause of freedom and their enlightenment, all modern political improvement is due. We think so still; and therefore we think also that the ATTORNEY-GENERAL would have done the work expected of him better had he simplified the Bankruptcy code, and placed the power of administering it in the hands of men chosen by the mercantile body, instead of creating a grand new court to administer the property of insolvents.

PRINCIPLE OR PRESUMPTION?

A LEADING journalist has stated very seriously and solemnly, "It will be well for this country, and well for the progress of political knowledge, when statesmen have been induced to receive as an axiom, that measures ought to be considered, not with reference to metaphysical and abstract considerations, but to well-ascertained and practical results." "That which we require to know, and without which we know nothing, is, what effects the proposed change will produce, beyond the establishment of an equality between county and borough voters." This is apparently plausible; but, used as an argument against an extension of the suffrage, by making that in counties correspond to that in towns, is plausible only, and stands refuted the instant the meaning of the proposition is clearly understood.

Practical results are put in opposition to abstract considerations; and the effects which a legislative measure is expected to produce are described as safer guides for framing it than principle. But these words, "practical results," cannot apply to any measure in progress; they can only mean the effects of similar or analogous measures, previously enacted. The practical results of the new Reform Bill will only come into existence after the "measure" has become law: and, however well guessed at, cannot possibly be known beforehand. What are called practical results by this writer are the consequences of some other laws, or they are merely his inferences. They are presumptions, the suggestions of imagination; and, contrasted with the "metaphysical considerations" set at nought, are the deductions of one mind, while these are the embodiment and expression of general experience. To suppose that we can infer the "practical results" of any proposed measure, from the results of similar measures in past times, or in other countries, is unwarranted. If it could be done, the blunders continually committed by every succession of legislators would be at once most unreasonable and unjustifiable. They are only excused, because, as circumstances change, the meaning of the terms used in old laws and former measures change, and we do not perceive it. Enactments, in consequence, exactly worded like pre-enactments, or supposed to be framed like them, are never followed by the same, nor even by similar effects. Thus, the "practical results of measures" continually disappoint legislators, and are extremely different from their presumptions.

Acting with a view to "practical results," or what the legislator presumed would be the consequences of his measures, through the greater part of the eighteenth century, he disregarded the "abstract metaphysical considerations" of the right to life, and the moral principle which teaches us to respect it—presumed that to hang men was sure to prevent forgery, burglary, sheep-stealing, petty larceny, cutting down young trees, destroying bleaching webs, etc., etc.; and he decreed death for these and a great number of other similar offences. The Statute book became crowded with bloody laws, and annual butcheries at every assize town disgraced England in the eyes of the civilized world. In the same manner, thinking only of the "practical results" of encouraging agriculture and promoting commerce, the legislator in the last and in this century placed innumerable restrictions on trade. The consequence, however, was the destruction of public welfare to a degree wholly inconceivable, till after the abolition of such legislation had enabled this old nation to start forward at a pace quite equal to the newest-peopled countries of the world. At present, we may describe Free trade as one of the "metaphysical abstract considerations" to which legislators do homage with their tongues, and public writers with their pens, and at the same time hope for "practical results" by continually disregarding them. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER may be quoted as an example. He expected "practical results" or public advantage from his proposed warehousing and other new imposts; but though he delighted the House of Commons by his eloquence, he has lost the confidence and approbation of the mercantile classes. The solemn statement of our contemporary opens up the large question, whether practical men or philosophers, whether mole-eyed workers at ledgers and calicoes, or observing inquirers into the effects of institutions past and present—whether the bureaucracy or the democracy, a class or the whole public—the presumptions of a few, or the principles deduced from universal experience—are most to be relied on in making laws. We think that general principles, called by our contemporary abstract metaphysical considerations, more reliable than his or any other individual's presumptions.

The especial metaphysical and abstract consideration derided by the *Times* is, "the equality of voters in towns and counties," which in its turn depends on the abstract principle that every man subject to the law has a right to a voice in making it. For one man to assume that he is authorized to make law for another, is to claim inspiration, or assert masterdom, utterly at variance with the theory of the Constitution, and with prin-

ciples defended in every age. Parliamentary Reform proceeds on the acknowledgment that principle has been violated. The multitude were discontented in 1830, and the privileged few, convinced of the justice of their claims, then by a compromise conceded much to them. The concession has been followed by almost wonderful improvements in the spirit of our legislation, by more contentment in the people, improved conduct, and increased welfare. It is now again admitted by the leading politicians of both parties that the concession did not go far enough, and that the claims of the multitude for an additional share of the representation are well founded. From further concessions, similar and greater benefits will probably ensue. This is an almost universal opinion. How the concession is to be carried into effect, will be decided by the strength of parties, and the debates in Parliament; but to make it has become indispensable.

Parliament, we know, is guided by forms and traditions to which every measure must conform. The exact shape into which it is actually forged always depends on circumstances foreign to its merits, such as the compromises of politicians and parties. What Parliament has once done, it is likely to do again, and having conceded a £10 household suffrage to towns, it will probably be ready to concede it to counties. Though such a measure is not consistent with any abstract principle, it is likely as a practical result to become a law. What will be its consequences ultimately no man can foretell. Parliament so encumbers its measures with words that it conceals their substance, and hinders the formation of rational opinions concerning their effects. Nor can they be separated from the consequences of an increase or decrease of national growth, which continually alters the relations of property and the power of classes. To provide for these by any law, or to adjust any law to their ever-varying proportions, so that no class shall ever find any discrepancy between its claims and the law regulating representation, is a hopeless undertaking. This project, however, is entertained by those who are now scheming for "practical results," and describe their own "presumptions" as the essence of deliberate thought, far superior to the plain and certain dictates of principle.

COMMERCIAL MORALITY.

BURLY Dr. JOHNSON, in one of his patronising notes on SHAKSPEARE'S *Henry IV.*, goes out of his way to lament the costermonger times, "*when the prevalence of trade has produced that meanness that rates the merit of everything by money.*" How far the son of the hypochondriacal bookseller of Lichfield had a right to decri trade as the chief business and object of a nation we will not inquire, but we might venture to suggest that the London philosopher's pungent remark was more suitable to the present than the past time; not, however, that we are Quixotic enough to break our lances against popular windmills; we do not wish to attack the morality of trade as it might be, but to condemn commercial morality as it is.

There can be no longer a doubt, whether the ideal be high or low, that trade is now the recognised *mission* of England, as the philosophical cant of the day has it, just as that of Rome was conquest, and of Greece civilization; the nations who see us from the outside see us all as working bees with commerce for the great purpose of our lives. According to our enemies, we fight, make treaties, conquer or make peace, all with reference to trade and trade alone; as the bird flies and the fish swims, the Englishman trades. As our commerce is impersonal, and has no pulse that can be felt, it is only indirectly that we are ever enabled to ascertain the state of its moral health, and it is from stray paragraphs in papers that we sometimes glean symptoms of our internal disease.

The other day, says a recent Birmingham paper, a wholesale dealer from London came into a large button house in the former city, and on a member of the firm, who knew him well, offering him his hand, he angrily refused it, and threw down a parcel of buttons, which he accused the Birmingham tradesmen of selling to others at a lower price than they did to him. The firm, astonished at the charge, examined the parcel of buttons, and found the paper wrapper, the stamp, the trade escutcheon—everything, the same as their own; but on pulling the buttons to pieces they were discovered to be internally of bad construction, though so close in their imitation that their own workmen were at first deceived. They were forged buttons, that had been introduced into the market, in defiance of all honesty and honour, to the immense loss of the Birmingham firm.

We have all heard complaints of the tricks of retail traders; but surely if the manufacturers themselves are to venture on doings like this, we shall soon see commerce tainted at the very source. We need some modern ARISTOTLE to write a book of ethics for modern traders, for the short line in the Decalogue devoted to their use, it seems, scarcely comes home to them sufficiently. It is possible that we shall even have to wish that Turkish laws were our laws—that lame ducks could be caught up suddenly and bastinadoed in Capel Court, or that the stately pillory could be once more fitted up opposite the Exchange. To see a cheating Whitechapel baker's ear nailed to his shop door for selling bone flour to the poor, would startle but not pain us. Will there come a time when trade gets so corrupt, so netted up with tricks and lies—such a labyrinth

of crooked paths, that the honest man will rather brave the firedamp in a coal mine, the wild sea at the fiercest, or whale fishing among the closing white teeth of the iceberg's jaws, than be an English merchant?

The small disclosures of trade deceptions are perpetual. Now it is the universal corruption of food that is being discussed; now the extravagant profit of some special trade; now a general lamentation as to the hastiness and flimsiness with which things are made. Everywhere you meet with honest tradesmen who lament the tricks of trade, and complain that they are inextricably entangled in immoralities which have grown habitual.

Nor is the degradation confined altogether to the higher classes connected with trade—its black roots stretch to the lowest strata of workmen. Neglected by capital, and ill-used, the workman seems often to think no means however base by which he can recover or assert his rights. A Sheffield paper of a few days ago, while exulting in the thriving trade driven by the fabricators of steel hoops for crinoline, and in the return to a sane mind by the awl blade makers who had been on the strike, relates the following occurrence, which seems to us of the most alarming significance, as showing, in large manufacturing towns, the passionate violence of ignorant selfishness, when imagining itself to be injured by capital equally selfish, though, perhaps, more enlightened, and of a wider mental vision:—A manufacturer of the cutlers' town aforementioned has lately invented a machine for grinding saws, by which we imagine a machine that slices out the thin plates of steel, polishes their surfaces, and bites their edges into teeth. This machine has excited, since its erection, the horror and indignation of the grinders. It has been talked of at artisans' clubs as if it were a Hydra that fed on children; as if the oil that lubricated its cogs and wheels were mixed with murdered women's blood. Those who it was to deprive of labour, to starve and pinch and render homeless, grew desperate. The machine would destroy them or they must destroy it. How were they, grown old, with unpliant minds and stubborn fingers, to retrace their lives and learn new trades? Who was to feed their wives and children while they learned those trades? Can we wonder that, inciting each other, the more violent forcing the weaker, they tried every means to blow up and crush and destroy that machine?—that secret clubs of angry men put their heads together to toss that monster machine into the bottomless pit, from whence they swore the fiend had sent it, to drive poor, innocent, industrious men to penury, temptation, and crime? Threatening letters reached the speculative, triumphant master, that if he did not stop his new-fangled machine, silent bullets from air-guns would reach him some morning as he sat at breakfast with his children; that shells might be thrown in at the window, or that accidental fires might some day soon break out in his workshop.

At first he disregarded them, but the threats grew blacker and darker; life became a misery to him. Death's hollow face stared at him between the fire bars, through the blinds, between the window curtains, from behind every opening door. He looked back with regret to the happy days of quieter and slower profit. He issued, at last, a reluctant notice to the scowling workmen that he would remove the machine and resume the old grindings by hand. The workmen tyrants—the intolerant shouters for toleration—the manly, generous, English workmen, (for once the advocates of assassination and terrorism—the would-be ribbonmen and murderers,) had triumphed.

Is this the conduct that kind and considerate masters should receive from their workpeople? Is the old blindness that made our rural mobs break to pieces threshing machines and curse steam never to cease in England? It was this wild conservatism that made watermen hate coaches when they were first started, coachmen hate railways, and bowmen arquebuses. It is that wicked hatred for what is new and better that has always been the curse of the world and the chief barrier to its improvement.

But the workmen, too, have their sufferings and wrongs, as the recent facts elicited about the children employed by the Bolton bleachers prove incontestably. We do not like to see legislators officious or interfering with self-government, but we do think that whilst trade is so greedy and selfish and unhesitating as it is, that some check must be found to the cupidity of the masters, who rely on the poverty and necessities of the children; feet blood-raw; fingers bleeding and sore—labour, even for children, unduly prolonged, to the destruction of future body and mind, insufficient sleep, are evils which must not be allowed to exist. It never must be that popular feeling shall view every great manufacturer's palace as built in a vast churchyard where his victims sleep; or that those prints and stuffs shall go forth to the world bearing stamps of blood on every bale. Let it not be said that if every yard of cotton Manchester produced were a shroud, it would not furnish sufficient for the poor children its great Juggernaut mills have ground to death.

Let it not be that some future satirist, sterner than HOGARTH, and fiercer than GILLRAY, shall have to depict a cannibal factory at work, the horrors of which shall vie with the Hell Dreams of DANTE, and the fantastic purgatories of that errant genius, GUSTAVE DORE. Let him not show us the sleek, prosperous DOMNEY of commerce, watching smilingly the vast world of wheels spin round, grinding live children to gory pulp; nor represent half-crushed men and women drawn out in torture on the broad quivering straps, or flattened in the huge cylinders; while shrouded shapes feed the hoppers and shoot the shuttles, and skeleton hands sort the refuse and twist the fragile threads with horrible indifference.

We had hoped that the day for this cruel rapacity and godless indifference to human suffering had passed. To some timorous

minds the late great Strike suggested dyspeptic dreams of a servile war between labour and capital. Events have shown our social balance too good to be easily disturbed, even by so large a body of men being thrown hungry and angry upon the streets of London. But when we hear of such sufferings as those practised in the factories, how can we wonder at any efforts, however violent or misjudged, to restrain such inhumanity? There was a time when just and wise guilds arbitrated on such matters, and redressed every grievance; but trade has grown too wide for guilds, and mutual forbearance and self-restraint are now our only safety.

It should humble our national pride to think that now, in this vaunting age, when commerce teems with invention and life, when our sails are on every sea, and our power and wealth is a proverb all over the globe; now that education is getting universal and religion increasing; now that our merchants are princes and our traders nobles, that we should have reached that alarming pitch of commercial immorality that it is all but impossible to obtain pure and real the simplest necessities of life, that new inventions should be liable to be destroyed by ignorant workmen, that thousands of children should be slowly put to death annually in our factories, that that code of lies called "Tricks of trade" should form part of every commercial man's education and creed, that unchecked forgeries should be common, that nothing sold should be quite what it seems, —that greediness, fraud, and deception should be still so paramount wherever trade sets up her noisy booths, in a word that GRESHAMS should be so few and DEAN PAULS so numerous.

THE PEELITES.

IT is probable that ere many years the Peelites will be placed at the head of the nation's affairs. Well, therefore, is it for us to know what they are, and what we have to expect from them. They resemble little him from whom they have their name; they are neither so thoroughly English, nor so persistent and practical. Foreign writers have called them the doctrinaires of England; but this is scarcely accurate. GUIZOT, and other statesmen in France of the same stamp, are cold, pedantic dogmatists, and it would be far more correct to designate Whigs of the Lord JOHN RUSSELL school doctrinaires than the Peelites. The latter are men of honour and of principle, who are less dominated by ideas than by aspirings. Their distinctive feature is a certain indolent catholicity. They have not strong sympathy with the people; but neither have they the Whig contempt for the people, nor the Whig exclusiveness. Their cardinal defect is a want of energy. The Tories are often unscrupulous; the Whigs are not unscrupulous, but they are factions, intriguing, arrogant, vindictive. The fault of the Peelites is that they are too scrupulous; that they doubt and hesitate when they should boldly act. They have some of the high qualities, some of the noble chivalry of the Girondists, with the same overstrained delicacy and fatal vacillation. With the instinct of exalted right, they have not the courage of justice; hence, though they will not practise corruption, they will tolerate it. To succeed in politics men must be thorough politicians. The leading Whigs may not be our greatest statesmen, but they are our most thorough politicians. In talent, Lord PALMERSTON and Lord JOHN RUSSELL do not greatly rise above mediocrity, but they are intensely politicians; their heart never wanders from the political field, the political arena. Can the same thing be said of the Tory leaders? And would it not be a mockery to say it of the Peelites?

The dream of the Peelites is the revival of mediævalism through the renewed action of the Church. But they display no vigour in the realisation of their dream. They assume the infallibility of the Church, yet shrink from asserting the whole of the Church's authority. Behind the age in their childish Tractarianism, they are yet before it in their general scheme of a Commonwealth; indeed, they are the only political party with the general scheme of a Commonwealth at all. For every other political party, what are politics but haphazard, hand-to-mouth empiricism? To view the State as a city of God, which every pious, virtuous, and patriotic soul should help in building, this is familiar enough to the German mind; but the average English mind would reject it as an absurdity. Now, the Peelites have done a signal service in giving us, however imperfectly, the divine ideal of a Commonwealth. The English confound empiricism with wisdom; they act exactly like the physician who, having never studied anatomy or medicine, would treat each fresh case of disease in a rash, rough, experimental way. The English are fond of calling this habit by very fine names; but, besides rendering their politics immoral, it exposes them continually to disgraces and disasters. Two hundred years ago the Puritans tried to erect a Hebrew theocracy in England. Here, at least, there was the ideal of the State with the Scriptures as a guide in the embodiment of the ideal. The endeavour was laudable, even if it tragically failed. Since then we have had nothing but the fierce battles of factions, and in the dust and smoke of the fight no holy vision of the State could be seen. If they did not receive profound, puissant impulses from their colossal industrialism, the English people would sink into absolute fatalism. They are roused from their lethargy by the thunder of gigantic steam hammers, and, half awake, they think that something must really be done ere they go to sleep again. For the most part, however, they go to sleep again without doing anything. We are not pleading for abstractions, which must ever be as barren for the State as for the individual. The worship of abstractions has been the curse both of France and of America, and NAPOLEON was right in his contempt and hatred for those whom he called ideologists. A country cannot nourish its

life with an array of arid philosophical propositions, cannot forget its historical development. But the historical development should not be compelled to depend on the coarse pressure of material necessity. Identifying abstractions with idealisms, the English abhor the latter quite as much as the former, and herein they are guilty of a most deplorable blunder.

