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THE LEADER

SATURDAY ANALYST;

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

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Crystal Palace.—Arrangements for week ending Saturday, May 19th.

Monday, open at 9. Tuesday to Friday, open at 10.

On Wednesday Great Performance by 5,000 Children and Adults of the Tonic Sol-fa Association.

Admission One Shilling; Children under 12, Sixpence.

Orchestral Band, Great Organ, and Pianoforte Performances daily.

The Picture Gallery is re-opened. Machinery in motion. Beautiful Show of Flowers throughout the Palace, and Great Display of Tulips on the Terraces.

Friday, Eighteenth Anniversary of Her Majesty's Birthday. Military Bands, &c.

Saturday, open at 10. Mr. W. Vincent Wallace's Grand Concert. To commence at Three o'clock.

Admission by the new Season Tickets, of both classes, or on payment of Half-a-Crown; Children under 12, One Shilling; Reserved Seats, Half a Crown extra.

Sunday. Open at 1.30 to Shareholders, gratuitously, by tickets.

Crystal Palace.—Tonic Sol-fa Association.

The Juvenile Festival of the Tonic Sol-fa Association will take place in the Great Orchestra on Wednesday next, May 16th, the choir numbering 4,000 children and 1000 adults, instructed on the Tonic Sol-fa method. Conductors, Mr. John Sarll and Mr. W. S. Young. Miss Elizabeth Stirling will perform on the Great Organ at intervals.

Open at Ten. Performances to commence at Two. Admission, One Shilling; Children under 12, Sixpence; Reserved Seats (in the Galleries only), Half-a-Crown extra.

Crystal Palace.—Mr. W. Vincent Wallace's Grand Morning Concert.

Selections from the Operas Lurline, Maritana, &c., on Saturday, May 19th, at Three o'clock. Vocalists—Mlle. Lemmens Sherrington, Madame Weiss, Miss August, Thomson, Madame Laura Baxter, Miss Fanny Huddart, Miss Poole, and Miss Parepu; Mr. Sims Reeves, Mr. Santley, Mr. G. Perren, Mr. Ramsden, Mr. Weiss. Pianoforte, Miss Arabella Goddard. Violin, Herr Becker. Flute, Mr. Pratten. Conductors, Mr. Manns and Mr. V. Wallace.

Tickets, Half-a-Crown; Reserved Seats, Half-a-Crown extra; to be had at the Crystal Palace, No. 2, Exeter Hall; Messrs. Cramer, Beale, & Co., 201, Regent Street; Messrs. Chappell's, 50, New Bond Street; and at the Libraries.

Crystal Palace.—Flower Show.

The Great Exhibition of Plants, Flowers, and Fruits, this Season will be held on Saturday, May 20. Open at 12. Admission, by Two Guinea Season Tickets, free; One Guinea ditto on payment of Half-a-Crown; Day Tickets, 7s. 6d., or if purchased before the day 6s. each. These are now ready at the Crystal Palace; at 2, Exeter Hall; or may be had by order of the usual agents.

The Entries close on May 19th. Schedules can be had on application to Mr. W. HOUGHTON, Secretary to the Show.

To Politicians, Members of Parliament, and Capitalists.

A Metropolitan Political and Literary Organ, of considerable authority and influence, to be DISPOSED OF, owing to an unavoidable Dissolution of Partnership. Apply to C. MITCHELL and Co., Agents for the Sale and Transfer of Newspaper Property.

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Empowered by Special Act of Parliament.

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By the combination of Life Assurance with Guarantee, considerable reductions accrue to the persons assured, amounting (in ordinary cases) to 50 per cent. of the Guarantee Premium, if the Life and Guarantee Policies be equal, and to the whole if the Life Assurance be double the amount of the Guarantee Policy.

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The business of the present year to 24th April exceeds that of the corresponding period of last year by £23,200.

Persons assuring during the present year will be entitled to share in the bonus to be declared up to 31st December, 1863. No extra premium is charged to members of Rifle Corps serving in the United Kingdom.

April, 1860.

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Notice is hereby Given, that interest at the rate of Five per cent. per annum, will be payable on the paid-up capital of Company, to the 31st December last, at the Chief Offices, from Monday, the 30th inst., to the 31st July next, inclusive.

Payments will be made between the hours of Eleven and Three—excepting Saturdays, when the hours will be from Eleven to One o'clock.

GEO. WINTER, Manager and Sec.

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JOHNSON and Co., 2, Surrey-street, Strand, who obtain cash to any amount upon all kinds of securities, making no charge unless business is transacted.

The Standard Life Assurance Company.

SPECIAL NOTICE.—BONUS YEAR.

SIXTH DIVISION OF PROFITS.

All Policies now effected will participate in the Division to be made as at 15th November next.

THE STANDARD was Established in 1825. The first Division of Profits took place in 1835; and subsequent Divisions have been made in 1840, 1845, 1850, and 1855. The Profits to be divided in 1860 will be those which have arisen since 1855.

Accumulated Fund..... £1,681,598 2 10

Annual Revenue..... 289,231 13 5

Annual average of new Assurances effected during the last Ten years, upwards of Half a Million sterling.

WILL. THOS. THOMSON, Manager.

H. JONES WILLIAMS, Resident Secretary.

The Company's Medical Officer attends at the Office, daily, at Half-past One.

LONDON... 82, KING WILLIAM STREET.

EDINBURGH 3, GEORGE STREET (Head Office).

DUBLIN 66, UPPER SACKVILLE STREET.

ESTABLISHED 1841.

Medical, Invalid, and General Life Office, 25, PALL MALL, LONDON.

Empowered by special Act of Parliament.

At the Eighteenth Annual Meeting, held on the 21th Nov., 1859, it was shown that on the 30th June last—

The number of policies in force was .. 6,110

The amount insured was .. £2,601,925 10s. 8d.

The Annual Income was .. £121,263 7s. 7d.

The new business transacted during the last five years amounts to £2,482,798 16s. 11d., showing an average yearly amount of new business of nearly

HALF A MILLION STERLING.

The Society has paid for claims by death, since its establishment in 1841, no less a sum than £503,619.

HEALTHY LIVES.—Assurances are effected at home or abroad at as moderate rates as the most recent data will allow.

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NAVAL MEN AND MASTER MARINERS are assured at equitable rates for life, or for a voyage.

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Chairman.—The Right Hon. Lord KEANE.

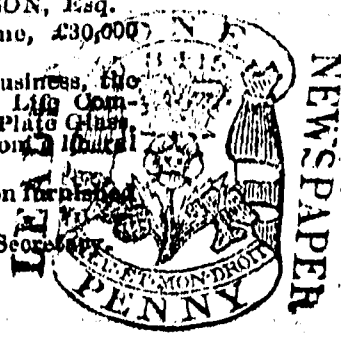
Managing Director.—PETER MORRISON, Esq.

Capital Half a Million. Premium Income, £30,000 per annum.

This Company, not having any Life business, the Directors invite Agents acting only for Life Companies to represent this Company for Fire, Plate Glass, and Accidental Death Insurances, to whom a liberal Commission will be allowed.

The Annual Report and every information furnished on application to

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Mrs. Blanchard, assisted by competent Governesses.

Visiting Minister.

The Rev. R. Malone, M.A., Incumbent of St. Matthew's.

Professors.

Scripture History—The Rev. R. Malone, M.A.; Ancient

and Modern History—The Rev. Prof. Christmas, M.A.,

F.R.S.; English Language and Lit.—The Rev. H. A.

Dixon, M.A., F.R.S.L.; Nat. and App. Sciences—

The Rev. F. F. Statham, M.A., F.G.S.; Latin Lan-

guage and Lit.—J. J. Barton, Esq., M.A., Ph. D.;

French ditto, ditto—Mons. Tourier; Italian ditto,

ditto—Signor Biaggi; German ditto, ditto—Herr

Mast; Music, (Piano)—W. H. Holmes, Esq.; ditto

(Harp)—J. B. Chatterton, Esq.; ditto (Singing)

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taining for their Daughters the advantages of a sound

and accomplished Education, at a moderate expense.

The course of Study includes the Holy Scriptures,

English Grammar, Composition and Literature, Physical

and Political Geography, History (Ancient and Modern),

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Languages. The various Classes are under the direction

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mental Music, £5 5s., and £3 3s. per Term. Singing,

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Above 12 years of age, 60 guineas per annum; under 12,

50 guineas, do.

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and Music, by the resident Governesses.

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Dress Coats £2 10s., Morning Coats £2 2s., Waistcoats

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tablet and square is stamped with the name of

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Notice of Injunction.—

The admirers of this celebrated Fish Sauce

are particularly requested to observe that none is

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Sauce will henceforward appear an additional label,

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at the original warehouse, in addition to the well-

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by a perpetual injunction in Chancery of 6th July,

1859."—6, Edward-street, Portman-square, London.

THEATRES AND AMUSEMENTS.

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On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, *SOMEBODY ELSE*.

Concluding with *THE PILGRIM OF LOVE*.

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Private Boxes, Stalls, and Places, may be obtained of Mr. Turpin, at the Box Office, daily.

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On Monday, and during the week, will be performed a new Comedietta, in one act, adapted from "La Belle Mère et le Gendre," to be called *DEAREST MAMMA*. Characters by Messrs. Addison, W. Gordon, and George Vining; Mrs. Leigh Murray, Misses Cottrell and Herbert.

After which, the new serio-comic drama, *UNCLE ZACHARY*. Characters by Messrs. F. Robson, G. Vining, W. Gordon, G. Cooke, F. Vining, H. Rivers, and Franks; Mrs. Leigh Murray, and Miss Herbert.

To conclude with "B.B." Characters by Messrs. F. Robson, H. Wigan, G. Cooke; Miss Stephens and Mrs. W. S. Emden.

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

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Sole Lessee, Mr. F. B. CHATTERTON.

Directress, Miss WYNDHAM.

Nearest theatre to Chelsea and Pimlico, the Park being open to carriages and foot-passengers all hours of the night.

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After which, *DIDO*. Mesdames Wyndham, C. Ranoe, Nelly Moore, Ashton, R. Rouse, Alice Evans, Maskell, Clara Morgan, a numerous Corps de Ballet, and Mr. Charles Young.

To conclude with *A CHANGE OF SYSTEM*. Miss Murray, Mr. F. Robinson, George Spenser.

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Tickets, 5s., 3s., and 1s. each, at the Hall.

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KING WILLIAM-STREET, STRAND.

FAREWELL SEASON.

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16, Grosvenor Street, Bond Street.

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	Fiddle Pattern	Double Thread	Kings's Pattern	Lilly Pattern
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
12 Table Forks....	1 16 0	2 14 0	3 0 0	3 12 0
12 Table Spoons ..	1 16 0	2 14 0	3 0 0	3 12 0
12 Dessert Forks..	1 7 0	2 0 0	2 4 0	2 14 0
12 Dessert Spoons..	1 7 0	2 0 0	2 4 0	2 14 0
12 Tea Spoons ..	0 16 0	1 4 0	1 7 0	1 16 0

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ELECTRO-PLATED ON HARD NICKEL SILVER suitable for Vegetables, Carries, and Entrées. Per set of 4 Dishes.

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E 3678 Gadroon Oblong Pattern, Light Plating 8	8 0
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E 4012 Antique Scroll Pattern, Melon-shaped Dish	12 0 0
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By removing the Handles from the Covers, the set of four can be made to form a set of eight Dishes.	
N 1792 Norfolk Pattern, a very elaborate Design, with rich Scroll Border all round	17 10 0
Hot Water Dishes for above	extra 15 0 0
E 1797 Threaded Pattern, equally good as the Norfolk Pattern	16 12 0
Hot Water Dishes for above	extra 15 10 0

DISH COVERS.

ELECTRO-PLATED ON HARD NICKEL SILVER.

Each set contains one Cover 20 inches; one of 18 inches; and two of 14 inches each.

No.	Complete set of 4 Covers.
E 2750 Plain Pattern, with Scroll Handle	10 10 0
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E 3912 Shrewsbury Pattern, with bold Beaded Edge and Handles	15 12 0
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MAPPIN BROTHERS, 67 and 68, King William Street, City, London, E.C.; Manufactory, Queen's Cutlery Works, Sheffield.

When you ask for Glenfield

PATENT STARCH, see that you get it, as inferior kinds are often substituted. Sold by all Chandlers, Grocers, &c., &c. WOTIERSPOON and Co., Glasgow and London.

A Toilette Requisite for the

SPRING.—Among the many luxuries of the present age, none can be obtained possessing the manifold virtues of OLDRIDGE'S BALM OF COLUMBIA. It nourishes the roots and body of the hair, imparts the most delightful coolness, with an agreeable fragrance of perfume, and, at this period of the year, prevents the hair from falling off, or, if already too thin or turning grey, will prevent its further progress, and soon restore it again. Those who really desire to have beautiful hair, either with wave or curl, should use it daily. It is also celebrated for strengthening the hair, freeing it from scurf, and producing new hair, whiskers, and moustaches. Established upwards of 30 years. No imitative wash can equal it. Price 3s. 6d., 6s., and 11s. only.

C. and A. OLDRIDGE, 22, Wellington-street, Strand, W.C.

STATE OF BUSINESS IN PARLIAMENT.

THE session is half over. Talk in abundance there has been, on every conceivable topic, and various Acts of Parliament have been advanced a stage, as it is called, in either House; yet the business of the session remains yet to be done. Mr. GLADSTONE, who led off at the opening with unrivalled force, seems to have somehow lost the power of commanding confidence in his financial schemes. The halo that surrounded him as the matchless Budget-maker is fast fading away; the French Commercial Treaty begins to look something very like a failure; and upon the question of the Paper Duties Government narrowly escaped being actually beaten last Monday night. Has Mr. GLADSTONE mislaid his talisman? or when will he find it again? His condition resembles that of the man in the German story, who not only sold the immortal part of him to a sable-vested and sallow-visaged seducer, but who, at his instance, laid out most of his moneys as his whispering counsellor bade him; and who, after resources were sunk and reputation compromised, discovered to his dismay that he had been beguiled by a mock *MEPHISTOPHELES* after all. The Manchester School do not turn out to possess the peculiar powers to which they once laid claim. They have undertaken to deal with the two most remarkable men of the time, but the result of their dealings does not appear to be successful or satisfactory. By *LOUIS NAPOLEON* it looks very like as if they had been thoroughly done; and as a financier Mr. GLADSTONE seems to have been thoroughly done by them. The chief error throughout seems to have been that of one-sidedness. In order to be able to say that he had made a Commercial Treaty with France before the existence of negotiations could become known or their course be thwarted by discussion or delay, Mr. COBDEN was induced, as amateur ambassador, to assent to stipulations on the part of the French Government, the force and effect of which practically, it is now clear, that he did not understand: and the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER having given himself up as a financier to the Manchester School, could and would listen to no warnings or suggestions of caution. He had RICHARD COBDEN for his negotiator at Paris; JOHN BRIGHT for his ally in Parliament; and MILNER GIBSON for his confidential supporter in the Cabinet. With such aid he believed that failure was impossible; and in the first *éclat* of his great Budget speech, it was certainly not easy to discern the prognostics of approaching discredit or discomfiture. We never remember, however, a more rapid decay of official *prestige* for legislative popularity than that which the last two months have witnessed; and unless it suits the future purpose of NAPOLEON III. to make such concessions as will virtually render the compact of January last a new Treaty, we do not see how Mr. GLADSTONE and his Manchester backers can be extricated from the reproach of unworkmanlike work and unbusiness-like execution of the nation's business.

Meanwhile, the "principal measure of the Session," as Lord JOHN designated the Reform Bill, has been allowed to stand over from week to week without any decisive progress being made in it, and has only been read a second time, after lying for nine weeks upon the table of the Commons, upon an understanding that another month should be suffered to elapse before the House was called upon to go into committee. The reason assigned for the former delay was the necessity of carrying the financial measures of the Government early in the year; and the excuse for the further postponement until the 4th of June was the necessity of passing the estimates, no part of which has yet been considered. Whether the state of public business after Whitsuntide, as indicated by the Notice Paper for the month of June, will or will not leave an unoccupied field for the discussion of the Reform Bill in the House of Commons, we do not venture to say. But, as far as the fate of the measure is concerned, the question is really immaterial. The Whigs have virtually surrendered to their adversaries the decision of the matter. Whether or not any Reform Bill shall pass this year, obviously now depends upon the will of Lord DERBY and his followers. If by talking against time they wish to prevent legislation on the subject until the session shall have been wholly consumed, they can manifestly do so; for Ministers have so contrived that all the other business of the year shall be disposed of first, and that the legislative examination of the varied and important details of their Reform project shall not commence until the fifth month of the session. If the Opposition shall, however, consider it to be more for their interest to get rid of a question so perplexing for them, and one which they found it so hopeless to deal with when in power, they may, indeed, for reasons of their own, waive the exercise of their obstructive privilege, and agree that, upon the whole, it was better to have some Bill passed this session than to leave the most embarrassing of all questions over for another year. Who knows what may happen by that time, or whether prospects of office may not again be opened to them?

If they are not already convinced, we suspect they will be so ere long; but if the present offer of compromise should fall through, it can never be revived with any prospect of popular acceptance. It has not been an easy matter to prevent its public repudiation in various quarters; and should Lord JOHN RUSSELL fail for the third time in the space of eight years to carry a Bill, the public will not endure the idea of any further fumbling or paltering by the Whigs with the momentous question. But, be it for good or be it for evil, it is clear that the ball is now at the feet of the Tories, and that they may either send it home if they will, or kick it for the moment off the ground.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL AND SICILY.

FROM the moment that Lord JOHN RUSSELL accepted the portfolio of the Foreign-office, we have endeavoured to place the most liberal construction upon his conduct, and have been among the first to recognise and applaud every act that illustrated a sound principle or tended to a beneficial result; but we could not avoid seeing that his Lordship had not grown with the times, nor shown himself capable of taking a leading part in the progress of international relations. His ideas are too small, and come too late. He halts between old things and new, sometimes flashing up for a moment, as if he intended to be the champion of principle, and then sinking down to be the advocate of an expediency poor in intellect and paltry in heart. While CAVOUR was moving onwards towards the emancipation of a large portion of Italy, Lord JOHN RUSSELL reprobated his proceedings—they disturbed that common-place serenity in which Whiggery loves to dwell. As a matter of calculation his Lordship was wrong; for had CAVOUR told the Italians that he would do no more than permit Sardinia to offer the example of a constitution in miniature, the throne of VICTOR EMMANUEL must have been overthrown. In point of morality his Lordship's course was equally vicious. The awful sufferings and wrongs of Italy were glaring facts calling to Heaven for vengeance, and making it a positive duty that those Italians who had power should exert it with all their energy in favour of the national cause. If his Lordship cannot feel those strong, overpowering dictates of conscience which compel men in great circumstances to throw away the beggarly rags of expediency, and become heroes, patriots, and, if needs be, martyrs, rather than forbear to sustain the right, he has read enough history to know that characters have existed who have been impelled by such noble emotions; and that by them, not by prudential time-servers, have nations been rescued and humanity made great. It was a miserable thing for an English Statesman to be constantly muttering to the Sardinian Sovereign and people: "Pray be little: great thoughts are disturbing, great actions alarming to little minds." Fortunately the advice was spurned, and when, by its rejection, several millions of people became free, Lord JOHN RUSSELL accepted the fact with satisfaction, but still mumbled the old caution, "Pray be small;" and the wretched counsel was heard without rebuke in that House of Commons which maligns the people, and is so alarmed at the prospect of Parliamentary Reform.

If we were to cull passages from recent speeches and papers of our Foreign Minister, we could draw from them pictures of Neapolitan tyranny and brutality, that would more than justify the rebellion that has occurred. He went so far as to tell the King of the Two Sicilies, that if he forced his subjects to insurrection he must expect no aid from this country; but the moment the insurrection occurs, his Lordship takes the wrong side; and while the island of Sicily rings with the horrid noises of murder and the shrieks of young girls handed over to a ruffian soldiery, the English Foreign Minister boasts that the Sicilian Monarchy had "a just reliance, a very just reliance upon the friendship of the British Government." His Lordship further stated that he had urged the King of Sardinia to stop the expedition of GARIBALDI, "and not to allow it to proceed to Sicily." Such utterances as these are truly disgraceful, and if made in any other House of Commons that we can recollect would have called forth the most indignant comments, instead of being received with a silence as ignominious as the words themselves. If Lord JOHN RUSSELL were pressed to explain the cause of his lamentable conduct, he would probably tell us of the unsettled condition of Europe, and the danger that any movement might proceed far beyond the boundaries of the locality in which it originated. There is no doubt danger in this, and the danger must be imminent so long as large countries are under the thralldom of Governments that rest upon force and not upon right. What, however, must be the influence of his Lordship's advice, which VICTOR EMMANUEL has partially followed? Has not the conduct of the Sardinian Court increased its difficulties? If it does not stop GARIBALDI, or intercept his reinforcements, it will seem weak and impotent. It has interfered

to a certain extent against the patriot cause, and thus lost the credit and prestige of honestly sympathizing with it. If it does stop the brave Italian chief, or by hampering his proceedings lead to his failure and death, no Italian can hold it guiltless. It will be poor consolation that it had an accomplice in the Cabinet of Great Britain.

It might not have been prudent for the Sardinian Court to have appeared at once as an actor on the scene. It ought, however, to have been left to follow its own inclinations—to avow its heartfelt sympathy with the insurgents, because they were right; and it ought not to have been cajoled or bullied into a seeming complicity with the side that was wicked and wrong.

Whig expediency, which always avoids the *truth* of extremes, cannot deal with great questions at critical epochs, and it would be better for England to lock up its Foreign-office, and take no part in external affairs, than to adopt a course of meddling that has neither the dignity of justice nor the power of truth. We are as anxious as any member of the Peace-at-any-price faction that England should not mingle in a European strife of arms, if such a catastrophe can be avoided with honour; but the reasons which keep back the employment of physical force do not apply to the action of moral power. Here we ought to be firm and impregnable, and no minister should be permitted to misrepresent the national voice. Our interests are peace, order, and development. We have nothing to gain from military struggles or the crash of thrones; but it is, nevertheless, our duty to do our utmost to make the voice of justice heard in oppressed lands. In a high sense, this is our interest also; for if ever the time should come when we could only pride ourselves upon the quantity of cotton we have spun, or iron we have forged, either decline or convulsion will be at hand. If prudential reasons bid us stand by and watch the struggle in Sicily, it is not prudence, but cowardice or crime, which prevents our Government from declaring their conviction that the patriot cause is right, and their wish that it may prevail. It is not the guilty Sovereign and his ministers that should have a "just reliance" upon the friendship of a British Cabinet. The British cannot follow their rulers in such iniquity—their friendship can only be given to worthy objects; and when they behold a tyrant in the lust of evil power, they must watch with anxiety for his punishment and fall.

EDUCATIONAL FRANCHISE.

WHAT persons and what things are to be represented? Such is the question which presents itself to the philosophical mind, whenever any agitation takes place on the subject of the franchise in this country. It is easy to say that we require an expression of the popular will, but not so easy to define what we mean by the phrase. Some have boldly declared that property alone was to be represented, on the ground that property itself represented the land, the accumulated wealth and credit of the country, its trade and commerce, success in any profession, and consequently all, or nearly all, the intellect and virtue of the nation. The theory is by no means an idle one—it does not proclaim that money itself is the ultimate object to be represented, but it seeks by means of a pecuniary test to represent all that is really valuable in the country. On the other hand, there is the population theory, which repudiates a money test altogether, which goes back to the old Anglo-Saxon principle, that all the country belongs to all the people, and founds on this a doctrine of representation embracing every man unaccused of crime as an elector. These two systems are in one respect alike; they are perfectly intelligible, and scientific in their simplicity.

