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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.—Arrange-
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THE SPEECH OF MR. SERJT. BUZFU Z,

On the Trial, "Bardell v. Pickwick." (Charles Dickens.)

After which, "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled."

LOCHIEL'S WARNING. (T. Campbell.)

After which, A Military March, by the late Edward Fitzwilliam.

THE CHARGE OF THE SIX HUNDRED, AT BALAKAVA. (A. Tennyson.)

Between the Parts, an Operatic Selection from "Lucia di Lammermoor," arranged by Mr. D. Spillane.

PART II.

Old English Air, "See the lovely Rose."

THE GARDENER'S DAUGHTER.

(A. Tennyson.)

After which a Selection from Sheridan's Opera of "The Duenna."

THE SCHOOL FOR SCANDAL. (Sheridan.)

After which, "The Atalanta Cotillon." - D. Spillane. Scenes from

THE HUNCHBACK. (Sheridan Knowles.)

After which, "The Rifle Corps Polka." - D. Spillane.

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ANTI-REFORM TACTICS.

THE course pursued by Opposition on the second reading of the Reform Bill in the House of Commons, would seem, at first view, to be alike purposeless and unpatriotic. Disclaiming all intention of dividing against the principle of the measure, they have contrived to protract the debate, until one man after another has thoroughly committed himself and his party against everything like just or generous recognition of the rights of the people. Speaker after speaker has betrayed the detestation and the dread with which the most limited enfranchisement of the working classes is regarded. Although the utter hollowness and groundlessness of such fears have been clearly exposed by Mr. BAINES, Mr. CROSSLEY, Mr. BRIGHT, and others, on the Liberal side, the same ignoble and unmanly apprehensions have been displayed again and again; and appeals, the most undisguised, have been made to the selfishness of the middle classes, who may, it is hoped, be perplexed, and for the moment paralyzed by the notion that they are "to be swamped," as the slang phrase goes, by the admission of one out of every twenty working men to the franchise. In the face of a general election, which if the Bill passes cannot be very far off, the adoption of language like this would appear to be unaccountable, if not insane. But as the controversy proceeds, we begin to discern the real drift and tendency of the course pursued. Under the semblance of willingness to discuss the question generally, the desperate hope is entertained that by delay the Bill may be defeated this session. With the recollection of their own Bill still fresh in men's minds, the Tories could not well fall back upon their old doctrine of "no Reform." Twelve months have hardly elapsed since they staked their retention of power on the success of a measure which they brought forward as a great and comprehensive change in our electoral system. It would hardly have done, therefore, to turn round suddenly and refuse in so many words to entertain the subject at all; and it would have been hopeless to try and get a majority against Ministers on the second reading. What, then, was to be done? No other tactics seemed to promise a chance of even temporary success but those of delay. The object must be to get up interminable discussions, on wide and general grounds—the wider, and the more general, the better for the purpose. Provocative denunciations of the nature of the Bill were, for this purpose, indispensable. Mere practical criticism and commentary on details would not do, for these must either lead to summary refutation or to practical amendment of the measure in committee—and neither one nor the other was the object sought to be attained. The language of vague misgiving and of vituperative attack on the authors of the Bill and their motives, promised to cause a far greater consumption of time; and by sheer waste of time the anti-Reform leaders tell their followers that it is still possible they may win.

They were, moreover, encouraged in this course by the aid afforded them in both Houses by recreant Whigs like Lord GREY.

It is certainly not a little strange that the sinister part taken by Lord NORMANBY in foreign politics should be so closely copied by Earl GREY in questions of home politics like Reform. People begin to ask, what does it mean? Both were for years the confidential associates of the men who now fill the highest political offices under the Crown; and while in power they contrived to have their immediate relatives placed in the highly confidential and politically irresponsible positions of private secretary to the QUEEN and private secretary to the PRINCE CONSORT. These appointments do not change with the fluctuations of parliamentary parties, but have for many years continued, by royal favour, to survive every variety of Administration. What personal ties of sympathy or sentiment subsist between these privy ministers of the Court and their respective brethren, who make it their especial business to oppose the public ministers of the Crown in Parliament, we do not pretend to say. But it is certainly a most unfortunate coincidence that the two most factious opponents of Liberal policy at home and abroad at the present juncture should be the Marquis of NORMANBY and Earl GREY. No wonder people ask—what does it mean? Of the conduct of the former with regard to Austria and her hereditary minions, whom she would fain re-impose on emancipated Italy, we have long since taken occasion to express our opinion. Of the latter noble lord, if we speak with equal freedom, we do so with a still stronger sense of the duty that lies upon us to do so; for Lord GREY is a man of no paltry vanity or coxcombical ambition. He is a man of information, industry, and quickness of perception—a man of undaunted courage in the avowal of his sentiments, especially when he is in the wrong, and, with a certain impressive earnestness of delivery that generally commands rather than wins attention to what he says. But on the other hand, he is a man, the vices of whose disposition have from the outset of his career marred his use-

fulness as a public man, and left him with hardly one intimate and confiding political friend. Arrogant and supercilious to all with whom he is brought into contact, he is wholly devoid of that superb grace and dignity of bearing for which his father was distinguished. "Tetchy and wayward from his infancy," he has been alternately the torment of colleagues when in office, and the petulant and resentful assailant of his party whenever he has been left out. For some years past this evil has been deemed the lesser of the two, and the continuance of his ostracism from power seems to have rendered him more reckless and perverse than ever. This may in part account for his Lordship's recent course regarding Reform, and that which he threatens to pursue after the holidays. The notice he has given of a motion for a committee to collect statistics on all points connected with the representation before proceeding with the consideration of any practical measure of amendment or relief, is a most characteristic specimen of the wrong-headedness of the man. Such a committee might sit till Christmas, or throughout next session as well as this, without coming to any definite result; and no result at which they could by any amount of assiduity arrive, could possibly touch the vital and obvious issue that is at stake. It would be the veriest mockery of the people's patience and of their prayers. But we cannot forget that this is the same Lord GREY who deserted the Government of Lord MELBOURNE in 1839, because Mr. (afterwards Lord) MACAULAY was invited to join it as a Ballot-teer.

COALITIONS AND ALLIANCES.

MR. BRIGHT has a singular aptitude for placing public questions on the lowest possible grounds. He can conceive nothing higher than a good bargain, and recklessly vituperates those who interfere with the trade he wishes to drive. These qualities may endear him to a limited circle of dealers and chapmen, but they damage his advocacy of a good cause, when, for business considerations, he thinks proper to become the champion of a national idea. On Tuesday night he wished to guard his country against a repetition of former errors, and an entanglement in alliances to sustain dynasties and preserve balances of power, but his oration neither indicated the statesman, the gentleman, nor the sound moralist. One of his newspaper opponents was characterised as a compound of "piety and ruffianism," and it was more than hinted that all writers who express alarm at the conduct of the French Empire are in the pay of pretenders to the throne now occupied by NAPOLEON III. ! This is worse than nonsense. It is possible that some writers and proprietors of newspapers may be of Mr. BRIGHT's opinion, and look upon politics chiefly or entirely with an eye to trade; but there is a very large amount of honest public opinion, which views with anxiety every symptom of Imperial aggression, and cannot banish from its consideration the possibility of England's being called upon to sustain by force of arms what is called the "public law of Europe." The immense taxation to which the people of this country have cheerfully submitted, the prodigious outlay upon naval and other armaments, the expense and trouble to which thousands have put themselves in order to swell the ranks of the volunteer rifle corps, these are all proofs of uneasiness, and of warlike energy that require to be cautiously guided, if we would avoid consequences disastrous to ourselves and mischievous to the general good. In our last week's impression we treated the annexation of Savoy, and especially of the Swiss portion, as an indication of further designs, and we are not surprised that Lord JOHN RUSSELL should express his belief that "such an act will lead a nation so warlike as the French to call on its government, from time to time, for other acts of a similar nature;" but when the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs adds, "that, however we may wish to live on the most friendly terms with the French Government, we ought not to keep ourselves apart from the other nations of Europe, that when future questions arise, as future questions may arise, we shall be ready to act with others," we do fear something like a renewal of the old alliances and coalitions, that were so costly to England, without adequate benefit to ourselves or to anybody else.

The French Government may be justly condemned for its duplicity and untruthfulness in the matter of Savoy, but, unfortunately, these are qualities of which sovereigns and cabinets are usually proud; and if they alienate us from Imperial France, they should do no less than make us equally wary of trusting other despotic powers.