Nothing but more transcendent and triumphant idealism is needed to make the English who are so strong, so laborious, so valiant, and so truthful, unrivalled among modern nations. Now, if the Peelites were not politicians at all, if they were simply students—and there is a good deal of the scholar's refinement in them, with, alas! too much of the scholar's feebleness—they would have shown themselves as England's faithful friends, by preaching, though in antiquated and theological fashion, the regeneration of England into a catholic Commonwealth. What they have preached they will strive to incarnate. They may not achieve much, but at least they will render politics broader, richer, deeper, more poetic. In a nation culture cannot be a substitute for heroism, but culture is nearer heroism than that idiotic prose which in England we are so fond of dignifying with the name of common sense. Revolutions must be accomplished in England by men who have nothing of the revolutionary temper; such revolutions are always the best, and are alone enduring. The Peelites are disposed to be revolutionary from the most conservative feelings. They bother themselves with silly casuistries, with obsolete ceremonialisms, with pitiful puerilities; it is, however, because they believe that the eternally celestial is enshrined in all this. That they believe in the eternally celestial in some form is enough to make us love them. With those alone must we forswear brotherhood who deny the eternally celestial. The Peelites are not the slaves of formulas, however fervent they may be in their idolatry of ritual. Though, therefore, conscientious and highminded, they will never be Quixotes to the death for a crotchet. They will yield at the right time, not from selfishness or fickleness, not from the low calculations of the adventurer, but because, if they have the narrowness of a traditional creed, they have the comprehensiveness of the infinite feeling out of which the creed sprang. There is a dash of dilettanteism in all their sayings and doings; but whom in these days, except the cynics, does dilettanteism not infect? Even the cynics have their dilettante moods, and THACKERAY, the high priest of the cynics, whines and whimpers now and then very much like the blubbing boobies whom he ridicules. The Peelites cannot rule England for any long period; their weakness of character and their fastidiousness render this impossible. But in the transition from Whiggery to a genuine, national statesmanship, the Peelites have a godlike mission to fulfil. Let us not blame them for being Peelites, and merely Peelites. Providence has no daintiness in the choice of instruments, and why should we be more dainty than Providence? The Peelites do not, like the Whigs, claim Downing-street as a perpetual patrimony; they are human beings, and not odious oligarchs. They proclaim the alliance between monarchy and democracy, but they leave aristocracy to take care of itself. Even if the Peelites could do nothing but deliver us from the thralldom to the Whigs, we should owe them everlasting gratitude—it is always so welcome to get rid of a thing which has no heart. Meanwhile, though we would prepare England for Peelism, we would prepare it for what is to succeed it. When PALMERSTON, the heartiest of the Whigs, departs from the scene, there is no one but GLADSTONE to take his place. We are convinced that GLADSTONE will yet be prime minister of England; we are convinced that England will grow very tired of him. It will hunger, and pant, and shriek for a man, and GLADSTONE is a clever though honest Oxford professor. After the Oxford professor we must have an Englishman, who combines the radiant APOLLO and the robust HERCULES; we must have the marriage of the Ideal and the Real. That the farce of chattering epileptic parliamentarism, of which we have all grown so tired, can keep on its legs or wag its tongue much longer is impossible. HANSARD has grown a nuisance. Nobody now reads the best-reported speeches, though the *Times* finds them useful to fill its columns. Constitutionalism is perhaps not in a healthier condition than parliamentarism. Though, therefore, we would be merciful to the reporter, we think that enough has been reported till something more is achieved.

DEBTORS AND CREDITORS.

THE following Statistics relating to the Debtor and Credit system will be interesting at the present time:—We learn by the Judicial Statistics of 1858, that in that year 1,582 petitions (of which only 1342 proceeded up to the "adjudication") were presented to the Courts of Bankruptcy; 897 by creditors, and 445 by debtors themselves. The debtors also presented 240 petitions for private arrangements, which can be carried out with the consent of three fifths in number and value of the creditors. The adjudications declared 1,343 persons bankrupts either trading singly or in co-partnership. Out of these 1,280 passed their examination. The amount of their debts, as stated by themselves, was £8,215,029; against which they only produced assets value £1,785,263. Out of this sum had to be provided "special charges and deductions," £318,729, debts—such as wages and taxes, to be paid in full, £28,275, leaving assets sufficient to pay about three shillings in the pound; but no less than £409,852 were required for "expenses," so that creditors only got an average dividend of little more than two shillings and sixpence.

If we go from bankruptcy to insolvency we find the financial result not quite so good. Out of 3,337 petitions presented to the

Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors, whose jurisdiction extends to London, Middlesex, and Surrey, the "scheduled" debts were 366,982*l*. Only 183 of these petitioners had estates to realize, which amounted to 33,864*l*. in value, leaving an average dividend of two shillings for creditors.

We are surely entitled to expect some result from the enormous expenditure involved in investigating and distributing debtors' estates by these two Courts. If any expectation is likely to be realized, as to the discovery and punishment of fraud or commercial misconduct, we might surely look for it in legal agencies, which cost half a million per annum in their necessary maintenance. Yet in bankruptcy, out of 1,343 bankrupts, we find that only 36 had their certificates refused—five with and thirty-one without protection—a result most insignificant, and most conclusively showing the inutility of the penalties in bankruptcy. Nor are the penalties in insolvency at all of a character likely to check the proceedings of the fraudulent dealer. Out of the 3,337 petitioners, 2,483 were immediately discharged; 287 were dismissed, and the rest were remanded back to prison for various terms. Imprisonment for debt is of all punishments the most illusory. Generally speaking, it is welcomed by the debtor as a boon. He prepares for it, and, on arrest, "files his schedule." His greatest disappointment, after arrest, would be for his creditor to discharge him before the day arrived for his hearing before the Commissioner. A remand back to prison is the worst penalty which can overtake him, and in such cases the absurdity of the law is proved by the fact, that if the remanded debtor settles with his detaining creditor (who is generally only too glad to do so on payment of costs and a small composition on his debt), he leaves prison discharged as to all the other debts he owes.

Leaving "Bankruptcy" and "Insolvency," we arrive at various other forms of adjustment between debtors and creditors:—Assignments, compositions, deeds of inspection, and letters of license, which all partake of the nature of private settlements; petitions for arrangement in the Courts of Bankruptcy, and petitions for protection to the Insolvent Court in town, and the County Courts in the country, which are heard in public. It is impossible to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, the number of all these modes of settlement, or the amount of the debts which they seek to compromise. The private arrangements effected by deed have the advantage of economy, although of late years some scandals have arisen as to the expenses under deeds of inspection. But it is in the power of the creditors of debtors who offer such instruments, cheaply to realize the estate if they like. Compositions are frequently resorted to when the debtor can pay a considerable dividend. The disadvantage under such private arrangements is to the debtor, who is not discharged until every creditor has executed the deed. Hence a *fraudulent creditor* (and there are such) frequently extorts payment in full, or drives his debtor into the *Gazette* or into gaol. The mode of adjustment fairest in its operation to the *honest* debtor and creditor is most undoubtedly the petition for a private arrangement under the Bankrupt Law Consolidation Act, 1849. For, whilst it requires the debtor to disclose the state of his affairs, it permits him to make a proposal for a settlement, which, if accepted by three-fifths, binds the rest of his creditors. On the other hand, if *fraud* can be shown, the Commissioner has power to adjourn the case into Court, and adjudicate the petitioner a bankrupt. The defect of the present practice is, that, whilst a debtor is obliged to disclose the state of his *insolvent* affairs, he is not obliged to show by what process of loss or misconduct he came into that position.

These several modes of settlement between debtors and creditors represent only the bad debts which have reached the point of public disclosure. But there lies underneath another *growing* evil, which in its turn furnishes material, in another year or two, to bankruptcy and insolvency. An annual waste is going on in commerce, which produces the public disclosures of insolvency. In 1858 no less than 103,478 writs of summons were issued out of the Courts at Westminster, and 738,977 plaints in the County Courts. Large as are these numbers the return is incomplete, for it does not include the writs issued by Courts of concurrent jurisdiction, such as the Court of Common Pleas, of Lancaster and Durham; or of local Courts of Record, such as the Lord Mayors' Courts of London and York, the Passage Court of Liverpool, the Venue Court of Hull, the Burgess Court of Newcastle, and, perhaps, a hundred others scattered over England. Of course some of the actions brought are for the recovery of *damages*; but the fact is clear, that the very large majority are for the recovery of simple debts. The fees of the superior Courts were £64,539; what the costs between party and party were we are not told, for out of the 103,478 cases only 1,191 went to trial (pretty conclusive proof that the actions were only defended to gain time by the debtors). In the County Courts the fees were £219,931, with costs not stated between the parties in addition. Those who put faith in penalties invented by law to punish fraud will be startled to learn that no less than 10,748 debtors were actually lodged in prison, under warrants from the County Courts. It may possibly be urged that these were *fraudulent* debtors, whom it was the duty of society to punish. Granting that to be so, it is hard upon creditors to perform a duty to society at an expense of four shillings and seven-pence in the pound upon their debts. If *fraud* existed on the part of a debtor, the obligation to punish him ought not to rest upon the particular creditor who is cheated, but upon society at large. And if fraud did exist, it is not a *civil* but a *criminal* punishment which ought to be applied. To award to a rogue, cunning enough to avail himself of the terms of credit, the same doom we apportion to an unfortunate man, is only to punish, perhaps demoralize, the latter by association with rogues; whilst it is also doing great injustice to

the inmates of the other side of the prison, who have simply been consigned to a criminal punishment, because they were not artful enough to employ the thin line of credit, and thereby prevent *their* fraud being indicted as felony.

THE ARMY AND THE ARISTOCRACY.

NEVER was there such a time as the last few years have been for pulling down, piece-meal, the veil of the shrine of stolid official mystery, for showing that the inner light, for which, in our humility, we gave it so much credit, was of the nature of moonshine; we use the term moonshine advisedly, because things, especially wooden things, are said to have a tendency to get rotten under its influence, and men are said to be affected with blindness who sleep long under its rays.

Many a man, perdie, can we unmask,
Whose desk and table make a solemn show
With tape-tied trash, and suits of fools that ask
For place and pension laid in decent row.

The author of "The Seasons" was, perhaps, the first protester against "tape." We have long been rather tired of the term, and we direct the homage of all who have usefully scribbled against tape to the first remonstrant. Our only consolation for the losses of the Crimean war was, that in needlessly destroying hosts of brave men, it let out the life of many official absurdities, amongst others, that of many of our military appointments.

We are not going to commence a shabby, ungenerous tirade against the aristocracy as connected with the army; we give all possible honour, as far as personal bravery is concerned, to those "ladies' faces with fierce dragons' spleens," as SHAKESPEARE calls them, who have dared to the death, for the sake of their race and their country. We look with admiring wonder at the man who, at home, if his *Maintenon* cullet is not done to a nicety, turns up his nose as if he always smelt "some nauseous scent," yet, when campaigning, eats cheerfully with his brothers in arms, whatever, bad or good, the chance of forage or the carelessness of a commissariat provides. We can admire a NARBONNE who has heart enough to have his hair powdered every day, in the midst of the snows and the despairs of the Russian campaign, and in some sense even a RICHELIEU, who, in an earlier day, "*se battait poudré à la bergamotte un jour de bataille, à l'iris un jour d'assaut*;" perhaps we might look in vain in any other rank for this gay but high chivalric spirit, which we do not wish to underrate; in fact, *ceteris paribus*, a man who has his "honour of a family" to maintain, as well as the honour of his country, would have our preference, but it must be *ceteris paribus*; he must, now-a-days especially when warfare is so much a matter of science, study his profession, which he will not do in earnest unless he makes it his destiny, and he is not likely to make it his destiny except from a natural taste for the career of arms, which will lead him to try to make himself in every way fit for it; and if there is the pressure of honourable poverty, as in the case, formerly as now, of the younger sons, the cadets of noble families, so much the more surely are his permanent services secured. In earlier days, when the man of noble or gentle blood was the only man who had within him the generous, inspiring influences of liberty, he had a still greater comparative advantage than he possesses now, though this applies less to England and her yeomanry than to the nations of the Continent.

The first event which dispelled the overweening idea of the paramount superiority of "good blood" in martial matters, was the English revolution. There had been many "jocqueries," wars of the lower against the higher orders in England, France and Germany, but these hapless struggles yielded invariably submission to the reality of the sword and the remembrance of the lash.

The first successful struggles were made by the middle orders to maintain civic liberties and city rights and charters; for the people had got two senses, that of liberty and that of property, and they proved in the end too strong for the high and confident spirit of class superiority.* This was tried to the utmost in the wars of CHARLES I. and CROMWELL. CROMWELL himself, it is true, was a man of good family; so, of course, were HAMPDEN, FAIRFAX, Essex, and many more of their leaders, but still it was a people's battle against an aristocracy. "Most of the colonels and officers," says DENZIL HOLLIS, "were mean tradesmen, brewers, tailors, goldsmiths, shoemakers, and the like; and PERYS, in his diary, Nov. 9th, 1663, speaks of the excellence of these soldiers, and of their steady return to their several trades." "Most of the soldiers at Naseby," says FLETCHER of Saltoun, "were prentices drawn out of London but two months before; nine only of the officers had served abroad, but of the king's party there were one thousand officers who had served abroad."

These unknightly-looking, money-making classes, in spite of the often-true proverb, "*timidus Plutus*," broke the shield of the aristocratic Mars, and the new-born spirit of liberty was the strongest where it was the newest born.

We had our lesson, strong enough, as it has proved, to have modified anything like an exclusive class pretension to military superiority on the ground of high gentlemanlike spirit; and the continental nations wanted theirs, and got it in due time in the wars of

* Note, we have here referred to *The Strength of Nations*, by ANDREW BISSET, 1859; a work containing many details on the volunteer subject, well worth reading.

the French Revolution. The arrogance of birth had been the pest of the French services. SCRIBE, in his *Pria de la Vie*, speaks of the "inconceivable good fortune that had raised FABERT to the rank of Marshal of France—a nobody, *homme de rien*, the son of a printer, the only example of such strange success; so extraordinary did such an elevation appear that FABERT was accused of having practised the occult sciences.

Amongst the various provocations to the Revolution in France few people are aware of the state of the two services. In the navy the very few *officiers bleus*, men who had raised themselves to the lower grades of official rank by their own merits, were the victims of the insults of the officers of high birth. EMILE SOUVESTRE in his *Chroniques de la Mer*, mentions the case of CHARLES CORMIC; he had greatly distinguished himself against the English by his remarkable bravery. In consequence of the insults of the aristocrats he was obliged to fight duels with seven or eight of them on the same day, and had at last a body guard allowed, to protect him from their vengeance and jealousy. Because he was not noble he could never obtain anything above the lieutenantancy of a frigate. At last he retired in disgust. At the time of the floods of the Garonne with four sailors he saved in as many days the lives of six hundred people. He again made an application at the commencement of the war for a naval command and was refused, and finally broke his sword.

All these nonsensical airs were thoroughly dispersed before the end of the wars of the French Revolution, at least in France itself; and one cannot help rejoicing at finding the sons of innkeepers *et hoc genus omne* at the head of victorious French armies, scattering to the wind the nobles of France, Austria, and Prussia. It was a tremendous lesson, enough, one would imagine, to have annihilated for ever the conceit of necessarily superior valour of the gentleman born, but it has not. LAING, in speaking of the Prussian army, says:—"It is difficult for any one without rank or property to become an officer, . . . about one in twenty of the citizen class are officers; . . . but these are generally rich men; almost all the cavalry officers are nobles, . . . the citizen class officers are looked down upon; scarcely any of the lower classes are ever raised to the rank of officers. The regular officers insulted the Landwehr by their mode of address, so much so as to call for state interference." This aristocratic spirit is one of the pests of Prussia, and we fancy it is not altogether unknown in some portions of the English army. However, this is a question of pure power, not of right, nor even of expediency.

In spite of our purchase and of our aristocratic influences we have had, it is true, plenty of noble blood, still further ennobled by noble conduct; but many, very many of our battles have been eminently soldiers' battles. How much aristocratic and wealthy rubbish did WELLINGTON send back as good for nothing, men aptly described by the Roman TACITUS:—*Satis constat fuisse in eo exercitu veteranos qui non stationem non vigilias inissent; vallum fossamque quas nova et mira viderent nitidi et quæstiosi militiæ per oppida expleti*. Give us, by all means, men with all the lofty associations of high birth, but let them be competent soldiers, no court colonelcies impudently foisted on a nation that can judge, in spite of waste and expense and experience. What said WELLINGTON in his despatch of the 18th of July, after the battle of Vittoria:—

"It is an unrivalled army for fighting, if the soldiers can only be kept in their ranks during the battle." Cause of defects, "want of obedience, and attention to orders by the inferior officers, and, indeed, I might add by all. They never attend to an order with an intention to obey it when obedience becomes troublesome or difficult or important." "We carry the principle of the gentleman, and the absence of intercourse with those under his command, so far, that, in my opinion, the duty of a subaltern officer, as done in a foreign army, is not done at all in the cavalry or the British infantry of the Line. It is done in the Guards by the sergeants. Then our gentleman officer, however admirable his conduct in a field of battle, however honourable to himself, however glorious and advantageous to his country, is but a poor creature in disciplining his company in camp, quarters, or cantonments." It was something even worse than this that led Dr. JOHNSON in his letters—no radical, by the bye—to speak of the adage, "A French officer will always lead if his soldiers will follow, and English soldiers will always follow if their officers will lead." This does not much look as if, at any rate in England, the more eminent degrees of valour were the perquisites of birth or wealth, though we do not wish to confound the two. The child of wealth, who trusts mainly to purchase, and who chooses the army merely as a gentlemanlike profession, and who seeks to regenerate himself by his uniform alone, is of all officers the very worst. Examinations, which ought to be no trifles, will probably cure a good many of our defects, if the examinations are not turned into a mere farce, which there was an attempt to do lately. We know what has been the effect of requirements in the Swedish army. SCOTT, in his "Danes and Swedes," says of the Swedish nobility, "they seek for the easier offices in the state and army, of aides-de-camp, staff officers, guard officers: the proportion of nobles to non-nobles is a hundred and sixty-seven to twenty; but in the corps requiring science, as artillery and engineers, it is the reverse." Here we have the men of consequence in a country, out of sheer indolence, deliberately resigning the highest and most honourable posts: we shall see what the effect of a course of examination and competition, fairly carried out, will have on ours. Mixed with the cant which we have animadverted upon above, there is the anti-education-of-officers' cant, the cramping and debilitating effect of learning; that generalship is a matter of genius, and not of study—that presence of mind in action is not to be learnt by rules—that what is gained in the knowledge of the schools is lost in the knowledge

of the world; with a quantity of such decaying clap-trap, with just such limited amount of truth in it as gives it plausibility. We fancy it would amuse exceedingly a company of French staff officers who do not find themselves rendered particularly unmilitary by a severe and earnest course of study at Saumur, St. Cyr, &c. Against such men, mere blood and spirit will not avail; we must have working and scientific men, or both; we must have such men for an European as we have had for an Indian war, for they would be even more necessary for the former than the latter. Let the flood come, and we shall be glad to have men of merit in high places, whether with the blood of a WELLESLEY or a NAPIER, or a birth as mediocre as NELSON'S, or as humble as CLYDE'S.

Haud aliter Stilicho fremuit cum Thracia belli
Tempestas, cunctis pariter cedentibus, unus
Eligitur ductor; suffragia quippe peregit
Judex vera Timor; victus ratione salutis
Ambitus, et pulsus tacuit formidine livor.

THE NEW CONSTITUENCIES—CHELSEA AND KENSINGTON.

THE united parishes of Kensington and Chelsea will form the most populous and wealthy of the new boroughs. Its estimated rental is already £657,823, and its population cannot be taken at less than 120,000. To what extent these numbers will be increased within the next ten years, as the area still vacant becomes occupied with dwellings, it were difficult to say. The limits of the new borough are perhaps wider than could be wished. They comprise the whole stretch of suburbs from Lowndes Square to Fulham Bridge, and from Chelsea Hospital to Kensal Green; and the communities now for the first time about to be politically associated together embrace almost every variety of condition, from the man of hard-toiling industry to the luxurious patrician, and from the secluded man of letters to the busy idler of fortune. Churchmen who interpret variously their common creed, and dissenters who agree in the liberty of differing on all points of faith and discipline; mercantile men of various branches of trade, and professional men and artists with talents and occupations sufficiently diversified, are there to be found. To represent efficiently such a society will be no easy task, and those who may be chosen for the purpose will certainly have no sinecure.