But between them there are a number of *justes milieus*, of *mezzo termini*, of *systèmes doctrinaires*—things which, because they are not English in their nature, have no English names, and which are, for the most part, the emanations of "pure Whig minds." On these we shall not waste time at present; we wish to draw the attention of our readers, while it is yet time, to the necessity of some better form of educational franchise than those fragments which, in the proposed law, gleam like scales of mica in the rock of granite. Lord JOHN proposes to enfranchise the Universities of Scotland and London, and to leave unrepresented that of Durham and the Queen's University in Ireland. Here alone, to say no more, we have one of those pieces of inconsistency which are enough to condemn any measure of the kind. Why has not Durham a representative? Is it not evident that the Queen's University in Ireland will soon very far surpass in numerical importance that of Trinity College, Dublin? Do we not look for a continuance of the present educational movement, and the creation of new colleges, new universities, all which in turn will have a claim to be represented? But, in truth, the system of representing universities is a mere relic of the past; it is altogether unadapted to the circumstances of our age, and if

we had now for the first time to construct a House of Commons, it is most certain that neither Oxford nor Cambridge would be permitted to send members there. When the privilege was conferred, it was almost the only sure way of obtaining a tincture of literature for the popular branch of the Legislature. The bishops and mitred abbots were in the House of Lords; but what could be expected of the Commons, when even kings sealed their charters with the hilts of their swords, and discarded all knowledge of the four-and-twenty letters as a very troublesome accomplishment? In fact, all the learning in the kingdom resided in the clergy; of these a large portion were members of the Universities, and the rest had a representation of their own besides.

Now that the progress of education has extended to all classes, the grounds on which the franchise was extended to the Universities no longer exist; and of all constituencies those are the most inconvenient whose members are scattered not only all over the kingdom, but even all over the world. The very statement that a Master of Arts must go from the North of Scotland to Cambridge, or from the Scilly Isles to Oxford to record his vote, and that the resident electors are a small minority, is itself enough to condemn the system. It is true that the rank and position of the electors put bribery out of the question; and besides this, it argues a great love for the exercise of the franchise to take such an abnormal amount of trouble for it; again, the expenses of bringing up the electors, now no longer allowable, was a large drain upon the candidates. In fact, so long as these latter undertook so great an expense, so long it cost a very large sum to become the representative of one of our English Universities. When it was decided that no such expense could be incurred, it was found that comparatively very few electors would give themselves the trouble to go up and record their votes. There are, moreover, few members of our Universities who have not votes in other capacities, so that they have no particular reason to trouble themselves about what may be called their educational franchise; they are usually more interested in the election for their own borough or county, than in that of the University; they are represented apart from Oxford or Cambridge. For all these causes, the present electoral condition of these learned bodies is an anomaly in our constitution; it was very proper and valuable when first established, but the lapse of time has made it incongruous and all but useless.

And yet Lord JOHN RUSSELL has no better plan to propose than an extension of this obsolete system. It would seem as though he were incapable of any new idea; as though having once merited the title of "Finality John," all the rest of his life were to be devoted to the task of showing that he deserved it no longer. All his plans are temporary. He can put the hands of the timepiece backward or forward, but seems to have no notion that there is such a thing as a political regulator. Let us point out one way by which this problem may be solved, one mode of regulating the educational franchise, so that it shall not want a continual tinkering. No one disputes that education ought to be represented. The advocates of manhood suffrage base their theory on the necessity of not passing over any fraction of human intelligence. Those of a money test tell us that they only propose this because property is the best criterion of education. Now, why should not education itself be taken as its own proof? How absurd it is to say to a Master of Arts at Cambridge or Oxford, to a Fellow of the Royal Society, to the licensed curate of a parish, to a member of the College of Surgeons or Physicians, "We object to you because you do not inhabit a house of your own, or one above a certain rental, because you have not a certain landed estate; not that these are the qualifications which we seek to have represented, but because they are the best means of ascertaining that you have education and intelligence enough to be trusted with the franchise!" What can be more ridiculous than to give the franchise to the greengrocer who waits in Berlin gloves at dinner parties, and to deny it to those on whom he waits; to confer it on the small tradesman who lets out his house in lodgings, and to refuse it to those who hire his apartments? Money may be, to a certain extent, a fair test enough, but it certainly ought not to exclude those very attainments which it is supposed to measure.

We would propose that evidences of education should be received, and, in order to avoid imposture or mistake, we would constitute those evidences only as admissible which are derivable from public sources. It could never be competent for a man to say, "Give me a vote, for I am a well-educated person; examine me in classics and mathematics, science and history, and you will find me well qualified," for to this the natural reply would be, "We have neither time, nor inclination, nor authority to examine you. Without troubling us, you should be able to prove your fitness." If, then, the applicant be able to say, "I am a graduate of a University, where I have regularly passed an examination,"

this would be a sufficient proof of education, and the individual exhibiting his diploma, or evidence of his degree, should at once be entered on the register. Again, the difficulty in cases of foreign degrees or diplomas might be very speedily overcome by treating the matter as one of evidence. The trouble and expense would be on the claimant; but if he made out his case we most assuredly would not refuse him his vote. A man is not the less an English subject because he has graduated in a German university, and few in the present day will deny the excellence of an education obtained from such a source.

A clergyman usually has a vote from other qualifications, but in case of his not being so placed there can surely be no harm in entering his name on the register, by reason of his intellectual as well as his social position. No one will dispute his educational fitness, and his presence at the poll will serve, if for nothing better, at least as a practical protest against the stupid delusion that "a clergyman has nothing to do with politics;" an axiom which, so far as it has any meaning at all, means that when a man is especially called to the service of GOD, he must leave off, in the most important particular, the being serviceable to the men of his own generation! If a vote be given *ex officio* to every clergyman of the Established Church, and the production of his letters of Orders be sufficient to ensure registration for his name, it will be at once evident that the privilege cannot be refused to the recognised dissenting minister. Dissenters themselves would be best able to show how the qualification could be proved; but certainly there would be no difficulty of an insurmountable nature in this matter. Physicians and surgeons, apothecaries and general practitioners, barristers, attorneys and solicitors, would claim as certificated members of professions pre-eminently learned; and we are by no means sure whether pharmaceutical chemists should not be included in the same category. At all events, the interests of science require that Fellows of learned societies incorporated by royal charter should be placed on a par with ten-pound or six-pound householders, as the case may be.

Another class of persons who ought to be enfranchised are the professors and cultivators of the fine arts. Royal Academicians, Associates, and Associated Engravers ought to have votes; and it would hardly be going too far if it were bestowed on all who had publicly exhibited works of art at the annual exhibition of the Royal Academy. Music, too, has claims, and might be represented by the Royal Academy of Music.

And now we come to a question on which there ought not to be the slightest hesitation. In an educational franchise the educational profession ought not be omitted. It is clear that the National or the British and Foreign schoolmaster must stand higher than the majority of electors, in intellectual qualifications. If the new Reform Bill should be so far carried as considerably to extend the franchise, then this comparative superiority will be still higher than it is now. And we see no objection whatever to a vote being given to the masters of National and British and Foreign schools, always supposing them to have the requisite certificates. This will necessarily involve the right of teachers of a higher class; the masters of all endowed, all proprietary schools and colleges; and the conferring the franchise on the members of the College of Preceptors will include all the most important of the middle class instructors.

Examined and passed members of the Civil Service would form another class of educated voters; and so far from looking on them as disqualified by reason of their being paid by the State, we would give the franchise on the same ground to all officers of the regular army and navy, to all militia, and even to all volunteer officers; and this simply on the ground of their being men educationally qualified for the franchise.

The first comment we would make on this plan is, that it would be *final*, it would never require *adjusting*. It would add very few new voters to the lists, and this, in many minds, would be an especial recommendation. Most of those to whom it would apply are already on the register, or at all events have the right to be there. But it would make a very great difference in feeling, and in the value attached to the franchise, whether a voter tendered his suffrage as a small freeholder or householder, or as a Master of Arts, a member of the College of Physicians, a Royal Academician, or a Fellow of the Royal Society. It would be acceptable to all the educated classes; would render the Ministry which carried such a measure popular with all literary men, and would give an effective answer to those who say that art, science, and literature have no political value in England.

The next point to be noticed is, that it is absolutely free from objections. It entails no expense on those whom it professes to benefit; it does not take them from their families or their pursuits; it does not add to the expense of elections, either on the part of voters or candidates; it does not give a local repre-

sentation to a scattered constituency; it does not reproduce a system fit only for the earliest ages of a constitution; it occasions no jealousy among various bodies, but tends decidedly to harmonize all. All these objections apply in full force to Lord JOHN RUSSELL's scheme of enlarging the educational franchise by giving members to the Scottish and the metropolitan universities. Finally, it seems much preferable to diffuse the educational element through the whole mass than to separate it into a few exceptional constituencies. The one recognises the intelligence, the other the non-intelligence, of the nation at large.

THE VOLUNTEERS.

THE Volunteers are "a great fact:" some people will say too noisy and visible a fact. Certainly, it is rather a nuisance to be constantly stumbling on the crowded pavements against two or three gawky young or puffy old gentlemen masquerading in some new and wondrous costume invented by an ingenious tailor, or the more pristine garb of old GAEL, their faces presenting a singular mixture of proud self-satisfaction and conscious awkwardness, and their rifles presenting great dangers for the shins of HER MAJESTY's peaceable subjects. It is disagreeable, too, for philosophers like ourselves to be disturbed in the high speculations which must be supposed to engross us as we pass along the streets by the sudden irruption of a corps on its way to parade, heralded and supported by a troop of dirty noisy little boys; and it is still more disagreeable to have the steady flow of our lucubrations hindered by the strains of one of the "military" bands which bid fair to take the places of the poor organ-grinders as public nuisances. It is not pleasant for those who wish to see in the movement an earnest, sober display of patriotic feeling to meet young fellows strutting about in their new uniforms on Sundays and holidays, like so many turkeycocks with their hens around them; and Volunteer balls and Volunteer bespeaks at theatres seem to be encouragements of an expenditure which some of the members can ill afford. We hear, moreover, of a great deal too much squabbling amongst the officers, and of some very absurd pretensions put forward by them. Indeed, it seems as if most of the officers had only volunteered for the purpose of acquiring the right to a few bows, and the privilege of putting some kind of handle to their names. In the first place, quite forgetting that the privates are upon a perfect equality with them, they want to be saluted by them at all times, as are the officers of the regular army by their men—a most absurd and mischievous pretension. Then they want to be put upon the same footing as officers of the militia, and be styled on all occasions by their respective ranks; and a large meeting of Lancashire officers has gone into paroxysms of wrath, because it was reported that—poor injured innocents!—they could not go to Court in their uniforms. To read their eloquent outbursts about the ingratitude with which their great services and sacrifices had been requited, one would never suppose that their patriotic devotion had only extended to the purchase of an expensive suit of clothes, and a great many public "fittings on" of them. These gentlemen quite mistake the object and character of the Volunteer movement. It was not originated that we might be flooded, as in America, with a shoal of bastard captains and colonels, owing here their rank merely to their influence with some Lord Lieutenant, but that the youth of the country might be exercised in arms, and its safety from invasion thereby secured.

In the main, these objects have been effected. If the young men who have enrolled themselves are at present rather too fond of showing their uniforms, the fever will soon pass away. They will think more of displaying their skill at the target than their clothes on the parade. The mere fops and snobs will give the fourteen days' notice, and retire from a service which necessitates some labour. So will the majority of the officers—the poor creatures, who want to be saluted and be-captained, and entertain strange notions of astonishing Her Majesty and the Court beauties by their graceful figures in uniform; their places will be taken by men who are really interested in the work; and although the number of volunteers may be diminished, their real strength will be increased. Even now it is surprising how much the men have accomplished. Looking at the twelve hundred young men who were inspected in Hyde Park by the Duke of CAMBRIDGE last Saturday, one could scarcely think that they were merely clerks and warehousemen, whose training had all been done in the hours they could steal from business. Their efficiency proved the natural adaptability of the men, and the zeal with which they had devoted themselves to the work. It is the same in other parts of the metropolis, and all over the country. With all the foppery and folly which attach themselves as excrescences to the movement, it has given England an army of volunteers, upon which she may safely rely in the hour of danger. A year ago we were comparatively defenceless; an enemy who should have

succeeded in landing on our shores would have met for some time with little resistance worth mentioning; now, more than a hundred thousand trained and disciplined men are ready to co-operate with the regular army in its resistance to any foe who may be mad enough to assail us.

Has it ever occurred to any one to ask to what man or body of men—to what journal or number of journals—we are indebted for this great result? We fear not. The man who originates a movement of this kind has to fight, in the commencement, against obstacles which seem almost insuperable. He is derided or refused a hearing; pooh-poohed as an impracticable dreamer, until something occurs which makes everybody a convert to his views, and then he is deliberately ignored. Everybody professes to be struck by the same idea at the same time, and takes credit for his own genius or patriotism in putting it zealously forward. However usual this neglect may be, it is not the less discreditable, and we are not willing to see the man to whom England is mainly indebted for this revival of a martial spirit and provision of a sure and cheap defence deprived of the credit to which he is entitled.

Eight or nine years ago, Mr. ALFRED B. RICHARDS, a gentleman well known as an earnest and able advocate of popular rights, urged upon the Government of the day, in different organs of public opinion, the importance of encouraging the people to take up arms in their own defence. The time was not propitious. The world was then wrapped in a dream of universal peace; and when, two or three years afterwards, that dream was rudely dispelled by the Russian war, our alliance with France indisposed people to a measure which was principally necessary as a precaution against the ambition and hatred of that country. When, however, the addresses of the French colonels, at the time of the Conspiracy Bill, had warned Englishmen of the danger to which they were exposed, Mr. RICHARDS, who took a prominent part in the public agitation which led to the defeat of that measure, renewed his efforts to awaken the people to the importance of taking up arms, and the Government to the duty of encouraging them by facilitating the establishment of rifle clubs. Mr. RICHARDS's eloquent appeals, in the columns of the *Morning Advertiser*—a journal which has been the consistent and zealous supporter of the movement all along, and which gave the cause all the benefit of its influence, whilst it was sneered at in other quarters, must be familiar to many of our readers. But Mr. RICHARDS did not content himself with urging his views through the press. He called a meeting at St. Martin's Hall, in March of last year, over which Sir CHARLES NAPIER presided, and when the necessity of the measures he had so long advocated was strongly affirmed. That meeting launched the movement the great results of which we now witness. The subject was at once taken up in the columns of the *Times* and other leading journals, and the DERBY ministry issued the famous Circular to Lords Lieutenant, inviting the formation of rifle clubs. The invitation was at once responded to, and the movement, which was stimulated greatly by the differences which appeared to exist between the policy of England and France during the autumn, has gone on increasing throughout the country. So far as we are aware, the great services of Mr. RICHARDS have never been recognised. He originated the movement, and the men the movement caught up seem to look with complacency upon themselves as its founders.

We think the enthusiastic advocates of rifle corps might find some way to show their recognition of these merits; for ourselves, although no indiscriminate admirers of the movement, we feel bound to give our testimony to the claims of Mr. RICHARDS to be regarded as its originator, anxious all the more to do so because that gentleman has, with rare modesty, refrained from pressing them himself upon public attention.

PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY.

THE regeneration of Italy, dear as it has been to the hearts of many English poets, orators, and reflecting men, has hitherto been rather an æsthetic dream, pertaining to a few, than a political aspiration pervading the body of the English people. That the Italians were worthy of freedom has been believed with sufficient readiness, and we have accepted the fact on the evidence of travellers and authors, that the Italian peasant is a possible hero—that he shows it in his mien and gesture, in his flashing eye, and in his fiery passions. Only one condition was needed to their complete emancipation, and that was that they should concur in the expediency of union, and show to their tyrants an undivided front, thus bringing all their strength to bear on the great contest for liberty. And now the time has at length come when this indispensable condition has been fully observed; and all Italians, under one king, have proclaimed their willingness to be regarded as one nation. This proclamation,

moreover, they have made with becoming ardour, the warmth of which was only last week demonstrated to be proof against disappointment and the wet weather. The feeling within the breast despised the outward inclemency of the skies, and consoled the owner for the loss of pageant and illumination. It did even more—for when superstitious priestcraft would represent the aspect of the elements as unfavourable, it scorned the sinister augury, and refused to be depressed by the season's accident. The Bolognese reflected that the same rain that drenched them to the skin, also saturated the citizens and denizens of Rome, and threatened as much PLO NONO as it did VICTOR EMMANUEL. Meanwhile the English people have read of these things, and tacitly approved them;—but our sympathy has not been demonstrably expressed. We have assumed the attitude of spectators, not that of actors in the scene.

The reason of this apparent apathy is traceable to the difference in religious faith. The Protestant intelligence of England credited little the assurance of Civil liberty when unconnected with Religious; and with the latter, being of a different creed, it would not assume that it had a right to interfere. Very different would be the feeling of this country, were there any probability that the chains of St. PETER would ere long be cast off from the consciences of men. Individuals have, indeed, thought it a good opportunity to assail the unity of the Catholic Church in Italy, and attempts were very lately made in Rome to procure toleration for various forms of worship; but these were of a sectarian kind, and manifested more of fanatic zeal than pious discretion. Rumours, however, are now afloat that there is an undercurrent in Rome itself of Protestantism, and that when the downfall of the Pope's temporal power has been achieved, such Protestantism is sufficiently strong in numbers and conviction to declare itself, and assert, at least, equality with the now dominant belief. Such rumours, it may be conceded, are not strongly confirmed, nor even abundantly bruited;—they consist of a line or two in foreign correspondence, or a parenthesis in a newspaper sentence;—they are intimations rather than assertions, introduce themselves by the way rather than in a direct manner; but perhaps they are all the more significant on that account, being, as it were, indiscreet revelations which have escaped the lips unintentionally, and suggest to the close observer the state of the heart, which had an interest in keeping so important a secret unspoken. When the curb from the mouth thus falls of itself, the least broken accent is a discovery, and tends to the full disclosure of the mystery it so imperfectly symbolizes. Curiosity and suspicion are awakened;—hope kindles in the slave, whose freedom is at hand, and fear trembles in the tyrant, whose power is threatened. The second-sighted already perceive the cloud no bigger than a man's hand that prognosticates the tempest.

While, therefore, we think that too much importance should not be given to these hints of an underlying Protestantism among the Roman population, we are far from saying that no notice should be taken of them. It is reasonable that murmurs and whispers should precede the decided announcement of a movement so momentous in its character, and which must be so pregnant with consequences of the greatest weight, both in the Church and the world. We know not whether the Evangelicals, whose doings were some time ago tolerated, have any connection with the alleged secret Protestant sentiment, and acknowledge that we have been accustomed to regard religious reform in Italy under a different aspect from either. Catholicism, we knew, had long been separated from Papalism in that country; and, considering the artistic nature of the people, we had thought that the course that religious reform would take would be that of separating these in fact as well as in idea. We had thought, indeed, that the gorgeous ceremonies of the Church would be retained, while the infallibility of the POPE would be denied, and thus a more free and ample arena obtained for doctrinal discussion. What might follow on this, in the course of time, we could not conjecture; it might be ultimately a purification of the priesthood and ceremonial rites, and an entire deliverance of the great body of believers from a degrading superstition. But if Mariolatry, in the secret hearts of the people, have already lost its power, and the severe spirit of Protestantism have indeed entered into the souls of worshipping men and women, the "consummation so devoutly to be wished" is nigher than we had contemplated. We need not say that we shall rejoice at it.

There are, certainly, some overt corroborations to these covert signs of a coming ecclesiastical reformation. The existence of this underlying current may be one of the reasons for the reluctance of the French EMPEROR to withdraw his troops from the Romagna, and his willingness that General LAMORICIERE should undertake the conduct of the Papal army. The extent of the influence cannot, however, be suspected by the French general,

as he appears already to have excited the animosity of ANTONELLI by a disposition to be less extreme in his measures than the Cardinal would desire. To the latter, doubtless, the whole truth is known, and suggests to his arbitrary mind the expediency of a new St. BARTHOLOMEW massacre, which, perhaps, the presence of the French general may counteract. LAMORICIERE is, we believe, a sincere and pious religionist, and on this account may gain, from his close contact with the Papacy, some impressions of the actual state of things at head-quarters which may damp his enthusiasm. We can readily see how that NAPOLEON III. might reasonably fear the declaration of Roman Protestantism, and the shock that it would produce in Catholic France, to say nothing of the triumph it would give to the concealed infidelity of Paris. Probably he is too enlightened to care much about the ultimate issue, but the present inconvenience would be exceedingly great.

Among these corroborations, we may also notice the long-patent fact, that the more intellectual of the Italians have been accustomed to attribute their social and civil evils to their religious system. From DANTE to the present day, there has been a potential Protestantism in educated and philosophical minds—nay, even the laity have found out that a celibate clergy cannot beneficially rule a married society. It is they, with the POPE and Cardinals, who sold Italy to the stranger; who killed the soul, while the foreigner tortured the body; and who have revenged upon Rome the agonies of conquered nations. In the mind of PIO NINO, too, superstition has intensified itself. It was he who edified the pillar in the Piazza di Spagna, at Rome, in commemoration of the Immaculate Conception. It is thus that, in order to their mending, things are brought to their worst. This judicial blindness of the POPE has alienated many of the Catholic clergy, and led to that fanaticism which issued in the assassination of the Archbishop of PARIS. Mariolatry is thus substituted for Christianity, in the face of entire Christendom; and the Catholic Church itself is rent with a schism, which it is not impossible may culminate in Protestantism.

Signs and portents are not wanting. The POPE issues his excommunication against the Sardinian monarch, and the clergy and people of Bologna still welcome him to their palazzas and cathedrals. The thunder of the Vatican is abortive—the lightning fails to strike the victim. The *Te Deum* is celebrated in his presence, and his presence itself hailed with a degree of popular enthusiasm perfectly astounding to those who are witnesses of his progress through Central Italy. The Papal authority is of no value in the eyes of modern Italians—it may be, that the Papacy itself will ere long be a thing of the past. Whether Protestantism or a reformed Catholicism will succeed, we await more evidence. But the balance is taken from its hiding-place, and already displayed on high, in and by which the claims of each will be weighed and finally determined. Of this no competently-informed man can doubt, and no patriotic Italian will.

SCHISM IN COUNCIL.—INDIA.

SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN, the Governor of Madras, an Indian statesman of great reputation, has published a "Minute," impugning Mr. WILSON's financial statement. It controverts his conclusions as to the condition of the finances of India, and condemns his proposed new taxes. The fact is of much too great importance to tolerate one of those unclassical sweeps of the memory, or *omnium gatherums* of the intellect, by which it is customary for leader writers to introduce to notice the commonest topics of the day. It reminds us of the time when CLAVERING, FRANCIS, and MONSON conquered from HASTINGS and BARWELL possession of the Government of India, and for a season threw all things into confusion. Such a subject requires only the plainest, most concise, and most unadorned statement.

SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN has made the Government of India the chief study of his life. He is well versed in its literature, and in all the sciences connected with government. In various departments he has carried on the art with considerable success. He was bred up in the Indian service, and though he left it for a time for the Treasury, he can but regard Mr. WILSON, a comparatively new importation into the service of the State from commerce, as an "interloper." The public may recollect that, on certain unpleasant subjects at the time of the Crimean war, and notably the affair of the "green coffee," these two gentlemen, then both members of the Treasury, were brought into conflict; and may anticipate that Sir CHARLES would not allow any feasible opportunity to pass by of displaying, at Mr. WILSON's expense, any superiority he can claim. Some motives of this kind may have impelled the step which is likened, in the Indian papers, to the Lord Lieutenant of Ire-

land publishing in the *Times* a bitter invective against Mr. GLADSTONE for increasing the income-tax to curry favour with LOUIS NAPOLEON. But, however much the Minute may trench on official subordination, and whatever lurking motives may have prompted Sir CHARLES's vigilance, the public must be well pleased to have a searching examination of Mr. WILSON's great scheme undertaken on the spot by a very competent man. Where least expected we find an official conflict subserving the purpose of public opinion and a free press, and imposing restraints alike on the despotism of Sir CHARLES WOOD, and the narrow overbearing will of Mr. WILSON. The Indian officials, failing to agree amongst themselves, supply the discussion necessary to delay hasty measures. Waving all further notice of the publication of the Minute as an unexpected and perhaps unauthorized act of one member of the Government towards another, we shall place before the public a few of the weighty objections Sir CHARLES TREVELYAN urges to Mr. WILSON's scheme. Paying no regard to their official position, we take up the Minute as the enlightened comment of one well-informed man on the great project of another.

The financial changes and the currency changes proposed by Mr. WILSON are both portions of one scheme. The former are based entirely on the revenue and expenditure of India; the latter are founded on general principles of political science. To the former a special knowledge is necessary, which, according to the best authorities, is possessed in an eminent degree by Sir CHARLES TREVELYAN, and he implies that it is not possessed by Mr. WILSON. Everything concerning the new scheme of finance hinges on correct estimates of revenue and expenditure, and Mr. WILSON gives no adequate details. He professes a dislike for prospective budgets, makes no estimate of wants, but proposes some very onerous prospective taxes. He invites discussion with professions of frankness, but withholds the minute information on which alone it can be founded. Even if his adversaries be wrong in their estimates of the future, there is no means of knowing whether he be right.

His statement of the revenue and expenditure for 1859-60 is admitted, and the deficiency of the year—£9,290,129—recognised. He has, however, included—as we must state on our own authority—in the expenditure £1,114,000 for guaranteed interests to railway companies, but this is not a part of the permanent expenditure of the Government. In fact, the sum, and whatever the item may amount to year after year, can be paid out of the capital of the various companies deposited in the Indian Treasury, and forming part of its large balances. On December 31 last the amount so deposited belonging to them was £3,346,000. If it pay them interest on this sum, and advance them beyond the interest the amount sufficient to pay the guaranteed interest, it charges them interest on the advances, which will be repaid out of the first proceeds of the railways. It seems quite an error, therefore, to include, as Mr. WILSON does, the guaranteed interest to railways amongst the permanent expenditure to be provided for by taxation.

SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN refers to other charges, "like the large payments to be made next year for the Carnatic and Tangore debts, which will not again recur." Mr. WILSON proposes that a portion of the coin with which the place is to be supplied by state paper currency, shall be invested in public securities, which will redeem debt to an equivalent amount, to be placed to the credit of the public resources. He, has too, underrated the saving in military charges—£1,740,000, which is less, Sir CHARLES asserts, than the saving *already made* in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay *alone*, without including the much larger saving which may be made in the Presidency of Bengal. Sir CHARLES WOOD, in fact, stated on Tuesday evening, confirming Sir C. TREVELYAN's view, that he had received accounts from India of reductions greater than he, and of course than Mr. WILSON, had anticipated. Mr. WILSON admits, too, that balances are in the Company's Treasury to the amount of £19,600,000, against £13,398,000 last year; and this "unprecedented hoard," Sir CHARLES considers, may be wisely utilized, liberating a large portion, to the diminution of the public charges and the promotion of enterprise. Then, again, the trade of the country is rapidly increasing, and so far as the scanty revenue derived in any manner from increased prosperity is concerned, it will probably exceed next year very considerably that of the year just elapsed. On these grounds Sir CHARLES, in his long and able minute, contends that Mr. WILSON has greatly overrated the temporary deficiency in the revenue to be provided for by new taxes, and underrated the probable proceeds of the present taxes. We have no data for determining how much the deficiency is overrated, because this depends on the success of the measures now in progress, but we should not be surprised to learn, including the sum set down on account of railways,

that it is overrated to the extent of more than one half, and will not exceed £3,000,000. If that be an approximation to the truth, a large portion of Mr. WILSON's new taxes will positively not be wanted.

Then a very important consideration arises, to which we earnestly hope the public and the Parliament will pay attention, and not allow, as Sir C. WOOD recommends, the Indian Government to arrange the taxation of India without interference. Governments, we know, are only encouraged in wasteful extravagance by an abundant revenue. Those who are acquainted with our financial history will recollect how the money of the people of England was squandered, for example, in 1823, 4, 5, when the Government had a "Godsend," and an unusual supply of money. It has always been squandered whenever it could be easily obtained. On such a subject no witness can be superior to Sir C. TREVELYAN, and he tells us that "official hierarchies never look with favour on reduction of expenditure." "At Calcutta," as at London, "the favourite remedy has always been increase of taxation," which the late Sir R. PEEL once described as the vulgar expedient, had recourse to on all occasions by feeble Governments, "of putting their hand into the national pocket." "Large funds," says Sir CHARLES, "suddenly placed at the disposal of a public department are certain to weaken the restraints of economy." "Funds procured by such taxes as are proposed would be wastefully raised and wastefully applied." Correctly, we have no doubt, he observes, "that the proposed increase of taxation would arrest the course of improvement in the South of India, and prevent the reduction of the redundancy of ill-paid revenue officers, which is its greatest evil. It would lead to its increase, for the European officers are already overtaken."

In accordance with these just remarks, Sir CHARLES zealously and eloquently advocates, as opposed to increased taxation, the reduction of establishments and of expenditure. This is the only safe means of dealing with this great subject. "We cannot afford," he says, "to have a discontented people and a discontented army on our hands at the same time." He therefore would, if possible, increase the content of the people, now most favourably disposed towards our rule, who have continued quiet in the midst of mutiny; and decrease the army, which would give additional hands to industry, and thus increase the national prosperity and the national revenue.

Our limits forbid us to follow Sir CHARLES in all his detailed recommendations for melting down all the heterogeneous elements "of the old military establishment into a good police and a good auxiliary native force;" to concentrate our military power at a few central positions, from which, with our present facility of transport, every part of the huge empire might be speedily reached and commanded; to make the civil service more efficient, and to pay its members better, the present general rise of prices making salaries and wages insufficient for subsistence, and therefore making additional taxation unusually objectionable. We content ourselves with saying, on his authority, "that large reductions are making, both in Madras and Bombay, and large corresponding improvements, but that the great field for reduction is Northern India." He remarks, correctly, that there are now no large native armies in existence, as in Lord AMHERST's and Lord WILLIAM BENTINCK's time, and no necessity, consequently, for us to keep up corresponding armies. The Bengal native army has dissolved itself; there is, throughout our territory, prosperity and unusual employment for the people. The opportunity, therefore, is excellent for making reductions. "The national balance-sheet may be adjusted by reducing expenditure, or by increasing taxation;" but the Government has no right, Sir CHARLES justly asserts, to demand additional taxation, unless it be impossible "to reduce expenditure." His enlightened sentiments and his vigorous denunciation of Mr. WILSON's new "tremendous taxes," are fully subscribed to by Sir PETER GRANT, the Hon. W. A. MOREHEAD, and the Hon. R. MALTBY, the members of the Madras Council; and there already prevails, we are told on authority, a "sullen feeling of dissatisfaction wherever Mr. WILSON's scheme of taxation has been understood."

We are well assured that the contest between the two official gentlemen on such vital questions will not end in mere words. One or other will have to secede from the Government. The public, therefore, must be prepared to take a side, and resolve whether it will stand by Sir CHARLES TREVELYAN, a reduced revenue, and economy; or by Mr. WILSON, new taxes, an enlarged revenue, and corresponding waste, ending in renewed mutinies and ruin. There are indications in the Minute of a strong personal feeling between these two official gentlemen, and it is impossible that both can remain in high positions in India with advantage to the public service.

THE PARLIAMENT AND THE PRESS.

THE public are at last indebted to Mr. HORSMAN for an amusing and instructive episode, that has relieved the weary sameness of parliamentary debates. For a long time Mr. HORSMAN has been in a state of chronic irritability, and if we did not know that the honourable member for Stroud was an old stager in public affairs, we should imagine him to be cutting his political teeth, and exhibiting that fractiousness which is too well-known in the nursery, and drives suffering parents to "Mrs. JOHNSON's soothing syrup," or some other "real blessing to mothers." Mr. HORSMAN is certainly entitled to the praise of disinterestedness. He disgusts his constituents, and flings away his reputation with a spendthrift magnanimity that gives the lie to any accusation of corrupt motives. If any one accused him of self-seeking, he could point triumphantly to his constant practice of self-slaughter, and those who wish him well regret that he does not manifest the ordinary circumspection of a man who is able to perceive the consequences of his acts. We do not wish to be hard upon Mr. HORSMAN, and much prefer the reality of his querulousness to the sham and pretence of most parliamentary speakers; and we believe that, without clearly knowing what he was about, he has done more good than nine-tenths of the tiresome gentlemen who have lowered the character of the House of Commons by their six weeks' chatter against Parliamentary Reform.

Mr. HORSMAN was dragged before the assembled wisdom of the nation on Monday as the proprietor of a singular grievance. The *Times* newspaper had accused our immaculate senators of being influenced by the fear of dissolution and the expense of contested elections, and the chief proprietor of that journal had made a speech on the inconvenience of sending members of Parliament to meet their constituents on the costly occasion of an appeal for their votes. In the remarks of the *Times* Mr. HORSMAN's name figured with an ironical allusion that might, with a little squeezing, be interpreted to include him in the category of imperfect patriots, and which induced him to write to Mr. WALTER, complaining of the course his paper had taken, and expressing his intention to notice the matter in the House of Commons. A few letters were exchanged, and the end of it was that Mr. WALTER brought the case forward himself, and emphatically denied any personal responsibility for the opinions expressed by the journal of which he was a proprietor. Mr. HORSMAN, in reply, complained of the irresponsibility of the Press, and was virtuously indignant about what he called the calumnious attack of the *Times* upon the House of Commons. In the course of his speech he read a letter he had addressed to Mr. WALTER, and which that gentleman was too modest to read himself. In this epistle he expressed his belief that Mr. WALTER was responsible for the conduct of his paper, and spoke of the calamity of a great journal being "true to no principle, constant to no policy, and disdainful of all rules of public justice and morality." These and similar sentences were loudly cheered as they were read, and a sensation was produced by the following public allusion to circumstances well known but rarely referred to:—"I have not time to remark on the personal influences by which the *Times* is supposed to be affected, or the peculiar influences that draw Mr. DELANE to Lord PALMERSTON, and the anomalous position and proceedings of Mr. LOWE on the Treasury Bench." Mr. HORSMAN seems altogether to mistake the source of the power a newspaper wields. Its editor may dine with Lord PALMERSTON, and one of its writers may sit on the Treasury Bench, but it can exert little influence if it is not, on the whole, an accurate representation of the thoughts and wishes of its readers or constituents. If the *Times* did not obtain support from that portion of the public to which it is addressed, its plans would soon be altered, or its circulation and influence would fall. Not one reader in a thousand cares for its columns of advertisements, and, thanks to competition, all the facts of the day can be obtained elsewhere. It is idle to talk of irresponsibility—the *Times* is responsible to its supporters; and those who habitually buy it or read it would not do so if they felt any horror at its career. The average tone of the morals of the wealthy class does not lead them to brand the conduct of a journal that chops and changes with the varying interests and passions of their order, nor does a connexion of responsibility with such an organ cause any one to be shunned in the "best society." The time, no doubt, will come when playing fast and loose with great public questions will be deemed a crime; but so long as members of Parliament buy their seats, and refuse, session after session, to legislate honestly against political corruption, it is ridiculous for them to complain that somebody besides themselves trades in political principles, and keeps on hand a stock that their business experience leads them to anticipate will sell.

The journalism of England is a long way from perfection, but it is in advance of the public, who will scarcely ever supply anything better than insolvency and ruin for any fearless and consistent advocate of truth. There is not on record an instance of a high-priced paper that has obtained a large circulation on account of the integrity and ability of its editorial department, and few things are more unsaleable than steady devotion to sound principles and just plans. The anonymous character of leading articles may, perhaps, be modified, but it could not be advantageously abandoned. Hundreds of the most laborious students and ablest thinkers are not known to the public, and the systematic appending of their names to their contributions would excite personal antagonisms that now happily do not exist. In provincial towns the editor of a paper is always known, and many London journals exert a power from the character of particular persons who edit or contribute to them. In the case of the *Times* everybody has known that Mr. DELANE was its editor, and Mr. LOWE one of its chief scribes. Thus, then, has existed the

personal responsibility that Mr. HORSMAN denies, but the tribunal has failed to work as he requires. The opinion which is most influential in determining a man's conduct, is that of his associates or business constituents, and, neither of the gentlemen named has found, or been likely to find, the quirks and tricks of their paper any bar to social and political success.

Lord PALMERSTON asserts that Mr. DELANE's intimacy with him is simply the result of agreeable manners and large information. No one, however, will believe that his Lordship had not an eye to business as well as a desire for a pleasant acquaintance; and if ever Mr. HORSMAN wished to get up a railway or establish a clothing mill he would be very likely to give a dinner to any one able to assist his plans.

Mr. DISRAELI thought the House ought to discourage the practice of quoting what the newspapers say, but the fact is, that public questions are better discussed by the Press than by the House of Commons, and that the Press represents the country better than the House of Commons, and if that House be not thoroughly reformed it will sink in influence and respect until it might be easily overthrown. If the Press had babbled as much weary nonsense as the House of Commons has on the subject of Reform for the last six weeks, it would be in danger of dissolution; and no far-seeing statesman can think it prudent that the representative body should come to such a pass that one man should become a mere fashion, and be considered as the only person saying anything worth listening to. We do not stop to criticise the value of Mr. GLADSTONE's opinions and philosophy, but we mention a notorious fact when we say that the interest has gone in and out as he has moved, and that a vague impression of boredom has been the result of the remainder of the talk. A stronger argument for Parliamentary Reform could not be offered than the narration of the fact, that in the ordinary intercourse of society, and in the ordinary places where Englishmen congregate, unless some practical question connected with the Commercial Treaty has been discussed, no one, for a long time past, has heard the House of Commons mentioned. It might as well have held its sittings in Kamschatka, or claimed to have represented Timbuctoo.

THE WINE LICENSES.

THE Wine Licenses Bill is the necessary complement of the French Treaty. Without some such legislation, the sacrifices which that achievement of "unadorned" diplomacy imposes upon this country would be considerably increased, and the advantages promised by it greatly lessened. The large majority by which the second reading of the Bill was carried, is due to the general recognition of this fact. It would otherwise have hardly overcome the formidable opposition which it has aroused. The "teetotallers," who resist it upon the foolish ground that it will inevitably increase intemperance, and the Licensed Victuallers, whose opposition rests upon the much more rational apprehension of injury to their own interests, both command powerful organizations, which can bring great influences to bear upon the members of the House of Commons. The Bill, besides, contains, in its present shape, clauses of an inquisitorial and oppressive character, which outweigh, in the opinion of many, the social advantages its main provisions hold out, and it is only the conviction that the measure is absolutely necessary, as well for fiscal reasons as for the full fruition of the treaty, that has secured Mr. GLADSTONE his majority of 74.

To reduce the duty upon wine, and provide no new channels for its distribution, would be a gratuitous sacrifice of revenue compensated by no benefit to the public. The only persons who could then derive any profit would be the rich, who are already in the habit of consuming wine, and even to them, as in the qualities they drink the duty has always borne a very small proportion to the price, the benefit would have been scarcely appreciable. The object of the reduction which has taken place is to give to the people generally the means of obtaining a light and wholesome beverage at a comparatively low price, and, by inducing this general consumption, to promote our commercial relations with the countries supplying it. It is anticipated that the increased consumption will make up for much of the revenue apparently sacrificed by the reduction, whilst the increased prosperity of the country, from the development of its industry, will render it easy to supply the balance from other sources. But under the existing system, an appreciable increase of consumption is an impossibility. The people in whom this taste for wine is likely to develop itself will not order a dozen or two from a regular wine-merchant,—they are not disposed to make such an outlay; nor will they send to a public-house for small quantities as they want them,—they have a great distrust of the quality of the articles sold there, and a natural disinclination to send their servants to a place where they are likely to make mischievous acquaintanceships. They will send, however, for small quantities to the grocer or other shopkeeper with whom they are in the habit of dealing, and whose interest, as the wine will not be consumed on his premises, must be to sell a good, genuine article at a moderate price, so that his customers may come to him for it again. This family consumption, which Mr. GLADSTONE's Bill allows any shopkeeper who chooses to embark in the trade to cater for, is not reprobated even by Mr. HARDY, who would, however, prevent the possibility of it by confining the sale to the publican and regular wine-merchant, a restriction which, as we have shown, would entirely prevent the growth of any taste for wine.

The more important, as well as the more hotly contested proposal of the Bill is that to give licenses for the sale of wine to the

keepers of refreshment rooms and to pastrycooks. To a very large section of the population this change of the law will be a great boon. At present, as Mr. GLADSTONE says, there is an unnatural divorce between eating and drinking. The man who goes to an eating-house for his dinner, must, unless he is prepared to wash it down with thick coffee or wholesome but cheerless water, wait until he has done, and then cross the street to the public-house for his draught. If he could have a large glass of light wine at his dinner for two or three pence, he would gain much in health and comfort. It is not so much, however, to the frequenters of this class of establishments that the boon will be given. The permission to pastrycooks to sell wine will be a great convenience to professional men, and a much larger one to ladies. At present, a lady, let her have walked ever so far, be thoroughly tired out by a long shopping expedition, visit to a picture exhibition, or any other jaunt of business or pleasure, can get no more satisfactory refreshment than tea, coffee, or lemonade. However respectably a public-house may be conducted, it is quite impossible for a lady, even under the protection of her husband or brother, to enter it, and even to many gentlemen it is most disagreeable to do so. If pastrycooks are allowed to sell wines, a lady can take a good lunch comfortably. There may, perhaps, be some persons who deny that ladies or children need anything more nutritious than lemonade, but their denial is only the measure of their ignorance. As a rule, the absolute necessity for the use of generous drinks occurs more frequently in the female organization than in the male. It would be a great social benefit to give people the means of obtaining such light refreshment; and to assert that intemperance would be thereby increased is as absurd as to suggest that the introduction of wine into general use will be the superaddition of a worse form of intoxication to the kinds already so common.

It is, of course, impossible to suppose that the "teetotallers" believe in their own predictions of a necessary increase of drunkenness, from the greater facilities of obtaining wine licenses. They know very well that the general introduction of wine will rather act in the contrary direction, and they are equally well aware that ample opportunities are now given for intoxication. When there is a public-house vending fiery compounds at the corner of every street, it is ridiculous to allege that the grant of a license to the eating-house in the middle to sell wine to the people dining there, is putting additional temptation in the way of anybody to get intoxicated. But the truth is, the party have adopted the foolish system of repression, and cling with all the folly of fanatics to their notion of spreading virtue by Act of Parliament.—They want to shut up all places in which strong drinks are sold, and they, therefore, feel it necessary to oppose a law which will increase the number of such establishments, although they know well enough that the temperance they profess to desire will be promoted by this measure. They have their own pet scheme of salvation, and they wish to prevent anybody's being saved except by it. We have much more respect for the opposition of the Licensed Victuallers. It is in its origin honest and straightforward, if it has in the course of the controversy attempted to clothe itself under professions of a scarcely legitimate character. The publicans believe that their property is endangered by this slight opening of their trade.—We don't think it is. The ladies and gentlemen who may lunch at the pastrycook's, the families who may send to the shopkeeper for wine, would under no circumstances be customers of the publican. He may lose the sale of the few pints of beer hitherto consumed by the persons who come to him to drink after having dined at the eating-house, but that is the extent of his loss, and it will be inappreciable. Still, he has the right to do his best to defeat the Bill, if he thinks it threatens to deprive him of the capital he was induced in reliance upon an existing law to invest in his business. We are glad to believe he won't succeed, because the measure he opposes will do him little harm, and will prove an immense advantage to the middle and lower classes. As it stands now, the Bill requires much amendment; it taxes too many people, and gives too much power to the police; but Mr. GLADSTONE has expressed his readiness to have it so modified in committee as to prevent much of the inconvenience and injustice it now threatens to inflict upon individuals, and we hope to find in the same process of revision the public convenience still further consulted.

SWINDLING.

IF any preacher or private moraliser is inclined to affirm that the greed of gain is the crying sin of the time, he certainly has as good an opportunity for making out his case as often falls to the lot of fair arguer or special pleader—greed of gain occupying the middle station between dishonesty, which is its minister, and luxury and vanity, which are, in far the greater number of instances, its final object—instances, we mean, private not political. We have now before us three degrees of rascality, or rather rascality in three degrees; the upas tree of scoundrelism flourishing in every zone of vegetation, high or low, and blooming with equal vigour in every political atmosphere:—a true British constitutional confidential clerk doing his bad business to the extent of a quarter of a million, a speculating minister of an old-fashioned monarchy; and third, with not very clean hands, the very President himself of BRIGHT's Eden—

"Where bastard Freedom waves
Her fustian flag, in mockery over slaves;
With whips and charters, manacles and rights,
With slaving blacks and democratic whites:"

and where also, it seems—

“that patriots learn to steal
Their private perquisites from public weal;”

lines, by the bye, which the prescient pen of a democracy-disgusted English Whig, Tom Moore, indited some five-and-thirty years ago, at least.

France does her business in the less indictable form of clipping off corners from alien territories, and overreaching in treaties of commerce. What can we expect from pocket-watches when parish-clocks are going wrong at this fearful rate?

How many small rogues will receive encouragement from these giant swindlers; and, as usual, comfort themselves by the consideration that they are not the worst? We dread even the publicity, which can neither be avoided nor seriously disapproved, because it lets the black band know the extent of its own forces; it is true they are distinct and many in their practices, but they are one in their morals, and that is the main question for the public dismay and their own reciprocal encouragement. Do we say that publicity is useful? Certainly, but only on one condition—when it leads to penalty far more unflinching than what has hitherto been accorded to crime of this class. Unless the commercial air is purged, we shall have commercial pestilence. For our honour, for our safety, let the Legislature devise some form of disgrace, or if disgrace is not enough, some form of suffering which shall save us from being all in our turn victims to this daily spreading spirit of swindling.