Mr. BRIGHT desires that our foreign policy shall be such as not to " estrange us from any of the Governments of Europe—that it shall not be such to France on one side, or to Austria on the other, as shall make one of those powers the embittered enemy of England." This kind of neutrality belongs to a policy which could never be pursued by a high-minded nation, because

it levels to the ground all considerations of right and wrong. Our foreign policy ought to favour the political rights of the Italians and Hungarians so far as it is able to affect them. It ought to do what it can for the defence of Protestant principles against the despotism which seeks to crush them by brute force; and yet these are things that cannot fail to draw upon us the envenomed hostility of absolutist sovereigns and Jesuit priests. It is impossible, in either public or private life, to do right without incurring the anger of those whose evil deeds are repressed; and not until robbers and murderers are willing to support an honest and effective police need we expect to win the friendship of evil-doers by sustaining causes which are righteous and just. We quite agree with Mr. BRIGHT in deprecating intimate alliances with foreign Governments, but we differ entirely as to the chief reasons for avoiding them; and if our countrymen are to be kept out of the dangers they will entail, something higher must be laid before them than mere appeals to the selfishness of the pocket and the morality of the till.

When Lord JOHN MANNERS complimented Lord JOHN RUSSELL for the declaration we have cited, he gave vent to the delight of his party at the prospect of making England lead a new coalition against revolutionary France. This, as we have again and again explained, is the scheme of the Jesuits and the hope of the various princes of Germany, who feel that, without external aid, their little thrones will gradually sink or be summarily overthrown. If this were no more than a Tory and a Jesuit idea, it would have little chance of success; but there are Liberals—or people who fancy themselves Liberals—who day by day hold out to this country the most alarming prospects, and endeavour to make it appear that we must either join a coalition against France, or see our would-be allies disposed of one by one, and finally bear the whole brunt of an assault against ourselves. We fear that Lord JOHN RUSSELL's speech will tend to strengthen this notion; but a little cool reflection will show, first, that it is by no means certain that England must take a part in a general Continental war, if such a calamity should arise, either at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of it; and in the second place, it is far from being apparent that we could gain any strength by allying ourselves with decrepit Governments, founded upon reactionary principles. If, for example, France and Germany should quarrel, it would be more difficult and more expensive to sustain the Austrian Empire and the German system, than to defend our own coasts, and protect Belgium against any act of conquest and annexation.

It is rumoured in some quarters that Lord JOHN RUSSELL is permitting himself to be estranged from France in consequence of a strong pressure exercised by the German party in our court; and another report, to which some credit is attached, is to the effect that Austria is again attempting to negotiate an alliance with France and Russia, to secure assistance through her difficulties, in consideration of her joining in scheme for the division of the property of the incurable "sick man in the East." There is very likely some truth in this story; but the success of the negotiation is far less probable than its existence, and it would be extremely foolish for England to become entangled in alliances to guard against perils which may never arise.

Stripping these alliance questions of national prejudices, which should be suffered to die out, and of diplomatic disguises which conceal their real character, England ought to leave France and the great continental powers to settle their questions of territories and supremacies as well as they can. To join Russia is to condemn Poland; to join Austria is to condemn Italy and Hungary; to join the Thirty-One princes and the Four Free Cities of Germany, is to endeavour to perpetuate interests and dynasties which are incompatible with the welfare of the German race. If we stand aloof from the intrigues and wars of governments which are founded upon principles we condemn, we may mitigate the calamities they bring upon their subjects and the world at large; but by intimate alliances we can only become abettors of their despotism, and accomplices in their efforts to prevent the progress of liberty and stay the march of mind.

During the time that Lord JOHN RUSSELL has been minister for foreign affairs, there is proof that he has exerted a beneficial influence upon the councils of France, and he will do more good by continuing a firm and friendly remonstrance against what is bad, than by threatening to act with other powers to establish a counterpoise which French ambition will be stimulated to overthrow. If the Continent runs a race of despotism, France is likely to win, because her despotism is less stupid than that of most other powers. Let those other powers, when they please, change the race for one of liberty, and they will then need nothing from England more expensive than a good example to assist them in their career. Stroud has had the good sense to repudiate the conduct of Mr. HORSMAN. Mr. KINGLAKE abandons

his motion on Savoy. Our warehouses are full of French silks; wine is on the road, and our iron-masters, potters, and cotton-spinners, are getting ready to establish something more useful than a diplomatic connexion with our nearest neighbours. Let these peaceful influences work, and no harm will be done to the great interests of humanity by proclaiming that England will not fight for despotic interests or incapable courts.

PARLIAMENTARY JUSTICE—DOVER AND NORWICH.

DOES the House of Commons really wish to put down corruption at elections? Has it any conscience that practically stirs it to activity in the matter? Or are we to regard its occasional manifestations of repressive energy as but spasmodic twinges, which, at rare intervals, afford no real indication of settled purpose or sense of judicial obligation? Recent proceedings drive men, however unwillingly, towards the latter conclusion. Where the party interests of those who happen to be in power do not clash with the reprehension of bribery, or the political punishment of those who bribe, it is possible to persuade Parliament to say and do that which is right. But where a seat or two may be secured for supporters, it is marvellous to see with what infirmity of vision the judicial eye of Parliament becomes suddenly afflicted. No matter how strong the proof may be, there are always candid partisans ready to come forward and declare that no sufficient case has been made out on which the House can be called upon to act; and committees have so great a facility in the art of making inconclusive and imperfect reports, that there is seldom wanting some broken link on which to hang an evasion of penal action.

The cases of Dover and Norwich aptly exemplify the inconsistency of Parliament in this respect. The return of the two sitting members for Dover, as every one is well aware, was mainly secured in 1859 through the active interposition of Mr. CHURCHWARD, who was then, as he had long been, a familiar of the Admiralty under various Administrations, and who, when Lord DERBY wanted to make sure of the return of two friends for the borough, exacted the concession of a highly advantageous Mail Packet contract as an indispensable preliminary. The contract was made in due time by the Treasury, Mr. DISRAELI and Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE taking especial care to talk and act throughout as if they were really ignorant of the political services to be rendered by Mr. CHURCHWARD. All that related to that part of the matter was negotiated at the other department, a hundred yards higher up in the street. How could any privity or concert be proved between the negotiators at the Admiralty and the contractors at the Treasury? And if none could be proved, why should any be assumed or asserted? Sir JOHN PAKINGTON was naturally anxious to promote the return of his friends to the new House of Commons, and, in the innocence of his Conservative heart, did what he could for them at Dover by speaking to the influential Mr. CHURCHWARD, whom he *happened* to know; and who *happened* to have considerable influence there: and simultaneously the simple-minded Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE *happened* to find himself in official communication with this same Mr. CHURCHWARD respecting an exceedingly beneficial bargain which the last-named gentleman was impatient to close with the Treasury. Who, but some sour-minded catiff, would suspect that between the two proceedings any corrupt connexion existed? What, in point of fact, could be shown beyond the mere coincidence in point of time? A committee of the House of Commons, however, thought otherwise, and the whole of the facts were laid before them, and resolved by a majority of eleven to four, that the Treasury had not been warranted by any considerations of the public interest in making the concession of terms which Mr. CHURCHWARD had required. That was last session: this session an Election Committee was appointed to try the merits of the Dover petition; and by their report they seem to have ignored, or at least to have found a verdict of non proven, the charge of administrative corruption, in which the members of the late Government were involved. Emboldened by this decision, (about as bad a one as was ever pronounced even by an Election Committee,) Mr. CHURCHWARD's friends in the House of Commons tried on Tuesday last to obtain a vote mandatory on the present Government to carry out the contract entered into by their predecessors. Captain LEXCESTER VERNON introduced the subject in a speech admirable for its intrepidity of assertion and coolness of tone. He was supported appropriately by Mr. WHITESIDE, Sir F. KELLY, Mr. MALINS, Lord LOVATNE, and the inculcated ex-First Lord of the Admiralty and ex-Secretary of the Treasury; and one hundred and seventeen members were found ready to vote with him on a division. On the other hand, Ministers, while professing to abstain from leading the opinions of the House on the question, spoke decidedly against the contract, as

being a bad bargain for the State, and as being tainted with corruption. At the end of a long night's discussion, one hundred and sixty-two members affirmed this view; so the question was then resolved in the negative. To sum up the results of this most discreditable affair; we have the two seats for Dover carried by corruption, while the members who filled them remain undisturbed; and we have the power and discretion of two great departments of administration flagrantly abused for corrupt political purposes, without any censure, to say nothing of punishment, being inflicted on the evil-doers. Mr. CHURCHWARD has failed indeed to secure his extra prize money; but so little does he apprehend any disagreeable consequences to himself or his accomplices from public attention being fixed on the transaction, that he actually succeeds in persuading them to revive its discussion by a distinct motion in Parliament.