A requisition is in course of signature to TORRENS McCULLAGH, Esq., late M.P. for Yarmouth, calling on him to undertake the duties of representing Chelsea and Kensington in the next Parliament; there being a strong sense of the services he has rendered in obtaining for the inhabitants the privileges which they so long fruitlessly sought, and his experience of many years in the House of Commons naturally creates confidence in his fitness for the trust which is likely to devolve upon him. We do not know a man better calculated to represent the middle and intelligent classes. He is a singularly clear-headed man, as shown by his style of oratory; and that he is a sound politician we believe from the various contributions he has made to political literature. That he is also single-minded and honest we believe from his career; and if all the new constituencies can get such men, moderated by a great experience of practical politics, and who, whilst they have gained by a knowledge of the world, have not lost the freshness of their political consciences, we shall not think the new Reform Bill quite the useless projection some of our contemporaries affect to do. Choice of competent representatives is, after all, the whole end and aim of all our reform schemes; and what are wanted are middle class men of ability, not concerned in any speculative pursuits, who have a sound knowledge of public affairs and the necessities of the time. We sincerely hope that Kensington will join Chelsea in seeking out a fit companion to Mr. McCULLAGH, and will set a good example to the other metropolitan boroughs, by neither being led away by brawling partisans, self-seeking capitalists, nor aristocratic noodles.

THE NATIONAL DEFENCES.*

BULLY MARS, an immortal much in the thoughts of patriotic Britons last Autumn, has been completely driven out of them these three months past by jolly Bacchus. As the year died out, the invasion-panic died out too; the volunteers began to drill, and by their martial presence reassured the more alarmed old ladies; the naval reserve was inaugurated by an enormous advertising expenditure which satisfied somewhat stouter hearts, and knowing politicians were perfectly comforted by the accord which appeared to exist between our Government and that of our Imperial ally upon continental questions. There was, in fact, a reaction from the exaggerated alarm which prevailed for a few weeks, and, like most reactions, it went a little too far. At first, nothing but a most costly system of fortifications could defend us, and out of the depression no system of defence at all was thought requisite. Then Mr. Gladstone came and sang his siren song about perpetual peace and goodwill between France and England, discoursed most eloquent music about the intense fraternal affection which John Bull and Jean Crapaud would henceforth entertain for each other, and seduced a good many weak-minded pious people into the awful heresy of supposing clarets, cognacs, and "Articles de Paris," efficient agents in precipitating the millennium. Of course, whilst

* Great Britain's Defence of her South and South-West Coast, Metropolis, and Dockyards: In a Letter to the Right Hon. Sydney Herbert. By Major-General WILLIAMS, Royal Engineers. London: W. Clowes and Sons.

visions of such piping times of peace danced before their eyes, people could not think of the "*horrida bella*" with which they had a short time before been frightened. But those visions now begin to recede a little. Mr. Disraeli appears upon the stage, and favours us with his personal assurance that France no longer conceals its purpose of general empire, and that the prospect, as far as England is concerned, is infinitely more dangerous than in the days of the French Republic and of the old French Empire. Then we shall soon have Mr. Sidney Herbert asking for the separate votes of which he has already told the sum total; soldiers, sailors, and civilians will raise the old ghosts; and Mr. Gladstone's music almost forgotten, save perhaps by some deluded wretch who has attempted to drown his disgust at the income-tax in cheap claret, and finds the luxury strongly provocative of a comparison with the bottles of the family apothecary, we shall have the deafening sound of the trumpets heralding some desperate attempt upon our purses.

If we could hope that the question would be taken up in a practical and moderate manner, we should be glad to see the National Defences become the order of the day. Whether the Emperor of France hate us, as Messrs. Horsman and Roebuck would suggest, or love us, as Messrs. Bright and Cobden intimate, it is equally desirable that all chance of a successful landing upon our shores should be prevented by suitable precautions. We need not, of course, apprehend any attempt to conquer, or even keep possession for any length of time of, the "tight little island;" but a freebooters' expedition, with the object of sacking the metropolis and inflicting upon us the resulting indelible disgrace, is quite within the bounds of possibility, if not of probability. Such a possibility ought to be guarded against, but not at a cost which would inflict a certain and permanent evil upon the country. We have the heartiest desire to feel perfectly secure, and the utmost readiness to pay a reasonable premium for the assurance, but we must decline altogether to adopt the extravagant schemes recommended by so many very worthy old soldiers in unreadable pamphlets. The veterans would secure us, no doubt, but they would make us pay a price utterly beyond our means; and they fail to perceive the real point which deserves attention—the means of resisting a marauding expedition upon London, the only object any sensible enemy would attempt. So thick has been the shoal of these pamphlets by generals and admirals all marked by the same characteristics of excessive trepidation and extravagant outlay, that we took up the pamphlet of General Williams with very little hope of finding anything in it worth notice. We did, however, the general a great, although unintentional, injustice. The question is treated by him in a very few pages with great fairness, and a remarkable freedom from the prejudices which possess most of his brother officers, whilst the suggestions he makes appear to be of a very practical, and are certainly of a comparatively very inexpensive character.

General Williams starts upon the assumption that the objects of an invasion would not be conquest, nor even protracted occupation, but a temporary success, which might wipe out past humiliations, and the creation, by a rapid march upon the metropolis, of a panic, which might induce an inglorious peace and ignominious concessions. With that design, the enemy would seek upon our coasts the shores which are "easiest of access, most devoid of protection, nearest to his own ports, and least distant from our metropolis." Those shores General Williams, after a close examination of the whole south coast, places within the limits of Rye harbour and Brighton. "Our most vulnerable shores," he adds, "undoubtedly lie in the Bay of Pevensey, and thence by Bexhill to Hastings." Holding this opinion, General Williams does not propose the serious cost of fortifying the whole of that extent; he is averse, as he says, to the multiplication of open batteries liable to be stormed, but he would occupy Beachy Head by an intrenched work capable of containing fifteen thousand men, and he would establish similar posts on Ashdown Hill, and on the north side of Mariscott Hill. Nor does he intend expensive works. He wants only "field works, consisting of a ditch and parapet of bold profile, with sufficient buildings only to contain, in time of peace, an adequate garrison for their protection." The troops in these posts could be at once thrown by railway upon any spot at which an enemy might attempt a landing, or upon a point which would intercept his march upon the metropolis; and their place in the intrenched camps could be supplied by the volunteers, whose value the general cordially admits—who, with a sprinkling of old soldiers, might hold them against any force the enemy could detach against them. In time of peace these camps would further serve the purpose to which Aldershot is now devoted, and would thus prove a most economical outlay. If to the three posts already mentioned were added the occupation of Shooter's Hill for the protection of the metropolis, and camps at Brighton and Portsdown Hill, General Williams believes the kingdom would be perfectly safe. He urges that, however large the sum which may be spent in adding to the fortifications of the dockyards—the great craze of the day—it will not add in the slightest degree to the security of London; and he points out the danger, with our small army, of multiplying and extending fortifications, which will require large garrisons to adequately defend them; whereas the system of intrenched camps leaves the greatest possible numerical force disposable for every emergency.

We have given but a meagre outline of General Williams's plans, but it will be enough, we think, to show that they are well deserving of public attention. They are inexpensive and simple, adaptable to existing arrangements, and are based indeed upon the principle of utilising all the elements of strength which the country already possesses. For our own part, we have been much gratified, not only

with his suggestions, but with the cordial recognition of the merits of others and the manly modesty which characterise his pamphlet; and we recommend all those who would prefer paying two millions for a complete system of defence to the ten millions which the National Defence Commissioners are going to ask for a partial one, to insist upon a fair examination of the scheme which General Williams has laid before the Secretary of War.

HUMBOLDT'S LETTERS.*

TO an Englishman HUMBOLDT must ever be an object of profound interest and admiration, as the man of encyclopædic mind, who was one of the largest contributors to the science and philosophy of the age in which he lived. His name calls up a host of associations connected with physical geography, climatology, terrestrial magnetism, the distribution of plants and animals, and other special subjects to which his attention was directed with such important results; and of the *Kosmos*, or harmonious whole of physical nature, which he endeavoured to delineate with no feeble success. Whatever could throw light upon the life and character of such a man we should therefore be prepared to welcome; but the brilliance of his reputation has excited expectations which cannot easily be fulfilled, and disposed us to view critically any contribution to his biography. Far removed in spirit, though not in person, from the royal pedlar craft of German courts, and caring nothing for the local and temporary questions which agitate the official mind in those half-benighted regions, in which an unsatisfactory struggle is maintained against the free principles that belong to the age, we cannot look upon ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT as a portion of the political system and aristocratic life of Berlin, but survey him, as posterity will contemplate him, from an altogether higher and wider point of view. Hence, when the letters which have caused so much stir in Germany make their appearance in an English dress, there will be a feeling of disappointment at the small amount of matter which they contain of lasting interest, and the public will be somewhat puzzled to understand the effect they have produced. Already some of our journalists have entered their protest against the publication of remarks calculated to wound the feelings of living persons, and break down the barriers which, according to English notions, ought to screen from common eyes the sanctuaries of private life. But the letters have been published in Germany, and for the Germans, and the propriety of the act must be judged by local standards rather than by our own. While the Prussian and other courts do their best to stifle public opinion, and prevent the living from exercising an honest and useful freedom of speech, we cannot wonder that the good people should call into action the services of the dead, and not allow the grass to grow over the grave of HUMBOLDT before they circulate with eagerness every expression they can find in his correspondence, in which notable persons are stripped of their solemn trappings and pretensions, and held up to laughter and contempt.

Our correspondent speaks of the excitement which the publication has produced, the anger of the Court and *Kreuz-Zeitung* party, and the futile efforts of the police who found their endeavours to suppress the work, completely frustrated by the clever arrangements of the publishers and the rapidity with which the book circulated through private channels. Already a second edition has been called for, and the fact that the various Governments of Germany think it bad reading for their subjects will ensure for it an immense sale, and almost boundless popularity.

The letters, which fill a good-sized octavo volume, amount in number to two hundred and twenty-five, and are for the most part written by HUMBOLDT to his intimate friend, the late VARNHAGEN VON ENSE; but there are also letters to HUMBOLDT from King CHRISTIAN VIII. of Denmark, Prince METTERNICH, GUIZOT, THIERS, VICTOR HUGO, BESSER, SIR JOHN HERSCHEL, BETTINA VON ARNIM, RÜCKERT, MANZONI, the Dukes of TUSCANY and WEIMAR, Prince ALBERT, and other persons of notoriety or celebrity, and likewise many extracts from the diary of VARNHAGEN himself. The general tone of HUMBOLDT's letters is that of kindness and frankness, and those would judge him wrongly who imagine, from the severe remarks upon particular individuals which have obtained the chief currency, that the great philosopher had grown a cynic in his old age. The fact is, that the Court life of Germany, and perhaps especially of Prussia, was a very dismal sham, and persons rose to royal favour by hypocritical pretences of evangelical piety, coupled with a supple readiness to assist in stifling liberal ideas and preventing the recognition of popular rights. From the traditions of Prussia as a Protestant power, and her natural position as the head of the liberal party in Germany, men of intellect were entitled to expect from her a very different conduct from that which she has pursued; and although official life offered no legitimate opportunities for publishing his opinions, we can readily understand that HUMBOLDT must have been filled with indignation at the petty men and the petty measures which enjoyed the favour of the sovereign, and glad of the occasion afforded by correspondence with a valued and enlightened friend to express his thoughts and convictions without reserve.

VARNHAGEN VON ENSE was a diplomatist too liberal for the reactionary ministers who usually possessed power, and during the latter portion of his life was chiefly known by his writings, which German critics pronounced admirable examples of modern prose.

* *Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Varnhagen von Ense.* Leipzig: Brockhaus.

Although much younger than HUMBOLDT, he was, to use an expression of the latter, "the first to be removed from earthly things:" and at his death, which happened in October, 1858, his papers fell into the hands of his niece, LUDMILLA ASSING, by whom the present volume has been published, in fulfilment, as she says, of a duty to the memory of HUMBOLDT. The letters bear no appearance of being like those of HORACE WALPOLE, written for publication; but LUDMILLA ASSING was intimately acquainted with HUMBOLDT, and there is no reason to suppose she has given them to the world in opposition to his will. We have appended to this notice a series of extracts, comprehending the passages which have excited the loudest comments; but there are other indications of the character of the writer which ought not to be overlooked. On the 24th October, 1834, he tells VARNHAGEN that he has begun printing his work, "the work of his life," and adds, "I have the mad purpose of picturing the whole material world—all that I see to-day of its phenomena in celestial spaces and in terrestrial life, from nebulous stars down to the geography of the lichens upon the granite rocks."

It must mark an epoch in the intellectual development of man." After dilating on the character and contents of the proposed work, he states that he began to write it in French fifteen years ago, and called it "Essai sur la Physique du Monde." "In Germany I first intended to call it the 'Book of Nature,' after ALBERTUS MAGNUS; now my title is *Kosmos*. He further informs us that his brother's decision was in favour of the latter name, and he begs VARNHAGEN to cast a critical eye over the MS. which he sends. In a postscript, he remarks, "The chief fault of my style is an unhappy tendency to poetical forms, a long participial construction, and too great a concentration of manifold views and feelings into a single sentence. A book of Nature must yield the impress of Nature herself." In April, 1835, HUMBOLDT writes to his friend in a very different mood, for his beloved and celebrated brother was dying. He describes, in a few words, his happy frame of mind, filled with "love and consolation." "Soon he hoped to be with our mother, and to have an insight into a higher sphere (Weltordnung)."

Among the miscellaneous political matter we find VARNHAGEN describing a conversation with HUMBOLDT, in which the latter told him he had heard the Emperor of Russia (NICHOLAS) express great dislike to the proceedings of the English in the East, and declare that he would do his best to overthrow our Indian empire—a truly benevolent intention, which he tried to fulfil.

The letters of METTERNICH to HUMBOLDT are very curious. In one he describes three sorts of men: "real savants, whose number is very limited; friends of science in general, or of some science in particular—a numerous class; and the third, and most numerous, are dry souls, narrow minds, mere liars, who are often good people, but for whom arts and sciences are superfluous." He classed himself with the second sort, and went on to talk, in a mechanical kind of way, of the success of his efforts in forming philosophers and useful workers in the Austrian dominions. In another epistle he tells HUMBOLDT that in early life he desired to have devoted his time to science, but that circumstances threw him into practical life. There are thousands who will heartily wish he had carried out his original intention, as the world would not have suffered much from an indifferent philosopher, and would have been well quit of an unprincipled politician. When METTERNICH read *Kosmos* he wrote to the author to express his admiration, and especially commended HUMBOLDT for having brought the word "discipline" into honour by speaking of the discipline of learning; and the evil-minded diplomatist added, "God grant that this idea may conquer its everlasting rights over civil society." What Austrian "discipline" was, the infamous crimes perpetrated in Italy and Hungary may tell.

GUIZOT writes to HUMBOLDT from London (August 1840), in a formal, affected sort of tone. He regrets the departure of BULOW, for "conversation—true conversation, cultivated and free, is very rare here." ARAGO writes in a much more natural and manly way. He assures HUMBOLDT that, "outside his own family, he is of all the world the man he loves most tenderly," and that "he is of all his friends the only one he relies upon in difficult circumstances." The letter in which these passages occur, was given by HUMBOLDT to VARNHAGEN, with a note appended to it enjoining him to keep it in strict privacy until ARAGO's death. In another letter, written in 1834, ARAGO continues: "All that I see daily in this lower world, of baseness, servility, and ignoble passions, make me look with *sangfroid* at those events about which mankind concern themselves most."

We find an illustration of HUMBOLDT's kindness of heart in a letter to VARNHAGEN, dated 1st April, 1844, in which he comments upon various letters sent for his friend's collection, including one from Sir ROBERT PEEL, notifying the fact of a small pension having been awarded to ROBERT BROWN. HUMBOLDT says, "They wrote to me from Oxford, that the first botanist in Europe, ROBERT BROWN, suddenly found himself in great need of money, and Sir ROBERT PEEL, at my solicitation, has granted him one of four small pensions which Parliament has assigned to learned men. This has delighted me."

It must not be supposed that HUMBOLDT's animosity to a certain faction was without sufficient cause. Its members hated him for his intellect and liberal opinions, and would gladly have got rid of him if they could have had their way. This is shown by a note of VARNHAGEN's, 26th December, 1845, to this effect: "HUMBOLDT called upon me, and remained an hour. Remarkable news. He assured me that were it not for his connection with the Court, he could not live here any longer, but would be driven out, so much did

the Ultras and Pietists hate him. It was incredible how strenuously they tried, day by day, to set the King against him, and he would not be tolerated in other German States if he were deprived of the protection and glitter of his appointment."

In 1845 the QUEEN and PRINCE ALBERT visited the Rhine, and from some cause, never very clearly explained, but supposed to be connected with questions of etiquette, the Royal pair were not in their happiest mood. This may have had something to do with the unfortunate impression His Royal Highness made upon the Great Philosopher, but we cannot agree with him about the "wooden letter" which he says the Prince wrote to him. We shall give a literal translation, and our readers will see it is by no means a bad epistle for a gentleman of his exalted rank.

Royalty in Germany has not presented itself for these many years in very enviable colours, and HUMBOLDT seems to have been thoroughly weary of the absurd pretensions of royal people. Hence he sends VARNHAGEN a translation from ANTONIO PEREZ, and evidently enjoyed the republican prophecy at its conclusion. ANTONIO PEREZ said, "It is because I desire the preservation of kings that I advise them to remain within their permitted boundaries. A prudent counsellor said to PHILIP II. when he endeavoured to make his power absolute, 'Senor, remember the supremacy of God over earth as well as Heaven,' in order that God may not become weary of monarchies, which are a mild form of Government if used with moderation. God in Heaven is too jealous to suffer companionship, and He is outraged by every abuse of human authority. If God grows tired of monarchies He will give the (political) world another form." A man capable of such expectations must have appeared a very terrible person in a court which did not cherish one liberal or enlightened idea. His sentiments certainly did not agree with those of his weak-spirited master, who kept maundering over Legitimist restorations, and had no conception of the force of events or the wants of his time. Even in 1847 we find the following description in VARNHAGEN's diary: "31st March—HUMBOLDT said to me yesterday, The king believes firmly in Don MIGUEL, Don CARLOS, and the fall of the July dynasty, and that he will yet travel to Paris to greet the legitimist sovereign." HUMBOLDT himself was reckoned as "a Jacobin, who carried a tricolour flag in his pocket." Illustrations are plentiful of the dislike of the king and his ministers to Constitutional Government, and HUMBOLDT appears to have acted the part of a patriotic statesman, and exerted himself continually in favour of liberal ideas, although by so doing he made many enemies and endangered his position with the Court. In 1850, as will be seen below, he speaks of the "gloomy period of reaction," indicating a frame of mind widely different from that of the courtiers who were rejoicing at the successful crimes of kings. Scarcely any information is given about 1848, and it is believed that LUDMILLA ASSING must be in possession both of letters of HUMBOLDT and entries by her uncle, which have been suppressed for prudential reasons, but which may see the light when it is safe to tell in a German city the real history of that revolutionary year.

The deep esteem in which HUMBOLDT was held is shown in some remarks of VARNHAGEN in 1857, when the great philosopher was ill. "Should we lose HUMBOLDT it would be an irreparable injury. He is the counterpoise to so much that is bad and mean, and which, after his death, will grow lively, and spread far and wide. Honour and learning are united in him, and will both sink when he is no more. No name in Germany or in Europe equals his; no reputation in Berlin was greater or better recognised than his. And how painful would his loss be to me! I have known his friends for more than fifty years of my life, and he has also known those trusted and dear to me."