We demand from Government that moderate protection for our property without which Government, with its powers and its penalties, is itself little short of a grand swindle. There is scarcely a family in London, we might almost say in England, which cannot count some victims among its members. We are told that it is the fault of our own want of caution, that suffering will produce care, and that care will produce cure; but, in many cases, the utmost care is taken—all the care that a private individual can take. Laws are intricate; Government does not take much pains to simplify them, and ladies do not know much about law—sometimes lawyers themselves don't. However, the lady goes to her attorney, hitherto a man of undoubted respectability, or at least with every visible aspect of it. The lawyer appropriates the money, or speculates with it, and disappears. The same is often the case with the stock-broker; in both cases the lady has taken the best course open to her for the protection of her property, and has used all reasonable caution. Would Government dismiss the police force in the suburbs, and caution Mr. JONES not to walk in a suburban road after dark, or, if he must walk, to walk with pockets double loaded with revolvers, and revolvers double loaded with ball? Such an edict would produce care, and care would produce cure, for in all probability JONES would not be robbed or murdered. But, in cases of protection of the person, Government does allow not a little, but a very considerable amount of personal carelessness, and nevertheless shields, as far as it can, the individual guilty of it. We will venture to say that JONES's aunt takes infinitely more care of her property than JONES does of his person; but our JONES's aunts are plucked bare ten times oftener than our JONES's are violently plundered. Now, we say that if all confidence is not to be destroyed, if (of course in our own absence) our aunts are not to be forced to deposit their cash in the funds, and in the funds alone, and with their own hands, and their own hands alone, our Legislature is bound to protect us, not against the effects of our own wilful and evident speculation, not against reckless confidence, but against villany, where we have taken every reasonable precaution against it; and if this can be done in no other way, let us have the pillory, whipping, exposure in iron cages, or “pillars of infamy.” Some protection we must have; till then we can wish nothing better than that the thieves may have their prime and chief victims among the sentimentalists. A man flogged for thrashing his wife will thrash her again; unless, indeed, he is made thoroughly to understand that he will be hanged if he dares to do so; but a flogged swindler will certainly not flog, and probably will not again swindle his former victims, or any other. Certainly all this is coarse—very coarse, but we hate pharisaical sepulchres,

“So fair without, so deadly foul within;”

rotten refinement, corruption with a sentimental film over it which scarcely acts as a fig-leaf. In some things, the external acts powerfully on the internal; external politeness tends to internal suavity; a face of cheerfulness, even if assumed, is said to make the heart gradually lighter; a mere forced habit at last acts upon the principle; strict decency tends gradually to morality, and so forth. We wish, in the case now before us, that the sweetness and delicacy of the outside flesh would gradually spread inwardly; we wish that our pre-suppositions of honesty would create it; we wish that crime would moderate itself, so as only to deserve existing penalties; we wish the blissful consummation that, by ceasing to be punished altogether, people would cease altogether to deserve punishment. But it will not do. We have sighed, and mourned, and spared, and sentimentalized, till we are sick of it—almost as sick as we are of being swindled, and we want a severity almost Draconian. Strange! if it were a little persecution—a little persecution of conscience, and of things done for conscience sake—one might soon have a corps of backers, of almost every creed and calibre, many of them not very lenient in their appliances; but when we want to encourage a spirit of persecution—not of conscience, or of religion, but the utter want of both—people are so delicate, the age is so advanced, that breach of trust and pecuniary dishonesty of all kinds are rife and rampant, trusting to evasion or daring our penalties, such as they are. We know what was the

effect of hanging by the hundred—frequency led to indifference, audacity, and mutual encouragement in evil, naturally; but still atrocious villany is not to be encountered with studied delicacy. When at opposite corners of the same street one vagabond under the lash winks at another on the pillory, it will be time to hold then, perhaps. “All will be rogues, and all men laugh at all.”

We said, in a number or two ago, that falsification and adulteration frauds were no new things, quoting from ADDISON and others, and referring to a book on these matters, recently reviewed by the *Times*, with copious extracts. We could add a great deal more on opprobrious ways of getting money on a smaller scale than that on which we have now been dwelling. Lord BACON says, that in his day there were enough “false weights and measures to make battlements and bells for all the churches.” Parliament after Parliament had to pass acts against exporting arms to enemies—another of our villainous ways of making money, practised, indeed, by the corrupt Romans under JUSTINIAN, and by him forbidden, as it was by that CHARLES of France who lost Normandy, and whose degenerate subjects sold weapons to the Northmen. But this direct money-stealing on a large scale is a comparatively new vice for the middle classes, almost unknown to our grandfathers, the old merchants of England, who stood on their own respectability, and were neither deceived nor corrupted, nor made impudent by divided responsibility, of which we have now-a-days so much. With this state of things, we shall be soon unable to buy even plaister of Paris for bread, or port roughened with that indigenous astringent, the sloe: to the emptied pocket short weights and fair ones will be the same; and as to arms and enemies, *Cantabit vacuus*—our foreign plunderers will only be able to rob our native peculators. The main hard-cash rascality in the days of ANNE and the early GEORGES was quite in the upper, or quite in the lower regions, not amongst those who earned England's name for commercial honour. The respectability-loving and pure English have absurdly confined their pet term, “immorality,” to matters connected with what is called “the social evil,” either from ignorance of etymology, and the meaning of words, or from a one-eyed contemplation of evil. Perhaps before long they will actually go to the length of allowing men who swindle whole families out of their subsistence to be called “immoral men.”

HORSMANSHIP IN THE COMMONS.

ON Monday last the Legislative arena was the scene of a rapid and fearless act of Horsemanship, which left the performance of Mazeppa and the bounding Brothers of Babylon, far behind. The curtain drew up upon the right honourable member for Stroud mounted upon the Pegasus of Printing-house-square. As fiddling upon one string is more wonderful than fiddling upon four, so the performance of the right honourable gentleman mounted on one newspaper proprietor, was a more attractive spectacle than his old feat of riding the whole Bench of Bishops, à la ANDREW DUCROW. After the second reading of the Reform Bill the performance formed a very agreeable interlude, while the scenes were being set behind for the pantomime of Harlequin Licensing Bill, ending with the astonishing transformation of the Pastry Cook's Shop into a Public-house. Let us describe the plot and criticise the actors in this equestrian drama. The scene opens upon Mr. WALTER, M.P. for Berkshire, and part proprietor of the *Times* newspaper, rising to move the adjournment of the House, in order that he may enter into a personal explanation. The right honourable member for Stroud had written him a private letter complaining of a speech which he (Mr. WALTER) had made in the House on the Reform Bill, in connection with an article which appeared on the day after in the *Times*. In that speech Mr. WALTER expressed the opinion that certain members might not be so indifferent, or so opposed to the Reform Bill, if they were assured that the passing of the measure would not entail an immediate dissolution of Parliament. It so happened that, in next day's number of the *Times*, this remark was repeated in connection with the name of Mr. HORSMAN. Whereupon that gentleman concludes that the leading article was written by the same person who made the speech, and incontinently complains, in a letter to JOHN WALTER, Esq., M.P., that he (JOHN WALTER) had, in the *Times* newspaper, used the name of EDWARD HORSMAN, Esq., M.P., “for no other purpose but as illustrative of the general measures of the House of Commons.” “Surely,” wrote Mr. WALTER in reply, “your letter must have been written in a moment of irritation, and under circumstances of misapprehension, which your cooler judgment must have led you to regret.” Thus Mr. WALTER. To him Mr. HORSMAN:—“Sir,—I did not write under feelings of misapprehension, and still less of irritation, and have not the smallest regret to express;” and Mr. HORSMAN, at No. 1, Richmond-terrace, having time on his hands, that evening writes Mr. WALTER a long epistle on the duties, obligations, and responsibilities of a journalist. As journalists ourselves, we are flattered by the high regard which Mr. HORSMAN entertains for the members of our calling; and we fancy Mr. WALTER himself must have been not a little proud to be mistaken for the editor of the *Times*. Fancy the feelings of JONES when he hears himself pointed out to a country cousin as “the great THACKERAY, Sir,” “the immortal Boz, Sir.” Fancy how much taller Mr. WALTER must have felt himself when he read this:—“I believe you to be the proprietor of the *Times*, the leader of its councils, and more than any other man responsible for its acts. I think I may do the public good service if I can induce you to weigh well the remarks now privately offered. You combine in your own person the two most powerful attributes that an Englishman can possess—as a talented member of the legislative body, and the supreme head of the press which governs the world.”

At this point Mr. WALTER must have felt that he had no rival in the globe—except TOM SAYERS. But now, having set him up on so high a pedestal, Mr. HORSMAN proceeds to knock him down. It would really seem as if it was only to make him a convenient cockshy that he gave him so elevated a place. "Now that you are up there," says Mr. HORSMAN, "let me tell you that the journalism of England, so honourably conducted—elevating the tone of public morality and sustaining the character of public men—is of inestimable value in strengthening the national institutions, but,"—look out there, on the top of the garden wall,—here comes the well-aimed pebble,—"but it is nothing short of a national calamity when public opinion is influenced by great journals, which, less mindful of the responsibilities than the privileges of the press, show themselves true to no principle, constant to no policy, and disdainful of all rules of public justice and morality." And here Humpty Dumpty had his great fall, coming down crash, while the boys on the Opposition benches hailed his discomfiture with fiendish glee.

Unfortunately, however, for Mr. HORSMAN, he had lavished both his praise and his blame upon the wrong party. It was not of Mr. WALTER's speech that he complained, but of Mr. WALTER's leading article, and of Mr. WALTER's influence as chief proprietor of and leader in the councils of the *Times*. When Charles the Second puzzled the *savans* with the problem, Why was not a vase of water heavier when a fish was put into it? a simple-minded philosopher put an end to the vexed question by simply denying the premises. So Mr. WALTER demolished Mr. HORSMAN by declaring, first, that he was not the principal proprietor of the *Times* and ruler of its councils; secondly, that he had no hand in the article of which Mr. HORSMAN complained; and thirdly, and lastly, that he did not even know who was the author of that article.

Thus it is that a very laughable farce is often constructed on a very slender plot, involving some ludicrous mistake. And, as we wonder, on calm reflection, at the improbabilities of these dramatic trifles, so we must wonder at the innocence displayed by Mr. HORSMAN in imagining that, because Mr. WALTER is a proprietor of the *Times*, he must necessarily edit the paper and write all the leading articles. Does Mr. HORSMAN still believe that the moon is made of green cheese, and that babies are dug out of parsley beds? We have it on high authority that an old lady of fourscore and odd is a large shareholder in the *Times*. Why does not Mr. HORSMAN fall foul of her? Is it because of this new act, which is to hedge the sex round without an outwork of whipping posts? And is it not a fact, too, that Sir WALTER CARDEN, Knight, is a proprietor of the *Times*? And does not the editor of the *Times* pitch into him when occasion requires, nevertheless and notwithstanding.

But there is an epilogue to this comic drama, Lord PALMERSTON and Mr. DISRAELI coming forward at the end to speak it in duologue. Mr. HORSMAN had wanted to know what were the magnetic influences which drew Mr. DELANE, one of the editors of the *Times*, towards Lord PALMERSTON? Mr. HORSMAN was evidently more than half inclined to think that there was something wrong. He had seen Mr. DELANE's name in the list of Lord PALMERSTON's dinner guests, and amongst her Ladyship's Saturday evening visitors; and why should an editor hob-a-nob with such great folks if there were not a secret compact between them? The case was clear. Mr. DELANE had sold the influence of the *Times* for a mess of GUNTER's pottage, and a smile from my lady. Was it not so? "I wish it were," says the noble Lord, "I should be most happy to plead guilty to the soft impeachment." And this elicits the flattering reason of Mr. DELANE's being made so much of at Cambridge House. "The contributors to the press"—we take a pride in these words—"are the favourites and the ornaments of every society into which they enter. They are generally men of very great attainments and great information, and therefore men in whom society must be interested." His Lordship's intimacy with Mr. DELANE was of that character, of course. Did the noble lord know what an agreeable person *we* are, would he not invite us to dine with him at once? And would not her ladyship put us on the free list of her Saturday Nights' Entertainments? Can there be a doubt about it? Mr. HORSMAN, we are ashamed of you. And now Mr. DISRAELI, with the moral. He has less respect than the noble lord for able editors, and consequently may be expected to be chary of his mutton in that quarter. He objects to leading articles being quoted in the debates, as being a practice derogating from the dignity and independence of the House; and, as a guardian of the British Constitution in its integrity, he must deny to the press the usurped title of the Fourth Estate. And finally, to make Mr. HORSMAN and everybody else happy, he brings down the curtain with an assurance that the good people whom the wicked *Times* has slain are not dead after all, but are all alive and kicking, and ready to die to-morrow night, and every night to the end of the session.

MODERN CARICATURE.

THE battle between the two alcoholic intoxicants, beer and wine, is raging as fiercely as ever, and it is curious to mark that the old war cries and party feelings crop out now, as they did formerly. We hear still, that

"Firm and erect the Caledonian stood,
His drink was claret, and his mutton good."

And we hear also that port and poison are synonymous, that perseverance and pale ale go together, and that the British constitution, in both the senses of that noun, is irretrievably ruined if we take from John Bull his customary beer. This is, as Mr. Dickens would say, a "gushing thing" to contemplate. A Brahmin, given

entirely to pure liquids and to contemplation, to the acquisition of wisdom and water cresses, might well wonder at the immense *animus* which pervades each party. "Sublime essence of things," he would cry, "can it be that men place their happiness in retailing slow poison in pewter measures over pewter counters all day long? And oh, dost thou ordain that those who vend coloured liquids as a spurious grape juice, should be jealous of the success of the other poisoners?" It is probable that the Brahmin would find the men and measures which he contemplated equally ridiculous.

But, as if sufficient ridicule were not inherent in the case, we have a considerable quantity imported into it by the professional caricaturists who live by showing her Majesty's lieges the *vis comica* of things actual. Whether the matter be purely political, or purely social, or politico-social, or simply pertaining to commerce, it matters not. A certain quantity of fun has to be made every week, and it is but to do justice to the industrious purveyors of the article to own that if the quality be not always first-rate, the supply at least never fails. Here it is only the other day that we had "General Beer being routed by the French Light Wines," and a day or two ago the difference between the "Pious Public House" and the "Pernicious Pastrycook's" was drawn with all the old vigour of the well-trained artist. As the teetotallers know perfectly well, that one full gadfly or bloodsucker is much less troublesome than a dozen or so fresh, vigorous, and hungry ones, we have the amusing spectacle of these virtuous people taking up arms in favour of the vested interests of the publicans, and from shop windows and hoardings appealing by caricature and burlesque verses to the feelings of the people. The inside of a wine shop, as it will be, is drawn with great vigour; and poor Hood's Song of the Shirt, parodied into the behest of "Drink, Drink, Drink," flames on the walls hitherto sacred to much less poetical announcements. All this is quite refreshing. We forget the alcoholic battle, and cannot help going back to the days of Pitt, Fox, and Castlereagh, and to those times, enlightened by the shop-window genius of James Gilray and of the elder Cruikshank, when the great supporters of "Fox for Westminster" were the aforesaid artists, the Duchess of Devonshire, and Sam House, who was proud to sign himself both a "publican and republican."

The part played in modern political history by caricature is not altogether an unimportant one, and as we have already* hastily traced up to a certain period what it has done, we may here take the opportunity of continuing the sketch, and of showing what it still continues to do. The pencil of the artist seems to be no longer an irregular force, but like our volunteers has of late years been well drilled, and serves the political party to which it is attached as light horse, infantry, and skirmishing bodies in general do the great body of the army. The largest amount of this sort of power, however, lies now, and has always laid, on the side of the popular party in the State. Whether the aristocratic element disdains the weapon, or whether it be totally deprived of pictorial wit, it is hard to say; but, certainly, with the exception of a wooden and stiff draughtsman, only clever at taking portraits, and whose imagination was of the very poorest, the governing classes appear to have been very little indebted to this kind of art. As a general rule, it may be stated that those *out* satirise those who are *in*, whilst the latter seem to be unable or unwilling to use the pencil against the opposition.

Perhaps within the memory of man the greatest effect upon any party, produced entirely by parody and caricature, was that from the hands of Mr. Hone, the bookseller, and George Cruikshank. Party feelings then ran high, and the nation was, through the obstinacy of its rulers and the vicious stupidity of its monarch, in a very great danger. Reform was loudly called for, and as vigorously denied. Riots took place in the manufacturing districts, the soldiery and yeomanry were called out, and the "Doctor"—Addington—tried, as they then said, to cure the people's complaint by a strong dose of "steel lozenges"—meaning, by poetic license, soldiers' bayonets. Into this turmoil Hone and Cruikshank threw their little brochure, "The Political House that Jack Built," intending by this the constitution then assailed, in political slang, by "rats." Who that has seen this book does not wonder at and admire the boldness of the artist? The people were then not awakened from their pride in their King, whom they devoutly believed to be the first gentleman in Europe, and whose melodious voice and distinct tones in reading royal speeches were dwelt upon with as much delight as now are those of our present Queen. But the caricaturists put an end to all this. The portraits of the courtly artists of the day were painted to please; the caricatures were made purposely to ridicule, and the immense bulk of the king, his foppery, and unwieldy figure, the dull pride painted on each heavy feature, were given with a force which the royal "party" could not endure, but writhed under. The rhymes were as rough and vigorous as the pictures; and the guy, brilliant, haughty, and almost, as he believed, absolute monarch, was described as

"The dandy of sixty, who bows with a grace,
And has taste in wigs, collars, cuirasses, and lace,
Who to tricksters and fools leaves the State and its treasure,
And when Britain's in tears sails about at his pleasure;
Who spurned from his presence the friends of his youth,
And now has not one who will tell him the truth."

We doubt whether the bitter satiric answers of Brummell and the taunt about the "fat friend" hurt the king so much as this, for these caricatures, if small and powerless, are like the spawn of old Nile, which in the ten plagues still managed to pervade the land and penetrate into kings' palaces. Upwards of one hundred thousand copies, in spite of prosecution and opposition, in spite of informers and spies, were sold, and proved the trenchant power of caricature;

and this, let us remember, was proved "against the absolute power of imprisonment, without even a hearing, for time unlimited in any gaol in the kingdom, without the use of pen, ink, and paper, and without any communication with any soul but the keeper." Against such a power pen and pencil strove and was victorious; pen with its parody, pencil with its caricature.

After "The House that Jack Built,"* the tide of these little brochures greatly increased. The safety which the boldness of the juries had given the originators prepared the way for, and greediness of gain, acting as usual upon publishers, created hosts of imitators. George the Fourth was everywhere exposed, and good Queen Caroline vindicated. It says much for the healthiness inherent in these pictures, that we always find them on the side of the poor or the oppressed. In the frontispiece of the "Queen that Jack found," we see Britannia and Wisdom shielding Innocence. In grand allegory, and certainly in reality, we always find caricature ready to "draw" and defend what it believes to be innocent. It is useless here to raise the question of that injudicious woman's innocence or guilt; it is enough to know that her defenders amongst the people believed her good. Curious, too, it is that Shakspeare and Cowper do service under these cuts in magnanimous quotations, and justify or damnify, as the case may be—

— "disloyal? No:
She's punished for her truth; yet bears it all,
More goddess-like than wife-like."

So speaks "immortal William" from his grave, shielding a woman; and

— "I could endure
Chains nowhere patiently; and chains at home,
Where I am free by birthright, not at all,"

cries out the placid Cowper. This is all very pleasant; it is well when Freedom appeals to her old prophets; it is well when the men of action call up their deeds by appealing to the men of thought.

(To be continued.)

EASTERN AFRICA.†

AT the present moment, there is no part of the globe which has not been brought under the subjection of the Japhetic races by the arts of peace and civilization, that excites more interest in the breast of the philanthropist and the philosopher than the benighted continent of Africa, whose nations are indeed "meted out and trodden down." With the revolt of the Sepoys in India still fresh in our memories, and the vapid threats of the French colonels scarcely drowned by the chorus of rifle-bugles sounding the rouse from the Land's-end to the Land-o'-Cakes, Englishmen may well look upon the paragraph which we extract from a contemporary with something like suspicion, if not with alarm, and seek to make themselves acquainted with the more covert reasons of France for sending at such a moment a mission into the interior of Africa.

On Monday last a correspondent of the *Times*, writing from Aden, under date of the 18th of April, says:—

"By advices just received, I understand that a French steamboat, laden with the requisites for forming a new settlement, had reached La Réunion, and a steam-frigate was expected to join her in a few days. The destination of these two vessels is avowed to be Adulis, on the coast of Abessinia, though there can be little doubt that the island of Dissee will be the first point in the Red Sea occupied by our allies. It will be interesting to note the reasons which will be advanced for this new move on the part of France in this region. As a counterpart of what is going forward on the other side of the water, the *tableau* will in all probability represent Dissee and Adulis as the slopes of the Alps; the rebel Dejai Nagoosi will stand in the place of Victor Emmanuel, and the acquiescence of forty families of poor fishermen, who at present occupy the island of Dissee, will answer well enough for the votes of Nice and Savoy."

Another paragraph, some few days older, gave the first alarm, and we add it accordingly:—

"The persevering efforts of the French to establish their influence in the Red Sea," says the writer, "is a subject of anxiety to the most forecasting minds in India. Egypt swarms with Frenchmen; every branch of the Administration is full of them; and the Pacha, it is said, has yielded himself up wholly to French influence. A French squadron is talked of for Jeddah or Sonakin. A line of transport steamers for the Red Sea has long been building, and will be supported by heavy Government contributions. France has obtained a pretended 'cession' of territory, embracing Annesley Bay, otherwise called the Bay of Adulis; and the *Bombay Gazette* reports, obviously on sufficient authority, that a French mission is on its way to Gondar to demand the independence of the defeated rebel, who bestowed on France that which was never his own. The mission, which is led by the Comte de Rous, is already in the Tigré country, and the slightest outrage would be sufficient excuse for active measures to secure the predominance of French influence."

"It was the opinion of the ancients," says Dr. Krapf, "that the coast of Africa was connected with that of India. Erroneous as this was, there is certainly a great political truth involved in the supposition, inasmuch as the possessors of East Africa will have gained a first step towards the dominion of India. Any further knowledge, therefore, obtained respecting East Africa, cannot fail to

interest Englishmen, as it may be that the fate of India itself will some day have to be decided in the burning solitudes of Africa, no less than in the rich plains of Asia. No true Englishman can henceforth be an indifferent spectator of what is passing upon the Eastern coast of Africa, from the Isthmus of Suez to the Cape of Good Hope.

"It would be quite preposterous to urge that there is no real political danger to be apprehended from the possession of these regions, because East Africa presents for the most part nothing but a barren, harbourless, and savage coast, not to be invaded with prudence by any Government of Europe. It is true that Africa wears on all her coasts a forbidding aspect, Providence having furnished her weak nations with this repulsive feature as the only weapon of strength which they can oppose to the dominant Japhetic and Semitic races. But we may be sure that no coast-barrier will prevent the former from possessing the inland regions, in many places not inferior in fertility, beauty, and healthiness, to any country on the face of the globe."

Missionaries, ever since the days of Paul and Barnabas, have been the pioneers of civilization. England herself probably owes the introduction of Christianity to the disciples of one of these Apostles to the Gentiles, if not to St. Paul or St. Barnabas himself; and Christianity is civilization. Standing by the ruined Roman Pharos of Dover Castle, the most venerable of British Churches carries us back to the days of the first Christian king; for Lucius, king of Britain, built the church now undergoing restoration, of which that Pharos is the tower, somewhere about the middle of the second century, before any other of the potentates of the earth had embraced Christianity. That Pharos, one of the most interesting monuments in the land, is older than the Church, for the very materials of which it is built point to the wise administration of Julius Agricola as the date of its erection, as the large stalactical incrustations must have been brought from more northern parts of the coast; and it was not till his circumnavigation of the island, about the year 90, that these parts were explored by the Romans. The Pharos is the monument of Roman and Pagan civilization, which passed away with the advent of Hengist and Horsa; the Church is the record of Christian civilization, which, though driven into the mountain fastnesses of the west, and to the seaboard of the south, still survived, only to return after the conversion of its truculent adversaries by St. Augustine, and to burst forth again in fuller vigour at the date of the Reformation.