Turn we now to the case of Norwich. That ancient city has long enjoyed an unenviable notoriety in electoral malpractices. In April, 1859, Lord BURY and Mr. SCHNEIDER obtained a majority over their opponents by means of direct and lavish bribery. So clear and incontestable was the evidence adduced before the Election Committee, that hardly a struggle was made to retain the seats. What is far more significant, there has been, within the last few months, a mutual confession by the managers on both sides at Norwich that corruption has been the standing rule and practice almost invariably in their parliamentary contests, and that it would be the greatest blessing to the community generally if some means were found of breaking the sordid and enslaving spell. All this has been recorded circumstantially in the votes of the municipal council, and no audible voice has been raised to contravene it. Many of the most respectable inhabitants of Norwich have, moreover, memorialised the Government to institute proceedings, in the name of the ATTORNEY-GENERAL, against some of the most notorious offenders; but this the Home Secretary, acting on the advice of Sir RICHARD BETHELL, has refused to do, upon the ground, as we understand, that *ex-officio* prosecutions, being well nigh obsolete, it would be highly objectionable to commence a set of modern precedents for the resuscitation of that most questionable branch of the prerogative. Under these circumstances, what was the duty of the House of Commons? Manifestly to interpose its judicial veto when a new writ was moved. But the House, like GALLIO, cares for none of these things. In spite of the remonstrances of some honourable members, who challenged contradiction when they averred that there had been more bribery at Norwich, as far as the numbers of the bribed were concerned, than at Wakefield and Gloucester taken together,—the House decided the writ should issue, in order that the carnival might be kept at Norwich with all the usual circumstances of undisguised corruption. So kept it has been accordingly during the last week. Drunkenness and venality, jobbery and lying, have held high festival; and the ignorant and unthinking partakers in the scandalous saturnalia are of course more than ever confirmed in the not unreasonable conviction, that Parliament does not desire to put an end to bribery and treating at elections. That conviction, we confess regretfully, we are compelled to share. Virtuous protestations by Ministers of the Crown, and respectable elderly gentlemen on the Opposition benches, are mere lustian and fanfaronade in the teeth of the facts we have stated. If they were in earnest, why did they assent to issuing the writ for Norwich? They were not ignorant, they could not be unconscious; in agreeing to this wanton act of legislative levity and recklessness, they did what was manifestly and grievously wrong, and they knew it.

OUR BRAVE DEFENDERS.

THERE is a novelty of invention in the tragedy of the Great Tasmania which is quite appalling. Famine and pestilence raging in a transport ship is no uncommon spectacle. The British public is so accustomed to hear of fifty or a hundred deaths occurring during the voyage of one of these floating pest-houses, that it receives the intelligence of such a calamity with the utmost coolness. The *Acerrington* has been the subject of some little interest, because the cook was supposed to have poisoned the captain; but who will trouble about the *Dudbrook*, which, carrying 296 souls from Southampton, had only 253 to land at Bombay—or the *Euxine*, which, in her voyage to Madras, was the scene of some seventy-six deaths? The victims in these cases, as in nearly all those which have gone before, were only women and children; and, as they are deemed nuisances by the military authorities, a diminution of their number must be rather matter for congratulation in official circles. We will not say that the public shares this opinion, but it allows itself to be immediately satisfied with the excuse which the Government makes for such a mortality, that it is impossible to provide

better accommodation. Perhaps the soldier must not complain. He is sufficiently warned against marriage by his superiors. He is practically told that he may spend his whole leisure time in the most disreputable dens of a garrison town, destroy his health, and make the Government expenditure upon his training valueless. He may deceive as many poor girls as he finds credulous enough to trust him, and abandon them heartlessly when they most need his aid; but he must not give way to an honourable attachment, or attempt to atone for the consequences of his passion. If he does so, his marriage will probably not be recognised, and he will be separated from his wife; or, if it is recognised, he must make up his mind to see her exposed to indignities and privations without end; and, if he goes on foreign service, he will probably hear that she and his children have died of cholera or starvation on board the transport which was bringing her to join him. So, as he marries well aware of the penalties which the generous-hearted British public patiently suffers the authorities to inflict upon him, he must not complain if the Government considers "killing no murder," and quietly goes on packing the wives and children of its brave defenders upon a system which justifies the expectation that the Government burdens will be lessened some twenty-five per cent. before the arrival of the good ship at her destination.

The victims of the Great Tasmania were stout stalwart soldiers, men who had stood that awful siege of Lucknow, and with a heroism never surpassed maintained the honour of their country in its utmost need. Bronzed and seasoned warriors, able to stand the heat of India, the fatigues of long marches untired, and the privations of a scanty commissariat. They were men of whom, with all their faults, any country might be proud, and whose stalwart forms any general would have been delighted to see in his ranks. But they had offended the Government of India by their assertion of a claim to a small sum of bounty. They had been enlisted by the East India Company, and they asked that their transfer to the crown should be accompanied by the same consideration given them upon their original enlistment. Their claim, if not technically just, was fair enough. The omnipotence of an Act of Parliament may be pleaded against them, but undoubtedly Parliament had no equitable right to transfer these men from the Company to the Crown as so many head of cattle. The men supported their claim by the opinion of Lord PALMERSTON, who, referring to possible objections to the transfer of the European army, said that the men would no doubt be satisfied by a small bounty. Lord CANNING and his advisers were, however, pedantic formalists, and preferred to endanger the safety of India rather than depart from the letter of the law. The men continued to urge their demands, and a few mutinied. The Governor-General, then alarmed, offered the men, not the bounty, but a discharge, accompanying it by the menace that they would not be allowed to enlist again in India, the effect of which, he anticipated, would be to frighten them from accepting the discharge. The men, however, took his offer; and so, just when England most needed men in the East, the best men for that service were being sent away in thousands. Many of the men have been in England some time, and are now serving in the regular army. They belonged to the Madras and Bombay presidencies; and were treated with as much consideration as is usually given to the common soldier. The unfortunate thousand who came by the Great Tasmania belonged to Bengal, and they have been made to feel the full weight of official spite. They were marched down from the interior at a season of the year when it was known that the march would be severe and dangerous. They were then kept at the depot at Chinsurah, and left completely at the mercy of a sergeant-major, the proprietor of the canteen, who used every inducement to make them drink, and even took the clothes off their backs in payment. They were put on board the vessel in this ill-clad, half-drunken state, predisposed to disease by the fatigue which the Government had wantonly exposed them to, and the excesses which it had almost forced them to commit. Crowded together in this vessel, they had to feed upon provisions absolutely unfit for human food; not only was the food bad, but none of the ordinary precautions to prevent disease were taken. There were no disinfectants on board, and the lime-juice was so bad as to be valueless. It was known that the ship would arrive at Liverpool in the winter, yet there was no supply of blankets. The men were put on board the vessel in a condition which the Calcutta authorities well knew rendered them liable to disease. They were supplied with provisions which were bad, and which—it is no use blinking the fact—the officers who signed the report stating that they were good must have known to be bad. They were destitute of the absolute necessaries for their condition. Is it wonderful, then, that more than sixty of the poor fellows have died, and that many more have contracted diseases which must ere long carry

them, after great suffering, to a pauper's grave? Is it surprising that they should believe that the Government of India desired their deaths? Of course the public will not accept that conclusion of theirs; but it must believe that the Government of India did desire to inflict a paltry vengeance on the poor fellows, and carelessly handed them over to what it must have known would prove pestilence.

If, however, the tragedy of the Great Tasmania is in some respects novel, the farce which immediately followed it is a close copy of the orthodox pattern. The coroner's jury finds that the provisions were unfit for human food, and that the officers who signed the General Inspection report were the culpable parties; but what will these worthies care for such a finding? There will be a long correspondence between the Council for India and the Government of Bengal, which will be terminated some two or three years hence by a declaration from the Secretary of State that the officers in question are injured innocents, and that the soldiers merely suffered the penalties of their own folly. There is a complete immunity from all such crimes if the Government is trusted with the punishment of the criminals. One board will protect another; one office veil the offences of another department. They all row in the same boat, are all alike nests of jobbery, incapacity, and impertinence, and they all join together to burke everything like public inquiry. It would have been well if the Liverpool jury had returned a verdict of manslaughter against the officers, of whose culpability it felt no doubt. Surely such a verdict would have been quite as legal as those given against negligent pointsmen and porters. But as juries are not likely to act in that decisive manner, the question becomes one for the people of England. Are they content to go on any longer making hypocritical professions of gratitude to their brave defenders, all the while allowing those brave defenders, their wives and children, to be slaughtered like the freight of a Cuban slaver or a Coolie immigrant ship? It is all very well to denounce the military authorities, but the nation is equally culpable; its servants would not be guilty of the negligence which cries aloud for vengeance, if they did not feel perfectly assured of its apathy.

INDIA.—FINANCE TAXATION.

COMMON sense, truth, and honesty have begun to manifest themselves in the management of the government of India, and have at once excited almost general reverence. That the finance accounts of that great empire have long been mystified; that its expenditure has, as the rule, exceeded its revenue; that the country is extremely populous and extremely fertile; that the people are ingenious, docile, and submissive; that trade is rapidly increasing—since 1854 our trade with India has augmented upwards of 70 per cent.; that the multitude are comparatively prosperous, and unharmed by that mutiny which struck only the ruling caste; that India has before it, as every other country has, old or new, if rulers be sagacious and people enlightened, a career of unbounded prosperity, are facts well known, or inferences readily suggested. Mr. WILSON, however, is the first member of the Government there who has had the honesty and the good sense to proclaim them. He has done this with much industry and earnestness, and is regarded as having achieved wonders. He has acquired by the work a world-wide approbation. It is delightful to see such qualities enthroned, and equally delightful to see the least gleam of them so instantly and thoroughly appreciated. From India, heretofore, has come to us love for Asiatic tyranny, with a desire to exercise it, and our hopes for the future of our country, and of society at large, are only increased by the complete change we may hereafter expect in its moral exports.