We close our remarks on HUMBOLDT's personal character with an anecdote which VARNHAGEN tells of his devotion to science, and which seems almost incredible in a physiological point of view. "HUMBOLDT told me that when he was busy with magnetic observations, he once, for seven consecutive days and nights, went every half-hour to the magnetic station, having during that time no regular sleep."

With reference to the extracts which we have subjoined, opinions will not differ much, as in the main the correctness of their strictures will be admitted, and we can understand that the publication of such a mass of political opinion, emanating from a man of high character and splendid talents, and in a position to see clearly what influences were at work, will strengthen the hands of the liberal party in Germany, and encourage them to persevere.

It is unfortunate that PRINCE ALBERT should have incurred so much animosity; but persons conspicuous from artificial rank do not always remember how much loftier is the dignity of nature's nobility. Many queens may find husbands before another HUMBOLDT sheds the light of genius upon the world.

We shall, next week, give our translations of a portion of the Diary.

ANTONY GÜNTHER.

MODERN philosophy in Germany, in Europe, is the offspring of Protestantism. It is the fruit of the application to mind of that principle of individual inquiry which Protestantism had applied to faith. Most absurd is it, then, to speak of DESCARTES as he to whom we are indebted for all modern philosophy. That a new philosophy could spring from the prodigious discovery of DESCARTES—that he thought, and that, therefore, he existed—a discovery wherein the lesser is supposed to prove the greater, can be admitted by no one who knows how vast is the realm which philosophy embraces. DESCARTES was a gifted geometrician, but

his renown as a philosopher is wholly undeserved, though France places him at the head of philosophers.

What Protestantism originated, Protestantism has continued. With few exceptions—MALEBRANCHE is one—the leading philosophers since the birth of Protestantism have been dissenters from the Papacy. This is natural enough. A Catholic philosopher is hampered at every step by the necessity of reconciling his system with authority; and authority cannot fail to discountenance what harmoniseth not with its demands. DESCARTES proceeded hypocritically enough, for he said that everything belonging to faith he left in his speculations untouched. He then went forth on a voyage of universal doubt. How at the same moment faith could remain unassailed, while universal doubt was pursued, we are unable to understand.

Of the few German Catholics who, in recent days, have devoted themselves to the study of philosophy, one of the most conspicuous is ANTONY GÜNTHER. He has written numerous works, which are remarkable for their eccentricities of style. His admirers claim for him profound originality; but the originality, if any, is more in the manner than in the substance. Not essentially from Cartesianism does his scheme of things differ. GÜNTHER has been an ardent controversialist, and has no love for systematic exposition. He dashes his thoughts at us with aphoristic brevity, polemical warmth, or caustic wit; but in the main he is an adherent of that dualism which German philosophy has rejected.

GÜNTHER was born at Lindenau, in Bohemia, in 1783. He carried with him to the school and the University those Catholic convictions in which he had been educated. But these were somewhat loosened by an acquaintance with philosophy, though not quite abandoned. His parents wished him to devote himself to theology; this he refused, turning his attention to law. In 1810 he went from Prague to Vienna to become the tutor of the Prince FERDINAND VON BRETZENHEIM. Philosophy, which had led GÜNTHER into scepticism, cured him of scepticism. He became a priest, associating himself with the Jesuits about the time that, expelled from Russia, they found an asylum in Austria. For many years he has led the quiet life of a student at Vienna.

At the instigation of the Jesuits, the whole of GÜNTHER's works were condemned at Rome, were placed among prohibited books. This was in the summer of 1857. The same fate had befallen the Italian ROSMINI, and other enlightened Catholic philosophers, whose orthodoxy was unquestionable. GÜNTHER's condemnation has excited deep sympathy and strong indignation in the Catholic body. It was thought a strange reward for his services to Catholicism. GÜNTHER is an eminently pure, pious, and self-denying man. After he became a priest he had never sought a situation of any kind, and refused numerous advantageous offers. Living in poverty, he had been the disinterested champion of the Church's dogmas, had attacked Atheism and Pantheism, had warred with the schools of HEGEL and HERBART, had tried to give Christianity a broad and sure philosophical basis.

But the Jesuits are never satisfied unless they can reign alone. They wish the Church to terrify, and not to persuade. A virulent pamphleteer, like LOUIS VEUILLOT, is more to their taste than a humble worshipper like ANTONY GÜNTHER, who would show that faith, though unintelligible, is not therefore unreasonable. So far as logical consistency is concerned, they are undoubtedly right. Only in the clouds of Obscurantism can the papal Church prepare invincible weapons in conflict with its determined foes.

Our feeling of admiration, esteem, and pity for ANTONY GÜNTHER ought not to hinder us from seeing that such attempts as his, however well meant, would turn philosophy from its natural development. KANT was a Theist, but FICHTE, SCHELLING and HEGEL were all, in different fashions, Pantheists; though it would be extremely unfair ever to consider Pantheism as equivalent to Atheism. Pantheism may be, and it often is, intensely religious. FICHTE's Pantheism tended to raise the man into the demigod, the demigod into the god; it had the same heroic aspirations as ancient Stoicism. The Pantheism of SCHELLING was more of an Oriental kind, such as we find in the Hindoo mythology. It made science, it made nature sublimely poetical. HEGEL's Pantheism was the idolatry of eternal reason. It was arid and withering, and we love it not. The belief that Pantheism ever leads to Materialism is a vulgar error. It is from the visible to the invisible that Pantheism is always attracted. It is not in forms, but in the life deeper than forms, that it dwells. We are not, however, vindicating it; we are simply stating it. Whatever may be its value, or whatever its fruits, it has for sixty years been the dominating philosophy among our German brethren; and JACOB BOEHME, and the greatest of the mystics, have been called in to illustrate it, and to help in its advocacy. The most interesting aspect of Pantheism is Schellingism in connection with Boehmism. Since the death of HEGEL, thirty years ago, German philosophy has gone in three directions. In the first place, Hegelianism has rushed into every possible extravagance. In the second place, there have been sentimental and spiritualist philosophies, chiefly preached by those who dread legitimate, inexorable, philosophical consequences; and, thirdly, in harmony with Germany's industrial triumphs, Baconianism has been gaining ground; a bastard Baconianism, that of COMTE, also finding disciples. Germany, as the region of pure philosophy, can never be satisfied with sentimental or spiritualist systems, or with Baconianism, either true or false. The most exalted, the most expansive Ontological scheme, as contrasted with puny psychology, alone can fill and feed the colossal German intellect. Our friend, then, ANTONY GÜNTHER, though clever and witty, and shrewd and genial, though a good fellow as well as an honest Catholic, simply

blunders. Philosophy tries to see, and when it sees it tries to speak, the absolute truth. If so, then there has been no philosophy during the present century, except the German. There was a time when he who was the best cultivator in the field of thought was the greatest philosopher; but now he is the greatest philosopher who is the best architect in the city of thought. The world's first thinkers scatter seeds as they rush along; then come the cultivators; then come the architects. The Germans are unsurpassed as philosophical architects. But when the vast and numerous edifices which they have built are overthrown, will not the same succession be repeated? He that hath any philosophical genius at this hour must be a scatterer of seed. On what soil it falls he knows not; he knows not whether a single seed will ever grow. Nevertheless, he scatters and scatters. Diviner than the cultivators in philosophy are the scatterers; diviner than the architects are the cultivators; the hodmen of whom we have so many are mere hodmen; and they must not judge either the scatterers, the cultivators, or the architects. In philosophy England offers us only hodmen—muscular mortals, who are totally useless where there is nothing to build. We are ourselves, we trust, no hodmen; cultivators and architects we are certain that we are not. We sometimes, in a joyous dream, imagine that we are scatterers of seed; yet scatterers where it can never grow. With ANTONY GÜNTHER let us part kindly. The old man, now nearly eighty years of age, has borne his courageous testimony. If not a mighty and magnificent philosopher, he is what is better—a martyr. Into the furrows ploughed by fourscore years on his brow, let us throw a gleam of sunshine if we can. Hail! and farewell, truehearted ANTONY GÜNTHER.

TRANSLATED POETRY.*

THE principles on which poetic translation should be conducted are better felt than expressed, better expressed than observed. It should neither be too literal nor too free. This, if we understand him rightly, is Mr. Martin's theory. He wishes to convey the impression produced upon himself by the originals, and to be as literal and close as the difference between the languages will admit. But to be "too close is to be hopelessly prosaic," and that Mr. Martin would avoid by all means. He is, indeed, morbidly fastidious in this particular; and to escape baldness sometimes runs into diffuseness—or substitutes the images and associations of modern for those of the Augustan times. The following, for instance, is clearly a case of substitution:—

"Gloom is for age. Young hearts should glow.
With fancies bright and free,
Should court the crowded walk, the show,
And at dim eve love's murmurs low
Beneath the trysting tree;

"The laugh from the sly corner, where
Our girl is hiding fast,
The struggle for the lock of hair,
The half well-pleased, half angry, air,
The yielded kiss at last."

Now is this version too free? We are afraid that it is, and that Mr. Martin has ventured too frequently on the licence. It gives to the translation an entirely modern air and spirit; and the fault arises from Mr. Martin's desire to impart to Horace what never belonged to the poet. He wished to give him the feeling and sentiment of a modern lover, though conscious that never was poet so great a stranger to them as the Latin lyrist. Of love itself we hold Horace to have been quite ignorant; and it is suspected that most of his erotics were indeed derived from Greek originals. They present passion at second-hand. Mr. Martin was not ignorant of all this; but he was afraid of the classical coldness that he had to interpret, and preferred a warmer style; so ventured on a modernised colouring of "the antique cameos," which we find, for the most part, copied after the fashion just illustrated. Let us, however, confess that this same ode "to Thaliarchus" is one of the happiest efforts in the volume, and does Mr. Martin infinite credit.

There are those, however, who will doubt whether the stanza adopted represents the original as it ought. It certainly leads to diffuseness; and, in general, we find that Mr. Martin likes to allow himself room enough. We take it that the only real model for translating Horace is that set by Milton in his version of the fifth ode, in the first book. Here, at once, are severity and elegance reconciled. Mr. Martin's translation of this ode suffers greatly in comparison. It is, moreover, very inferior to some other versions we could name. Yet it has evidently been laboured, even to the point of incurring grammatical inaccuracy in the search for poetical diction.

On this head perhaps nothing satisfactory can be done until the English translator shall be privileged to render unquestioned the ancient poet's meaning in the ancient measures. But it requires that first these should be naturalised in the English language; and there are strong-minded men who think that this is quite possible. Here we have, for instance, a pamphlet of Lord Redesdale's on the

* *Thoughts on English Prosody, and Translations from Horace.* By Lord REDESDALE. (J. H. and James Parker.)

The Odes of Horace translated into English Verse. With a Life and Notes. By THEODORE MARTIN. (John W. Parker and Son.)

Nathan the Wise; a Dramatic Poem, in Three Acts. By GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM LESSING. Translated from the German, with a Biography of LESSING, and a Critical Survey of his Position, Writings, &c. By ADOLPHUS REICH. (A. W. Bennett.)

subject, full of sensible suggestion. In his opinion the adoption of the proper metre is the primary consideration. He would represent the Latin *alcaic* by the English *elegiac stanza*; as for the rest he is doubtful; but on one point he is satisfied, that "the merits of Horace will never be done full justice to unless the translator adopts a particular stanza for each of his." "The taste of an author," he adds, "is largely involved in the metre he selects for his subject, and the poetry of language and composition, as well as of thought, ought to be represented in the translation. From neglect of this, more than perhaps for any other reason, Dryden's paraphrase of *Tyrrhena regum progenies*, though a great work, in no respect brings Horace to my mind." Mr. Martin has been more practical in his views than Lord Redesdale, and chosen his metre simply on grounds of convenience, and confessedly for the avoidance, not subduing, of difficulties. The form of verse into which Mr. Martin has cast each ode, was selected, he tells us, with a view to what might best reflect its prevailing tone, but it had not been always possible to follow this indication. "The names of persons or places, often most intractable, but always important, must have been sacrificed," if such a plan had been strictly carried out. He has preferred, therefore, to select measures into which these could be interwoven. Smoothness of versification, however, in this manner may be too dearly paid for.

Some of the ancient metrical formulæ are, it is confessed, not representable in any existing English metre. Lord Redesdale mentions the *sapphic* as one, and therefore speculates on the possibility of adapting that metre to our language. The difficulty he had to meet was the stern fact that there is no acknowledged rule of quantity in the English language. The problem to be solved is how to render the verse correct according to fixed rules, and not merely the writer's fancy. Of such fixed rules he thinks our language quite capable, and that verses may be so written as to read rightly without being consciously scanned. He thinks that the two Universities should take the matter up, and establish the rules for fixing quantities, so as to write with authority in classical metres.

To test his plan, Lord Redesdale took a *sapphic* ode of Horace, and found no great difficulty in the application of the rules. As examples of what he means, Lord Redesdale has added his own versions of three odes—from Book III., odes v. and xxix., and from Book II., ode xvi. They are all felicitously done, and almost literal. These versions, if compared with Mr. Martin's, are certainly superior in strength, conciseness, and definite meaning. But at this result we need not be surprised; for Mr. Martin has mainly aimed at elegance; and, like Waller, is sometimes not ashamed of showing weakness if more attractive than vigour. Frequently, he attains this end by an immoderate use of expletive auxiliary verbs; e. g.,

"With growth occult, as shoots the vigorous tree,
Marcellus' fame *doth* grow;
The star of Julius shines resplendently,
Eclipsing all the starry row,
As 'mid the lesser fires bright Luna's lamp *doth* glow."

Compare this altogether with the terseness of the original:—

"Crescit, occulto velut arbor ævo,
Fama Marcelli: micat inter omnes
Julium sidus, velut inter ignes
Luna minores."

Too frequently Mr. Martin quits his original for modern associations. Take a passage from the 37th ode, Book I., which Mr. Martin thus interprets:

"But hers no spirit was to perish meanly;
A woman, yet not womanishly weak,
She ran her galley to no sheltering creek,
Nor quailed before the sword, but met it queenly.
So to her lonely palace-halls she came,
With eye serene their desolation viewed,
And with firm hand the angry aspics wooed,
To dart their deadliest venom through her frame.
Then with a prideful smile she sank; for she
Had robb'd Rome's galleys of their royal prize,
Queen, to the last, and ne'er in humble guise
To swell a triumph's haughty pageantry!"

The anticipation of the sentiment of queenship in the previous stanza is inartistic, and deprives the term of its effect in the last stanza. But the reader will perceive that neither is in Horace. Both are imported into him from Mr. Tennyson's *Dream of Fair Women*:

"I died a queen. The Roman soldier found
Me lying dead, my crown about my brows,
A name for ever! lying robed and crown'd,
Worthy a Roman spouse."

To intensify, as it were, the jest, Mr. Martin turns round upon Mr. Tennyson, and suggests that he may have borrowed the idea from the Horatian stanzas.

We point to these shortcomings and over-doings exclusively for the purpose of showing the difficulty of the task undertaken by Mr. Martin. On the whole, it must be granted that this gentleman has given the world a version of Horace, more elegant than any we have yet in the language. He has sought to rival his author in the confessed beauty of his style, and particularly in what Petronius so admired in the Roman poet, his *curiosa felicitas*. But he has not always avoided the temptation of substituting pretty phrases, as choice morceaux of poetic diction—a sin which especially besets him in rendering the more sublime odes of Horace; those to Augustus Cæsar, for instance.

To a great extent, let it be acknowledged that Horace is untranslatable. His beauty of thought and expression are not to be caught one time in a thousand; and even when the translator succeeds, in

a certain degree, in this achievement, there is much wanting in the general contour of a poem from the discrepancy of metrical arrangement. Our poets have much yet to do in the construction of classical metres, before these Odes can be satisfactorily represented in an English garb. In what he has done, Mr. Martin has worthily maintained his reputation as an able poetic translator. In an appendix he gives some excellent remarks on, and specimens from, the love poetry of Catullus, whose genius better suits Mr. Martin's vein than that of Horace.

A very different example of translated poetry we notice in Dr. Reich's version of Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*. The Germans are accustomed to a mode of translation which with exact fidelity represents the original, almost syllable for syllable, producing it in the same metre, and rendering it line for line. Thus Shakspeare and Homer live again in German, in the very habit of their pre-existent state. Dr. Reich has so endeavoured to render Lessing's great work, little afraid of occasional ruggedness, so that he presented in full force the vigorous thought and expression of his admirable original. Dr. Reich has prefaced his translation with a memoir and essay on his author, which is written at once with reverence and discrimination. Both as a critic and translator his powers are unquestionable.

DOMESTIC ROMANCE.*

BY far the more numerous class of novel readers may be found among the young and inexperienced. In the present day every young lady fresh from boarding-school discipline is only too ready to devour with avidity every work of fiction placed within her grasp; and it cannot be denied that much evil is engendered in the youthful mind by the introduction of false sentiment into our modern romances. We consider it a sacred duty on the part of novelists to present the different passions under their different phases, and to steer clear of exciting anything like a morbid sympathy in favour of characters whose actions are not only ill-judged, but morally censurable, and thus endeavour to impart to their productions that health and vigour which is most beneficial to the reader.

Mr. Albin Locke has not, in the present instance, fully recognised this principle. Possessing considerable powers of composition, and some insight into individual disposition, he has marred all by creating around his heroine (a somewhat questionable young lady in herself) a fund of undue interest and commiseration, thereby completely glossing over whatever is unstable and unlovely in her character; and only too successfully throwing a blind over her caprices and moral failings; nay, even investing them with a kind of halo by which they become confounded with and gradually assume the semblance of virtues.

A very few lines will serve to demonstrate the truth of what we have stated.

Estelle, the heroine of the present story, which is entitled *Influence*, the eldest child of affluent and well-connected parents, during a visit to the Black park, falls in love with the portrait of a young gentleman, Philip Seymour, a proceeding, by the way, we should advise no young lady to take example from, inasmuch as it must entail considerable inconvenience upon herself and others, besides being decidedly foolish. This same Philip Seymour speedily makes his appearance upon the scene, and is in due course introduced to our heroine. Estelle's romantic passion, however, does not seem to be reciprocated by the gentleman, and thereupon she coolly and deliberately engages herself to another, one Herbert Cochrane, having previously informed him, to do her full justice, of her unhappy attachment. The bridegroom elect placing implicit confidence in his heart's idol, and not believing that she would willingly trifle with his feelings, accepts the tender of her heart at second hand, and the parties are openly engaged. Some months after this, however, Estelle obtains a second entrance into the family mansion of the Seymours, believing its present possessor to be at the time absent; and after ranging listlessly through the gloomy apartments, she throws herself in a burst of grief before the magical portrait, a cursory view of which upon a former occasion had taken so powerful a hold of her imagination. In this position she is surprised by no less a person than Philip himself; and thereupon ensues a terrible "scene," which ends in a declaration of love from the living original of the picture. Then comes the startling announcement of a prior betrothal; and the inconsiderate lover vows all sorts of vengeance against the unoffending Herbert should he refuse to relinquish all claim to the maiden on whom he has deigned to bestow the light of his favour. At this crisis our heroine, in defiance of every feeling of honour and delicacy, and reckless how much she might endanger the happiness of a high-principled and only too confiding nature, consents to break off the existing engagement, saving her conscience according to her own prescribed methods, and considering the only reparation due to the victim of her caprice is to write him an apologetic letter requesting his sanction of her present proceedings and unconditional surrender of her promise. Now, had Estelle possessed a modicum of good sense and nobler feeling, she would have at once perceived that a man who could thus coolly counsel her to an act of deliberate selfishness and injustice must be utterly unworthy in himself, and totally incapable of discharging the onerous duties that would be entailed upon him

* *Influence*; or, *The Sisters*. By ALBIN LOCKE. James Blackwood.