A missionary in our day is moreover the pioneer of geographical science and of ethnology. He makes us acquainted with the land in which he labours, no less than with the heathen races which he claims as the heritage of his Master. He notes down the courses of rivers, the altitudes of mountains, the natural productions of the soil, no less than the distinctions of race and language, and the manners and customs of the people. Like Pausanias of old, he tells us what he saw and what he heard, turns a sod where sod has never been turned before, finds coal and iron, or the more precious metals, and notes down snow upon mountains where theorists say it cannot exist, and lakes and boundless waters where maps have hitherto figured endless ranges of mountains and impassable barriers.

The east coast of Africa, however repulsive in itself, opens the way into a land overflowing with milk and honey—produces, with but little toil, the richest cereal crops—has poultry, eggs, and cattle in abundance, and brings forth coffee, sugar, grapes, and tropical fruits for the gathering. If not over rich in the more precious metals, it has still the Ophir of the Bible, and Dr. Krapf seeks to prove most satisfactorily, "That the Ophir of the Bible is to be sought for on the eastern coast of Africa, as is evident from two circumstances. One is, that right opposite to Arabia Felix there is a people who call themselves Afer, and called by others Adals and Danakil from their chief tribe Ad Alli, but whose designation in their own language is Afer. In the second place, it must be considered that Ophir beyond a doubt means gold-dust; for, in Job xxviii. 6, the words dust of gold in Hebrew are 'Ophiroth Sahab.' Hence, by easy transition, the word Ophir was made to comprise two things, the name of a people and of a substance; and the Land of the Afer was simply the land where Afer Sahab, gold-dust, was found."

Thus, too, Mr. M'Leod, in his *Travels in Eastern Africa*, identifies, upon no less probable grounds, the Sofala district with the Ophir of Scripture. On both banks of the Sofala, and northwards towards the Zambesi, gold and silver and copper are found, and gold is so plentiful that the natives prefer copper for their personal ornaments; whilst, towards Tete, iron and coal are found in abundance. Bars of copper and salt are conveyed from the territories of the Cazembe, midway between the eastern and western coasts; and the native iron, as Dr. Krapf informs us, is esteemed at Mombaz equal to that of Sweden imported by way of Suez. Coal, the use of which is still unknown to most of the natives, is found in many places, and wood suited for every purpose, from ebony and teak to acacia and the copal tree, abounds; for the deserts of the maps, says Mr. Rebmann, are, properly speaking, wildernesses—land, productive and fitted for culture, given up to beasts of prey, full of luxuriant timber and undergrowth, but producing at present for the wants of the natives little beyond the ivory and peltry which they convey to the coast, and copal, oil, and gum. Mr. Erhardt devotes a paper to the resources and products of Wanika-land, the present seat of the Church mission, opposite to the island of Mombaz, and the list, beyond what we have already mentioned, includes bamba, cotton, and sufu, all growing wild; and he adds, "Wool and cotton are two articles which are in constant demand in England, and which, if culti-

* William Hone.

† *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa*. By the Rev. Dr. J. LEWIS KRAPP. Trübner and Co.

vated to any extent, would ultimately contribute to bring these countries under European protection; and the eastern coast of Africa could almost produce cotton enough to satisfy the demands of the whole of England, and thus, by promoting the growth of sheep and cotton, a powerful blow would be dealt to the American slave trade."

That such a land should have no higher destiny than it at present enjoys, cannot be admitted by even the most apathetic; but as to who will step in to the rescue, and at what period, is a matter which time alone can solve. At present, the ownership of the extensive seaboard of Eastern Africa is nominally vested in foreign powers; and the native states, excepting Abessinia and Madagascar, are of little or no importance.

"The Turks occupy several places on the Red Sea, the principal of which is Massowa, and appoint the governor of Zeila. The dominions of the Imam of Zanzibar include the whole of the coast and neighbouring islands from about five deg. N. latitude to beyond Cape Delgado, though many parts of it are virtually independent. The Portuguese claim extends from Cape Delgado to Delagoa Bay; but they occupy in reality only the country along the Lower Zambesi, and some isolated towns along the coast. Great Britain possesses Perim, a small island at the entrance of the Red Sea, the island of Musha, opposite Tadjura, the natural outlet for the commerce of Shoa and Southern Abessinia; the island of Socotra, not at present occupied; the southern half of Delagoa Bay, and the Bay of Santa Lucia, on the coast of Kaffraria; and lastly, Natal, a country destined, from its favourable position and climate, to eclipse Cape Colony as an agricultural settlement. The French have lately acquired the port of Zula, south of Massowa; they also claim the whole of Madagascar, in the way the grandfather of Her Majesty claimed the kingdom of France, but at present hold but a few insignificant islands on its shore, and Mayotte, one of the Comoros.

"It is the avowed design of France to found in the Eastern Sea an empire to rival, if not to eclipse British India, of which empire Madagascar is to be the centre. Hence, notwithstanding that engineers of eminence have pronounced against the practicability of such a canal as that of Suez, the enterprise is being persevered in under the auspices of the French Government, or rather the isthmus has been occupied within the last few weeks by a party of armed *ouvriers*. Across the Isthmus of Suez leads the shortest route from Southern France to Madagascar and India; its possession by a power desirous to extend her dominions in that quarter, and capable of availing herself of its advantages, would therefore be of the utmost consequence. The mere fact of the isthmus being part of the Turkish empire, or of Egypt, would not deter France from occupying it; for scruples of conscience are not allowed by that nation to interfere with political 'ideas.' Zula has been chosen as the second station on the route to Madagascar, and while the occupation of Suez may at will furnish a pretext for seizing upon Egypt, that of Zula may open Abessinia to French conquest.

"Fortunately there is a power which can put a veto upon those plans of aggrandisement in North-Eastern Africa, and that power is Great Britain. Gibraltar, Malta, Perim, and Aden, form a magnificent line of military and naval stations on the route to India, and perfectly command it; and Perim, though at present only destined to bear a lighthouse, properly fortified, would command the entrance of the Red Sea even more effectually than Gibraltar does that of the Mediterranean. Therefore, only after having converted the last three into French strongholds, and thus striking a decisive blow at the naval supremacy of Great Britain, could France ever hope to carry out her designs."

Should, however, the practicability of forming the proposed canal of Suez be demonstrated by its completion, Nature herself has cast insurmountable impediments in the way of its lessening the distance for shipping to India. "No navigable river flows into the Red Sea, which is full of sunken rocks and sandbanks, that are increasing through the growth of coral-reefs. The navigation is difficult and dangerous, and of the many harbours but few are safe, so that in most cases ships of large burden must anchor far out at sea. The great advantages to be derived from the success of the scheme will not be so much in the acquisitions which commerce may obtain from the Red Sea and the countries on its shores, as in the extension of European polity and civilization to Arabia, Abessinia, and the whole of South-Eastern Africa. It will weaken Mohammedanism in the land of its birth, in Arabia, and on the African coast; tend to suppress the Arabian slave-trade, and subjugate East-African heathenism by Christianity and its civilization; and finally, open up immense and noble regions in Southern Abessinia and amongst the Galla to thousands of European emigrants, when America, Australia, and Tasmania cease to attract them."

[To be continued.]

CONTEMPORARY FRENCH LITERATURE.*

CONTEMPORARY French literature has now reached so desperate a condition, that almost any change must be for the better. A low state of morality could not but find its exponent in a class of books which, if published on this side of the Channel, would fall under the cognizance of Lord Campbell's Act; and as the impure *fadeurs* of Voisenon, Louvet, and the younger Crébillon, sprang spontaneously during the reign of La Dubarry, so

* *Esquisses Morales; Pensées, Réflexions, et Maximes.* Par DANIEL STERN: Troisième Edition, revue, augmentée, et ornée d'un Portrait gravé sur acier. 12mo. Paris: Techener.

M. Ernest Feydeau's realist novels, and M. Gustave Flaubert's "Madame Bovary," are the repulsive *pièces justificatives* of an epoch and a country when all the maxims of right and wrong, and the very elements of propriety, are absolutely ignored.

It is, however, some relief to feel that a few exceptions still can be found to this general rule, and, amidst the shoals of rubbish daily poured forth from the French press, we turn with no small sensation of relief to productions such as Daniel Stern's "Pensées, Réflexions, et Maximes." This book belongs to a class of writings which has long been sedulously cultivated by our neighbours. Since the days when La Rochefoucauld's *maximes* excited the admiration of Madame de Sévigné's friends, and were accepted as the code of polite society, an apophthegmatic style of composition has always proved more or less fashionable. Vauvenargues, Duclos, Pascal, La Bruyère, during the last two centuries, rendered it immortal; in our own times, we can add to the list the names of M. Joubert, Madame Swetchine, and the gifted authoress who disguises herself under the pseudonymous appellation of Daniel Stern. At first sight the fragmentary process in literature may seem to present many facilities, and to require very little amount of artistic care; it has, besides, an appearance of smartness, which is exceedingly taking with most readers. But this is precisely the stumbling-block in the case of such productions; for smartness cannot always compensate for the absence of truth, and a false or commonplace remark is none the better because it appears decked out in a gala-dress.

The few strictures we have thus ventured to make will show at the same time our opinions of *pensée* literature in the abstract, and how highly we value the little volume in which Daniel Stern has managed to be original, true, and witty where others would have been witty at the expense of truth, or true without any claims to originality. This is a third edition of the "Esquisses Morales," and, as times go, it is no small merit for a work of so serious a character to have been thrice sent to press in the space of ten years. The reader will notice also that whilst the first publication of the "Esquisses" only found its way to popularity slowly, the second and third editions have been disposed of in the course of a few months. This, we think, is an excellent test of the merit of a work; it excludes the suspicion of puff, and clearly proves that the author in question can stand upon her own merits.

It would not be very difficult to assign a date to Daniel Stern's elegant duodecimo, even if the various circumstances connected with its production were not fully stated in the preface. The political atmosphere of 1848 has, evidently, determined its growth, and the famous question of the *droit au travail* was actively discussed when the authoress sat down to pass her severe but not untrue judgment upon modern society. We have heard many duly qualified critics regret that the "Esquisses Morales" should not be of a more general character; they would prefer a collection of maxims applicable to the leading passions of the human heart, and they maintain that a work such as the one we are now examining loses much of its value by being, so to say, the photograph of a country, a drawing-room, an epoch. But this, we believe, is a mistake; and we question whether there ever was a writer on moral philosophy who succeeded completely in shutting himself away from all the influences busily at work around him. La Rochefoucauld's popular book is nothing but a comment on the "Fronde." La Bruyère's *caractères* are still more closely identified with the age of Louis XIV.; and even Pascal, whose inspirations are derived from a far higher source, alludes here and there to facts and individuals which no one else could appropriately have mentioned amongst the moralists of his own times. If Daniel Stern, therefore, is the *pensée*-writer of the France of 1848; if the barricades, the *ateliers nationaux*, and the political societies were the standing points from which she derived her observations, we are not disposed on that very account, to find fault with her; we would rather admire the talent which can give utterance to thoughts and maxims of universal application, whilst, at the same time, its immediate circumstances are so clear, so unmistakeable.

The "Esquisses Morales" are composed of a series of small chapters arranged under two groups, and followed by a few fragments more descriptive in their general character. The maxims headed *Du Temps Présent* contain, of course, the greatest number of allusions to transitory events, and, accordingly, will best exemplify the style of Daniel Stern. We shall select a paragraph or two.

"L'ivresse de la vanité est portée au comble. Combien de jeunes gens, parmi nous, se sont interrogés à la veille de leur entrée dans le monde pour savoir s'ils y seraient Don Juan, ou Faust, Pitt, ou Napoléon Bonaparte? J'en connais qui, embarrassés du choix, se sont dit qu'ils seraient dieux, et l'ont essayé."

Any person possessing the slightest knowledge of the French history of the last twenty years will easily perceive the truth of the above remark. The Don Juans and Fausts, the Pitts and Bonapartes of 1840-60 have, no doubt, made sad exhibitions of themselves; and the divine character of the self-appointed gods such as M. Enfantin's has not been such as to command universal adoration; but that these exhibitions did actually take place no one can deny; and we remember witnessing displays of vanity which would have been perfectly ridiculous if they had not sometimes ended by assassination or suicide. The next paragraph seems to us particularly striking:—

"La discorde est partout, la guerre véritable n'éclate nulle part. L'égoïsme matérialiste qui asservit nos cœurs les rend également impulsifs pour l'amour et pour la haine."

This is a sad picture; yet does it not convey a correct idea of contemporary French society? What principle is it that keeps

thirty-three millions of individuals bound hand and foot under the most rampant despotism that ever existed, if not the consciousness that amidst the general degradation, the love of pleasure, the passion for speculation, luxury, and sensuality, are amply provided for and encouraged on every side? As long as men will not think, the autocrat cares very little what else they do, and to stop the faculty of thought, he will make almost any sacrifice, knowing very well that his precarious authority cannot bear investigation. We would not imply, however, that Napoleon III. has made the present situation, and the sentence we have just quoted from Daniel Stern, penned before the *coup d'état* of 1852, describes a state of things which was only the natural result of fifty years' unceasing political turmoil. But the Emperor found himself one morning at the head of a nation who, amidst the perplexities about the future, was anxious to reap the full harvest of the present, and he has certainly made the best of his advantages.

It is now a matter of public notoriety that the position assumed by the Roman Catholic clergy in France, since 1848, has been neither very dignified nor straightforward. At one time helping to plant "trees of liberty," at another loudly clamouring for the establishment of the most inquisitorial measures, a strict adherence to the principles of "Vicar-of-Brayism" (if we may coin this expression) seems their only guiding-star, their only consistency. With such examples as M. Veuillot, Dom Guéranger, and the Abbé Gaume before her eyes, no wonder that Daniel Stern should describe the Church as possessing merely "une sagesse de mots," and as ruling "non assurément sur l'esprit ou le cœur de la société Française, mais ses habitudes."

We might quote many more passages proving how truthfully the authoress of the "Esquisses Morales" has described her own country and her own times, but the subject is too painful, and we prefer concluding by a few extracts more universal in their application, and therefore more likely to arrest the notice of dispassionate readers. Saint Evremond, about two hundred years ago, wrote an essay under the singular title "Que la Dévotion est le dernier des Amours;" Daniel Stern adopting this idea, says:—

"La dévotion des femmes n'est, le plus souvent, que de la coquetterie avec Dieu. Cela occupe, amuse, et n'engage point."

We must hope, for friendship's sake, that the following statement of grievances is not the result of the writer's own experience:—

"J'ai longtemps cherché à me rendre compte de ce que l'on entendait dans le monde par un ami, et j'ai fait cette découverte: un ami, c'est un homme qui se croit en toute occasion le droit de vous dire une vérité blessante, de vous donner un conseil inutile, et de vous emprunter votre argent sans vous le rendre."

We should have felt, we own, positively astonished and grieved had we discovered, before perusing the "Esquisses Morales" that Daniel Stern was not somewhat of a pessimist. The sourness and haughty sneer of the man who finds fault with everything because his own assertion of superiority is disregarded are quite repugnant to our taste; but we have still less sympathy for him who "takes matters easy," and exclaims "Après moi le déluge!" On the part of the former there exists yet, at all events, a distinct though erroneous acknowledgment of merit; whilst, according to the notions of the latter, the world offers nothing but a dead level of selfishness, corruption, and avarice.

By way of summing up, we would earnestly recommend to our readers Daniel Stern's "Esquisses Morales." The volume, too, has been "got up" by M. Tschener in a very attractive manner, and the portrait prefixed to this third edition is one of its most pleasant characteristics.

POPULAR PHYSIOLOGY.*

MR. LEWES'S "Physiology of Common Life," after coming before the public in separate parts, is now issued in two well-printed volumes, which will have the effect of exciting a good deal of thought on physiological subjects, although it is doubtful whether those who are most competent to discover its merits and defects will devote their attention to it. Popular in form and style, it differs materially from most publications addressed to general readers, by the profuse introduction of polemical topics. The student of physiology would require a much more elaborate treatise to place him in possession of the arguments on both sides, or on all sides, of the recondite subjects that are cursorily discussed, and the man of liberal education, desirous of obtaining a clear insight into the ground-work of the subject, will find himself bewildered by doubts he cannot resolve. From these remarks it will be seen that, while we are ready to concede to Mr. LEWES the credit that he deserves for writing in an entertaining and stimulating way upon subjects about which he has collected a great deal of information, we cannot altogether praise the conception of his book—if, indeed, he formed any distinct plan before he wrote it—or the execution of it, if it has been produced according to the impulse of the moment. The work begins with a dissertation on hunger and thirst, which soon conducts the reader into the thick of the theories put forward by LIEBIG and others on the nature and classification of food. Mr. LEWES very properly objects to the tendency of LIEBIG'S speculations to overlook the speciality of physiology, and to attempt to explain vital phenomena by the simple action of chemical laws. Mr. LEWES, however, goes too far in opposition to the great German chemist, when he undervalues his division of alimentary substances into nitrogenous, or plastic, and hydrogenous, or respiratory. It is quite true that no simple formula that we can at present arrive at, will explain the whole group of actions and effects which we have to study when we direct our attention to all that concerns nutrition,

but it was a great advance to obtain a classification of food that went far to distinguish them according to the effects they were competent to produce. No clear ideas could be obtained by calling sugar and beef "nutritious," without in any way indicating the services they were capable of rendering to the human system, and it is a decided gain both to pure science and the practical art of feeding different creatures—the human creature included—when we have arrived at the conclusion that the muscle-producing power of food is distinctly related to its nitrogenous character, although the mere presence of nitrogen does not indicate the fitness of a substance to become food, nor, taken alone, afford an absolute measure of its plastic power.

Mr. LEWES has done good service in constantly keeping in view the complexity of vital phenomena, an idea not necessarily associated with obscurity, and which is essential to the formation of a sound hypothesis, and the avoidance of that delusive simplicity which appears to explain what has never been rightly apprehended. He also scatters many delusions that have become popular through the misconceptions of scientific men, as when he shows that life does not suppress chemical or other laws, but offers such combinations as give a direction to the various forces compatible with the functions that a living organism has to perform.

Having left the food question in perhaps rather more confusion than was necessary, Mr. LEWES treats learnedly of the blood, the circulation, the movements of the heart, and the process of respiration; after which, he passes to feeling, thinking, and other functions of the nervous system, maintaining all through a ceaseless strife with ordinarily received teachers and their views. He differs entirely from those physiologists who follow BELL, MARSHALL HALL, and others, in distinguishing between nerves of sensation and nerves of motion, and decries the whole doctrine of reflex actions. To sustain the theory which he has espoused, he maintains that unless an impression on the sensory nerves excites a sensation in the centre, no motion whatever takes place. Such an argument turns very much upon the meaning of the word sensation, and the explanations Mr. LEWES offers are far from clear. He thinks it remarkable that physiologists should ascribe sensibility to nerves, and then reject what he calls the inevitable consequence, that all nervous centres in action give rise to sensation, and thus furnish elements to the general consciousness. "They have," he says, "no difficulty in admitting that contraction is the active state of contractility in a muscle, but that sensation should be the active state of sensibility in a nerve-centre does not seem to them so clear." This language is metaphysical and confusing: the word contraction expresses a fact that the parts of a certain substance have approached closer together, and no clear ideas are gained by describing it as the "active state of the ability to contract, (contractility)." We might as well call it the active state of the contractile principle, and so follow the school which Mr. LEWES condemns. In the second instance, the words sensation and sensibility would not be used in the collocation Mr. LEWES supposes by anybody who did not adopt his views, nor would they by clear writers be used at all in the position in which he places them. We shall soon see the object of this method of statement, but must first attend to the meaning attached to "consciousness." Mr. LEWES says "to have sensation and to be conscious of sensation, is one and the same thing. To have a sensation and to know that we have it, are two things, not one thing. Knowledge cannot exist without consciousness, but consciousness may and often does exist without knowledge." Not seeing that he is committing the very fault himself, Mr. LEWES continues: "Insensibly writers are led into the glaring contradictions of unfelt feelings and unconscious consciousness. For example, the chest expands and contracts in respiration, and if we attend to it a peculiar sensation is perceived accompanying the process; but if attention be elsewhere directed, the sensation is not perceived. Now we know, that in both cases a sensory stimulus, playing on the respiratory centre, was reflected as a motor impulse on the muscles, and we are, therefore, forced to adopt one of two alternatives—either the sensation was evoked in both cases, although perceived only in the first; or attention is itself the creator of the sensation." Surely there is here some confusion of thought. A sensation which is not felt is no sensation at all. If the mind cannot "perceive" the sensation, what proof is there of its existence, or rather how can it exist at all? We should not have chosen the word *perceive*, but it is clear in what sense it is used by TODD and BOWMAN, from whom Mr. LEWES derived it. Mr. J. S. MILL says, "a feeling and a state of consciousness are, in the language of philosophy, equivalent expressions; everything is a feeling of which the mind is conscious." Mr. LEWES appears to imagine a kind of sensation which is not felt, and of which the mind is not conscious. His alternative is logically vicious. What he calls "attention" may be necessary to the existence of a sensation without being the creator of it. To bite beef with teeth, it is necessary that there should be teeth, but we do not think that Mr. LEWES, in support of his favourite hypothesis, would, therefore, assume the teeth to be the creators of the beef. Attention is a voluntary directing of the mind or of an organ to a particular object. By this process we can feel an impression too small to be felt when it is allowed to be overwhelmed by stronger impressions; or we may, within certain limits, become insensible to one or more ranges of sensation, by concentrating our power of consciousness in another direction. Some impressions are, however, too strong to permit our ignoring them, and we are not obliged to direct any attention to our finger to know that it is burnt by fire. Unless disease has disturbed the ordinary action of our nervous system we cannot fail to be impressed with the sensation such an

* The Physiology of Common Life. By GEORGE HENRY LEWES. Black-wood.

incident is able to produce. Having arrived at a "sensation" quite different from that contemplated by Mr. J. S. MILL, Mr. LEWES claims for each ganglion the ability to give rise to sensations, and observes,—"when a wasp is cut in two both halves live, and manifest sensibility (if we assume a wasp ever manifests it, and is not a mere machine) during three or four days. If you irritate one half—the head, it will bite: if you irritate the other half—the tail, it will sting." In another place he describes experiments with a triton, whose brain was removed, and claims for the movements of this and similarly situated creatures both "spontaneity and choice," "sensibility and volition." In the case of another triton, whose spine was divided, he supposes the same qualities to have been exercised by the posterior portion. The cases cited by Mr. LEWES, no doubt, present great difficulties, but his own theories rather add to than remove them. The subject is worth the attention of a profound physiologist, and cannot be treated with advantage in a few chapters of a popular work.

MR. GILFILLAN'S THEOLOGY.*

THE reputation of Mr. Gilfillan as an eloquent writer and ambitious critic stands so high, that any work from his pen must excite more than ordinary interest: when that work combines, with a flowery and enthusiastic style, what is evidently intended to be an entire system of Christian theology, it ought to command the serious attention of thinkers. We have, therefore, set ourselves to the earnest study of the two volumes before us; and if we rise from our task not altogether satisfied, it is with regret that we are compelled to withhold our unqualified approbation from a work of great talent, but more showy than profound.

The poetical aspects of religion have evidently more attraction for Mr. Gilfillan than the philosophical. None the less, however, does he seek the peculiar topics that belong to the latter. The introductory section is headed, "The solitary God inhabiting Eternity." Here he proposes to contemplate the Deity, "stripped of his garment of suns," and as prior to creation. He desires to separate his view from the Pantheistic one; but we soon find that he starts with an erroneous notion of Eternity. He thinks of it, and speaks of it, as if it were Time, and assumes successive periods with an ease which is positively alarming. He boldly says, "Enough if it be conceded that there was a period when as yet no creative fiat had gone forth;" more than enough, and no danger of Pantheism either. Does not Mr. Gilfillan recollect the important axiom which Coleridge has announced in his "Friend?" "The very words—There is nothing! or—There was a time when there was nothing! are self-contradictory. There is that within us which repels the proposition with as full and instantaneous a light as if it bore evidence against the fact in the right of its own eternity." Mr. Gilfillan does not see this self-contradiction. Is it not possible for him to consider Eternity as a *state*, and get rid altogether of the notion of periods and times? Can he not rise to the Hebrew abstraction of "The beginning," and then identify it with "The Eternal?" Can he not then find the Eternal in his own self-consciousness as the mode of self-perception, and the especial law of his conscience? If he cannot do this, then he must needs multiply words without knowledge.