We have had numerous telegrams conveying imperfect accounts of the mode in which Mr. WILSON proposes to deal with its finances. They have tempted some of our contemporaries into errors, but not us; we have now his great oration, delivered on the 18th ult., in the Council-chamber at Calcutta, densely crowded to hear from him the future fate of India, and we can speak with some certainty and in some detail of his labours.

An unexpectedly great deficiency in the revenue was the first unpalatable truth laid before the Council and the assembled bankers and merchants. In September an account was sent home, which showed a deficit, including home charges, of about £6,000,000 in the revenue, as against the expenditure in the year 1859-60. In fact, however, the deficit was £9,290,129. A mistake had been made at Bombay, in the military expenditure, of £600,000; at Madras, in the commissariat, of £300,000; there was a mistake of £750,000 in the revenue expected. The railway account was wrong £833,000; the public works depart-

ment and the home charges showed each an unexpected increase, and the errors amounted to millions. He was too practised an official to blame individuals for these mistakes, he blamed the discreditable system. Madras and Bombay each pursues a course of its own; and, though neither has suffered severely from the mutiny, they shirk its burdens, and seek sectional or individual advantages.

Extravagance, Mr. WILSON showed, has always been the rule in India. Even without war and mutiny, the Government of the Company, like most of the Governments of Europe, generally expended more than its revenue. Of the twenty-six years which have elapsed since it ceased to be a trading, and became merely a governing body, only seven show a revenue equal to the expenditure; nineteen show a deficiency. The debt prior to the mutiny was nearly £60,000,000; that sad event augmented it—or will on the whole augment it, for all its cost is not yet defrayed—by nearly £40,000,000; and now, with taxes yielding only £9,027,973, the interest of the debt absorbs £4,461,029 annually.

There is not room for much economy, however desirable. Improvement in arrangements may be made; but the civil expenditure cannot be reduced. The army may be more advantageously distributed, the commissariat expenditure may be diminished, the native army may be reduced; a force like the Irish constabulary may assist in the civil government; but, whatever be Mr. WILSON's inclination, he has no power to reduce a single soldier, or substitute one kind of force for another. We did not need his remarks to inform us that the *Saturday Review*, and other journals, which last week severely condemned, or eulogised, as their leanings were favourable or otherwise to a native army, "Mr. WILSON's policy," were at once ignorant and mistaken. They wrote as if he who has merely to find the funds were the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India and the Parliament, all rolled into one, and responsible for the entire government of India. Contrary to their statements, he avows his inability, whatever may be his wish, to diminish the expenditure, and anticipates, though he is careful to avoid a precise estimate—the data are so uncertain—a deficiency of revenue, even with much new taxation in 1860-61, of £6,500,000.

Notwithstanding this present and prospective deficiency, Mr. WILSON does not propose a new loan, and protests strongly against increasing debt. He insists equally strongly on the necessity of the finance minister possessing the supreme control over all the financial departments, and corresponding responsibility in all local governments and functionaries. We can hardly reconcile his boast of having cash balances in his hands to the amount of £19,000,000—greater than for many years—with the extent of the avowed deficiency; for no government can be authorized to borrow, as the Indian Government lately borrowed, in order to place money in the hands of its bankers. It is satisfactory, however, to find the Government strong in funds, in spite of the deficiency, as it will be better enabled to carry into effect Mr. WILSON's plan for increasing the taxes, and redeeming the Government from what would in a private man be habitual insolvency.

His plan involves, like Mr. GLADSTONE's budget, and like the budgets of most modern finance ministers, greater changes than improvements, both in direct and indirect taxation. He is to impose an income tax of 2 per cent. on all incomes between £20 and £50, and of 4 per cent. on all incomes above £50. From this impost levied by schedules like our income tax, there are to be no exemptions. The cavalry soldier as well as the general officer and the civil servant must submit to be mulcted. There must be a misunderstanding of the intention here, or an error in India. In the hands of the military is the real power of the State, and it is most undesirable to risk a second mutiny by affronting the soldiers, and most dangerous if it be of European troops. We presume if this tax be permanent, it will be extended from our ancient territories to those we have recently acquired, and those merely in alliance now, but which are destined to be incorporated in our empire. At present, we are uninformed as to the extent of the area to which the tax will be applied, and the amount it is expected annually to yield. Mr. WILSON does not profess to estimate it, and as yet no person can.

Besides a tax on incomes, he is to levy a *license* duty of 2s. a year on artisans; 8s. a year on retail traders, and 20s. a year on wholesale traders and all professional men. This is to be a permanent impost, and the license is to be renewed yearly. It is justified as supplying, like Mr. GLADSTONE's penny taxes, a statistical register of employments. The itch of politicians always to know what men are doing, betrays the origin of their duties—in the slavery of the masses. A license tax to carry on a business sins against all the canons of taxation laid down by the best writers, for it necessarily demands a portion of income before any is earned. That it will be unpopular and im-

practicable in India we do not assert, but it deserves to be, and as a novelty is very likely to be. Income and license taxes are direct taxation. Mr. WILSON also inflicts some new indirect taxation on the people.

Tobacco, when imported, is to be taxed 6d. per lb. unmanufactured, and 1s. manufactured; and a corresponding impost, as nearly as it can be estimated, like our hop duty, is to be levied on home-grown tobacco. Saltpetre, too, is to be taxed on export, on the supposition that as no other country produces the article, the foreigner who needs it will pay the tax. The idea of making a foreigner pay for what he requires more than its commercial worth, is conceived in a perfectly anti-commercial spirit. It is worthy of the worst times of protection. The peculiar advantages of particular places and particular individuals, the peculiarities of climate and soil, are the sources of all traffic, and Mr. WILSON's proposition is utterly at variance with the free-trade principles by professing and generally acting on which he gained his present eminent position. Such a tax, too correctly imposed, is found to fail, like our former prohibition to export wool, on the industry engaged in producing the commodity taxed. It is consequently a gross injustice to one class, and it may fail. In the present condition of art, saltpetre can be manufactured, and it may possibly be manufactured elsewhere, as cheaply as it can be gathered and made in India. Had Mr. WILSON studied Mr. J. S. MILL's work, as we happen to know he has contemned it, he would have seen that an export tax may, under certain circumstances, fall wholly on the country which imposes it; and he would have avoided imposing a tax on saltpetre manufacturers, erroneous on his own commercial principles, and certain to be injurious.

We are the more astonished at this retrogression, because Mr. WILSON is sensible that it is a "special tax on the producer," and points out that the revenue derived from the monopoly of opium, equivalent to an export duty, is already, from competition, rendering that revenue insecure. He has, too, wisely and justly abolished other export duties and transit duties on articles passing from native states into British territories, thus extending the area of free exchange, and placing all India, like all England, under one commercial law, free to buy and free to sell. To "encourage native producers," surely he could do nothing more barbarously protective than to diminish the value of their productions in the foreign market.

These new taxes are more objectionable on principle than Mr. WILSON's tariff, which reduces some duties, and imposes a uniform *ad valorem* duty of ten per cent. on all articles now subject to import duties, except beer, wine, and spirits, the duties on which are unaltered; though it raises, to the chagrin of the Manchester men and the advantage of spinners in Madras and Bombay, the duty on cotton yarn five per cent. Naturally, the former remonstrate against this increase in a protective duty, and they must act energetically or they will be obliged to submit. India, under Mr. WILSON's rule, is to follow apparently the course of Canada and the United States, and maintain, in spite of experience, a tariff protective and fiscal. His scheme has otherwise the fault, of being complicated, as if he contemplated rivalry with the discredited and complicated fiscal systems of Europe. Here, it has been the object of scheming ambition to invent as many species as possible of annoying taxation. Why should this erroneous policy be imitated in Bengal? If an income-tax in such a populous and opulent country be practicable, it might be the substitute for all other taxation. If this be the object ultimately aimed at, and the population is—by commencing the tax at a low percentage and raising it gradually—to be habituated to it, with a view to extinguish all other taxes, we give it our approbation; but imposed with other new taxes it complicates the system, increases the cost, and unnecessarily aggravates the burden of government.

Whether it be sustained by an extorted rent, enforced by claiming to be the sole landowner, or sustained by taxation, its pecuniary cost—though not the injury it inflicts on society—is equal. Mr. WILSON therefore seems to underrate the real burden of the Indian Government by taking only the amount of taxation now levied—£9,027,973, and concluding that each of the 132,000,000 inhabitants of India pays only one shilling and four pence taxation annually. He ought to add the sum the Government receives as landowner in chief, to make the comparison just. The assumption that the people are very lightly taxed may lead to increased taxation beyond what they will readily bear. They have submitted to our rule because it is milder and more equitable than that of their former masters and tyrants; but if to the old exactions of land and slave owners we add the fiscal exactions of skilful European financiers, we may irritate them into discontent, resistance, and rebellion. They will hardly be encouraged to obey by being taxed to enforce obedience. Such a proceeding must generate at least a substratum of dissatisfaction, which

may in the end, before commerce has knitted the two people closely in the bonds of mutual interest, topple down our dominion.