The Voyage of the Lady. By the Author of "The Three Paths." Two vols. Hurst and Blackett.

Bangala; or, *Some Time Ago*. By MRS. VIDAL, author of "Tales for the Bush," "Ester Merle," &c. Two vols. John W. Parker and Son.

as husband and father. Anyhow, a woman who could so degrade herself, sacrificing her own innate integrity together with the feelings of others, in order to gratify a wild, capricious fancy, we believe most people will subscribe to our opinion, deserved her fate however harsh it might appear.

We think the author would have done wiser, had he been a little more severe upon his heroine's frailties, and not have invested her with such a halo of martyrdom, as if her misfortunes were not the result of her own misconduct, and the want of high moral principles as the regulators of her actions, without which no man or woman can steer safely through the perils and temptations which necessarily beset the path of suffering mortals.

We feel ourselves perfectly justified in protesting against the class of novels of which this is a specimen, as exercising a baneful influence over the minds of many who peruse them. This is the more dangerous as the majority of people seldom trouble themselves to look below the surface, but are content to accept everything according to the habit in which it is presented, and will verily believe that guilt itself is innocence provided it be clothed in the garb of purity and whiteness.

The Voyage of the Lady is both carefully and neatly written. The description of a voyage at sea, from the shores of our own little island to those of Calcutta, is both graphic and interesting. The novelty and awe of feelings which every man experiences, more or less, on first coming into such close contact with the mighty ocean, are here expatiated upon eloquently and gracefully, without any attempt at exaggeration. The ship in which the hero sails is appropriately termed the "Lady" on account of the swiftness of her motions. While on board the hero becomes acquainted with a Miss Rose Heron, a young lady travelling with her aunt to rejoin her father at his regiment in India. Between the two a close intimacy and friendship speedily springs up, which of course ends in their becoming sincerely attached to each other. The contents of the two volumes are entirely taken up with the particulars of this courtship, together with the history of a miserable woman who dies on board, and other details belonging exclusively to the every-day life of a temporary sojourner on the broad seas. The whole is presented to the public in the form of a diary, and we do not think that any reader will regret the time he has expended in perusing its pages.

Bengala, an Australian romance, from the pen of Mrs. Vidal, whose name is already favourably known, also deserves especial mention. The story is well constructed, and the language easy and fluent, though, perhaps, a little wanting in depth of thought and originality of style. As may be inferred from the title the scene is laid in *Bengala*, one of our convict settlements, situate but a few miles' distance from Sidney. The authoress has made the most of the incidents placed at her disposal, and the characters are severally well conceived and carefully developed. The story of the sufferings of Nelly Maclean, a poor, half-witted maiden, and whose faithful attachment to the coarser-minded Lynch, an English convict, might be a lesson to many a prouder and more highly-gifted damsel, is decidedly the most pathetic and interesting portion of the book. There are also some descriptive scenes, illustrative of every-day life in the colonies, which cannot fail to give the highest satisfaction to the uninitiated in such subjects.

THE POPES AND THE JESUITS.*

SUCH is the subject of a work very well calculated to give to its readers all the information they may want about a society of men with whom they, as Protestants and Dissenters, have, personally and socially, very little or no sympathy or communion, and of whom their knowledge may comprise very little more than the name. To others, namely, those—and they are legion, we should suppose, in Europe—who venerate the Pope as their spiritual head, and respect the Jesuits for the good which they may believe they have done—and it is hard to hold the creed that any body of men have deliberately and invariably, through several ages, done nothing but evil—the present volume, and we state it candidly, is calculated to excite very different feelings from those of unanimity and goodwill. Of course such is the inevitable effect of all works upon subjects about which there exist opposite and generally strong opinions. On this account, however, to suppress a book, or to stifle a conviction is one of the weakest and worst forms of moral and intellectual character. We can always maintain better relations with others, be they friends or foes, when their precise character and opinions are well known to us. In our social and religious life, and we speak now as Protestants, the Pope and the Jesuit have practically no existence,—they are not entities, but abstractions, occupying no place, exercising no power, wielding no influence among us. And so far as we ourselves are concerned, we know nothing by experience of the mode by which they maintain and use any political and religious influence and authority. The Pope and the Jesuit are not mixed up in our ordinary affairs—their peculiar wisdom and power have faded altogether from the Anglican Church and State; and from what we know of the tendencies of modern thought and opinion in the direction of equity, freedom, and intelligence, it is not likely that the Pope and the Jesuit will ever re-appear here. It is note-worthy, moreover, that not only do there exist in our advanced thought and opinion insurmountable barriers to their re-appearance, but in those states where they have held power and influence longest and strongest, they have met with

the fiercest opposition and the saddest reverses, plainly teaching to all men the great lesson, that the ambitious founders and unscrupulous upholders of sects, systems, and societies, whose principles are incompatible with the higher sense and progress of mankind, must and will in time lose their influence, and be forgotten or condemned by the world.

The history of the Jesuits is, we may say, twofold—first, as they appear at home, or in Europe; secondly, as they appear abroad, or out of Europe. In Europe the order was founded by Ignatius Loyola, in 1539. Disappointed in his project of going to Jerusalem to convert the Infidels in that city, he betook himself with his associates to the universities of Upper Italy, where he enlisted new members for his religious scheme, and established the order which, it is said, in consequence of a dream he called the "Society of Jesus;" the members of which he bound by vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience to their superiors, and to repair as emissaries to any part of the world whither the Pope may choose to send them. As soon as they became subject to the authority of the Pope begins their history in Europe; and that history is singularly marked, it must be confessed, as the consequence of their acts, by a series of dissolutions and banishments from every land where they were known. Those, however, of the order who went beyond Europe and carried the gospel into the Eastern world did much good. For the whole story, however, of this society in the present century we must refer our readers to Dr. Michelsen's work, in which they will find it very freely and fully told. No one but a bigot, a man with whom it is of no use to reason, can find fault with an author for publishing the character—the wise and foolish actions of men. It is by such means that the world, naturally and historically, advances in truth. Even the friends of institutions that boast of their unchangeableness, are susceptible to the healthy influence of inquiry, and, whether consciously or unconsciously, really exhibit in the end signs of improvement. And the author, who in his narrative faithfully adheres to truth, without showing any party *animus*, is surely entitled to a fair hearing, and should be, notwithstanding minor faults, exempt from the censures of uncandid critics, and the denunciations of theological dissentients. What earthly interest ought any of us to have in perpetuating things that are of no service to men—robes that they can no longer wear? We presume that few men have more power and opportunity of doing good on a large scale than the Popes, would they but use it in consonance with the purer light and higher moral freedom of mankind. And were the energy, devotion, and intensity of purpose which the Jesuits have displayed, applied in the direction which the spirit of the age suggests, the world would ere long reap from them a rich harvest of political and religious liberty. But to abandon themselves to the waves when there is a good ship afloat to carry them in security over to a freer and a happier shore is, in every sense, suicidal and condemnatory. We have no space to point out more particularly the merits of Dr. MICHELSEN'S work. Suffice it to say, the subject is important, and the book readable and instructive.

MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS.*

CLASSIFY as we may, there will always remain over at the end of the month or the quarter, a number of books, brochures, pamphlets and fugitive sheets, that are referrible to no particular head; yet are indices of the direction in which individual minds are impelled to travel by the accidental influences of the literary forces that leave their broad mark on the general body of publications that command critical attention. Here, for instance, is one which is called a *Memorial of the Revival in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, New York*, which may be taken as an instance of that so-called Spiritualism which looks for extraordinary effects as the results of preaching, and which the scientific are now disposed to rank in the category of mesmeric sympathy. The Reverend Mr. Beecher is evidently skilled in the application of gentle stimulants by which the mightiest issues may ultimately be affected, and will no doubt maintain and increase his popularity, to the benefit of his hearers. Of another little work, con-

* *Memorial of the Revival in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, New York.* By J. A. SHEARMAN. (Hall and Virtue.)

Advice to a Mother on the Management of her Offspring. By P. HENRY CHAVASSE, F.R.C.S. Fifth Edition. (John Churchill.)

On Chronic Alcoholic Intoxication; or, Alcoholic Stimulants in connection with the Nervous System; with a Synoptical Table of Cases. By W. MARCET, M.D., F.R.S. (John Churchill.)

Golden Fruit in Silver Baskets. From HARRIET BEECHER [STOWE. (Knight and Son.)

On the Study of Modern Languages in General, and on the English Language in particular. An Essay by DAVID ASHER, Ph.D. (N. Trübner and Co.)

A Sketch of the Comparative Beauties of the French and Spanish Languages. By MANUEL MARTINEZ DE MORENTIN. Second and concluding Part, being an Answer to the "Press." (Trübner and Co.)

Prudence; or, the Philosophy of Youth. A Lecture delivered to Young Men. By the Rev. NORMAN GLASS. (Judd and Glass.)

A Handy Book on the Law of Master and Servant. By JAMES WALTER SMITH, Esq., LL.D. (Effingham Wilson.)

Law and Liberty, with Especial Reference to the Temperance Question, etc. (Leeds: published by Dr. F. R. LEE, Mennwood.)

Bondage in the Backhouse. By JOHN LILWALL. (Kent and Co.)

Revue Indépendante. (W. Jeffs.)

Portraits Contemporains. Napoleon III. Par EUGENE DE MIRECOURT. (W. Allen and Co.)

Lettere di Daniele Manin a Giorgio Pallavicino, con Note e Documenti sulla Questione Italiana. (Torino: Unione Tipografica.)

Solicitors' Book-keeping. By WILLIAM MACKENZIE. "Law Times" Office.

* *The Popes and the Jesuits of the present Century.* By Dr. EDWARD H. MICHELSEN. London: Darton and Co., Holborn Hill.

hining M. Chavasse's *Advice to a Mother*, we need only observe that it has reached a fifth edition. Another book, issued by the same publisher, is but yet in its first. Dr. Marcet's remarks on *Chronic Alcoholic Intoxication* show its terrible effect on the nervous system, and should operate as a moral warning. He recommends the use of oxide of zinc as fitted to control and cure the chronic disorder of the nervous system consequent on abuses that lead to a morbid condition of the organs of digestion.

A selection, judiciously made, has appeared of striking passages in the works of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, with some introductory remarks which are worth perusal. We have also two brochures on the study of languages. Asher on *Modern*, and De Morentin on *The French and Spanish Languages*, are well worth consulting. The former contains some excellent remarks on the English tongue. The study of its grammar the author holds to be a most useful discipline of the mind, exercising, as it does, its higher faculties, and not merely memory. The language, he adds, acknowledging no law but the law of reason and good sense, and its prospects are the most splendid that the world has ever seen. "It is spreading in each of the quarters of the globe by fashion, by emigration, and by conquest. The increase of population alone in the two great States of Europe and America in which it is spoken adds to the number of its speakers in every year that passes, a greater amount than the whole number of those who speak some of the literary languages of Europe. It is calculated that, before the lapse of the present century—a time that so many now alive will live to witness—it will be the native and vernacular language of about one hundred and fifty millions of human beings. Besides predominating in the Western world, it has travelled, with the nomadic natives of the British isles, into their Asiatic dominions, stretching from the Indus to the Ganges; has established itself in the islands of the Indian Ocean, and on the Chinese coasts; over the whole face of our antipodes, and on the western and southern extremities of Africa; has planted its foot on the Spanish Rock, and seized on the Ionian isles, so that from the rising of the sun—aye, unto the setting thereof—the uttermost western boundaries of the New World, its accents may be heard, though intermingled with other tongues, that help to enrich it with new words, and contribute to enlarge its vocabulary." Dr. Asher dwells much and with enthusiasm on the interaction of English and German, and anticipates the greatest results from their union. This little work has been printed at Leipsic.

All subjects may, now-a-days, boast of their "philosophy," and that of *Youth* has at length found a sage and teacher to instruct the rising generation in the duty of *prudence*. Mr. Glass's discourse is one of great excellence. Other useful brochures demand their due share of commendation. Among these we distinguish Dr. Smith's *Law of Master and Servant*, *Law and Liberty*, a meritorious paper from "Meliora," and Lilwall's *Bondage in the Bakehouse*. We likewise acknowledge with thanks the recent numbers of the *Revue Indépendante*. M. Mirecourt's *Portrait of Napoleon III.* will also amuse, and M. Manin's *Letters on the Italian Question* will instruct the reader.

We can sincerely recommend Mr. Mackenzie's *Solicitors' Book-keeping*. The amount and variety of really useful information it contains is quite astonishing; "book-keeping" by no means comprehends its resources, as will be seen presently. But, first, it cannot be too often or too earnestly affirmed that double entry is the only true method of book-keeping, and here persons desirous of learning that method will find an able exposition of it by Mr. Mackenzie. The plan he recommends for solicitors' accounts is likewise set out in full, with complete examples, which cannot fail to explain themselves. Next comes the excellent idea of "an exposition of commercial and monetary terms," which is, in truth, a short dictionary of the technical language of commerce, and will be found exceedingly convenient for reference; short and pithy chapters on costs, the charges allowed in conveyancing, and interest of money follow—to which are added some well-selected memoranda on legal measures, the relative value of coins, arithmetical and mercantile signs, tables of useful dates, a list of some of the most important statutes from Magna Charta downwards, a table of the monarchs of England, and some useful forms—in short, the end and object of this little book is utility, an end which we can safely say has been amply secured. We commend it, therefore, cordially to take its place on the tables and desks, not only of solicitors, but of all persons who are much engaged in accounts, feeling sure they will find it of no small advantage as a book of reference for those subjects which are constantly recurring in business, but which few men carry in their heads.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

(SPECIAL.)

ROME, March 15, 1860.

A PAPAL TRACT.

IF it has ever been your lot to mix in tract-distributing circles, you will doubtless have become acquainted with a peculiar style of literature, which, for lack of a more appropriate appellation, I should call the "candid inquirer and intelligent operative" style. The mysteries of religion, the problems of social life, the intricate casuistries of contending duties, are all explained in a short and simple dialogue between a maid-servant and her mistress, or a young, a very young man and his parochial pastor, or a ne'er-do-weel sot and an industrious, sober artisan. The price is only a penny (a reduction made on ordering a quantity), and the logic is worthy of the price.

In its dire distress and need, the Papacy has resorted to the controversial tract system, as a forlorn hope. Well, after all, it is only fair play. The Pope has had so many millions of tracts published against him, that it is hard if he may not produce one little one in his own defence. In the words of JUVENAL, his Holiness may say, with truth,

"Semper ego auditor tantum, nunquam ne reponam
Vexatus toties?"

As a matter of policy, however, if he has got so very little to say for himself, it would perhaps be wiser if he held his tongue. Be that

as it may, the Vatican has thought fit to bring out a small brown paper tract in answer to the celebrated—too celebrated—"Le Pape et le Congrès." The pamphlet is of the smallest bulk, the clearest type, the best paper, and the cheapest price. In fact, it only wants the mystic letters, S. P. P. K., on the cover, to render it a worthy offshoot, externally as well as internally, of its British progenitors. Mindful of the Horatian dictum, it plunges at once in *medias res*, and starts out of breath in these words:—

"The end of the world has come. Some want a pope and not a king; others half a pope and half a king; and others again no pope and no king.

"And who are these persons—Catholics or Protestants, Jews or Phalansterians—believers or unbelievers? Men who have once believed and believe no longer, or men who have never believed at all?

"Which are the most sincere of the above classes? The last, who say, 'God and the people,' and who mean to say, 'No more popes and no more kings.' Which are the most hypocritical? The second, the men of half measures, who wish for half a pope and half a king, trusting the while that either pope or king will die of inanition, or at any rate that the king will. Which are the greatest dupes? The first, who, Pharisee-like, offering up their prayers, and going to church once a year, deceive themselves with the idea that the Pope will be more powerful and more free in the vestry of St. Peter's than in the palace of the Vatican."

Any one experienced in tract lore will feel certain that this outburst will be followed by the appearance of the candid inquirer, who comes upon the boards at once in obedience to the call, and addresses the eloquent controversialist with the stereotyped phrases:—

"These three classes of persons who raise an outcry against the temporal power of the Pope, are of very different stamps. I understand whom you allude to; you mean, the sincere, the moderate, and the devout opponents of the Papacy. I have, however, one or two questions I should like to ask you; would you be kind enough to answer me?"

X. of course replies that nothing would give him so much pleasure; and during the first dialogue the candid inquirer appears in the character of the devout opponent. The pamphlet is much too lengthy and verbose to give in full. Happily, the arguments are few in number; and, such as they are, I shall be able to give them succinctly enough for my present purpose, quoting with inverted commas the exact words of the dialogue, wherever it rises to peculiar grandeur. X. opens the discussion by carrying an assault at once into the enemy's weak places:—"You devout believers say that a court is not fitting for a priest. Everybody, however, knows that at the Papal Court the time and money of the public are not frittered away in parties and fêtes and dances. Everybody knows, too, that women are not admitted to the Vatican, and therefore the habits of the Court are not effeminate, while the whole of its time is passed in managing State affairs; and the course of justice is not disturbed by certain feminine passions." After this startling statement, the devout inquirer wisely deserts the domain of stern fact, and betakes himself to abstract considerations. His first position—that the Vicar of CHRIST ought to follow the example of his Master, who had neither court nor kingdom, nor where to lay his head—is upset at once by the *argumentum ad hominem*, that, according to the same rule, every believer ought to get crucified. No answer to this dilemma suggesting itself to our devout friend's mind, X. follows up the assault by asking him, as a *deductio ad absurdum*, whether he should like to see the Pope in sandals like St. PETER? The catechumen falls into the trap at once, flares up at the idea of such degradation being inflicted on the "Master of kings and Father of the Faithful," and asks indignantly whether, "for a touch of 'Italianita,' he is to be suspected of having washed away his baptism from his brow." Henceforth, great D., after CHARLES READE's style, becomes little d. Logically speaking, it is all over with him. If the Pope be the Master of kings, he must by analogy have the rights of a master, liberty to instruct and power to correct. The old parallel of a schoolmaster and his scholars is adduced. D. feels he is caught; states, in the stock formula, "that this parallel between the Master of kings and the master of scholars puzzles me,

because it is unimpeachable; and yet, I don't want to concede everything, and cannot deny everything." As a last effort, he suggests with hesitation that "after all, a law which secured the Pope perfect liberty of speech, action, and judgment, would fulfil all his necessities; and that, in other respects, he might be a subject like anybody else." On this idea X. tramples brutally. D. is questioned as to how the observance of this law is to be enforced, and can give no answer, on which X. bursts into the most virulent abuse of all liberal governments, in terms commensurate with the offence. "I suppose, forsooth, you expect observance of the law from those liberal governments of yours, which make the first use of their liberty to destroy liberty itself; who exile bishops, and who in the face of all the world break the plighted faith of treaties and concordats. Oh, yes, those governments who spy into the most secret recesses of family life, and create the monstrous and tyrannical *loi des suspects*! Oh yes, they are sure to respect the liberty and independence of the Bishop of Rome! and you are baby enough to believe or imagine it!" D. covers beneath the moral lash, and hints rather than proposes, that if one country did not respect the Pope's freedom, he could move into another; though he admits at the same time he can see grave objections to the plan. Even this admission is unavailing to protect him from X.'s savage onslaught, who winds up another burst of abuse with these words: "Yes! this is no question of the Pope and the Pope's person, but of the liberty of all the Church, and of all the episcopate, of your liberty

and mine, of the liberty of princes, peoples, and all Christian souls." "Miserable man, have you lost all common sense, all Catholic sense, even the ordinary sense of language?" In vain D. confesses his errors, owns that he is converted, and implores mercy. "No," X. replies in conclusion, "this is not enough; your tongue has spread scandal; and even, if innocent itself, has sown discord. The good seed is obedience and reverence to the Pope our Father, and the Church our Mother. Woe to the tares of the new creed! Woe to the proud and impious men, who under the cloak of piety raise their hands and tongues against their father and mother! The crows and the birds of prey shall feed upon their tongues, and the wrath of God shall wither up their hands."