In the Divine solitude Mr. Gilfillan recognises, nevertheless, companionship; first, in the Three Persons, and secondly, in the Platonic "ideas, plans, purposes, foresights," with which that solitude was peopled. It is evident that Mr. Gilfillan does not see what he admits by this, and has not conceived how that these ideas are in themselves creative, and already the realities of which time-history is but the shadow. He refunds them all into the faculty of Divine prescience, and passes them all in review with much graphic power and dramatic effect. We have, indeed, rather too much of the orator and too little of the logician. The chief companion of the Solitary Deity is, according to him, the *Logos*; and he cites in proof Solomon's affirmation of Wisdom. Now, we know there are divines who have thus confounded the *Logos* with Wisdom; but the Scriptural distinction is as sharply drawn as the philosophical. The *Logos* is expressly the intelligence that enlightens every man that comes into the world, however latent it may remain; but Wisdom is the power that instructs the *select few*, in whom that intelligence is developed, and who constitute the Church. All others constitute the world. The Hebrew writers, apocryphal and canonical, agree in adding to the Divine Triad this fourth personage, "Who was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, ere ever the earth was." And without this wisdom, or self-knowledge, it would be indeed impossible to recognise the Triad itself, which is but the living formula of the Divine Intelligence.

We regret to find, in the very first section of Mr. Gilfillan's book, so much of arbitrary and needless assumption, with such an admixture of contradictory propositions, as if, by a hopeless eclecticism, truth would best appear as the result of their conflict. To escape from Pantheism no such violence, no such confusion, is needed. Nothing is wanted but a Socratic method, involving a careful definition of Eternity, and a no less careful distinction between things which, though not ordinarily separate in sensible experience, are not identical in essence.

Mr. Gilfillan next proceeds to the Fall of the Angels, and adopts the narrative of Milton's "Paradise Lost," as if it were the same with the biblical statement, which competent critics know it is not. The revolt and expulsion of the angels described in the Apocalypse

is dated at the time of the Messiah's ascension into heaven; and Milton, with the mystics whom he followed, were in error in placing the grand celestial battle before creation, and supposing that the second verse of Genesis described a chaotic state of the earth as its consequence. All this, it has been proved, is merely fantastic assumption, and has no warranty in the Scriptures, critically interpreted. The Satan of the Old Testament is merely a tempter and a seducer of women, not a warrior. On the origin of evil, indeed, Mr. Gilfillan is confessedly heretical. "Manicheism," he says, "is not the truth, but it is nearer the truth than those theories which make God the author of sin." Evil came from some other "quarter," is the undignified phrase by which Mr. Gilfillan announces his belief in a second Creator, who introduced "a new thing into the universe."

We must leave Mr. Gilfillan to fight this battle out with more orthodox commentators, and particularly with the prophet Isaiah, who strenuously affirms all that Mr. Gilfillan denies. We now come to his doctrine of Creation, which, as we have seen, he makes to take place in Time, and not in Eternity; suspecting that, by the latter assumption, the eternity of matter is implied. Here, again, is an error arising purely from the want of definition. What is matter? or rather what is meant by the term? Is it the phenomenal that is intended, or the substantial? The former is but temporary sensation, the latter is a *spiritual* being. Mr. Gilfillan would not like to have urged home upon him the conclusion to which this error naturally leads. He would not like to be convinced what a thorough-going and exclusive Materialist he really is. But such physical views of the theological altitudes necessarily lead to the grossest materialism and the most degrading superstition. Mr. Gilfillan's private belief comprises itself in this:—"The gradual creative work occupied the Creator for millions of ages. This we gather not from the Bible, but from the discoveries of geology." Surely here is a candid confession; but we have yet to learn that theology and geology are identified. For our own part, we believe that the Mosaic cosmogony and the discoveries of the geologist have no relation whatever.

At length, Mr. Gilfillan delivers himself from his geological reveries, and appeals to Scripture. Man, he boldly says, "was not the child of Development, but the son of God." "Adam," says Luke, "was the son of God." From this point we have fewer objections to make to Mr. Gilfillan's reasonings. When no longer meddling with transcendental topics he is clear and lucid, and threads his way, as might have been expected, through the poetic and imaginative portions of Scripture with a true and sympathetic appreciation. He appreciates at its just value the immortality of the soul; he appreciates the dignity of human intelligence, the excellence of its origin, and the wonderful phases of its progress. He appreciates the end and purpose of creation and respects the sense of beauty in the mind. This he seeks to gratify by all the graces of a rich and picturesque style. No metaphysician, but a fine orator; when once we get over the difficulties of the opening sections, we know no reading more fascinating than that which Mr. Gilfillan has provided in these volumes.

HABITS AND THEIR WEAKNESS.*

MRS. GILPIN, when about to set out on her ever-memorable excursion, notwithstanding the enormous excitement natural on such an occasion, would not allow it to divert the usual course of domestic economy, and as her chronicler informs us, "though she was on pleasure bent she had a frugal mind." In this respect the female Gilpin seems to us to have been an exception to the rule, for though it is true that habit is second nature, yet this second nature is far from being ineradicable, and, in spite of Cowper's heroine, most commonly any unexpected incident which changes even for a time only surrounding circumstances, throws the second nature into the background, and brings out the undisputed power of the first. For example, the teacher of philosophy in Molière's comedy, who had probably lived in a purely speculative atmosphere hitherto, and whose habits were proportionately pacific, after boasting that the true sage is above all insults that may be offered to him, and ought only to answer them by moderation and patience, in a few moments becomes so exasperated by the presumption of the fencing-master in comparing the sword-exercise with the science of Wisdom, that moderation and patience are interpreted and illustrated by a vigorous physical onslaught. The supposed second nature, whose weakness had never been suspected, on a slight pique, yielded at once to the old Adam. There is a difference, however, between the frailty of physical and moral habits; the former are much more difficult to overthrow by a sudden attack than the latter, though they surrender in less time when the siege is deliberate and acknowledged. A startling rise or fall in life, or some striking event in our own immediate sphere, will seldom change a physical, or, as we may call it, a mechanical habit, whilst the moral constitution may be revolutionized at a blow. A French footman who had made an enormous fortune in Law's Bank within a week, lost no time in getting a fine carriage, and for a long time, whenever it was brought to the door, he could not resist the force of life-long custom, and leapt with professional agility on to the spring-board behind. La Trappe, the founder of the austere sect of the Trappists, was in his youth a reckless profligate, but the sudden death of a lady to whom he was betrothed at once convulsed his whole moral state, and from being the gayest he became the severest of men. We might cite Luther and a hundred other in-

* *Alpha and Omega; or, a Series of Scriptural Studies.* By GEORGE GILFILLAN, Minister of the Gospel, Dundee. Two vols. Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co.

* *La Vie de Plaisir.* Par PAUL FOUCHER. Paris: Lévy, 1860.

stances where an unlooked-for event has turned the whole current of life, and it would be no more difficult to produce examples of an opposite kind, where, instead of being from bad to good, the change has been from virtue and strength to vice and weakness. But perhaps it may be said that our position will only hold with regard to those of the hero-class, and is not true of that large multitude who are

"Content to dwell in decencies for ever."

But even here, amongst respectable citizens, and in the commercial world, an exaggerated strength is generally attributed to habit, and what was supposed to be a rigid morality which nothing could disturb, very frequently proves a mere custom not founded on principle, and which a slight blast from without suffices to throw totally out of its equilibrium. A comely matron has lived for twenty years in the laudable discharge of the duties of her position, when a fascinating young curate, irresistible in an immaculate tie, high waistcoat, long coat, cadaverous visage, and absence of shirt-collar, enters upon the scene, and within two months the *ci-devant* Cornelia elopes. A lad of one-and-twenty, clever, conscientious, and setting out with a fair budget of good resolutions, goes to Oxford, and before the end of his second term has forgotten all the power of youthful associations, looks upon life as a sham, and has begun to act accordingly. The sober-minded Brown strolls down St. James's some fine afternoon, and accidentally meeting the gay Robinson, is invited to dine and meet one or two capital fellows; and before he goes to bed that night, Brown has acquired three or four hundred pounds and a taste for gambling, which in a few years lands him on the salubrious shores of Boulogne. But everybody can call to mind a dozen cases illustrative of what we mean, where habits apparently inveterate and immovable as a mountain, have, upon what would seem trivial temptation, "melted into air, into thin air."

This is the moral of the novel before us, "The Life of Pleasure," and it is shown in a two-fold aspect—a debauchee becomes a pattern of virtue, and a man of upright morality degenerates into a mere wreck. As the latter change is less frequent in actual life, its credibility is enforced by additional elaboration in the development. A prosperous tradesman, M. Brémont, is a man of high commercial integrity, no less than of domestic virtue; in the relations of trade and of the family, he is equally irreproachable. With an excellent wife and two children, a son and a daughter, his life would seem to be as enviable as mortal lot can be, blessed with external prosperity and peaceful happiness within. M. Brémont, with the natural ambition of raising the family name, made his son a barrister, and at this point the story begins. This son takes advantage of his new independence to taste the pleasures of the French capital, and soon becomes involved in an intrigue, which ends in a duel with a colonel of Zouaves, and the unfortunate youth is killed. This terrible catastrophe has such an effect on his mother that she becomes insane, and dependent almost for her very existence on the incessant devotion of her daughter. The unhappy father, whose life is entirely paralyzed by this accumulation of calamities, driven away from all his old habits, which might have been thought a part of himself, betakes himself to the *café* for consolation, and the evenings which were once spent in the bosom of his family, are now devoted to play. On one occasion, shortly after the commencement of his distress, he heard of a young girl who, though pressed by want, would not yield to the temptations of a rich seducer; he first of all sent her money anonymously, and afterwards had an interview with her, succeeded by many others, until at last the unfortunate merchant became the victim of a fatal passion for her whom he had generously saved. To this, however, Paulina did not respond, for she herself was desperately enamoured of one Julian Martel, who was then the cashier of M. Brémont, and with whom she had been slightly acquainted in earlier days. Julian Martel had come to Paris when a young man, and had very speedily thrown away a handsome patrimony in licentiousness and dissipation. Having spent his last franc, he was obliged to seek employment in some humble sphere, and he became the cashier of M. Brémont, in which situation he showed that the profligate *roué* may desist from his wallowing in the mire, and turn a diligent and conscientious worker; and upon him now almost entirely depended the thriving business which his employer had begun to neglect. Paulina, discovering that Julian Martel regarded her with indifference, and that he was in love with his master's daughter, determined upon a dire revenge, and yielding to the passionate solicitations of the infatuated Brémont, she launches him upon a career of wild extravagance, which destroys the solvency of his firm. At length, Martel, discerning the motive which prompted the amiable Paulina, came to an agreement with her that, on condition she would never again see Brémont, he would leave his present situation and abandon the family to which he was so much indebted, without disclosing to Léonie, his master's daughter, the true reason of his departure, and leaving her to believe it to have been prompted by a selfish desire of aggrandizement. This is the culminating point of the story: the steady sober tradesman metamorphosed into the degraded slave of a courtesan, and the dissipated spendthrift become frugal and self-sacrificing. All that follows is highly wrought up, and abounds in exciting and well-told incident, but it is needless to introduce it here, and it suffices to say that eventually Julian marries Léonie, and M. Brémont remains till his death a miserable wreck, whilst Paulina, his bad angel, finds her way to South America.

To many, perhaps, this may appear an exaggerated idea and an impossible plot; but, after all, what is there impossible or even improbable about it? Good habits, however deeply rooted, are still

only implanted, and any change of soil, that is, any movement of surrounding circumstances, can scarcely take place, in ever so small a degree, without harm to the growth; and there is many a man now enjoying high reputation for temperance and rectitude, and many a woman whom her neighbours extol as a pattern of maternal or conjugal duty, either of whom an accidental event might divert utterly and for ever from a path which they do not pursue on principle, but because chance or fate has set them in it. In very few instances are the various actions of life made matter of sober and conscientious reasoning, or deduced from carefully weighed principles; and when this is so, let no man hope that the conduct and habits of years are so firm as to resist the events of a single day, if those events happen to come in a certain direction. Where either morality or immorality is rather the result of usage than reflection, it is not good to calculate upon the continuance of one or the other. Somebody has admirably observed that *the chapter of accidents is the bible of the fool*, but even a wise man needs all possible circumspection to avoid the maelstrom of circumstances, and few attain the fulfilment of the Horatian desire,—

"Mihi res, non me rebus subjungere conor."

THE BANKER OF FLORENCE.*

ALL that can bear in any way on the subject of Italy, whether past, present, or future, is now received with so much favour, that Mr. Adolphus Trollope needs no apology for retracing ground already gone over in former works, in order to give a more inner-life view of the state of the country and the interests and characters of individuals and classes of the latter. The biography of "Filippo Strozzi" is fertile in materials for interpretation. The biographer does not, and could not, present his hero as the exemplar of man in the abstract, but exhibits him as a class-man—for instance, as the "Banker of Florence." The difference between the two is all the space between the Socratic man, and that which the Sophists taught the Athenian youth to become. From his boyhood we find Filippo Strozzi preparing himself for his future career, and are introduced into the very imperfect state of society in accordance with which he had been educated. The democratic republic in which he was born had the oddest notions of freedom; and, instead of leaving each man free to conduct his life and business as he might, claimed the right of interfering with him in his nearest and dearest interests. It was dangerous to be considered too rich, and private safety was sacrificed to misconceived public relations in a manner that led to the greatest individual injustice. Strozzi had occasion for all the prudence, wonderful as it was, that he possessed, to steer clear of the many shoals and quicksands that then beset the rich merchant in his voyage through life. And this is the point of view in which his history may be best studied.

Mr. Trollope has described the difficulties of the position of this extraordinary man in one illustrative sentence. "The entire life," says he, "of this cautious statesman and financier may be characterized as a continuous walk upon a political tight-rope, with ever-present danger of falling on one side or the other." The biographer is called on to make this remark just after recording the sack of Rome by the Constable Bourbon, and the state into which Florence was consequently thrown. He then proceeds to celebrate the cautious wisdom which Strozzi evinced on the occasion. The richest man in Florence, he was also recognised as the "master of the situation," and all parties applied to him for help and counsel in a great crisis; but ultimately his history shows that there is a wisdom higher than prudence;—accordingly we find him, after all his twistings and turnings, "a prisoner in that fortress for the building of which he had furnished the funds." That so great a capitalist as Strozzi should suffer the common fate of his fellow rebels and conspirators seems to have revolted the spirit of the age in which he lived. It was, indeed, a subject of European interest; so little was then the revolutionary doctrine of equality appreciated. Even Pope Paul III. pleaded for him to the Emperor Charles V., on the ground of his wealth, not of his worth. We may learn from his story how much of the evil that poor humanity endures results from mammon-worship. This hierophant in the temple of the sordid god died in prison, as stated by the authorities, by his own hands;—perhaps, he was murdered. He had survived torture, and amused his gaol hours with literary composition, so that he was not without fortitude or mental resources. Be that as it may, no story can be more full of moral interest than that of his life, as told in the eloquent volume before us, for the stirring and commercial age in which we live.

SERIALS.

THE *North British Quarterly* for May contains several highly elaborate and powerfully written articles. "Redding's Reminiscences—Thomas Campbell" will, we are sure, be read with pleasure and profit. "Quakerism, Past and Present," is an article that presents a subject which is somewhat dry and obsolete in an interesting aspect and form. The article which follows, on "Sir Henry Lawrence," contains much that is valuable on India. "Australian Ethnology" is an intelligent article upon an important branch of knowledge. "Church and State," which is one of the best articles in the present number, will be generally interesting. "The Origin of Species," "British Lighthouses," and "The State of Europe,"

* *Filippo Strozzi: a History of the Last Days of the Old Italian Liberty.* By T. ADOLPHUS TROLLOPE. Chapman and Hall.

we can only designate as excellent articles on obviously useful and important subjects.

The *Family Economist*, an illustrated weekly penny magazine, is deserving of the most favourable notice. Its contents are entertaining and instructive in a high degree, and we call attention to its well-filled pages, feeling certain that the stories of "So the World Goes," its papers on "Scientific Recreation," "Waxen Flowers and Fruits," together with a variety of brief papers on popular topics, for the most part illustrated, will fully satisfy the intelligent reader.

Part IV. of "Cassell's Illustrated History of England," the text by William Howitt, ranges from 1776—78, and contains a portrait of Lord Howe, and several interesting sketches of American scenes.

"Cassell's Popular Natural History" continues the history of the Dog, of which many good illustrations are given.

We have also received the May number of *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*.

Part XII. of "Cassell's Illustrated Family Bible" contains the Book of Ruth, and the first Book of Samuel, which are very beautifully illustrated. "Ruth Gleaning in the Field," and "The Storm in Harvest," are among the characteristic engravings which greatly enhance the value of this part.

The *Ladies' Treasury* for May is rich with interesting articles and admirable illustrations.

We have received Part V. of the valuable "Memoirs of Thomas Moore," published by Messrs. Longman and Co. It embraces three years of the poet's life from 1822, and his biographer has traced Moore's life history to the age of forty-six. In this part is a portrait of Sir John Stevenson, M.D.

MR. MASON JONES'S ORATION ON LORD MACAULAY.

MR. Mason Jones delivered his oration on "Lord Macaulay, the essayist, statesman, prose writer, and poet," at Willis's Rooms, on Monday evening last. In thus stating the circumstance, we have quoted the announcement on the programme as nearly as possible with due regard to the wording of it. The name of the orator is well known to the public; in fact, so well and favourably known from his series of popular and eloquent orations of last summer, that the mere announcement of his re-appearance in the same capacity upon a subject of so wide and deep an interest as that of Macaulay, was quite sufficient to attract a large, brilliant, and intelligent audience; and such it evidently had the effect of doing. Before the orator took his place on the platform the room was filled by hearers who, we feel sure, anticipated a great treat from the expected speaker, for no sooner did the "lecturer of all lecturers," as Mr. Jones had been represented by some of our contemporaries last season, appear, than he was hailed with warm expressions of delight and applause. Of course it was not the greeting which a less intelligent and fashionable audience would have given to its idol—not of that loud, quick, spontaneous, and turbulent kind which a popular M.P. would receive from his constituents, but it was nevertheless strong enough to assure any lecturer that he was cordially remembered and appreciated. So Mr. Jones, whom we were happy to see again, must have felt. However, to be brief, in spite of the very favourable impression which he at first made upon us, and the conviction which he had, with others, that he would ultimately become an orator of rare and transcendent powers, we must now say plainly that he has not, in our opinion, improved upon his first effort in the same room last year. Indeed we think that he has rather deteriorated. His style does not appear to be so terse and vigorous, his wit so keen, his imagination so brilliant, nor his penetration, figures of speech, comments, and powers of analysis so fresh and original. We do not make these remarks out of any spirit of ill-feeling to Mr. Jones; on the contrary, we admire the remarkable gifts which he has displayed, the great ability he has manifested, and we are sorry to find that he should stand still, or, what is worse, even retrograde. Mr. Jones possesses, we admit, plenty of information, and a thorough knowledge of whatever subject he takes up; he has evidently a great memory, and an unusual command of language; a copious flow of fancies, and a poetic temperament. But what he lacks, or does not pay adequate attention to is, the selection and compression of his ideas, and the careful arrangement of his sentences. Hence, through this carelessness, some portions of his speeches appear to be mere chasms bridged over by a few commonplaces; others too exuberant and puffy, and at times tediously protracted by dissertation that may as well be omitted; and the whole, consequently, with all its merits, painfully suggestive to the hearer of the unwelcome exclamation, "Too long by half!" Now, this, we think, was the great fault of an otherwise excellent oration on Lord Macaulay. Coldly and drily beginning, as some music begins, with a recitative or minor, he detained us much too long in Westminster Abbey at the funeral of the illustrious historian. We certainly did not expect the commonplace homily to which Mr. Jones treated us at the outset; and we wish not to be offensive when we say we were glad when it was over. Solemnising, indeed, must be the funeral of a great man whose dust is laid in the place where kindred dust has long before reposed; but we think the circumstance may be more solemnly, fittingly, and effectively told in a few words than by any long verbal description, however eloquent, if it occupy as much time as did the Funeral Service itself. This over, however, the lecturer instantly changing his tone from grave to gay, proceeds to give a rapid sketch of the life of Macaulay. The quickness and brevity with which this was done, though we were

strongly reminded of the manner in which it had been done elsewhere, made it highly interesting. Then, after long and carefully descanting upon the respective merits of his essays, history, poems, and powers of speech-making, an argument that was not concluded without a good deal of redundancy, he pronounced an opinion on the intellectual character of Macaulay. In doing this, he did, we think, perfect justice to Macaulay. In the lecturer's judgment he is neither a great statesman nor a great thinker—but a celebrated essayist merely. In this estimate of Macaulay we coincide, and must content ourselves with this general statement of it, for want of space to follow Mr. Jones through his argument. Neither was Macaulay an orator. Now, while listening to Mr. Jones, as he pursued his discussion as to the literary speciality of the great essayist, we thought that his own style of speaking resembled that of Macaulay—his oration on him being so like a spoken essay; and that his remarkable powers will, if he do not take great care, degenerate into the habit of making long speeches only. We also think Mr. Jones's speeches would be much improved if he were more chary of the use of the words "splendid," "sublime," "transcendental," "spiritual," and "divine," the constant repetition of which is not at all pleasant or tasteful. Some puerilities of sentiment, too, he will do well to get rid of if he would satisfy the maturer judgment of his hearers. We certainly cannot subscribe to his creed that a poet is a "prophet," a "legislator," a "lawgiver," and so forth, at whose feet we must humbly sit and mumble over his music as if it were divine revelation; nor do we like to hear preached on a purely literary subject the theological dogmas of any sect.

At the conclusion of his oration, Mr. Jones, to our thinking, made also a serious mistake. The end, as well as the beginning of it, seemed out of place; better for him, perhaps, had he put the beginning at the end, or substituted a peroration of his own for the "Lays of the Roundheads," "Horatius," and "Virginia;" for considering that these poems are well known, that they are likewise very long, and that Mr. Jones is not a good elocutionist, his recitation of them was about as injudicious a thing as he could have committed. The applause, therefore, was neither hearty nor unanimous.

By a paper which we received on leaving, we find it announced that "Dean Swift" will form the subject of his next oration, on Saturday morning, May 19th.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

(SPECIAL.)

TURIN, May 5, 1860.