We have read with great pleasure Mr. WILSON's declaration, that the internal prosperity of India, corresponding to the increase in trade, is remarkably great. Railways have been "a great success," though their produce seems to be only £330,700, and the interest guaranteed on them £1,114,000. Landowners have been enriched; and defaulters, sold up by the lord paramount, have decreased from an annual rental of £95,650 in 1834-5 to £1449 in 1858-9. Arrears of rent have almost ceased to exist. Wages, too, have risen in common with wages in Europe, in many cases threefold; but we can scarcely find in history a Government which, perpetually engaged in the work of annexation, running into debt, and provoking mutiny, maintaining its power by arming class against class, and fighting country or district against country, except it be one of the despicable and quarrelling tyrannies put down, has really done less for the welfare of the people than the Company's Government in India. It cannot justly claim, on account of any great services rendered to society, a greater revenue. Mr. WILSON, however, honestly declares, like his class, that the Government is to be paid according as the people are rich, not according to the services it performs for them. Commerce must sympathize with the destructive Government, which, being short of funds, "all must contribute their share."

Mr. WILSON is well aware that the Government of India has had far less influence over the rapid progress of the people of late than the great increase of gold in the world. Everywhere this has stimulated enterprise, and made, even in Europe, political oppression less ruinous and unbearable. The great increase has depreciated this metal in relation to silver, and has caused it to be substituted for silver in use as coinage in France, Germany, Belgium, and many other parts of Europe. It has, at the same time, caused silver to be sent in unwonted quantities to India, where, from remaining exclusively the currency, it has a value it has lost here. There, it is diffused amongst the immense population, has increased their rewards, and stimulated their enterprise. The increase of silver there raised "the price of country produce," raised wages, increased produce, increased rent, made landlords solvent, and caused the prosperity on account of which Mr. WILSON justifies increasing taxation. In this justification the truth, honesty, and common sense generally prevalent in his address, are deficient, and to continue to act in accordance with it must ultimately increase the embarrassment of the Government.

Though we, continuing to follow, as Mr. WILSON was wont to follow, the doctrines of free trade, reprehend those parts of his plan which are palpably at variance with them, and with the approved maxims of taxation which flow from them, we can but remark that, from following them he has become great. The European intellect, from the perception of its superiority to the crowd of mean and submissive Asiatics it practically becomes familiar with in India, expands into still greater superiority. Great men—CLIVE, HASTINGS, and WELLINGTON—are there developed. Mr. WILSON appears to have felt the influence, and, mindful of the words which constitute the motto of the *Economist*, has made himself nearly "equal to the sphere of his duty," and "stretched his mind" to "the compass of his object." Differing from him on the points mentioned, we can, nevertheless, congratulate both him and the country on having got at least one administrator of Indian affairs who sees the difficulties in which they are involved, and courageously expresses his views.

A bill was immediately passed to levy the customs' duties proposed by Mr. WILSON. At the same time he announced a measure for establishing a paper currency; but, considering the length of this article, we do not regret that Sir C. WOOD's apparently unnecessary delay in producing Mr. WILSON's minute, with his own commentary, in the House of Commons, compels us to postpone the consideration of this part of his plan till next week.

NAPLES.

WHILE the greater part of the Italian Peninsula shows active signs of life, and is steadily progressing towards union and independence, a dread silence and lethargic stupor reign throughout the Two Sicilies. From time to time, it is true, this deathlike stillness is interrupted by the shriek of some fresh victim of the tyranny of the Bourbon police. But the sound has scarcely died away, when the Neapolitans and their affairs are by other Italians, and Europe in general, suffered to lie dormant in their winding-sheet, as if they had no concern or connection with the affairs of this world. And yet Naples and Sicily form an important part of Italy, nor can the political organization of the Peninsula be complete without them. For a long time past, this unhappy kingdom has seemed to possess the secret of standing still, in defiance of the laws of physical attraction and periodic progression. Her soil,

occasionally shaken by earthquakes of more or less extent and destructive force, gives the only example of activity and vigour—always excepting the eruptions of Etna and Vesuvius—ever manifested in this land of natural beauty and human atrocity. Domestic records and public journals, private correspondence and authorized announcements, are alike barren of novelty and importance as a rule, where Naples is concerned. No little surprise, therefore, was excited by the telegraphic announcement that a novelty had occurred in the stationary States of his Majesty FRANCIS II., in the shape of a ministerial crisis. With absolute Governments, this is a phenomenon of rare occurrence. It was little to be expected in Naples, where the defunct king held it as a maxim, that public servants should never be changed, and fortified his argument with an Italian proverb, more expressive than elegant, respecting fat and lean swine. Being compelled, by insuperable necessity, to part from some of his ministers, twelve years ago, he would never fill up their ranks, but contented himself by employing simple clerks in their places, whom he named directors, and whom he promised, in case they died in office, not to send to the grave without the name of minister and title of nobility. Such was the case with PECCHENEDA, who, when at the point of death, was made minister and marquis. On ascending the throne, the great aim of FRANCIS II. seemed to be to follow in the footsteps of his honoured predecessor; but very early in his reign he made a reservation so far as the dismissal of ministers was concerned, and the strange sight was beheld of repeated changes in the Neapolitan ministry, in the course of a few months. To the TROIA-MURENA ministry succeeded the TROIA-SIGNORI, and to that the unique and famous ministry of FILANGIERI. Here was, at length, the right man in the right place. Now the FILANGIERI ministry is dissolved in its turn. During the whole of last autumn, General FILANGIERI's state of health caused great disquietude to his friends; it fluctuated according to certain atmospheric changes which had a political effect upon his constitution, so that sometimes he was minister, and sometimes he was not. But at length, the note of the 9th of September, the clauses of the Treaty of Zurich, and the circular letters of Count WALEWSKI, persuaded him that he might usefully serve both his royal master and the cause of order and Italian Legitimacy, and he suddenly became a healthy minister and an effective president. The epoch fixed for the Congress drew near. France, England, and even Austria herself, counselled the young monarch who rules over nearly ten millions of Italians to display some small amount of judgment and common sense. But FRANCIS II. and his ministry remained deaf alike to the wise and disinterested advice of England or the selfish and insincere counsel of Austria. Then came the Parisian pamphlet, the restorations declared impossible, the evanishment of Congress. The Neapolitan prince, blinded by fear and hatred, persists in following out the path in which he set out on coming to the throne. This wily minister, afraid for himself and his riches, again becomes the invalid, and refuses to follow his obstinate master to ruin. Such is the history and signification of the present Neapolitan ministerial change.

Though FILANGIERI and PETRULLA may be sufficiently dishonest to be the pliant instruments of despotism in time of security, they are acute enough to understand the times in which they live; and if their deadened consciences, and their avarice and contempt for their country, had not dimmed their intelligence, they would certainly either have resigned office long ago, or have been resolved to conduct the Government according to more civilized rules, and in a less retrograde and perilous manner. But so long as the question was restricted to the domestic affairs of the kingdom, danger was future and uncertain, and pecuniary gain and honour certain with obedience; while disgrace was sure to follow the slightest contradiction offered to the king, who approves of no plans of government but those adopted by his father, and abhors innovation. Between uncertain danger and certain advantage, FILANGIERI was not disposed to hesitate; and he pursued his course, incurious and unmindful of the praise which might accompany the one, or the infamy attached to the other. Thus it is that he has remained in office, and supported the king's policy, until just now. He only offered his resignation when he had reason to dread danger from without, in consequence of the proposed expedition to the Romagna. This danger passed over, and he gladly remained for awhile in power, and the enjoyment of the profits connected with it.