The demolition of D. the devout only whets X.'s appetite; and, heedless of his coming doom, M. the moderate enters the lists. As a specimen of mild facetiousness, I quote the commencement of the second dialogue:—

M. "Great news! a great book!"

X. "Where from?"

M. "From Paris."

X. "A dapper dandy, then, I suppose."

M. "No, a political pamphlet."

X. "Well, that is a political dandy."

M. "A pamphlet containing the politics of the Moderates."

X. "You mean, of the moderate intellects?"

M. "I mean the policy of the Moderates, a policy of compromise between the Holy Father and, and—"

X. "Say what you really mean—between the Holy Father and the Holy Revolution."

After this test of M.'s intellectual faculties, I am not surprised to find that throughout he is treated with the most contemptuous playfulness. He is joked about the *fait accompli*, and asked whether he would consider a box on his ears was excused and accounted for by this denomination; questioned as to whether he would like himself to be deprived of all his property; and at last asked triumphantly, whether the reasoning of his beloved pamphlet is anything but rank communism. M. in fact, after this outburst, ceases any endeavour at argument, and contents himself with feeble suggestions, which give X. fertile openings for his vituperative powers. For instance, M. drops a hint that the Pope might be placed under the guarantee and protection of the Catholic powers; on which X. retorts:—"The Catholic powers, indeed! First of all you ought to be sure whether the Catholic powers will co-operate with the Jew in the disgraceful act of plundering CHRIST through his Vicar, in order to guarantee him afterwards the last shreds of his vestment. Secondly, you should learn whether any tribunal in the world, in the name of common justice, would place the victim beneath the guarantee and protection of his spoiler." When M. expresses a doubt whether there is any career for a soldier, or statesman, or an orator, under the Papal Government, his doubts are removed by the reflection that the Roman statesmen are no worse off than the French, and that if Roman soldiers don't fight and Roman orators don't speak, it is because the exertion of their faculties would not prove beneficial to themselves or others. M. henceforth becomes convinced and converted; he asks X. candidly to tell him whether the Papal Government is a bad one or not, and is satisfied with the quotation, "*sunt bona mixta malis*;" he then inquires in all simplicity why there are so many complaints and outbreaks against the Papacy, and is told in explanation that the Pope is persecuted because he is weak. X., emboldened by his easy triumph, ridicules the notion of any reforms being granted by the Papacy, states that what is wanted is a reform in the Papal subjects, not in the Papal rulers, and finally falls foul of M. in such language as this:—

"What good can we ever expect from this race of Moderates, who in all revolutions are sent out as pioneers, who have ruined every State in turn by shutting their eyes to every danger, and parleying with every insurrection, and who would propose a compromise even with fire or fever, or plague itself?" After this, X. repeats the old fable of the horse and the man, and then bursts into a tirade against France. "You refused to believe that Italy replaced foreign influence by foreign dominion on the day on which France crossed the Alps. Do you still disbelieve in the treason which is plotting against Italy, by depriving her of her natural bulwarks, Savoy, Nice, and the Maritime Alps? Do you not see that while you are lulled to sleep by the syren song of Italian independence, Italy is weakened, dismembered, and enslaved?" The last suggestion of M., that perhaps the language of the encyclical letter was a little too strong, brings forth the following retort:—"Yes, it was strong, and tasted bitter to diseased and vitiated palates; but to the lips of justice the taste is sweet and satisfying. Poor nations! What have politics become? What illth we are obliged to swallow! What scandal to the people; what a lesson of immorality is this fashion of outraging every principle of right with sword, tongue and pen! In this chaos, blessed be Providence, there is one free voice, the voice of Saint Peter, which is raised in defence of justice despised and disregarded!" Hereupon, M. confesses, "on the faith of a Moderate," that the refusal of the Pope to accept the advice of the Emperor "was an act worthy of him, both as Pope and as Italian Sovereign"—and then retires in shame and confusion.

The sincere opponent (S.) now enters, and announces, with foolish pride, that "Italy shall be free, and the gates of hell shall prevail." Pride cometh before a fall, and S. is shortly convinced that his remark was profane, and that by his own showing liberty was a gift of hell. S. then repeats a number of commonplaces about the rights of men, the voice of the people, and the will of the majority;

and as in every case he quotes these commonplaces wrongly and out of place, X. upsets him without effort. As a specimen of the style of logic adopted by X., I will take one case at hazard. S. states that his "reason of all reasons is, that Italy belongs to the Italians; and that the Italians have the right of dividing it, uniting it, and governing it, as seems good in their own sight." To this X. answers, "I adopt and apply your own principle. Turin, with its houses, belongs to the Turinese; therefore, the Turinese have the right to divide or unite the houses of Turin, or drive out their possessors, as seems good in their own sight." The gross disingenuousness, the palpable quibble in this argument need no exposure. The argument, however, is logically rather above the usual range. X. then frightens M. with the old bugbears: the impossibility of real union between the Italian races; the absorption of the local importance of her small capitals in any great kingdom, and the certainty that the European powers will never consent to an Italian monarchy. His conclusion is a short resumé of Papal history, which will somewhat surprise the readers of RANKE and GIBBON. "After the death of CONSTANTINE, the almost regal authority of the Popes commenced in reality. GREGORY the Great, created Pope 440 A.D., was compelled, for the safety of Italy, to exercise this authority against the Lombards on one hand, and the rapacious Exarchs on the other. About 726 A.D., GREGORY II. declined the offer of Ravenna, Venice, and the other Italian States, who conferred upon him, in name as well as in fact, the principedom of Italy. At last, in 741 A.D., when Italy was not only deserted in her need, but threatened from Byzantium with desolation and heresy, GREGORY III. called in the aid of CHARLES MARTEL, that 'Italy might not perish;' and by this law, a law of life and preservation, and through the decree of Providence the Popes became Italian princes, both in right and fact." On this very lucid and satisfactory account of the origin of the Papal power, S. is convinced at once, and is finally dismissed with the question, "whether the real object of the Revolution is not to create new men, new nations, new reason, new humanity, and a new God."

The three abstractions, S., M., D., then re-assemble to recant their errors. One and all avow themselves converted and convinced. X. then dismisses them with the qualified approval, that he "rejoices in their moral amendment, and trusts the change may be a permanent one," and then asks them finally, "what is the true and traditional liberty of Italy, the only one worthy to be sought and loved by all Italians?" To this question with one voice, S. and M. and D. reply, "Liberty with law, law with religion, and religion with the Pope." The course of instruction is completed; and if anybody is not convinced by the arguments of the allwise X., I can only say I am sorry for him.

TURIN, March 17th, 1860.

THE result of the votes in Tuscany and the Emilia is highly gratifying, though nothing more than we expected. This popular manifestation is the most eloquent refutation of the reproaches which have been uttered against our Government and the Peninsula. Tuscany and the Emilia have deserved well of Italy and of civilization, and have given Europe an example which will not easily be forgotten. Public opinion is a power to which both people and rulers are compelled to submit. This is a great consolation at the present moment, since it affords the assurance that the annexation will be looked upon as an accomplished fact, will be recognised by the civil powers, and admitted into the public order of Europe. But in spite of this, I confess that I tremble for what may yet be in store for the country. So long as Rome, Naples, and Austria are banded together against the national movement, I cannot hope that the danger of continued conflicts is at an end.

It is not easy to guess at the intentions of the Neapolitan Government. When General GARIBALDI commanded the troops of Central Italy, Naples justified the formation of an army on the Roman confines as a precaution against any attempts which the valiant soldier might make against the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Notwithstanding, however, that all reason for doubt or fear on this head has disappeared, the King of Naples persists in keeping his troops upon the frontiers, although they are wasted by illness. It cannot be for the purpose of defending himself that he has thus concentrated his forces, since he is in no danger of attack, but for some other purpose; very likely with a view to aid the Pope, in case the mercenary troops of Rome should attack the Romagna and be worsted; or to be in readiness to enter the other provinces of the Roman State if revolution should break out there.

The internal condition of the kingdom of Naples is such as to demand the whole thought and attention of the Government, and ought to prevent it from interfering in affairs which are not of personal and vital importance. The discontent of its subjects is getting past all bounds. In spite of all the severity and vigilance of the police, from time to time such hostile demonstrations are made as have always proved to be the prelude of serious events. The administration has fallen into complete disorder, and the policy of the Government seems directed by pure chance, and to own no regular principles of guidance whatever. In one single particular only does this Government manifest steadfastness and tenacity—in rejecting all the influences of civilization, and isolating itself from Italy. France and England have in vain tried to induce the king to consider his position, and put an end to a régime of violence which is a permanent menace for other states. The king, not being prepared with an answer, would not be seen the last time that the representatives of the two great Western Powers solicited an audience.

Can he be looking to Russia for support? The Emperor NICHOLAS had some sympathy for King FERDINAND, and counselled him

to moderation. Now, a young prince is seated upon the throne, who is determined blindly to follow his father's course; while at St. Petersburg a sovereign reigns who has liberal ideas, who desires progress, and has initiated a reform equivalent to a social revolution, and who can have no sympathy with the ideas which prevail at Naples. The king must, therefore, be depending upon Austria; nor does it seem at all improbable that the Government of Vienna will urge Rome and Naples to some attempt in Central Italy, to have the pretext of rushing to their defence. The predominance of Austrian influence, both at Rome and at Naples, is a fact which none can deny. Neither the Pope nor FRANCIS is disposed to accede to the new arrangement of Italy; and it may occur that they agree to be the precursors of Austria, and commence a struggle which may open a passage to Central Italy for the Austrian army. I much fear that war may not be far distant. To be prepared for it is certainly the duty of our Government. Should it not come, so much the better in every respect. The attention and care of our king and his advisers could be wholly given to the arts of peace and the consolidation of the new state. But should it unfortunately occur, the Government might confidently depend upon the spontaneous concurrence of the people; nor could it fail to receive the sympathy and support of the powers, who see, in the formation of an Italian kingdom a guarantee of quiet and order in the Peninsula, and of peace for Europe.

The Chevalier BONCOMPAGNI has addressed the following letter to the *Armonia*, in which he calls upon Cardinal ANTONELLI to prove the assertions made against himself personally, and the Piedmontese Government in general:

"In his note of February 29th communicated to the French Government, his Eminence Cardinal ANTONELLI employed the following words—'A rare, and perhaps unique example, will be recorded by history of what the diplomatic agents of Sardinia have done, to the detriment of the other Italian States, in order to second the ambitious views of its own Government. The conduct of the Commandator, BONCOMPAGNI, cannot be qualified, or only by a name which I will not venture to pronounce.'"

"Conscious, as I am, of having failed in none of the obligations which the right of nations imposed upon me towards the princes to whom I have been accredited, I invite Cardinal ANTONELLI to retract his accusation, and publish the documents which may have misled him, and induced him to bring against me, in a document of the greatest importance, destined to be known throughout the civilized world, an accusation to which no man of honour could submit. Should he not respond to my invitation thus publicly addressed to him, I hereby declare that I shall believe his Eminence Cardinal ANTONELLI to be conscious of having wilfully violated the truth to the prejudice of my honour. "BONCOMPAGNI."

"Turin, March 16th, 1860."

HANOVER, March 19th, 1860.

THE Prussian proposals for the reorganisation of the military forces of the Germanic Confederation are now under discussion in the Diet. Should the decision be favourable to the Prussian view, the entire military strength of Northern Germany will be at the command of Prussia, and that of Southern Germany at the command of Austria. The consent of Austria, it is said, has been gained, but the Cabinets of Hanover and Saxony, representing the minor states, are still most resolutely opposed. The Cabinet of Berlin has replied to the notes circulated by those two cabinets. Prussia declines any further diplomatic correspondence upon the question, deprecates the idea that she has any desire to undervalue the importance or encroach upon the sovereignty of other German States; but, without attempting to refute the arguments brought forward by Hanover and Saxony, she persists in her view of the question, and demands its solution by the Federal Diet. The army reform in Prussia itself occupies a good share still of public attention. It is fully expected that the rejection of the measure will lead to the resignation of the Ministry, the dissolution of the chamber of representatives, or even the abdication of the Prince Regent. This last is hardly within the range of possibility, yet so goes the rumour, which appears to be founded upon a remark addressed by the Prince to Mr. MILDE, a representative. The Prince said, "What you refuse to concede to me, you will have to concede to my son." This, however, like most utterances of German Princes, will bear two or three different interpretations.

From an appeal made by a committee, formed under the auspices of Prince B. RADZIWILL, for the purpose of collecting contributions for the relief of the destitute, we learn that, in the circle of Schlochau, West Prussia, there are no less than 8000 families without the means of subsistence; and according to the Pomeranian *Zeitung*, typhus of the most malignant kind has broken out in the circle of Neustettin, and is extending its ravages in all directions among the rich as well as the poor, from whom it sprang.

The alarm and exasperation of all parties increase from day to day in proportion as the annexation of Savoy appears to meet with less resistance from the Cabinets of Germany and England. Upon the resolution of Switzerland depends, at this moment, the peace of Europe, and the fate of Germany. Should the Swiss take up arms against the annexation they would have as many riflemen from all parts of Germany as they could supply with the means of subsistence. No prohibitions on the part of the princes would keep them back; the princes themselves would be most likely carried away by the enthusiastic torrent. The following declaration, just issued by the Committee of the National Association, is deserving of attention, because it is a most faithful reflex of the public mind of Germany:—The course of the national movement of Italy has been

followed by the ardent sympathy of millions in Germany. When a nation, groaning under a foreign yoke, and rent in pieces, struggles for freedom and unity, it may assuredly rely upon the admiration of another nation that, in the idea of national independence and freedom, acknowledges the principles of its own development. But this sympathy, springing from similar yearnings and similar interests, ran counter to serious political considerations of another kind. The Italian movement trusted for support to an ally whose bearing filled all Europe, and, above all, Germany, with distrust. That Italy did not reject this alliance, the only one that presented itself, is conceivable; nothing but an energetic liberal policy, and an acquiescence in every just requirement of the people on the part of the German Powers, could withdraw Italy from the coils of the French alliance. This was not done. But Germany must, therefore, not the less carefully watch, with the deepest distrust, the continuance of that policy which made use of the Italian movement as the most effectual means of strengthening the aggressive domination of France, and of establishing surer foundations for the accomplishment of his still hidden projects. The events of the last few days justify every suspicion, and admonish the nation to prepare for action. Italy has learnt now the price she has to pay for the French alliance. If she be willing to pay that price the dangers which threaten us are only thereby increased. The surrender of Savoy, the passes of the Alps, to France, and, still more, the grounds upon which the surrender is demanded, secure the preponderance of French influence in Italy. This first extension of territory by the Imperial State is a first encroachment upon the balance of power. The aggressive advance on the bank of the Lake of Geneva menaces further the integrity of Switzerland, which Europe, not without the weightiest reasons, took under its protection. Not one square foot of land must we allow France to acquire on the Continent of Europe, while she holds possession of those German provinces, Alsatia and Lorraine, which have raised her military and financial power to its present height. Further, the immediate fact of this annexation is not more to be feared than the defiant form in which it is made known to the world. When France speaks, as in the Emperor's address of 1st March, of her right to "re-demand" territories, it is equivalent to the declaration of a policy of conquest and intrigue, only to be satisfied by the restoration of the boundaries of the First Empire. When the old and never-failing rallying cry of "Natural boundaries" is uttered in the solemn addresses of the French Emperor, we may depend upon it that plans have been formed and intrigues have commenced. We have no means of knowing how far the French Emperor is serious with the idea of venturing such a throw as an attack upon German provinces would be, in the hope of firmly establishing his dynasty and gratifying his ambition; but this uncertainty must not deter us Germans from proclaiming everywhere and on every occasion the determination of all Germany in opposition to the desires of France. We declare that the surrender of Savoy, or any other portion of territory to France, is dangerous to German interests, and to prevent the accomplishment of such an act must be the chief aim of a national policy. We declare further that every attempt to encroach upon German territory will meet with the resistance of an entire nation, unanimously resolved to shed their last drop of blood in the maintenance of their rights and their honour. No speculations upon the blindness of dynasties, nor upon our territorial divisions and political parties, will again succeed with us; nay, the people of France shall find, if they are not already aware of it, that thousands among us impatiently long for such an attempt to be made, in the conviction that it will prove the quickest and most effectual means of uniting us, and of solving at once the long-agitated question of a United German Constitution and Parliament. Yet a heavy penalty shall they pay who drive us to seek the weal of our nation in the bloody field. To avoid such a risk by instantaneous and energetic measures is now the duty of every German statesman. Let the whole strength of the nation be at once organized, and the liberty and parliamentary institutions we have so long sought and waited for be assured to us. The history of the past year ought to be a lesson to us how closely the external power and internal freedom of Germany are interwoven, how impossible it is to arouse an enthusiastic patriotism to march under the banner of despotism. Germany is still without a central power, still without a parliament, still without a voice in the council of the nations. There is no German policy, no German veto in the Savoy question, nor any other question that agitates Europe. Thus every day warns us, princes and people, to labour at once in the construction of a German National Constitution.

The National Association is gaining strength from day to day in spite of M. VON GAGERN's refusal to join it; but VON GAGERN's refusal was based upon patriotic grounds, and it is hoped that he will ultimately lend his name. The Association comprises two-thirds, at least, of all the town population of Germany.

The suicide of the Austrian general, Baron VON LYNATTEN, chief of the military department, during the Italian war, and the avowals which he had been forced to make as to the disgraceful frauds committed by himself and others, by which the lives of hundreds of poor soldiers were sacrificed needlessly, is another serious blow for the Austrian despotic system. The police authorities endeavoured, as usual, to stifle the affair, but by the express orders of the Emperor, the prosecution of all parties in any way concerned in these frauds has been continued. The following official article has been published by the *Gazette* of Vienna:—"The military authorities have lately been under the painful necessity of arresting and placing before a court-martial Lieutenant Field-Marshal Baron von LYNATTEN, strongly suspected of having committed serious frauds in his

official capacity as head of the military department during the campaign of 1859. At the outset of the inquiry Baron von EYNATTEN was obliged to make avowals which left no doubt as to the criminal manner in which he had abused his trust. He was placed in safe custody, but in spite of all precautions he found means, during the night of the 7th to frustrate, by committing self-murder, the public punishment that awaited him. He left a written statement containing a full confession of his frauds, and imploring the forgiveness of his Emperor and master, whom he had so grievously injured."