OUR King's triumphant progress through his new states is still the universal theme. Gratifying as are the demonstrations of respect and affection with which he is everywhere greeted, it will, however, be quite a relief when he returns once more to Piedmont, and state affairs are suffered to relapse into their normal condition. More than a year has now elapsed since Tuscany threw off the rule of her Austrian dictators. The past twelve months of freedom and prosperity, of obstacles overcome, of difficulties surmounted, were well calculated to excite the people of Tuscany to give a warm and enthusiastic reception to their new sovereign; and, indeed, nothing had been neglected by any class, sect, age, or sex, to prove the heartfelt gratification, the true-hearted loyalty and devotion nourished by the Tuscans towards VICTOR EMMANUEL. The reception in the Romagna, though greatly marred by the inclemency of the weather, has been such as to show the gratification of the people at their exchange of priestly for temporal rule. A few months ago Signor E. P. Rossi brought out a book which forms a useful and complete manual of the history of the Pontifical domination, and its systematic repression of the just desires of its subjects. In tracing out this history, it is clearly shown that no people has ever acted according to more consistent and unvarying rules in its constant opposition to Papal tyranny. Signor Rossi's narrative shows that Macerata has revolted from the Pope eight times; Sinigaglia, Ascoli, Fuligno, Orvieto, Ferrara, and Ancona, ten times; Tivoli, Città di Castello, Osirno, Fano, and Pesaro, eleven times; Fermo, twelve times; Spoleto, Todi, and Camerino, thirteen times; Imola and Ravenna, fourteen times; Cesena and Urbino, fifteen times; Viterbo, sixteen times; Rimini, nineteen times; Forlì twenty times; Bologna and Perugia, twenty-one times; Faenza, twenty-two times, and Rome seventy-nine times. These figures are far too eloquent to require comment, and are of themselves the most powerful protest possible against the erroneous and repressive system pursued by the Roman Curia. We have every reason to hope that a people, who have thus consistently and perseveringly opposed tyranny, will no less perseveringly and consistently do all in their power to strengthen the hands of their new Sovereign, and aid him in carrying out the reforms which the bad Government, under which they have groaned, have made essentially requisite. It is not to be hoped that the relations between Sovereign and people can always retain the *couleur de rose* thrown around them by the rejoicings attendant upon a royal progress. Mutual combination and concessions will be required, exactly as in the arrangements of a large family.

The work of consolidating and arranging the new Italian State will be laborious, arduous, and slow. The difficulties are now beginning to be felt, and in proportion as those at the head of affairs are enabled to overcome and conquer them, they will hasten or retard the solution of the international question, and the recognition of the new Italian equilibrium. The Great Powers, with the excep-

tion of Austria, all seem disposed to accept the new state of things; but Russia and Prussia apparently hesitate to declare themselves, until they are reassured with reference to the foreign and domestic policy of the Government of King VICTOR EMMANUEL. The relations of Piedmont with the Great Powers are at present as friendly as could be wished. France and England have given orders that the archives of their legations should be transferred from Florence to Turin, thus recognising the substitution of the latter for the former as the seat of Government and the centre of the Tuscan administration, and marking their approbation, or at least their adhesion, to the annexation of Tuscany, no less than of the minor Duchies to Piedmont.

The tendency of Italy towards union is a natural and logical necessity, arising out of the present situation of Europe and the result of the teachings of history; but it would be worse than useless to seek to encourage it by an aggressive and daring policy which should threaten public tranquillity or the maintenance of friendly international relations. The policy which has been employed towards Austria since 1848 ought still to be maintained. Piedmont has defended its liberty, but has, at the same time, avoided everything which could afford a pretext for accusations of violating international rights. The griefs of Austria against Piedmont resolve themselves into a single one—the Italian and liberal tendency of the policy of the Sardinian Government. This influence is moral and legitimate, or rather it is legitimate because it is moral. To it alone is due the formation of the new State, and the progress of the rest of Italy towards a happier destiny. Naturally, therefore, the Piedmontese policy has made absolutism tremble, rendered its existence precarious, and will gradually effect its entire suppression. But it is not to be expected that the latter principle will succumb without making a desperate resistance. Austria sees itself unable any longer to govern Venice exclusively by force of arms and police measures, which are wearing out of themselves. The Court of Rome has clearly revealed its intentions by the nomination of General LAMORICIERE to the command of the army, and of M. DE MERODE as Minister of War. The latter nomination appears to me of more serious importance than that of General LAMORICIERE, as introducing the foreign element into the Pontifical Government itself. It is a fact, the significance of which cannot escape the notice either of the Piedmontese Government or the other Powers of Europe. Although the Court of Rome professes peaceful ideas, and continues to repeat that it has no intention of endeavouring to regain its lost provinces, but seeks only to preserve the remainder, it is far from probable that General LAMORICIERE should be content with standing still simply as the defender of the State. Besides, if such were the case, where would be the necessity of assembling an army of twenty thousand men, and which is daily augmented by the arrival of fresh mercenaries?

The Pontifical Government has no reason to anticipate aggression from without. Piedmont has never attacked it, and only accomplished the annexation of the Romagna after having vainly sought to come to an understanding with the Papacy, by which its interests and dignity should be preserved. The present extended territory of Piedmont, and consequent increased political labour and responsibility, must long engross its whole attention and energy, so as to prevent the smallest suspicion or danger that it will deviate from the prudent and moderate course of action which ever has been, and must continue to be, the source of its strength and prosperity. A policy at once Italian, national, and progressive, but which abstains from all provocation, is essential to the welfare of Piedmont. The Italian cause has nothing to fear from the reactionary rage of Rome or Naples, for absolutism is the most effectual advocate of the national principle. The prudent policy of Piedmont irritates despotism, because it gives our Government a moral force and authority which cannot be ignored or withstood, and places it in a position to consolidate its enlarged state, while it offers to Europe a guarantee of order and respect for international law, in which it has never failed. Piedmont must now take measures for strengthening and defending her possessions. The belligerent designs of neighbouring powers are patent, and it is only a question of time and convenience, when their enmity will be expressed by deeds. It is of importance, therefore, that the subalpine kingdom should be prepared to sustain any shock which may be brought against it. The struggle between the two principles of liberalism and despotism can never cease in Italy until the one has finally overcome the other. Let Piedmont, then, proceed cautiously and conscientiously, and eventually the victory must be hers. She has now the moral support and sympathy of all the liberal Governments of both the Old and New World, and time will but add to the number of her adherents.

A pamphlet has recently appeared at Berlin, with the title "Free to the Adriatic," written by GUSTAVO RASCH. The writer undertakes the defence of the Italians against the calumnies of the Austrian press, and, by the enumeration of a series of facts, more or less generally known, but all derived from notices and documents of irrefragable authenticity, exposes to view the iniquity of the Austrian rule in Italy. The effect of such writings as this must be to make the Italian cause better known and appreciated in Germany, and to enable Germans to judge how truly hostile to all progress, to all liberty and independence, is the Austrian domination. It is now recognised in Germany as in Italy, that Austria offers the most unjustifiable obstacles to the development of nationality, and to the progress of modern and generous principles of international law. The writer most triumphantly disproves many of the calumnious and exaggerated statements made systematically against Italy by the *Gazette d'Augusta* and other Government organs. He says,—

"In the suppression of the national development of peoples consists the vital energy of Austria. Such is the fundamental principle of the system of METTERNICH, by which Austria has existed through the first half of this century, and through which she will perish in the second. The suppression of free national development in Italy during the past forty-four years, is the alpha and the omega of the history of the Austrian rule. And how was it established in Italy? By chains and imprisonment, by the executioner's axe, by fire and sword, by blood and tears, by the groans of a nation ill treated from day to day. For the other European peoples, the first half of the nineteenth century was a period of civilization, of humanity, of free individual development. For Italy it was an epoch of bitter servitude, of the suppression of every right, human and divine; an eternal disgrace in the book of universal history. In the solution of the two great political questions,—liberty of the citizen, and free national development,—which are now agitating the unfortunate country beyond the Alps, consists the sole guarantee of the peace of Europe and the realization of the objects which the nineteenth century has proposed in the history of that development of humanity to which all seek to attain. Time presses. The hour has come when all should put their hands to the work, when every one should labour to the utmost of his ability that the motto of Italy—*Free to the Adriatic*—may become a truth; for in that each man should see the realization of his own principles."

From the narration of RASCH, we have the satisfaction of finding that the deportment of the Italians during the past ten years, notwithstanding the contumely poured upon them by the hireling Austrian press, has won the esteem and admiration of their enemies. When a people inspires such sentiments in the hearts of its oppressors, its liberation must soon follow.

Recent events have been preparing the way for this happy consummation. Before no very distant period, we doubt not, Venice will share the fate of more fortunate Lombardy, and Italy thus be *free to the Adriatic*.

HANOVER, May 7th, 1860.

THE proceedings in the Prussian Upper Chamber upon the question of the land-tax, and the debates upon the affairs of Hessian and Schleswig have been followed, as national or united German interests by every country of the "Vaterland." All except the Junker, or German tory party, feel that the loyalty of the Rhine provinces depends upon the justice and patriotism of the Upper Chamber. The Junkers, however, are either ignorant of the sentiments of the Rhinelanders, or rely upon the alliance of England and the military prowess of ancient Prussia to withstand any attempt upon the Rhine. In the debate upon the land-tax M. VON KLEIST RETZOW maintained that the principle of the Government measure was of French, consequently revolutionary origin, and denounced it as an invention to abolish the law of entail and destroy the influence of the landowners, i.e., the feudal aristocracy. This was the grand reason advanced for their opposition to the Government. Dr. HEINECKE, on the ministerial side, replied to these assumptions in a long and animated speech, in which he pointed out the fact that the late Count BRANDENBURG and his colleague, Chevalier MANTUEFFEL, who were considered quite as conservative in their views as any of the tory party, had, even in 1850, proposed the same measure to the Chambers. The present opposition of the landowners took its rise in the selfish and unjust desire to remain untaxed at the expense of the rest of the nation. It had nothing to do with principles or the welfare of the monarchy, as might be seen by the petition presented by the landed proprietors to King FREDERICK WILLIAM I., in the year 1717. They agreed to the laying on of a house-tax, but would not listen to any alteration of the land-tax. King FREDERICK WILLIAM III. had from 1810 till his death constantly endeavoured to fulfil his promises made to the people relative to the removal of the inequalities in the system of taxation, but had ever been most determinedly baffled by the feudal proprietors. FREDERICK WILLIAM IV. had reiterated his father's promises, and had exerted himself to carry them into effect, but with as little result. By thus thwarting the wishes of their sovereign and the people, and selfishly refusing to bear their share of the national burthens, they were sowing the seeds of that revolution which they pretended it was their aim to avert. The obstructive opposition of the Upper Chamber to every measure brought forward by the Cabinet might ultimately lead to a change of ministry as they would have it, formed from the feudal majority; but they would risk not only every hereditary privilege, but even the safety of the kingdom. To this one spokesman of the Tories replied, that all the acts of the Upper Chamber had for their object the protection of his Majesty the King against the machinations of the present ministers and their abettors. It would be a hard task to redress the evils which had arisen by these machinations during the last thirteen years, but it was to be hoped that the endeavours of the feudalists would, in the end, be attended with success. Your readers may imagine how this puerile irony has been received by the Liberals. The people, viewing the utter powerlessness of their Liberal Regent and ministers against this opposition, are growing disgusted with so-called constitutional government.

The debate upon the land-tax has been followed by another upon the affairs of Schleswig, which more particularly interest the whole nation; but although the public read with avidity, and repeat with considerable animation, the arguments served up to them by the journals, there are still no signs of an active movement in support of their views. The cause of this apathy lies, I think, in the fact that there does not exist in any one country of Germany a sufficiently

large class of what I will take the liberty to term leisure men, who, without being feudal nobles, are men of rank and wealth. Hitherto the leaders or spokesmen of the Liberals in this country have been professors, schoolmasters, and lawyers. We have too few VON GAGERN and VON BENNIGSENS, who, like the English HAMPDENs, SIDNEYs, RUSSELLs, and FOXEs, possess rank, wealth, wide connexions, leisure, influence, and popular instincts. SACHEVERELLS, WILKES's, COBBETTS, FROSTs, and O'CONNELLs are in abundance, who have power to inflame, but not to lead, mere bell-wethers, not strong, watchful, protecting, directing shepherds. Thus it is that in want of leaders we hear Germans proclaiming a desire for war, praying for an invasion to unite them and raise up chiefs. The Governments, without exception, are in themselves so feeble, being without any hold upon the esteem or affection of their subjects, that in countries like England, Holland, and Sweden, they would be reduced to their legitimate powers, or overthrown by the mere expression of the popular wish. A few hundred men like VON GAGERN and BENNIGSEN, and in six months Germany would be a united monarchy.

But, discouraging as the constitutional life in Prussia is, it is hopeful and animated compared with that in Hanover, where a minister is so bold as to hint that the princes of Germany would, if much longer threatened with a united Germany under the leadership of Prussia, seek alliances among foreign non-German States, and, if needs must, with France. This hint of M. VON BARRIES' has excited a cry of indignation through the entire German press and people, which must serve as a counter hint to the minister, that the days when a Rhine bund could be formed are passed. It is not very probable that the Hanoverians, Saxons, and Hessians would allow themselves to be led again like sheep to the slaughter. In fact, we all perfectly well know that a word from Prussia—one word only—and the Sovereigns of Hanover, Hesse, and Saxony would be exiles in twenty-four hours.

The Danish Government lately issued a circular note justifying its conduct in the matter of the Schleswig Assembly, the leading members of which, as your readers have been already informed, are being prosecuted by the Danish Government for the distribution of an address which the Assembly had presented to the King. The Danes excuse their proceedings by the assertion that the Assembly systematically and maliciously rejected almost every measure brought forward by the Government, even when shown to be both practical and useful. The German party reply to this circular, and declare that out of twenty-four bills introduced by the Government, seventeen were agreed to with very few and slight modifications. Of these, nine have since received the king's assent and become law. The Danes seem, however, to care very little about public opinion in Germany, relying doubtless, upon the promise made formerly by LOUIS NAPOLEON, that so long as the German States did not interfere with the old ally of France (Denmark) he should likewise abstain, but that if any German power invaded the territories appertaining to the King of Denmark, France could not remain a passive spectator. For some time past, as I have already written, there have been rumours of the existence of an offensive and defensive treaty between France and Denmark. Whether such has really been concluded cannot as yet be ascertained, but that it would only express the sympathy which animates the two nations is certain. The French have an eye to the sea-faring population of Denmark as an auxiliary force to man her fleets, while Denmark sees her own safety in the military supremacy of France. The ruling party in Denmark are particularly desirous of a close alliance with France, to enable them without risk of a war with the Germanic Confederation, to take active and sharp cutting measures against the German propaganda in Holstein and Schleswig, more especially in the latter country, and not only maintain what they consider to be their own, but to extend Danish influence, manners and language across the border of Germany itself. Since the report of such negotiations between France and Denmark, the Danish papers have become considerably more insolent and daring towards Germany. The *Flensburg Gazette*, which, though not of much value as a journal, is nevertheless important, as being the organ of the Danish Cabinet, vies with the other Danish papers in invectives against Germany in general and Prussia in particular. It boldly advocates the "revendication" of the Rhine provinces, and expresses a confident belief that, if not at this moment, France will most assuredly do so the instant Prussia attempts a forcible entry into Holstein or Schleswig. The Danish Government, says the *Gazette*, confident that France will never permit the strong to trample upon the weak, looks to France for help against the designs of the Propaganda. The late debate upon the Schleswig Assembly affair in the Prussian Chambers has been as oil to flames on both sides. Germany to a man is ready to go to war for Schleswig and Holstein, and no man can doubt that France will take part with Denmark. There will be no underhand work on the part of France in this case. Years ago LOUIS NAPOLEON declared his resolution, and, if Germans will have war with Denmark, they must be prepared for a war with France. This must be well known to Prussian politicians, and, therefore, one is inclined to ask, what is the aim of the late debate? Prussia, that cannot reform her army, nor unite Germany, nor protect the Germans of the Duchies against the Danes, nor even erect coast defences, nay, not even communicate unhindered with her arsenals, speaks as loudly through her Parliament, as if she were exactly in the position of England. That bold oratory which, when vented in England, excites admiration and glee, makes us tremble here.

The Austrian official journals are striving hard to mystify the public respecting the transactions of the late minister VON BRUCK,

and the causes which led to his dismissal and subsequent suicide. A few days ago, he was held up as a criminal—now he has died a man of honour. The public, however, cannot help thinking that he chose a most unlucky moment to take away his life, if he wished to make the world believe he destroyed his life because his feelings were hurt. This sort of glossing is by no means uncommon in Germany, for the police authorities, in all parts, have adopted it as a rule to mystify or hush up. I am acquainted with five cases of suicide, in a neighbouring town, which were completely ignored by the authorities—the relatives being permitted to advertise that death had taken place from apoplexy. It was but the other day that the Chief Police Commissary of the City of Bremen, VON HUNTELN, took away his own life. The journals represented him as being driven to the rash step by excessive sensitiveness at a slight reproof given him by the Senate. But the public were fully aware that the account-books of the passport-office had been stolen or destroyed, for the purpose of hiding heavy defalcations, supposed to have been committed by the head of the department, who is at present, or was till very lately, a prisoner in his own house, too ill, or pretending, as the public believes, to be too ill, to be removed to the common gaol. The journals have so mystified the public upon the affair, that although it is certain that the robbery or destruction of the accounts could have been effected only by an official, it has been merely a nine days' wonder, and is now hushed up, as the authorities would have it.

The telegraph brought your readers the news last week of the suppression by the Austrian Government of the twenty-ninth article of the Civil Code, by which foreigners were prohibited, as in every other part of Germany, from establishing themselves in any business, without first being naturalized, which was attended with great expense and annoyance. Foreigners can now establish themselves in Austria proper, without naturalization. By this step, if really and honestly carried out, Austria will gain a great advantage over the other countries of Germany, in all of which, more or less, foreigners are excluded. So much the worse for the silly Governments, and the better for England, France, and the United States, and the shipowners of Bremen, Hamburg, Antwerp, &c.

An additional postal treaty has been concluded between England and the Hanse towns, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck, by which letters and packets—but, as I have been informed, not newspapers, except as packets—will be forwarded *via* London and Hull. The letters will be charged as *via* Ostend; not pre-paid, eightpence; pre-paid, sixpence. Why newspapers, with the stamp, are not to be forwarded, with a small local charge for delivery, as before the treaty with Prussia, by the Hamburg and Bremen steamers, I am at a loss to conceive, unless the English Government is lending itself to the Continental authorities to exclude the English press from the Continent.

RECORD OF THE WEEK.

HOME AND COLONIAL.

A SUMPTUOUS entertainment was given on Saturday, the 4th of May, by the Royal Academy of Arts, to inaugurate the opening of the Exhibition in Trafalgar Square.

Mr. Adderley's new Bill, just introduced into the House of Commons, to provide for the education of children employed in manufactures, or other regular labour, is a measure of great interest and importance. It proceeds to inflict a penalty for employing any child under twelve years of age, in any mine or colliery, or in any manufacturing process, whether for wages, or as an apprentice or learner, unless a certificate be first obtained from "a schoolmaster," that the child can read tolerably and write legibly. Mr. Adderley's proposal ought to be widely known, that it may have due consideration.

The *New Zealander*, of February 27th, published at Auckland, contains an account of the insurrection of the natives, in the province of Tarawaki, who had taken up arms against the Queen's forces, to prevent the survey of a portion of land, at Waitara, by the Government agents. Colonel Murray was making the most energetic arrangements to resist the natives, but no collision had taken place.

A Maltese washerwoman, whose veracity may be depended upon, affirms that twelve months ago, on cleaning a gurnet, she found in its inside a Venetian zecchino, which she disposed of for 15s. 2d. Six months afterwards, in a fish of the same species, she found a valuable diamond ring. She declares, moreover, that a brother, who is a scullion in a cookshop, has repeatedly found, in the same description of fish, pieces of metal and coral. The fact of the discovery of the coin and the diamond has created much speculation at Malta; and a correspondent of a Malta paper inquires, whether the latter may not have been a ring the Doges of Venice were wont to cast annually into the Adriatic.

A Cabinet Council was held on Saturday, at the official residence of the First Lord of the Treasury, in Downing Street.

The annual account of the Merchant Seamen's Fund has been made up. It shows that in 1859 pensions amounting to £4,643 fell in, and new pensions to the amount of £3,922 were granted. The pensioners now upon the fund are 21,406 in number, and the annual amount of their pensions is £58,631. Of the pensioners, 5,696 have been masters or seamen, 10,843 are widows, and 4,867 children.

The Royal Mail steamship Europa embarked mails and passengers

at Queenstown on Sunday, and sailed for Halifax and Boston the same evening.

! Messrs. Edward Moxon and Co. have in the press "Memorials of Thomas Hood," collected, arranged, and edited by his daughter; with a preface and notes by his son. Both daughter and son inherit so much of their illustrious father's genius, that the book is sure to be a charming one.

The *Melbourne Argus* of March 17 announces the death, at the house of a relative near Melbourne, on Tuesday night, the 21st ult., of E. M. Whitty, Esq., late of the London press, and author of the "Stranger in Parliament," "The Bohemians," and other works. Mr. Whitty had only recently arrived in that colony, in the hope of better health from the change of climate; but recovery was almost hopeless from the beginning, and he has slowly passed away to an early grave, lamented by all who knew him.

Sir John Melville, who had been Lord Provost of Edinburgh, from 1854 to 1859, and who last autumn received the honour of knighthood from Her Majesty in Holyrood, expired at his residence in Edinburgh, on Saturday morning, May 4th.

Bills are passing through Parliament for taking the census in 1861. The English Bill contains a new requirement, that every person shall state what is his religious profession.

The firm of John and Anthony Blaikie, advocates and land factors, Aberdeen, has failed. The total amount of Mr. John Blaikie's shortcomings is set down at something pretty near £300,000.

The annual meeting of the British and Foreign School Society was held on Monday, at the schools in the Borough Road, under the presidency of Lord John Russell. From the report, it appeared that 250 young persons had attended the classes of the Normal College during the year, of whom 116 had been appointed to schools. Of the 123 students presented at the certificate examination at Christmas last year, every candidate succeeded. The treasurer's report showed that the total receipts for the year were £23,305 10s. 8d., which included subscriptions of £100 from the Queen, and £100 from the Duke of Bedford.

The Rev. James Bonwell, against whom legal proceedings have been delayed, recommenced his ministerial labours at St. Philip's on Sunday last, and preached the morning sermon.

The foundation-stone of the Royal Dramatic College, of which Her Majesty is patroness, will be laid by His Royal Highness the Prince Consort at Maybury, near Woking, on Friday, 1st of June.

The number of prisoners tried during the year 1859, before Her Majesty's Judges, was 173; number of prisoners tried before the Recorder, Common Serjeant, and Commissioner, 966; total, 1,139. London prisoners, 300; Middlesex prisoners, 839; total, 1,139.

On Tuesday morning the annual meeting of the Society for Promoting Church Missions to Roman Catholics in Ireland was held at St. James's Hall, under the presidency of Mr. Colquhoun.

The Archbishop of York died on Friday evening, May 4th, at half-past eight o'clock, at his grace's residence in Belgrave Square.

The anniversary of the Religious Tract Society took place on Friday evening at Exeter Hall, and was numerously attended, Lieut.-Colonel Herbert Edwardes presiding. From the report it appeared that the total issues of the Society within the year amounted to 41,710,203 publications. The total amount received for sales was £86,732 11s. 2d. Among the speakers present were the Dean of Carlisle, the Rev. Dr. Murray, of the United States, and Mr. J. G. Hoare.

Downing Street, May 3.—The Queen has been pleased to appoint Adams G. Archibald, Esq., to be attorney-general; Joseph Howe, Esq., to be provincial secretary; William Annand, Esq., to be financial secretary; Jonathan McCully, Esq., to be solicitor-general; and John H. Anderson, Esq., to be receiver-general, for the Province of Nova Scotia. Her Majesty has also been pleased to appoint the Rev. Charles Bull to be colonial chaplain for the Falkland Islands.—*Gazette*.