The Congress finally appeared about to dissipate all the clouds in the horizon, when the question of the temporal power of the Pope rendered its meeting uncertain, threatened a serious difference between NAPOLEON and the Roman Court, and awoke the religious ardour of the King of Naples, who declared himself the champion of the rights of the Holy See, and protested at Paris in the same terms as Austria and Rome. Of course, it now suited FILANGIERI to play the invalid again. Naples was involved in a question with France. To complicate matters still further, the priests and friars throughout the kingdom began to speak and act against the Emperor of the FRENCH. This could not fail to excite complaints on the part of France, if suffered to continue; and the disapprobation of the king, and rage and jealousy of the clerical faction, were certain to be incurred if it were interfered with. About the same time, it was declared that the King of Naples had concluded a treaty with the Pope, by which he undertook to despatch a considerable number of troops into the Pontifical States, to replace the French soldiers, who were about to quit Rome at the request of the Pontifical Court itself—a rumour which was strengthened by the decision taken by the Sacred College, to request the Emperor to recall his soldiers. If the report was true, the measure must have been taken with the consent of the Court of Naples, from which

power alone Rome could look for help under existing circumstances. FILANGIERI utterly disapproved of this course, and, believing his own safety threatened, professed to see the public tranquillity endangered, and consequently gave in his resignation, or caused his dismissal to be given by the king. The indefinite postponement of the Congress caused deep regret among the Neapolitans. They had calculated much upon the attention which would be drawn to their condition during its deliberations. A second memorandum has appeared in the *Perseveranza*, drawn up with great ability, and professing to be an address of the Neapolitans to the members of the Congress. The abnormal condition of the country is lucidly explained in this appeal, and the re-establishment of the Constitutional Statute of 1848 is declared to be the sole remedy for existing ills. Who does not know the miserable condition of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies? Who is ignorant of the edicts of banishment and imprisonment, for slight offence, or no offence at all?—of the abuses of every kind of which the Neapolitan Government has been guilty during the past ten years? The distinctive character of Neapolitan tyranny consists in the constant and systematic violation of existing laws, the corruption of every noble principle, the moral perversion of everything most sacred and worthy of respect. Naples possesses a code of laws not inferior to that of the most civilized nations. It has provincial, district, and communal councils, a general consulta, numerous benevolent institutions, laws which guarantee individual liberty, domestic privacy, and the security of property. But of what effect are these laws? and how are the judicial and administrative affairs of the kingdom conducted in reality? A perusal of the memorandum to which we have referred, will show that the only institution existing in full force and vigour at Naples is the police; and this power openly declares that it owns no law, and bows to no authority but its own arbitrary will. The police is the only thing which shows life in the kingdom. It rules over all, governs all, presides over everything. From the throne to the confessional, from the humblest soldier to the loftiest ranks of the military and administrative hierarchy, it scrutinises and examines every person and thing, involves in its web every object that has life and breath, and power to suffer, in the unhappy States of FRANCIS II. Hence arises perpetual contradiction between the spirit and letter of the law and its administration, between public and acknowledged legal decrees and the secret instructions given to the police functionaries; hence the substitution of arbitrary individual will for the regular action of the laws; hence the annihilation of all personal security, and of every civil privilege and enjoyment.

No doubt the promulgation and loyal execution of the Statute of 1848, would bury many evils, and heal many wounds. But even if the Sovereign professed himself willing to accede to the wishes of his subjects in this respect, who could trust to BOURBON honesty and good faith after the innumerable signal instances of perfidy and contempt for truth and justice manifested by the race? We cannot close our eyes to facts, and believe that the Neapolitan Government can, by its own fiat, cancel the past, create a new order of things, and transform Naples suddenly from a Gehenna of suffering to a paradise of peace—renew, in short, the miracles of the golden age—*novus nascitur ordo*. No; the abyss which separates the prince from the people is too wide to be so easily traversed. FRANCIS II. willfully threw away the opportunity afforded him of bridging over the gulf at the death of his father. It is our firm belief that an avenging NEMESIS will pursue him and his house until their sins have been amply atoned for by suffering. True, we have now for a long while been accustomed to hear and repeat that the present state of things in Naples cannot last. The how and the when it will finish is a question that must be left to time to decide. With the secrets of Providence we have no wish to interfere; but it is our settled conviction that the destinies of Italy cannot long be arrested at the Tronto, and that, sooner or later, they will overwhelm the serried files of the BOURBON police. Then, and then only, the kingdom will be saved.

PANIC-MONGERS.

THE New Reform Bill has thrown the elderly gentlemen of England, in and out of the House, into a panic. We all know that a very small thing will alarm an old maid's tea party, or a boarding-school *soirée*—for such panics a mouse, a wasp, or a black-beetle are warranted as at any time sufficient; but we really thought something more was required to disturb the cerebral and gastric nerves of an assembly of foxhunters, speculators, public diners, officers, “and tall men of their hands.”

Considering the Bill is generally considered very small for its age, it has indeed been a terrible bugbear to our sons of Anak from the provinces, half of whom, thrusting their fists into their eyes, scream for terror at the sight of the spectre Reform, while the other half, with singular inconsistency and want of unity of opinion, make ugly faces at it, and pout and declare the Bill is so small and puny that they will not stand godfather to it on any account.

We really thought that the days when quiet country gentlemen could be persuaded that every attempt at Reform must necessarily be followed by the burning and sacking of country mansions, and the printing of bloody thumbs on the white satin chairs of the aristocracy, had gone by. It was all very well for the middle-aged monks to brand JACK CAPE and WAT TYLER as monsters, hateful to God and man—devils incarnate, who had no other object than to slay or rob, and whose grievances were mere excuses for cruelty and carnage.

Looking back now, we see that TELL and WALLACE were not the murderers and atheists that contemporary historians would have represented them. When the Jacqueries had just roasted a country gentleman whole and distributed him in joints among his ground-down tenantry, we might have excused the alarmist tone that the *Times* has lately, with feigned fear, sometimes assumed.

Because some 300,000 more voters are proposed to be added to the election roll, is that any reason we should have the timid old constable of the Press springing his rattle, and waking all the old women in the neighbourhood with the clatter? Is Bristol going to be sacked again by the potwallopers, as in the old Reform days?—or are the Chartists going to meet at Kennington? Are clumps of pikes moving about in Yorkshire?—or is anybody trying to put stout country gentlemen on the spit, as in FROISSART'S unhappy times?

No, cry the ultra-crepidarians, but we do not know what may come, if things go on. Reformers are weakening the ties of tradition, setting us loose on a sea of change; it is impossible to know where we shall stop. Representation is being severed from property. This habituating of the mind to constant innovations must lead to changes not yet dreamt of. Democracy is like the grave, it never surrenders what is once given to it—the more it is fed the more it grows. So shrieks the rattle—so frightened, or pretending to be frightened, scream out the parliamentary croakers. They are horrified to learn that the present scheme is calculated to be sufficient for only the next thirty years. This, they say, is heaping change on change. Like economic and penurious fathers, these small statesmen are angry that their boy grows so fast, and requires new clothes every quarter. These are the sort of people who, if they had any voice in the world, would pass a law to stop the rotation of the seasons, and the ebb and flow of the tide. They are quiet people, who remind one, in their timid and selfish acquiescence with existing things, of JAMES I., who his enemies represented as hobbling down a flight of stairs with "Peace—peace!" written upon every step. They are like people who, having got a seat in a crowded room, shrug their shoulders, and wonder people make such a fuss about standing. One class of these croakers draw all their terrible analogies from the state of America, which, regardless of all reasoning, they will insist on tracing to democratic rule. There may not be a political evil there that we could not parallel in our aristocratic country, yet all American imperfections they attribute to democracy—to that the unjust taxation, the unjust voting, the trading for places, and the bidding for the voices of the mob.

Now all these alarms are as groundless as they can be, and many of the alarmists know they are groundless, and use them merely as scarecrows to keep birds off their political seed-plots. The British constitution is too much of the broad-wheeled waggon to be easily run away with by modern phaetons. It is no "spider-wheeled American trotting-car," and for a drag it has all the country gentlemen of England and the leaders' brains of all the Tories of the London press. The danger is not in giving, but in refusing the working class power. Christianity tells us in the sight of God all souls are equal. The Grave cries out to us the same lesson; and Death is the greatest of all levellers, and democrat to the backbone.

Nothing will more secure the love of the working man to his country than giving him an interest in that country. Better educated, every day he begins to feel that he is a political serf, a cypher in the State; and when once he feels that, and questions the right of those who keep him underfoot, the Tories will have no want of agitation to complain of. The more men get fit to govern themselves, the fitter they will become to govern others. The greater the number of the men who learn to think, the greater must be the number of voters. It is not for us to invent claims for the working man; but when he discovers his own rights, he must have his claims granted—and he will; for wider and wider must grow the base of our English constitution; and the wider the base, the stronger will be that pyramid—the wonder of the nations.

It is in vain for the Aristocrats to pretend that the present is a peculiarly unseasonable time to grant Reform, now that France is building up a colossal despotism, and no longer "conceals her thirst for general empire." "Is this the time," cries the Ishmael of the House, "when you should still further deviate from that old, that free, and that aristocratic institution, which has formed the Empire of England, and framed the liberties of Englishmen?" Yes, we answer to the veteran Tory croaker—the best of all times. The roof is never so grateful as when the storm blows; a friend never so useful as when you are hounded by misfortunes. Men will never fight so well for a country as when they have stakes in that country, and feel that it is the country that represents their wishes and their hopes.