We cannot get at the real facts of this affair, but it would seem that a great number of persons, some of distinction, are involved. It is a matter of surprise that EYNATTEN, who had been abroad till but lately, should have returned to Vienna, and the more after the following scene, which took place just before his departure from Vienna: the truth of it is vouched for by the *Prussian Gazette*—The baron was invited, with many other officers of high rank, to a supper at Count GRUNNE'S. On his entering the dining-room, which was already filled with the guests, and about to take his seat, Field-Marshal BENEDEK rose, and declared that his honour would not permit him to sit at the same table with a general who was strongly suspected of fraud; he would avoid his company till he had cleared his character. Those who were of his opinion would follow his example. Hereupon BENEDEK took his hat and left the room, and was followed immediately by the whole company. The excitement consequent upon this has been further increased by the arrest of M. RICHTER, chief manager of the Credit Mobilier society, who is now in prison; and the arrest and sentence to death of a captain of engineers, DORE, who was living upon the bounty of the Emperor at Verona, of which place he drew the plans and sold them to the French.

GLEANINGS FROM FOREIGN BOOKS.

THE SCLAVONIANS.

If we look at the present state of the Slavonian races, it offers us a very varied aspect. It is generally supposed that there are sixty million Slavonians. This race of men must, consequently, be reckoned among the most numerous of Europe, or of the world. It is imposing through its mass, through its numerical superiority. This its position among the nations must tend to elevate and embolden it, while exciting alarms and rendering needful precautionary measures among the neighbouring nations; and this so much the more that in recent times the idea has become dominant of uniting all the Slavonian peoples into a common brotherhood, known by the name of Panslavonianism. The Slavonians fall into many branches, according to the point of view from which we regard them. In the first place, they form different tribes, with different names, according to the several regions which they inhabit, and the manifold dialects into which their language has broken. Following the geographical position of their lands and of their dialects, we can distribute them into these leading groups: The first, which is also the nearest to our German fatherland, would, according to the calculations of the Slavonians themselves, be the southwestern, or the Bohemian, to which the Czechs in Bohemia, the Moravians, the Ruthenians in Galicia, and the Slovaks in the Carpathian mountains must be reckoned, in number more than five millions and a half; or, if we reckon the Wends in the two Lusatias, nearly six millions; they inhabit a long tract from west to east. The second is the Southern, or Servian-Illyrian group, to which the Servians, Bulgarians, Bosnians, Montenegrins, Herzegovinians, Slavons, Dalmatians, Croats and Wends, or Slovenzians—some of the latter being included in the Austrian monarchy—are to be reckoned, in number at about five millions. They dwell in a chord extending from the Balkan to the Drave in Austria, in a direction extending from east to west. The third is the north-western, or Polish group, to which all Slavonians are to be reckoned with whom the Polish is the prevailing language—about eighteen millions. The fourth, north-eastern or Russian group, embraces those tribes among whom the Russian—New Russian—Great Russian dialect decidedly predominates, about thirty millions. A scientific comprehensive picture of the differences of these dialects as to words, forms of words, accents, and so forth, is yet wanting; but so much is certain, that those tribes which have closest intercourse with the Germans have taken much from these; those which dwell not far from Italy, from the Italians; those which are subject to the Turks, from the Turkish, the Arabic, the Greek, and other tongues, and have thus destroyed the purity of the original language. Lingual maps, which are now so common, and which include Slavonic, give a lively image of the extensive distribution of the Slavonic race, but show, likewise, how, in this respect, that race has been rent and dispersed. Still more striking are the separations which have arisen and continue through religious creeds. In Bosnia a great part of the Slavonic inhabitants are Mahometans. The Montenegrins, on the other hand, the Servians, the Russians, the Bulgarians, belong to the Greek Catholic Church. The most of the Slavonic nations under the Austrian sway are Roman Catholics. A small part of them, as well as a part of the Wends in Lusatia, are Protestants. Here to give numbers would be a vain attempt; but maps may in some measure supply the defect—those we mean which furnish in outline the geographical distribution of the religious confessions. Finally, the Slavonians can be classified according to the forms of government under which they live. In this relation they are either independent or sub-

ject. The Russians alone are independent; all the remaining Slavonic races are in a state of subjection, either to the Russians or to the Turks, or to the Germans—especially to the Austrians, the Saxons, and the Prussians. Those subject to the Germans amount to about five millions seven hundred thousand; the numbers of those subject to other States cannot even approximatively be given. The lot of the subject races varies much, according to the character of the Government under whose sway they are placed. Very sad was and is the lot of the Slavonians under the Turkish yoke,—a lot which the decree known as the Hatticherif of Guilhane some years ago slightly mitigated. Very harsh was the bondage of the Slavonians under the Magyar dominion, from which, however, they were freed by the changes in Hungary subsequent to the last abortive revolution there. The situation of the Slavonians under the Austrian Government was by no means joyous. The Austrians troubled themselves little about their Slavonic provinces, while yet in many ways oppressing them; but in consequence of the Hungarian revolution, Austria's Slavonic provinces rose to an equality of privilege with the other Austrian dominions. Most deplorable is the condition of the subject Slavonic races under the Russian sceptre, which aims at nothing else than levelling and Russianising all nationalities in the vast Muscovite empire; the Slavonic nationalities included. The Slavonians had little to complain of in Saxony, where recently they have been placed on the same footing as the rest of the inhabitants, as had long been the case in Prussia, though the political and religious fanaticism of the Poles questions or quarrels with the blessing. The Slavonians in Austria look forward, through the changes in that empire, to a better future, to more political freedom, to nobler culture, to a more national existence.—*Heffter's Slavonianism.*

ANIMAL LIFE IN SOUTHERN RUSSIA.

The forests are the usual pasture grounds of the herds of cattle which pass the whole summer in the open air. The inhabitants of a village generally send out their cattle together under the guidance of one or more herd boys; thick clouds of dust in the evening announce from afar the return of the herd; the long procession seems as if it would never end, and we are forced to marvel at the power which man exercises over the animals when we see the little herd-boy, and behind him the immense oxen which march in the van. Horses likewise find pasture in the forests, and it is magnificent to see the noble creatures obeying nothing but their own wild impulses, playing or battling with each other, or startled, hastening away with flowing mane when men draw near. How great the wealth in horses is, we have evidence of in the daily life of the people. Persons of even moderate means never travel with less than four horses in harness, and often there are six. The peasants frequently make use of one-horsed vehicles called telegas, in which the horse is harnessed to a piece of arched wood fixed to the pole; this arrangement favours steadiness of movement. When in a Russian carriage three horses are harnessed abreast, they seem all to be going in different directions, the appearance whereof is curious enough.

The Russian horses are smaller but tougher than ours. The Russians travel with the rapidity of lightning over untrodden tracts, and pay no regard to the obstacles by the way; in the wooden britschkas and telegas, however, it is terrible work for the horses. For long journeys the tarantass is made use of,—a large clumsy-looking, but really light and comfortable carriage, the body of which rests on two elastic poles which are connected by the axletree. Officers travelling on service, military couriers, and the like, avail themselves for the most of the wooden post-telegas, in which, in spite of an uncomfortable position on a wooden seat right over the wheels, they rapidly traverse the vastest tracts. These simple vehicles contrast with the fashionable Russian coach, notable for elegance and splendour. It is drawn by from four to eight horses of the same favourite colour, and of the same size. On the high seat is enthroned the coachman in a long kaftan with a red scarf, or silver girdle, and a tall cap bordered with fur. He looks very majestic when standing up to drive the horses, wherein he is aided by a little postilion in a similar costume, who is seated on one of the leaders.

The Russian coachmen and peasants have an infinite treasure of words for talking to their horses. Their speech to them is incessant; they have a thousand chiding, cursing phrases, but they have in still greater abundance tender, endearing expressions; they change their voice at every moment, and go rapidly from the softest, sweetest tones of flattery, to the roughest sounds of anger. The peasants are, for the most part, bold riders, mount in a moment the wildest horses, which have passed all the summer in the forest, and holding firmly by the mane dash along without saddle or bridle. The green treeless hills, the wide tracks of heath, and the mown fields are the pasture-grounds of the sheep, many thousands of which belong to nearly every extensive farm. Above all, these provinces are the nurseries of pigs, as Dickens would say, who has so often described, with humorous, half-sympathising accuracy, the aspects and doings of these despised animals, and who would find a rich field for observation in the villages of South Russia; so full of pretty piglings everywhere, running about by hundreds, and in all colours, dancing round their ugly mothers, playing together, or rolling in the puddles, and which are not only a characteristic feature of the villages, but often a source of riches to their inhabitants.

The hunter finds in the South Russian forests scope for his fullest joy and activity. There the wolves have their home, and there, in coverts not easily approached, lurk the bears. The stag, with his proud antlers, bounds past the oaks; the roe, timid, and yet stung

by curiosity, listens behind the trunk of the trees. Deep in the thicket is seen for a moment, only to be lost, the track of the wild boar. The ure ox, the original inhabitant of our old German forests, hath here found a last home.—*Foerster.*

POOR FALLEN AUSTRIA.

Austria once took for motto, "Austriæ est imperare Orbi Universo." "Austria is destined to rule the whole world." Would it not be now truer to say that the whole world rules Austria? Yet who mourns that Austria is crumbling to ruins? Austria represents no great principle, has done no great and generous deeds. Well for the world when Austria is no more, and the whole of the German States are merged in Prussia. There cannot be peace in Europe till Germany becomes a stupendous colossal unity, awing France and thrusting Russia back.

TENDENCY TO EXCESS.

The world is like a drunk peasant; lift him into the saddle on one side, he is sure to fall down to the ground on the other.—*Luther.*

RECORD OF THE WEEK.

HOME AND COLONIAL.

On *Wednesday, March 21*, the Queen and her family returned to Buckingham Palace from Osborne. Her Majesty will remain in town a fortnight.—On *Tuesday, March 21*, the *London Gazette* chronicled the appointment of E. S. Creasy, Esq., as Chief Justice of the island of Ceylon.—On *Wednesday, March 21*, the Speaker held his eighth Parliamentary dinner.

On *Saturday, March 17*, the Court of Aldermen, at the Guild-hall, adopted the report of a committee of the court, condemning the resolutions passed by the Common Council with regard to the Government Corporation Reform Bill.—On *Monday, March 19*, the Westminster Reform Union adopted resolutions insisting upon the desirability of lodger suffrage, and condemning the rate-paying clauses of the new Reform Bill.

On *Saturday, March 17*, the society of St. Patrick held their annual dinner at Freemasons' Tavern, and collected a large sum for the benefit of the charity; many of the London Irish volunteers were present in uniform.—On *Tuesday, March 20*, a midnight meeting was held by the "social evil" philanthropists, at the lecture-hall, Newington Causeway; Rev. Hugh Allen presided; many other clergymen assisted; 100 wretched starving creatures were got together, of whom twenty were induced to accept of shelter and food at the reformatory.—On *Monday, March 19*, a public meeting was held at Exeter Hall, of the United Kingdom Teetotallers Union, which adopted resolutions against wine licences to refreshment rooms, and coffee houses.—On *Wednesday, March 21*, a meeting of paper makers was held in Palace Yard, to protest against the threatened export duty of £10 per ton which it is thought the French Government mean to put on rags; resolutions were passed to support Mr. Puller's prohibitive duty of a penny a pound on French paper till the French take the export duty off rags.—On *Thursday, March 22*, Alderman Abbiss presided at a meeting of retail tea-dealers of the metropolis; resolutions passed against the proposed impost of one-half per cent. on customs duties.

On *Tuesday, March 20*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer received a deputation of Teetotallers, who remonstrated against the Wine Licence Bill for coffee and refreshment houses; Mr. Gladstone told them that the bill would prevent the very evils which they dreaded.—On *Wednesday, March 21*, a deputation of inhabitants of the Tower Hamlets, including Messrs. Butler, M.P., and Ayerton, M.P., urged upon Lord John Russell the claims of that borough to additional representatives; they were told that therein was matter for future consideration.

On *Thursday, March 15*, arrived at Liverpool the troopship *Great Tasmania*, with discharged soldiers of the late Indian army; they had been shipped at Calcutta nearly a thousand strong healthy men; insufficient clothing and unwholesome food were provided for them; sixty died on the voyage from scurvy and dysentery, and on landing 300 more were found to be seriously ill; 140 are now in the Liverpool Hospital, where nine have since died, and many have been sent to the workhouse; a Government inspector has been sent down to Liverpool, now that the men are being cared for.—On *Sunday, March 18*, prayers were offered to Almighty God in every garrison chapel in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the recovery of Florence Nightingale, who is very sick.—On *Monday, March 19*, H. Callaghan, boatswain of H.M.S. *Nile*, was tried by Court-martial for drunkenness and infamous conduct; sentence, twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour, and dismissal from the service.—On *Thursday, March 22*, was a parade and sham fight of all the troops in Portsmouth garrison; General Yorke Scarlett commanding.

On *Wednesday, March 14*, died, in the neighbourhood of Paris, the well known musician Jullien, at the age of fifty; accumulation of misfortune produced inflammation of the brain, and he died mad, and in great agony. It is intended to raise a subscription for his widow.—On *Saturday, March 17*, at Dover House, Whitehall, died the Lady Dover; she was sister to the Duchess of Sutherland and the Earl of Carlisle.—On the same day, was closed the life of Mrs. Jameson, well known and greatly esteemed as a critic in painting, and as a writer upon social science.

The public health again deteriorates; the Registrar General's return for the metropolis, published on *Tuesday, March 20*, shows an increase in the mortality; deaths 1,563, being an excess of 166 over last week, and 201 over the average; births 2,023, increase on the average 299.

On *Saturday, March 17*, was received the first private telegram at Lloyd's by the Red Sea route in six days from Calcutta; when the line is fully completed communication will be effected in two days.—On *Wednesday, March 21*, arrived the Bombay mail of Feb. 25; a disturbance has broken out in the east of Bengal—the tribe of Kookees, inhabiting the Tipperah hills, have descended into British territory, and murdered over a thousand peasants; an effective force has been despatched against them.

On *Saturday, March 17*, the West Indian mail brought the news of a fire on the 14th Feb., which had half destroyed the capital of Barbadoes; the loss of property is at least half a million sterling—not more than £30,000 insured.

On *Tuesday, 20th March*, Mr. Beecroft, M.P. for Leeds, and Mr. Thomas Stephenson, of Rothwell, had an audience at the Home-office with the Under Secretary of State on the above subjects. Mr. Stephenson presented to him a "Furnace Detector," explaining its great value in detecting irregularities in the ventilation in mines, often the cause of fearful explosions. Its utility was immediately understood by the Under Secretary, and by his desire Mr. Stephenson left the instrument at the Home-office with him, for the purpose of showing other scientific gentlemen. The subject of inspection also came into question, and from the remarks made there can be no doubt the Government are fully alive to the perils of mining, and will do all they can to prevent these sad disasters in mines, and effect a more efficient inspection.

On *Saturday, March 17*, the Ionian Bank of London declared a dividend, at the half-yearly meeting, of 5 per cent.—On *Monday, March 19*, the London bankers resolved that after the 19th May they will close their banks at three in the afternoon.—On *Thursday, March 22*, Consols closed at 94½ 94½ for money, and 94½ 94½ for the account; French Three per Cents 67f. 95c. to 67f. 90c.

FOREIGN.

On *Friday, March 16*, a demonstration against annexation to France was made by the Municipal Council of Nice; a deputation was sent to the Emperor Louis Napoleon; certain Paris journalists asked if they might publish the proceedings; they were told it mattered not what they published—the affair was decided, *bon gré, mal gré*.—On *Wednesday, March 21*, the Emperor made a speech to the Savoy deputation; he told them that "in principle" the annexation was settled, and that he expects the concurrence of most of the Great Powers.—On the same day, French troops began to evacuate Lombardy and to occupy Nice.

On *Sunday, March 18*, a despatch was received in Paris announcing that Austria will pronounce against any violation of Swiss neutrality.—On the same day the Austrian Government drew the attention of the French ministry to the intrigues of Sardinia in Venice; Francis Joseph declares he will make the "utmost sacrifices" to preserve Venetia.

On *Sunday, March 18*, at Turin, took place the official annexation of the *Emilian* provinces to the crown of Sardinia; amidst immense enthusiasm, Farini handed to Victor Emmanuel, in public, the document containing the votes of the people; the king acknowledges them as his people, but refers to his parliament for confirmation.—On the same day the National Assembly was convoked for the 25th instant.—At Florence, on the same day, a solemn religious service was performed on the publication of the vote in favour of annexation; great enthusiasm for Victor Emmanuel and Ricasoli.

In the kingdom of Naples, on *Saturday, March 17*, a demonstration was got up at Atri in favour of annexation to Victor Emmanuel; with difficulty it was suppressed, but eighty men concerned in it escaped into the Romagna.

On *Friday, March 16*, there was a great meeting of "the faithful" in the Basilica of the Vatican, to express sympathy with the Pope.—On *Tuesday, March 20*, an attempt at riot against the Papal Government was with difficulty suppressed by the French soldiery.

On *Thursday, March 15*, at Pesth, the students resolved to commemorate the revolution of 1848; there was a collision with the police and military, many arrested, two killed, and others wounded.

On *Monday, March 19*, the official Spanish gazette announced that the war with Morocco must continue, since the Moors will not give up any territory; three Spanish generals in Africa are created grandees of the first class.

On *Thursday, March 22*, the American mail brought intelligence that the Indians are committing terrible ravages in Texas; it is now certain that every soul on board the *Zungarian* has perished; hostilities with Mexico are anticipated, and troops under orders for Mexico and Texas.

At Lima, on the 9th February, Captain Lionel Lambert, of Her Majesty's ship *Vixen*, was murdered in the open street, at three o'clock in the afternoon; it is supposed that robbery was the sole object.

ENTERTAINMENTS.