Whitehall, May 4.—The Queen has been pleased to constitute and appoint the Right Hon. Robert Montgomery, Lord Bellhaven, to be her Majesty's High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.—*Gazette*.

On Tuesday, May 8th, at the Central Criminal Court, the grand jury returned three true bills against William George Pullinger, the late cashier to the Union Bank, for felony. Just before the Court adjourned the prisoner was placed at the bar, and pleaded "guilty" to all the charges preferred against him.

In the last five weeks the deaths in London have constantly declined; in the last two the decrease has not been very considerable. In the week that ended last Saturday, the number registered was 1,205.

Last week the births of 903 boys and 900 girls, in all 1,803 children, were registered in London.

On Wednesday, Mr. Thomas Hopley, described as a gentleman, was taken up on a warrant by Superintendent Flanagan, before Mr. G. Darby (Chairman) and Mr. R. J. Graham, at the vestry-room, Eastbourne, on the charge of killing and slaying Reginald Channel Cancellor, late one of his school pupils, on the 21st of April last. After a hearing of upwards of seven hours, the prisoner was committed to take his trial at the Assizes, bail being accepted, himself in £1,000, and two sureties in £500 each.

Edward John Lyttleton, a junior cashier in the Union Bank, who was brought up at the Mansion-house before the Lord Mayor, on Friday last, for re-examination on the charge of having defrauded the Union Bank of the sum of £1,240, was entirely acquitted of any complicity with Pullinger, and left the Court without a stain or stigma on his character.

There was a grand muster of the volunteers on Wednesday

evening in Holland Park, which, both for the numbers present and the complicated nature of the evolutions gone through, was the best field-day which the new levies have yet attempted.

FOREIGN.

The Paris papers publish the renunciation by Count Montemolin of his pretensions to the throne of Spain.

Paris, Saturday, May 4th. The *Moniteur* publishes a decree fixing the individual payment for exemption from military service at 2,300f.

No decision has yet been taken relative to the evacuation of Rome.

From Geneva, May 5th, we learn that the Cabinet of Turin has made a proposal to the Federal Council for the construction of a railway through Switzerland, to connect Italy and Germany.

The operations for establishing the boundary line between France and Piedmont commenced on the 1st of May.

From Turin, May 5th, we learn that the insurrectionary movement is spreading throughout Sicily.

Rome, May 3rd. The Pope makes an appeal to the Catholics, on behalf of the subscription to the new loan of 50,000,000f., bearing interest at five per cent. Belgium has already subscribed 15,000,000f.

Paris, Monday, May 7th. The *Constitutionnel* has an article by its chief editor, M. Grandguillot, extolling the policy of Count Cavour, and declaring that France will energetically disapprove aggression, and that the work of Piedmont is no longer to extend her boundaries, but to assimilate herself to the annexed provinces.

The *Patrie* of this evening says:—"We learn that General Garibaldi has left for Sicily, with an expeditionary corps d'armée." The *Patrie* adds: "General Garibaldi, by acting thus, commits an act which falls under the application of the law against piracy." The Sardinian Cabinet has ordered the Sardinian vessels off Sicily to oppose with armed force any attempt which may be made by persons who have embarked in vessels hoisting the Sardinian flag."

The intelligence from Vienna, May 7th, is, that in reply to the proposals of France, England consents to adopt as the basis of the Conference Article 92 of the final Act of Vienna, which refers to the neutralization of the districts of Chablais and Faucigny. England reserves the right of making at the conference proposals relative to the mode of this neutralization.

From Turin, May 7, we learn that the Lieutenant-general has published a proclamation declaring Palermo to be no longer in a state of siege. The result of the elections shows a large majority for the ministry. General Garibaldi has only obtained thirty votes at Turin, and Signor Laurenti only fourteen.

Serious apprehensions are entertained as to the state of affairs in Sicily. The Secretary of the Count of Syracuse has been exiled.

At Berne, the Federal Council has issued another circular note, showing the strategic importance of the neutralized provinces for the maintenance of the neutrality of Switzerland.

The *Patrie*, of May 8th, says that General Garibaldi's departure for Sicily has been fully confirmed. The Piedmontese Government made every possible protest against this act of General Garibaldi, which may involve the new Italian state in grave difficulties. The different vessels belonging to General Garibaldi's expedition will direct their course towards Sicily. General Garibaldi is in connection with the committee in London undertaking the collection of English subscriptions for Sicily, and has received arms which had not passed through Piedmont. The Sardinian steam flotilla has left Leghorn for Sicily. Letters from Naples, to the 5th, state that the insurrection continued in the interior of that island. General Balzano had demanded a reinforcement of 5000 men, in consequence of Garibaldi's expedition.

The *Moniteur* announces that a decree, modifying the project of law concerning sugars and coffee, has been submitted to the Legislative body.

Count Ludolf will assume, at Constantinople, the functions of Chargé d'Affaires of Austria.

From Rome, May 5th, the news is that 1000 Irishmen have left Trieste for Ancona, in order to be enrolled in the Pope's army. The Duc de Grammont, in accordance with instructions received from Paris, has declared to the Holy See that the French garrison will not leave the Papal territory until the Sovereign Pontiff himself shall have acknowledged that the departure of the French troops could take place without any danger to the tranquillity and safety of the States.

Hanover, May 8th. In to-day's sittings of the Chamber of Deputies, the Minister of the Interior, M. von Borries, stated that Hanover is faithful to the Confederation. The Federal Constitution does not admit that a German Government should conclude a convention with a Foreign Power against any other German Powers; and least of all would such a convention be entered into with France.

The expedition of Garibaldi is reported to be organized on a very grand scale, being provided with arms, ammunition, provisions, and materials for a campaign. It is stated that he takes with him 20 cannon. He is said to have exchanged for gold 3,000,000f. in notes at the Bank of Genoa.

Turin, May 9.—The journals publish a letter from General Garibaldi, in which he says, "It is the duty of all to encourage, aid, and to augment the number of combatants against oppression. From the moment that our Sicilian brethren threw themselves into the struggle, I considered it my duty to assist them. Our battle-cry will be, 'Italy, and Victor Emmanuel!'"

General Oudinot has given a denial to the report that he intended to take service with the Pontifical army.

Vienna, Wednesday, 9th. The Privy Councillor, Count Apponyi, has refused to become a member of the Council of State.

Advices from Italy, received at Berlin, May 9, state that the French garrison remains at Rome, and probably will even be reinforced.

Advices from Constantinople to the 2nd inst. assert that 45,000 Russians were collected upon the Pruth. It was also reported that the Porte had assembled a *corps d'armée* of 30,000 men at Widdin. A change in the Ministry was still expected.

The Canadian mail steamer North America, from Portland, Maine, on the 28th of April, has arrived. Peace is firmly re-established in Venezuela, and the Government had contracted a loan of one million sterling, which is to be negotiated in England. Accounts from Mexico state that Miramon, accompanied by 1,800 men, had arrived at the capital on the 17th ult., where he was received by a salute of guns and other demonstrations. The Government was suffering from want of money, and forced loans had been levied in every direction.

From New York, April 28.—No nomination to the Presidency had taken place at Charleston. The chances were in favour of Mr. Douglas.

From Alexandria, May the 5th, we learn that Her Britannic Majesty's consul at Massowah (Abyssinia), Mr. W. C. M. Plowden, is dead.

Genoa, May 6. Garibaldi, and two thousand two hundred volunteers embarked last night at twelve o'clock. Nearly five thousand persons of all ranks flocked to the beach to bid the gallant adventurers Godspeed. As usual with Garibaldi's volunteers, they were of every grade and calling—nobles, soldiers, artists, physicians, down to peasants and workmen, all young and vigorous.

ENTERTAINMENTS.

At HER MAJESTY'S THEATRE on Tuesday night, "Norma" was given for the first time this season, with Mdle. Titiens, Mdle. Vaneri, Signor Mongini, and Signor Vialetti, in the principal characters. The house was full, and the performance throughout was received with immense applause. Mdle. Titiens sustained the part of the *Druid Priestess* with extraordinary grandeur and power, and Signor Mongini was most admirable as the faithless *Roman Pro-consul*. In the Queen's box were her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge, her Royal Highness Princess Mary of Cambridge, Lady C. Egerton, and Colonel H. Purves. Many fashionable visitors were also present.

At the ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA, Rossini's comic masterpiece, "Il Barbiere di Siviglia," was represented on Tuesday night to an overflowing audience. The *Count Almaviva* of Signor Mario was incomparable. Signor Ronconi's *Figaro* is a masterpiece. He was exceedingly vivacious, and put the audience into the highest humour by his drolleries. The *Rosina* of Madame Miolan Carvalho was fascinating. In the lesser scene, Madame Miolan Carvalho introduced a *bravura* from the *Théâtre Lyrique*, which raised the house to enthusiasm. The *Basilio* of Signor Tagliafico is one of the best representations of the character, and the *Dr. Bartolo* of M. Zelger was well given. Mdle. Cotti (*Berta*) sang with remarkable spirit. A unanimous encore was awarded to the overture—with which Mr. Costa took great care. The *Barbiere* might be played frequently, as Signor Mario's *Almaviva* is a powerful attraction.

At the HAYMARKET THEATRE a new three-act drama, by Mr. E. Falconer, was produced on Wednesday, with a tumultuous success, that proves rather its capacity to create theatrical furor than to draw character, or by brilliant writing to satirize or kindle emotion. It is entitled "The Family Secret," and depicts the revelation of a fact that is fatal to the hero of the piece, and occasions heroism in the chief actress. *Lord Avonmore* is supposed heir to immense estates, but they have, by the profligacy of his ancestors, passed to his steward and lawyer; and, in order to redeem the family, the old lord admonishes the young one to marry the grand-daughter. This, of course, he is not inclined to do; but they meet, unknown to each other, in Italy, and the lady becomes violently attached, especially as the young lord saves her life during a siege. *Lord Avonmore* has drifted into an engagement with a certain *Lady Vane*, and cannot marry as he now wishes; and the lovelorn girl, *Una*, resolves he shall have his patrimony, and never know the sacrifice she has made; and, to this end, burns the deed that conveyed the estate to her father. In the end an Irish colonel, who has been flirting with *Lady Vane*, persuades her to give up *Lord Avonmore*, and thus the true lovers are made happy. In all this there is much that is strained and high-flown, and vastly improbable; estates being matters rather strictly guarded and very tenaciously kept, especially by old men of business. Miss Amy Sedgwick was, as usual, artificially impulsive and mechanically gushing in her delineation of the romantic young lady; but her stock-in-trade of fascination is beginning to be worn; and without she lets a more simple style do justice to the charms and talents nature has given her, she will sink into a common-place actress. There is yet time to redeem herself, but it will require a total alteration of style. The other parts of this drama are common-place, but were played with the general good sense and ability that characterize the Haymarket company. Mrs. Wilkins had a very obtrusive part, which she played with great vigour. Mr. Chippendale was as sensible and as emphatic as usual,—Mr. Rogers as didactic. Mr. Bucketone had a very poor part, but got his roars by his quaint simplicity. Mr. Howe enacted a walking gentleman, which was dignified as a part by being called an Irishman. Altogether, although there are some telling *coups de*

théâtre, and some broad delineations of character, which always please a mixed audience, this comedy is not likely to take a permanent place on the boards, although its novelty, its smart acting, and pretty scenery will sustain it for a few weeks to come.

That veteran artist, Mr. Burford, has produced one of his finest PANORAMAS, being a view of MODERN ROME, a subject in every way interesting, and full of the deepest suggestions. It is taken from the tower of the Capitol, and embraces a view of all the most interesting points, both ancient and modern. It is charmingly painted, with great force, but with the nicest gradations of colour and perspective, and in every way it rivets and fascinates the beholder. The distance is exquisitely rendered, and we know not anything in the way of public exhibitions more worth seeing than this panorama of Rome. The upper circle has a fine view of Venice, and the smaller room a charming panorama of Switzerland from the Rhigi.

At the next subscription performance of the VOCAL ASSOCIATION, which takes place on Wednesday evening, May 16th, at St. James's Hall, the principal artists from Her Majesty's Theatre will appear, by the kind permission of E. T. Smith, Esq.

Mr. Turpin, the courteous box book-keeper at the Haymarket, takes his annual benefit next Wednesday, and we trust he will have the support he so well deserves.

CRYSTAL PALACE.—According to announcement the great performance of Mendelssohn's "Elijah" took place at the Crystal Palace on Friday the 4th of May. The occasion was the inauguration of the statue of the great master. The weather was exceedingly fine, and the country green and beautiful; and under these favourable auspices, crowds of company, numbering nearly twenty thousand, poured into the Palace by three o'clock, which demonstrated that the occasion had irresistible attractions for them.

Apart, however, from the particular programme of the day, which included the Mendelssohn commemoration and the torch-light procession—the playing of the great fountains, the beauty of the gardens, and the splendours of art inside of the Palace, have themselves charms enough, at any time, to draw and detain every person of taste. But the fact that Mendelssohn's greatest work, "Elijah," would be performed by a chorus and instrumental orchestra numbering three thousand performers, had the effect of drawing nearly the whole musical world of the metropolis. At least, we imagine that the vast number present on Friday last constituted a fair representation of the said world, all things combining to raise the affair to the maximum pitch of interest and value.

The concert began at three o'clock, Mr. Costa entering the orchestra punctually at that hour. The result has been all that could be expected. The solo vocalists were Mdle. Parepa, Miss Fanny Rowland, Miss Palmer, Madame Sainton Dolby, Mr. Sims Reeves, Mr. Evans, Mr. Thomas, and Signor Belletti. In the execution of their grand task, the highest expectations of the audience were fully realized. The performance was indeed very striking, and rivalling in magnificence the Handel Festival of last summer. The choruses, especially in the second part, were most effectively given. The fine soprano voice of Miss Parepa was heard to immense advantage in, "Hear ye, Israel." Madame Sainton Dolby, who is only equalled by Miss Palmer as a contralto, sang the airs allotted to her with singular effect. Mr. Sims Reeves produced more than his usually astonishing sensation; "Then shall the righteous," was sung by him with inimitable power and expression, and was enthusiastically encored. Signor Belletti, as the *Prophet*, was grand and impressive. And Miss Fanny Rowland, Miss Palmer (almost our finest contralto), and Mr. Thomas, our great English bass, did perfect justice to the quartets and other concerted pieces. The performance was indeed, on the whole, a fine vocal and instrumental achievement, and a rare treat to all present. At the termination of the oratorio the company adjourned to the corner terrace, when Bacon's statue of Mendelssohn was formally unveiled, whilst a military band played appropriate selections from his music. So great was the crowd of German gentlemen on this interesting occasion, that it was impossible for any one else to get near enough to see more than the actual unveiling of the statue. Shortly afterwards the great fountains began to play, and when they had done the company had nothing left for it but to sit down patiently everywhere, and watch the evening falling and the moon rising, as it had been decided that until both operations had been completed, the great torchlight procession, after the German fashion, was not to commence. When, however, it did commence, at last they were well rewarded for their patience, for, owing to the course it took, the inequality of the ground, the reflection of the water, and the beauty of the surrounding scenery in the mild moonlight, the effect was exceedingly novel and beautiful. We could see a fire far off at the boundary of the garden. Sprites, as it appeared to us, flitted about, and lit their torches as if preparatory to an incantation. Then, blue and red lights burst out and gave a strange unearthly glare to the landscape, and, at its greatest intensity, the sprites and the torches began slowly to stream away right and left, winding like two great glittering serpents in and out through the dim and shadowy foliage. Gradually they came brighter and nearer, and more distinct. They danced in the fountains, and the latter—in obedience, as it were, to the impulse—sprang again into life, foamed, and sparkled, and shot upwards, and by the reflection seemed to liquefy the brilliant colours of the illumination. When the two serpents at last met on the terrace, they were happily destroyed in a large bonfire, and every one went away delighted with the long and charming day's pleasure.

At the CREMORNE GARDENS, on Tuesday afternoon last, the private rehearsal of the Aerephon, a newly-invented musical instrument, took place. The Aerephon—an improved form of the steam

Calliope—is a curiously and ingeniously constructed instrument, which, upon inspection, resembles the organ and the steam-engine, both of which, it appeared to us, being combined, in order to produce the present novelty in the instrumental art. The body of the instrument would at first strike the observer as being intended for a more mechanical purpose than that of producing strains of music, either grave or gay. It has in front twenty-two pipes, which are trumpet-shaped, and altogether resemble an open fan or a large sea-shell. Of course it must be supplied with steam before it can be played, which, as soon as the player—who sits at the end of it—touches the key-board, rushes up into the pipes and creates the same variety of tones as the organ. The chief peculiarity of the instrument however, is the rapidity and strength of its tones—a characteristic, of course, peculiar to steam in whatever way applied. It may be heard distinctly at almost any distance, and there is no grot or grove in the charming gardens but will be visited by its strains; and we fancy, during the time it is playing, there will be no room in the same atmosphere for any other instrument, for all other sounds will be silenced by its domineering tones. The experiment on Tuesday was exceedingly successful, and Mr. Denny, one of the American patentees, who has introduced it into this country, may probably reap the reward of his workmanship. The Aerephon is, we believe, to remain at Cremorne during the summer, and we doubt not it will be the cause of much additional attraction to those gardens. Mr. Denny acknowledges that he has been enabled to present it in its present advanced state of perfection through the co-operation of Mr. Henry Distin, Messrs. Horne and Thornthwaite, Mr. Wood, and others.

PARLIAMENT.

IN the House of Lords, on Thursday, May 3, Lord CHELMSFORD, in moving that the House do go into committee on the Selling and Hawking on Sunday Bill, stated that the object of the Bill was to prevent Sunday trading after nine o'clock on Sunday mornings, in order to enable tradesmen to spend the day in a manner more consonant with the day, and with their feelings. The House divided upon the question, whether the Bill should go into committee; when the numbers were—content, 54; non-content, 25; majority, 29. In the House of Commons, the adjourned debate on the second reading of the Representation of the People Bill was resumed. Mr. MACAULAY said, that the qualification given by this Bill had no reference to fitness—the principle of it was indiscriminate admission, there being no test of personal fitness, except the amount of rent. He asserted that it was talked of universally with dislike and suspicion. Mr. GREGORY said, he believed that forty out of fifty members of the House looked at this measure with alarm. He objected to the Bill because it involved no principle of permanency. Mr. LONGFIELD considered that this Bill would place in the hands of the ignorant, vicious, and irreligious classes, the power of the constituency. Mr. W. D. SEYMOUR contended, in reply to Mr. LONGFIELD, that the working classes had greatly improved since 1832 in education, moral conduct, and provident habits, and he believed that this Bill would be, as far as regarded the franchise, satisfactory to the country. Mr. KENDALL thought the Bill a moderate measure, and doubted whether the new borough constituency would override the old. Sir J. RAMSDEN said it would be far better to postpone the question than to pass a temporary measure, unsettling everything and settling nothing. Mr. WALPOLE said he should vote for the second reading, because a pledge had been repeatedly and solemnly given, and nothing could be so unwise as to dally with such a question. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER admitted that it was desirable that a measure of Reform should have the character of permanency; but he warned the House that it was more likely to obtain a permanency by a liberal than by an inappreciable concession to the working classes. Mr. COLLINS spoke at some length against the Bill. The Bill was then read a second time, and, on the motion of Lord J. RUSSELL, it was ordered to be committed on Monday, 4th of June.—In the House of Lords, on Friday night, Lord LUCAN entered at great length into the question of the present system of regimental depôts.

In the House of Commons, the adjourned debate on the second reading of the Refreshment Houses and Wine Licenses Bill, and the amendment to defer the second reading for six months, was then resumed. Mr. AYRTON argued against the Bill, and urged the evil consequences of taking a wrong step in a matter so intimately connected with the moral and physical condition of the lower classes, and that the best course was to reject the Bill. Mr. LIDDELL likewise opposed the Bill. He objected that the Bill virtually diminished the control of the magistrates, that it did not give them power at the right time, and gave them power at the wrong time. Alderman SALOMONS supported the Bill. Mr. PALK objected to the Bill on the ground that it would legalize a free-trade in drunkenness. Objections to the Bill were pointed out by Mr. SCULLY and Mr. HUMBERSTON. Mr. JAMES opposed the Bill because it was unjust towards the licensed victuallers. Mr. VILLIERS supported the Bill, and observed that while it would supply a great public convenience, he believed it would provide the strongest securities against disorder and abuse. Mr. HENLEY remarked that this Bill was in contradiction to the recommendations of the Committee, to which Mr. VILLIERS referred. His objections went to the whole framework of the Bill, which it was almost impossible to alter in committee. Mr. Buxton said the brewers had nothing to do with the opposition to this Bill. Sir S. M. Peto supported the second reading of the Bill. Sir W. MILES said his vote would depend

upon whether the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER would take the tax on refreshment-houses out of this Bill. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER observed that the real question was whether the Bill was likely to cause a great increase of intemperance. He was assured by friends of the cause of temperance that it would not. This Bill was intended to give an opening to the consumption of the lighter wines of France, and to unite the two operations of eating and drinking, which the effect of the existing system was to disunite. After some remarks from Mr. NEWDEGATE the House divided, when the amendment was negatived by 267 against 193. The Bill was then read a second time. The Exchequer Bills Bill was read a third time and passed. Other Bills were forwarded a stage, and the House adjourned.

In the House of Commons, on Tuesday, on the order of the day for resuming the adjourned debate on the Paper Duty Repeal Bill, Sir S. NORTHCOTE moved the following as an Amendment: "That the present state of the finances of the country renders it undesirable to proceed further with the repeal of the excise duty on paper." Mr. GIBSON said there was nothing to justify the proposition now made to dissent from a most important portion of the Budget, and disappoint the expectations which had been founded upon it. Mr. E. BALL supported the Amendment. Lord H. VANE thought the House was hardly in a position to decide the question, as they were ignorant of what the actual expenditure of the year was likely to be. Mr. ELLICE took the same objection. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said the objections now urged against the Bill would have been more applicable if they had been uttered two months ago. He characterised the Amendment as a direct attempt to defeat, in its last stage, a Bill which had repealed a tax upon a trade; and he besought the House to pause before they took a step, the consequences of which must be injurious in the extreme. Mr. T. BARING asserted the right of the House to reverse their decision. Mr. DISRAELI supported the Amendment. He regarded the statement of the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER as being tantamount to a declaration that the tax ought to be repealed whether the country could spare it or not. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER requested permission to explain, and in doing so gave to some of Mr. DISRAELI's statements "the most direct contradiction which the forms of the House would allow." Mr. S. HERBERT having said a few words, the House divided, and negatived the Amendment by 219 to 209.

GOOD AND BAD BITTER BEER.—The following amusing testimony in favour of genuine Bitter Ale, appears in the current number of "Punch."—"CORNET O'FLAGON presents his compliments to Mr. Punch, and on behalf of HER MAJESTY'S whole Indian Army, desires to declare his unbounded confidence in the genuineness of MESSRS. BASS and MESSRS. ALLSOPP'S Pale Ale, and to apprise any 'fellah' who may entertain a contrary opinion, that he (the Cornet) is to be heard of at the Blue Posts." Mr. Punch would be very loth to differ from CORNET O'FLAGON on any subject, and quite agrees with him as to the genuineness of the beer which is supplied by MESSRS. ALLSOPP and MESSRS. BASS. The bitter ale which Mr. Punch hates and despises, and which he denounced in a recent number, is the nauseous mess manufactured by incompetent brewers, and retailed by dishonest publicans, as a counterfeit of the "barley bree" brewed at Burton. It is ALL-SLOP and BASE, and not ALLSOPP and BASS, that Mr. P. detests.

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