The working man is no longer, as one would think from these croaking speeches, a half-naked savage, smeared with blue war-paint, and eating his poor relations in cannibal pies; he is no longer the horrid serf that followed WAT the Tyler, or JACK CADE the bricklayer. He is no longer the maniac rebel that raved among the burning houses in Bristol, or was trodden underfoot by the relentless yeomanry at Peterloo, any more than he is the handsome craftsman with glossy hair and piercing eye, that you see in Sunday-at-home tracts. But he is every day getting more and more the quiet, pertinacious assertor of his own rights—waiting patiently, and perhaps somewhat as stolidly, till they do come, but still resolute and determined not to be staved off, or shelved, or waxed from his purpose by silly cries of alarm and old-woman denunciations. Why are six million

families of working men to be excluded from all voice in the State? Why should one million families only be admitted to the privilege of voting? Are they criminals, or idiots, or in what has poverty incapacitated them, that they should be debarred from all political privileges? And why, the moment they approach with their claims to enter the most out-lying door of the Parliament House, should these alarmists begin screaming and clattering like "a ship-load of monkeys in a gale of wind," as if they were robbers, assassins, burglars, felons, rebels, and infidels, bent on robbing the political orchard, on defacing the political decalogue, on undermining the Constitutional pyramid—on breaking down property, wealth, and all other Conservative agents, and beating them into the gory mire of universal anarchy—of beheading privilege and monopoly wherever to be found?

These alarmists do a most mischievous work. They tend to widen the gulf that rolls between classes—to make the man of property regard every mechanic as a concealed rebel with a revolver in his pocket; and to make the mechanic consider the man of property a false, plausible, heartless, selfish defender of his own privileges and accidental wealth. It turns the two classes into enemies, and leads to a sort of verbal civil war.

It is true that the calmer and more intelligent observers of political struggles know well, that the modern mechanic is no more inclined to rebellion, than the Tory gentleman is inclined to despotism. However indissolubly the historian may generally connect Toryism, high-church, and divine right, he knows well that if the one party hold back a little too much, the other party often are inclined from mere pugnacity to go on too fast; but he also well knows that no country was ever yet destroyed by necessary Reform, but, on the contrary, by the obstinacy of favoured classes, by resistance to just claims, by insolent contempt for the masses, by blind antagonism to secretly growing power, by intolerant assertions of obsolete and bygone rights, by ridiculous and unmaintainable assumptions. Let these croakers take warning, and take courage. The mechanic, we can assure the innocent Bucolic gentlemen, is a very quiet and good creature when properly treated. There is not the least danger of the clubs being invaded by the factorymen—no bloody thumb will pollute the white satin of their drawing-rooms: let them take great comfort, they will not have their laurels trod underfoot by this Bill, nor will a single hob-nailed shoe trample up their gravel walks.

The Reform Bill will admit a few more voters of a mental calibre quite equal to those already forming an integral part of the constitution, and it will create no more disturbance in England than a stone thrown into a stagnant pond does, when it has once got to the bottom of the lazy mud.

WHO'S TO BLAME?

FRANCE can no longer sneer at England for not having participated in her war for a grand principle. England's vast talkings and paltry doings in behalf of Italian freedom can no longer be thrown in her teeth. There is a flaw which admits of exact measurement in the escutcheon of the Empire of peace, and a rent in the banner of the "idea," just such a rent as one sometimes finds it convenient to discover in the veil of a beauty or the mask of a hypocrite. We find that an idea, like BERKELEY'S ideas, can be, to all ordinary appreciation, a very solid thing. We dislike this annexation of Savoy as much as any of our contemporaries, and we doubt not that selfish policy, if pursued, will meet with its usual reckoning. It was a case for the united action, in the police point of view, of the Great Powers, if such union had been possible, for the purpose of absolute prohibition, at the risk even of war; not a case for England to take up single-handed at the present juncture at all risks—the risk of vexing Sardinia, or appearing to hold out the hand of good fellowship to Austria. Therefore, a strong governmental remonstrance, unaccompanied with irritating personal abuse, was the proper measure for England; hereafter, should any similar performance be anticipated—whether of the *legende main* or *tour de force* kind—it is to be hoped that the other Powers may be more in a position to act in concert, and so to remonstrate with effect, and that England may not be found to have committed herself to a selfish, isolated, BRIGHT-draw, and purely commercial policy. If so we shall have, sooner or later, to say of the French what CHURCHILL said in his angry prejudice of the Scotch:—

"A fatal race
Whom God in wrath contrived to place
To scourge our crimes and gull our pride,
A constant thorn in England's side;
Whom first our greatness to oppose
God in his vengeance marked for foes;
Then more to serve his wrathful ends,
And more to curse us, marked for friends."

However, in this particular case, England is certainly less concerned than others who have chosen to suffer in comparative silence, whilst her own knack of acquisition, and her empire, which even BURKE long ago called "invidiously" large, ought to make her a little delicate in remonstrance. One, at least, of the dangers seems to be diminished, which in another of his treatises BURKE considered to be consequent upon the French annexation of Savoy, indicated in the following passage, of which, with its context, we very candidly make a present of to Mr. KINGLAKE and his suite, wondering that it has not been appropriated before:—"In its consequences, the surrender of Savoy was to make a surrender to France of Switzerland and Italy, of both which countries Savoy is the key," &c. (*Observations on the Conduct of the Minority.*) Italy, with the

chance of union under a king of independent power, is a very different thing from Italy *sicut antea*, and the first practical aggression on Switzerland, we sincerely hope, in spite of our peace partialities, would be a signal for the action of the police.

There is one thing about which we are much concerned—of course purely as a matter of sentiment—the objection of Nice to the transfer. We fear that the Frenchman, in a social point of view, will be sadly mortified at this. His idea is that he is conquering and to conquer, even more by the virtue of his courtesy than the virtue of his arms. The notion that any one does not like him—him the *avant-courier* of civilization, the man of *agrément*, the hero of *bonnes fortunes*—fills him with consternation. We believe that a Frenchman would be *au désespoir* if he found himself deserted, detested, and despised as the Austrians have been in Italy. In spite of some uncomfortable reminiscences of the behaviour of the soldiery, the children of the *sansculottes* in Portugal, the Hanse towns, and elsewhere, we believe that the Frenchman in his natural, that is, his polished state, has an immense fund of *bonhomie* and of desire to please, irrespective of his vanity, and we like him for it; a *bonhomme* which would prevent him from being comfortable with those who were unmistakably uncomfortable with him. It is with reluctance that he throws the martial cloak over his *politesse*. That Nice, so long prepared for the Frenchman, so long semi-civilized by the residence of the aristocrats of all countries, and by the softness of elegant invalids, should be reluctant to receive the last polish which a French master of the ceremonies only can bestow, and relieve its occasional ennui with a little gay Gallic levity, is what he will scarcely understand; and we fear that the effect of mortification of rejected addresses may not be very pleasant to the refuser or the refused. But let this fit of sentimental sadness pass, and let us turn for a moment to the main cause of all this mischief, the most guilty of the parties concerned. There need be no hesitation at pointing the finger at Austria. For ages have France and Austria battled for the possession of Italy, each convinced of the justice of her own claims, each regardless of the claims of Italy, and her right to be ranked among the nations. France has now altogether receded from her demand, leaving, in consideration of a small *douceur*, Italy to the Italians. The nephew has so far, at any rate, not followed the desperate policy of the uncle. He has left Italy, if not altogether to itself, at least far more so than any of his reckless vituperators in England would have anticipated or even admitted to be possible. Austria has held, and would fain hold on still, to her prey as firmly as she can; and the present desire of union among the Italians shows how deeply her talons pierced. The iron gauntlet of Rome compressed the discordant and jealous cities of Italy together, but it did not pierce or gall them; when that grasp was relaxed the cities fell asunder, and “disunion” has since been the motto of Italy. She feels the necessity of trying the strong hand once more. It is no slight suffering that has made her forget her dear jealousies, envyings, and heart-burnings, to put herself into the hands of a power which long considered itself and was considered almost as an alien. We quote a good book of a good author—GUALANDI’S “Assedio di Firenze”—to this purpose:—

“Il Romano crede aver che fare col Fiorentino quanto con un abitante dell’ oceanica, e di quale altra piu remota parte del mondo. I Piemontesi se reputano così estranei alle cose d’Italia che favellando con Toscano, Romano, o Napolitano, hanno in costume de designarlo così, ‘Voi altri abitanti d’Italia.’”

The Piedmontese addressed the inhabitants of the peninsula as “you Italians!” considering them as strangers to their interests. This taking VICTOR EMMANUEL as their king is almost like the *Podesta* on a grand scale. As an individual man sometimes is afraid of the bias of his own prejudices and passions, and cannot always trust the deliberate conclusions of his own judgment, nor the decisions of his own will, and calls in the advice of a disinterested friend, so the Italian cities of the middle ages could sometimes trust neither to the will of their lord nor the counsels of their senates, nor the voices of their commons, and so submitted the supreme management of their affairs to a stranger, and called him the “*Podesta*,” or power (a plan not so unpalatable, as it was also adopted in some of the Belgian cities). So the whole of Italy would now fain put a restraint upon itself. Milan, Florence, Genoa, &c., would bind themselves over to keep the peace with each other, and would give up, to escape the Austrian, all dear hopes of irresponsibility, and all rivalry, except a peaceful and a mutually improving one. It is such a sacrifice of long habits and inbred hatreds as Italy has never voluntarily made before. By a moderate rule, Austria and her offshoots might have kept matters *in statu quo*; by despotism she has given a handle to France, ruined herself in Italy, disconcerted Europe, and made it impossible, in spite of the sympathies of a few aristocrats, for free England to give her a helping hand; she has almost thrown herself out of the communion of those nations whose communion is worth having, and her misfortunes have been too much of her own wilful and deliberate bringing on to obtain pity or to deserve it. She has no gratitude; she is trying to persecute a nation which, when the house of Austria was in distress and destitution, came nobly to her aid, and in spite of many a previous provocation and persecution, crowded round the throne with the cry, “Let us die for our Queen, MARIA THERESA!” Hungary will be blindly persecuted into rebellion.