True to her old love for parts of *diablerie*, in which it must be owned she has ever been most successful, Madame Celeste has brought forward at the Lyceum Theatre an original and successful trifle by Colonel

Addison, in which the fiend takes the piquant form of a courtier Abbé of the Louis XV. epoch. The scene proper of the "Abbé Vaudreuil," as the piece is called, is laid partly in Paris, where *Lieutenant Delcour* (Mr. Villiers), the hero of a simple and every-day love-tale, falls into a dream; and, having therein made an alliance for some reason as insufficient as are dream reasons generally with the king of darkness, demands to be transported to the old Court of France. With him we are introduced, under the guidance of the elegant and mysterious *Abbé Vaudreuil*, to a *fête* at Versailles. Miss Kate Saville makes a charming *Pompadour*, and round her strut and flutter sketchy exquisites and celebrities of both sexes, and of such *genre* as the manners of the time may have brought together to the bower of the reigning favourite. This scene, upon which the painters and dressers have lavished their resources, is a beautiful one. The dance music is charmingly selected, and we are positively obliged to Madame Celeste and Miss Hudspeth (who, as *Marie*, the lieutenant's betrothed, goes with him on the shadowy tour) for their elegant revival of a minuet and gavotte. The happiness of the vision is, however, clouded by the particular attention of *M. de Vaulan*, a Louis XV. officer, to the object of the sleeper's affections. This gentleman is run through the chest *sans façon*, and his corpse supernaturally disposed of by the pliant Mephistopheles. The latter in turn rouses the ire of *Henri*, who, daring to cross swords with him, accidentally stabs poor *Marie*. It is now time to stop the horrors, and dispel the illusion. The courtly scene dissolves; we are once more in the lieutenant's modest chamber, and the sleeper awakes to find that the obstacles to his happy marriage that existed when he fell asleep have also been removed by a better and less exacting agency than that of his satanic reverence the *Abbé de Vaudreuil*. The piece is nicely written, well acted, and, as we have already said, extremely well mounted. Mr. Dance's farce of "Lucky Stars," in which a cockney cobbler of Barbican is compelled by a shrewish, pushing wife to assume the character of an astrologer, and does so with considerable success, follows the leading piece, we believe, every night. Mrs. Keeley, who has been persuaded to take a round of her favourite old characters, is the *Barbara Bristles*, clever and entertaining as ever, while in *Barnaby Rudge*, cordwainer, and husband of the aforesaid *Barbara*, Mr. John Rouse's well-assumed stolidity and embarrassment are very laughable indeed.

The second public concert of the MUSICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON, on Wednesday evening, consisted almost entirely of vocal music, and much of this of a character to display the choral proficiency of the subscribers, who rehearse and practise at the Marylebone Institution. Among their performances on Wednesday were an anthem by Purcell, a motett by Samuel Wesley, and a chorus by Mendelssohn. The instrumental pieces were one of Bach's organ fugues, played by Mr. West, an excellent solo for the violin by M. Sainton, and a delicious nonet by E. Silas for violin, viola, violoncello, contrabasso, flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, and French horn. We have never experienced more acutely, on listening to a new composition, the combined presence of novelty, genius, and musical skill. M. Silas is entitled to a place in the very first rank of composers. The nonet is very long, but its peculiarities are so astounding, and its beauties come so thick and fast, that anything approaching to satiety, much less ennui, is out of the question. Its difficulties are immense, but not beyond the ability of Messrs. Sainton, Webb, Lidel, White, Piatti, Barrett, Lazarus, Chisholm, and C. Harper: who, playing it for the first time together, yet produced a faultless ensemble. Perhaps the most telling of the vocal *solis* was a fine prayer by Lindpaintner, well sung by Mr. Weiss, and an air, "Why didst thou ever leave me," composed and accompanied by Charles Salaman, and sung with most appropriate feeling by Miss Messent.

On Wednesday next the able and veteran comedian Mr. Frank Matthews takes a benefit at the PRINCESS'S THEATRE. The bill is a formidable one, comprising "The Rivals," a revival of the famous "Princess's" drama, "Pauline," and a comedy or comedieta in which Mr. and Mrs. Charles Matthews will appear.

A private *Soirée dramatique* took place under fashionable auspices at the ROYAL GALLERY OF ILLUSTRATION on the 17th inst., at which the many admirers of a favourite actress had the pleasure of welcoming her appearance in a quasi public manner. Mrs. Cowper, better known to the public as Miss Jane Mordaunt, a younger sister of the lamented Mrs. Nisbet, and who left the stage upon her marriage, must be well remembered by all our play-going readers for her admirable performances in elegant comedy, and she has evidently lost none of her natural or histrionic attractiveness during her retirement. The pieces selected for the entertainment of which Mrs. Cowper was directress, were "A Soldier's Courtship," a smart adaptation from the French, Mr. Charles Dauce's charming comedieta, "Delicate Ground," and the immortal "Box and Cox." Mrs. Cowper was the *Lady Melford* in the first, ably supported by Mrs. T. Williams, prettiest and perfiest of amateur *soubrettes*, and Captain Hood, whose *Colonel Gayton* is, briefly, perfection. In "Delicate Ground," where the parts of *Citizen Sangfroid* and *Pauline* his wife were taken by Captain Roebuck and Mrs. Cowper, the performance of the former is so level and well practised as almost to take it from the amateur category; though, if we must be critical, we cannot entirely recognise in the character the whole breadth (still not offensive) of the comicality he infused into it. It is as needless to add that Mrs. Cowper was natural and elegant as *Pauline*, as that we should much like the opportunity of again seeing her in more important parts. Finally, as Messrs. *Box* and *Cox*, Captains Cowper and Hood, delighted the younger visitors, and the proceedings terminated as they began, with a cordial and merited expression of satisfaction with the performances and the general arrangements.

Among the NEW SONGS of the season we have not yet met the equal in either poetic or musical intensity of "Wake not forgotten Memories," (Robert Cocks and Co.) for which Miss Vredenberg has furnished Signor S. J. Valletta with the inspired couplets. The authoress has uttered the wail of a desolate heart, and the composer, from whom we would fain have more songs of such merit, has felicitously given it strong and simple musical expression.

MARYLEBONE THEATRE.—Last Monday evening at this Theatre, Mr. Dillon, the popular tragedian, appeared in the character of *Macbeth*. The house was crowded in all parts, and the courteous manager, Mr. J. H. Cave, had evidently spared no pains to render the *dramatis personæ*

on this occasion as efficient as possible. Mr. Dillon sustained the principal character with his wonted vigour; and he was efficiently assisted by Miss Bennett as *Lady Macbeth*. Mr. Ellis's *Macduff* also merits commendation, and Locke's music in this play, which a gentleman of considerable musical talents was specially engaged to conduct, was performed with unusual correctness and spirit.

A very successful and laughable *pièce de circonstance*, entitled "B.B.," in which Mr. Robson is mistaken for the "Benicia B y," caused twenty minutes of uninterrupted laughter on Thursday evening; and as a kind of pendant to the extremely successful drama of "Uncle Zachary," is likely to help in filling the OLYMPIC THEATRE for some time to come.

PARLIAMENT.

WITH reference to the English fleet now at Naples, the Earl of ELLENBOROUGH asked the Duke of SOMERSET on Friday last what the fleet was to do in case an outbreak took place. The Duke of SOMERSET replied that no special instructions had been sent out to the officer in command, who would, therefore, use his discretion and act according to circumstances. The Earl of DERBY was doubtful whether there was anything in the present state of Naples to warrant interference by a British officer. The Savoy difficulty was then brought forward by the Earl of CARNARVON, who called attention to two despatches from Count CAVOUR to the effect that the annexation of Savoy by France was conditional, and that this annexation would not take place without a preliminary consultation with the great Powers of Europe, and the consent of the people of Savoy themselves. A telegram that morning, however, directly contradicted these promises, by stating that Savoy was to be annexed with the sanction of Sardinia, and without any appeal to the other European Powers. The Duke of NEWCASTLE thought the question was not a fair or proper question to put to the Government, which had not had time to consider the despatches and telegrams which now so rapidly crowded on each other. The Earl of MALMESBURY thought the noble duke had exercised a wise discretion in deferring his answer. The Duke of NEWCASTLE, in reply to questions, said the subject of a division of the see of Rochester would come under consideration shortly, but he could not say exactly when. The Valuation of rateable Property (Ireland) Bill passed through Committee.—The question of the Ballot engaged attention on Monday, Lord TERNHAM bringing forward a motion in its favour. The substance of his lordship's recommendation was that the Ballot should not be an imitation of other countries, but really and efficiently secret voting. The Duke of NEWCASTLE considered whatever might be the evils of the existing system, so far from being corrected, they would be aggravated by the remedy suggested by the noble lord. The motion was pressed to a division, and was lost by 39 to 4. To allay public apprehension, the Earl of SHAFESBURY on Tuesday requested Government to state whether it was intended to order the disembodiment of the artillery militia. Earl DE GREY and RYON replied that only four regiments were to be disembodied. The report was, therefore, erroneous. The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH urged on Government the expediency of completing the defences of the country, on the ground that matters were much more serious at this moment than they had been at any previous period. The Duke of NEWCASTLE remarked that no motives of economy had been allowed to interfere in questions relating to the defences of the country. The only reduction of the forces would be the disembodiment of certain militia regiments on their arrival from India. The Earl of MALMESBURY hoped it was not true that a universal disembodiment was to take place; if so he was satisfied the proposed increase of the regular artillery would not compensate for the deficit. Earl GREY thought the determination at which the Government had arrived, to have only permanently embodied royal artillery, was correct. Earl DE GREY in further explanations said as the militia act expired next year—unless sudden emergencies arose—it was not the intention of Government to ask Parliament to renew it. The Marquis of NORMANBY again mounted his hobby, the Savoy and Nice question. He informed their lordships he should shortly move a series of resolutions the effect of which was that fuller information on foreign politics, and especially foreign negotiations, should be laid from time to time before Parliament.

The first business on Friday in the Commons was a personal matter, Mr. BRIGHT questioning Mr. NEWDEGATE on some words that fell from him in that House to the effect that Mr. COBDEN, though professing to be a free trader and a democrat, was in fact in favour of despotism and despots. Mr. COBDEN, he was authorised to say, denied certain words imputed to him by Mr. NEWDEGATE. The answer of Mr. NEWDEGATE was a quotation from a letter in which Mr. COBDEN was represented as being now completely "Napoleonized." Indeed, the charge of favouring despotic principles might be fully substantiated by a reference to Mr. COBDEN's past sayings and doings. Sir F. SMITH inquired whether Government proposed to adopt the recommendation of the Council of Military Education, and so to extend the College of Sandhurst as to admit of all candidates for the cavalry, guards, and line, who had passed examination, receiving at Sandhurst a course of professional instruction. Mr. S. HERBERT acknowledged the importance of the suggestion, and promised to confer with the council upon it. He could not, however, consent to produce the correspondence which had passed on the subject. Mr. LANIGAN called attention to what he termed the abuse of the Poor Law by Boards of Guardians, and the hardships to which the destitute Irish poor were exposed. While Ireland sent to England vessels loaded with fat oxen and sheep, England in return sent to Ireland vessels freighted with skeleton Irish poor. Colonel DUNNE advocated a rearrangement of the Law of Settlement. Mr. VILLIERS in his reply showed that Irish pauper cases of alleged cruelty were generally unworthy of credit. The hardships of the existing law arose from the conduct of Irish members themselves (a chorus of denial from the Irish members). Mr. H. HERBERT tendered himself as a witness of the hardships inflicted on Irish paupers by removal orders. Mr. MAGUIRE was ready to become a second witness, and hoped Government would introduce a Bill to remedy existing Irish grievances. In reply to a question the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER explained what was intended to be the operation of the wine licence: It was not to prevent holders of beer licenses from obtain-

ing a wine licence, but to place eating-house keepers and refreshment room keepers under the surveillance of the police. Mr. HALIBURTON asked Government if any notice had been taken of the fortification by the French Government of the island of St. Pierre in the vicinity of our Canadian possessions, and in defiance of treaty. Also what was intended to be done with respect to French encroachments and aggressions on our fisheries in Newfoundland. Lord J. RUSSELL replied the law officers of the crown had decided that the buildings erected by the French at St. Pierre did not constitute a violation of the treaty. Mr. WHITESIDE asked if the British Government allowed British subjects resident in Spain to be coerced into sending their children to Popish schools, or allowed British subjects to be punished for repudiating Popish doctrines. Lord J. RUSSELL replied that the British Government had remonstrated from time to time ineffectually against the Spanish laws. It would be hopeless to expect to change the laws of a bigoted government and a still more bigoted priesthood and people. Mr. KINGLAKE wished for the latest despatches relative to the annexation of Savoy and Nice by France, at the same time commenting on the discrepancy between the French Emperor's early professions and his late practices. Sir R. PEEL strongly reprobated the conduct of the Emperor of the French, who had throughout acted with duplicity towards this country—a charge which he feared was shared by Count CAVOUR, and the King of Sardinia. Lord J. RUSSELL in a very subdued tone, admitted that the British Government had reason to complain of what had occurred. Applications had been made to Austria, Russia, and Prussia, to know their opinion of the transaction, but no satisfactory answer had yet been received from any quarter, and from some no answer at all had been given. Mr. BOUVERIE made his hebdomadal complaint of the irregular way in which the business hours of Fridays were consumed. The Chinese war was made the topic of the evening by Sir D. L. EVANS, who moved a resolution relative to Chinese matters, which concluded with a hope that some plenipotentiary of conciliatory manners would be sent out to try if differences could not be pacifically adjusted. Lord J. RUSSELL, who was expected, according to promise, to give a full explanation of the policy of the Government with respect to China, contented himself with defending Mr. BRUCE, and with stating that Lord ELGIN was then in Paris, and would go out to China as plenipotentiary. A long and somewhat acrimonious debate ensued. Sir J. ELPHINSTONE wanted fuller explanation from Lord JOHN RUSSELL, and also desired to be informed why France, who had no trade with China worth speaking of, should take any part in the expedition now being sent out. Mr. BRIGHT said, that the history of our Chinese policy was full of filth. He warned the House, among other things, against entering into partnership with France in this matter; against committing this country to hostilities with three hundred millions of people; and against demanding from the Chinese such concessions as could neither be approved by God nor man. Mr. S. HERBERT defended Mr. BRUCE and Lord ELGIN, and contended that it was necessary for our honour and dignity to make a proper demonstration against China for the insult and humiliation to which we had been suddenly subjected. Sir J. PAKINGTON denied that Mr. BRUCE was warranted in resorting to force from any instructions given to him when Lord MALMESBURY was in office. Mr. C. BRUCE strongly defended his relative Mr. BRUCE and Lord ELGIN. Viscount PALMERSTON detailed the policy of Government, and showed that Mr. BRUCE was bound to act as he had acted under the circumstances in which he found himself suddenly placed. After some further discussion, Sir DE LACY EVANS withdrew his resolution, and the House agreed to a Vote of Credit for £850,000 towards the Chinese war. The ever-recurring subject of the annexation of Savoy and Nice was brought prominently forward by Mr. KINGLAKE asking Government if they were aware that Nice, by the municipal council, had elected to decline annexation, and would prefer the position of an independent state. Lord J. RUSSELL, who has a difficult and delicate part to play, not only as regards the House of Commons, but France, besought the forbearance of the House for the present; such inconvenient questions tended seriously to embarrass Government. The new Reform Bill discussion came on quietly. Mr. DISRAELI proceeded to deliver a party criticism on its details. The sins of omission and commission were numerous; it could not possibly prove final or satisfactory; it was brought forward at an inauspicious time, and when no one, except a limited few, called for parliamentary reform; under all these objections, he hoped the uncalled-for and mischievous measure would be withdrawn. Mr. BRIGHT asserted that the desire for reform was general; the Bill did not do all it ought to do, but it did something that the people required, and, under all circumstances, the House ought to accept the Bill. The debate was adjourned. The last business on Monday was a short discussion on the report of the vote for China, in which General PEEL declared that the vote of £850,000 would prove quite inadequate to cover the expenses about to be incurred. Mr. S. HERBERT was certain the vote would cover the demands which were about to be made. The question of the Ballot, with which Mr. H. BERKELEY has identified himself by his annual motion, was again brought before the House by the hon. member. He was determined to keep the question alive, and more particularly now that a new Reform bill was looming, which could have no practical efficiency unless accompanied by the Ballot. Mr. HENLEY seconded the motion for the adoption of the Ballot, instancing the pressure of landlordism and priestism on the voter as strong reasons why the Ballot ought to become a portion of our representative machinery. Mr. MARSH opposed the Ballot, having ascertained that its working in other countries was injurious. Mr. C. FORTESCUE was satisfied that the Ballot would not do away with the existing evils, but, on the contrary, would increase them. Viscount PALMERSTON, in his peculiarly clever and jocular style, dealt with the question from the negative point of view. Mr. H. BERKELEY, with undiminished "pluck," replied to the arguments by his opponents, and expressed his undiminished faith in the eventual triumph of the Ballot, and his unshaken determination to persevere until that triumph was accomplished. The motion was rejected by 254 to 147. The Endowed Schools Bill was brought on by Mr. DILLWYN moving the second reading. Dissenters, by the Bill, were to have the power of acting as trustees of endowed schools where no mention was made of special religious teaching. Mr. LOWE thought Mr. DILLWYN ought to have avoided disparaging remarks on the policy of the Established Church; the demerits of the Bill, however, he considered ought to ensure its rejection.

The Bill would take away the property of the Established Church granted by Act of Parliament, and would place in the hands of Dissenters power and control which they never were meant to have. He hoped the Bill would be withdrawn, and something more practical introduced. Mr. SELWYN moved that the Bill be read that day six months, on the ground that it was a Dissenters' measure directed against the Church of England, and that it struck at principles, subverted rules, usages, and prescriptions, which it was the interest of any religious denomination to maintain. Mr. NEWDEGATE believed the Bill was brought in to aid objects which the respectable portion of the Dissenting body would disown. The Bill was thrown out by division in favour of the amendment of 190 to 120. The Bleaching and Dyeing Bill, intended to afford protection to women and children against being overworked in these establishments, created a warm discussion. Mr. TURNER denied there was any necessity for the Bill; neither women nor children had reasonable cause of complaint on the ground of task or overwork. He moved that the Bill be read that day six months. Mr. ROEBUCK appealed to the House as fathers and brothers, to protect those who could not protect themselves. His blood ran cold on reading the evidence in the Blue Book, and he called on the House as Christian men, not to allow the proved horrors to continue, whatever might be the opposition of Manchester members. Mr. COBBETT had ascertained from personal inquiry that the work hours for women and children sometimes was eighteen hours per day. He trusted the House would pass the second reading. After a few words from Sir H. CAIRNS, who asserted that the same cruelty did not exist in Ireland, as was proved to exist in Scotland and England, and that he had no objection to have the Bill extended to Ireland, the House agreed to the second reading by a majority of 187, the numbers being 226 to 39.

On Thursday the atrocious scandal of the *Great Tasmania* was brought under the notice of the House of Lords by the Earl of ELLENBOROUGH who demanded some explanation as to the defective clothing and stores supplied to the discharged soldiers for the purposes of the home voyage. His lordship also put some pertinent questions as to the provisions and stores for the troops under orders for China. The Duke of SOMERSET denied that the authorities at the Admiralty were in any way implicated by the neglect on board of the *Great Tasmania*, which he deplored as much as the noble earl. As for the China expedition Government had exercised the utmost care in providing for the wants of the troops; and he could assert that there was no cause for anxiety on that head. Lord TEYNHAM moved the second reading of the Qualification for Office Abolition Bill, which was strenuously opposed by Lord CHELMSFORD. In the Commons the debate on the Reform Bill was resumed, and continued to a late hour.

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2. Colour Blindness.
3. Spring. By Thomas Hood.
4. Inside Canton.
5. William Hogarth: Painter, Engraver, and Philosopher. Essays on the Man, the Work, and the Time. III. A Long Ladder, and Hard to Climb.
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7. Strangers Yet! By R. Monckton Milnes.
8. Framley Parsonage (with an Illustration). Chapter X. Lucy Roberts; Chapter XI. Griselda Grantly; Chapter XII. The Little Bill.
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