“When we, in our wickedness, grow hard,
Oh misery on’t! the wise gods seal our eyes
With our own filth, drop our clear judgment, make us
Adore our errors, laugh at us while we strut
To our confusion.”

In those days, when Hungary showed her ill-rewarded fidelity, England could, without shame, hold out the hand of help to Austria, and did so, as she had done before, as she has done since, without much thanks for it—an assistance, however, not rendered, as we have said elsewhere, without due consideration of what were, or what were at the time deemed to be, the interests of England. England, whom Austria has always plagued when her ally by her poverty, her dilatoriness, and her temporising shuffling policy, vexing MARLBOROUGH, vexing WADE, vexing PITT, yet some of our Tories would now follow the policy of GRANVILLE, which CHATHAM described as “multiplying war upon war, expense upon expense, to abet the house of Austria in such romantic attempts as the recovery of the avulsa membra imperii, without regard to the immediate interests of Great Britain.” Our natural allies are Switzerland, Holland, the northern powers, and above all, in a united Germany, a friendly Prussia, and a friendly Austria. Against Germany there is none of that innate, and, to a certain extent, unreasoning aversion which England has so long felt and cherished against France. But how can we be on friendly terms with Austria, blind, obstinate, despotic, more dangerous in her immobility than France in her mobility? England cannot, despite her desire for German support, link herself cordially with a power which will not allow her children a liberty controlled by leading-strings, but cripples them with fetters, and debars them from movement altogether. France, with various motives, has made a bid for the friendship of England. Austria would not, either for our moral or physical support, make a bid by one single liberal concession.

Visions of the impossible though futile are grateful. Oh! that Austria would rub her eyes, give herself one dip in the bath of liberalism, listen for one moment to the whispers of the angel of freedom; soothe Hungary—give, or even sell, Venetia to the Italians or to Sardinia; and give LOUIS NAPOLEON something like a decent pretext for wanting a strong frontier against a really powerful neighbour! If Austria would amend her ways, and “put herself in a position to be forgiven,” with what joy would England hail her conversion! Against Germany we have no dear prejudices, no traditionary antipathies. For what future does Austria think that she is preparing herself? Will she regard neither the future nor the past, even when the northern bear is shaking off his long hibernation of serfdom; when Naples is quaking at once with the tremor of wrath and the tremor of fear, and when even ultramontane priests will not allow the sacred character of the Papacy to atone for its temporal misgovernment?

As to the French Emperor, we regret that he has in the slightest degree falsified his professions; but if he had been as bad as third-rate newspapers, who sell themselves to the prejudices of their readers, have incessantly represented him, he would have taken a far larger slice of Italy. Had his designs been as hostile to England as they pretended, he would have long ago taken advantage of our troubles in India, when we were notoriously and confessedly unprepared: he would not have aided and abetted a commercial treaty, the effect of which must be gradually, if not at once, to indispose the French nation for an English war; and he would have pointed with his finger in the direction of England to the French army, most of whom would not, perhaps, have been sorry for the signal. Prepared himself, he would not have given us all the time for preparation which he has done, unless he had been a fool, a title which those who like him least would hesitate to give him.

We will take farewell of our readers with shreds from three old world comedies, which the parties may apply as they like:—“The incision is not deep, nor the orifice exorbitant;” “Break ice in one place and it will crack in more;” “Those that scorn their nest often fly with a sick wing.” The last for VICTOR EMMANUEL.

HUNGARY.*

It is not only those who prefer moral principle to political dogmas, and value the freedom of nations more than the balance of power, who look to Hungary with an interest which is increased by the daily progress of events that bring us perceptibly nearer the overthrow of the Austrian system, and the re-establishment of some new combination of the multifarious races now languishing and suffering under Hapsburg misrule. Some may wish for and expect to see Hungary entirely separated from the Austrian crown; others may believe in the possibility of reanimating the Austrian system, and converting what is now a dreary waste of despotism into a federation of free and powerful States; but whichever theory may be formed, the Hungarians appear destined to take an important position, and in some shape or other the triumph of their constitutional cause is the only conceivable condition of the progress of liberty and civilization over a large portion of the South of Europe. The Hungarians are the only important race to be found over a very wide area, who possess a military spirit, coupled with the traditions and habits of a free constitutional system. The particular character of a successful revolution may determine whether Hungary stands alone, or becomes a portion of a Confederation, or whether her form of government will be monarchical or republican; but the Hungarian people will never find themselves in the vain position of experimental constitution makers, endeavouring to combine anarchical principles with enduring forms of political administration. They want something intelligible, definite, and practicable—liberty

* Hungary from 1848 to 1860. By BARTHOLOMEW DE SZEMERE. Bentley.

to restore and live under one of the most ancient constitutions in the world, and which, up to the period of the iniquitous and disastrous intervention of Russia, answered the purpose of training the people in habits of self-government and respect for established law. From one generation to another the Hungarians were called upon to defend their constitutional rights against the usurpations of the House of Hapsburg; and there is much in their circumstances and conduct that reminds the English student of the constant cry of the Saxons when struggling against Norman oppression, "Give us the laws of Edward the Confessor!" Hungarian sovereigns were sworn to obey the laws of the kingdom, and they were also required to sign and seal a diploma of coronation binding them to observe a number of provisions strikingly similar to the best portions of our own constitution; and the royal power was by law even more limited than with us, as the king could not declare war or make treaties without the consent of the Diet. These excellent laws, together with the warlike spirit of the people, would have ensured to Hungary the gradual development of liberty and industry, had it not unfortunately happened that in accepting the rule of the Hapsburgs she connected herself with the very worst race of rulers of whom history contains a record, and who were successful in their criminal attacks upon the constitutional rights of every other portion of their dominions. Professor Newman well observes that the Hapsburg princes have been signal for the extraordinary number of political offences like those of the Bourbons and the Stuarts, and the high development of freedom they have crushed; and he adds, "when a wicked policy is hereditary in a court and sustains itself under better and worse princes alike, this is the greatest of all testimonies that the dynasty is incurably evil." In 1526, when the great struggle of the Reformation was the most significant event in Europe, and when the successes of the Turks had created a very general alarm, Hungary and Bohemia elected Ferdinand I. as king of the two countries, a proceeding which rapidly led to the extinction of the liberty of the latter, and to a struggle on the part of the former which, with occasional intermissions, has continued ever since. If Bohemia had been successful either at this period or in the seventeenth century, when the Protestant cause, and with it all hope of liberty, was crushed by a most sanguinary and ferocious persecution, it is probable that the Austrian empire might have entered a new and happier stage of its existence, as the Hungarians would not have stood alone in their efforts to sustain religious liberty and the principles of constitutional government; but the might of despotism and the craft of the Jesuits prevailed, and the house of Austria gradually found itself in possession of a vast empire, whose sovereigns had broken down every barrier of legal right except in Hungary, which was too isolated from the rest of Europe to occupy much attention, except when some new provocation excited a fresh appeal to arms.

After the Russian intervention had fully restored the power of the Austrian Court, the present Emperor had an admirable opportunity of reconstituting the empire upon liberal principles, but, true to the hereditary policy of his race, he made a Concordat with the Pope, and devoted all his energies and resources to revive a worse than mediæval despotism, and make his dominion a perfect anachronism in an enlightened age. In Italy we have seen the commencement of a salutary reaction, and one in Hungary cannot be long delayed. M. Szemere points out that, in 1859, Austria, without Hungary, possessed 17,598,354 inhabitants, and a territory of 5,554 square geographical leagues; while Hungary, without Austria, contained 15,500,000 people, inhabiting 6,175 square geographical leagues. He also gives us a statistical account of the races inhabiting Hungary, showing the Hungarians to number 6,150,000, while the next most numerous race, the Wallachs, amount only to 2,374,472. Considering the persecutions to which Protestantism has been exposed for so many centuries, it is highly honourable to the Hungarians that the Protestants now number 3,375,000; while the Roman Catholics, with all the advantages of prolonged state patronage, are little more than double the number of the Protestants, and do not amount to half the entire population.

What was called the "Tongue Quarrel" in Hungary will be in the recollection of our readers, and also the blame thrown by many upon the Magyars, for causing the adoption of their own language in public proceedings, when the use of Latin was given up. Upon this question M. Szemere throws considerable light, by offering an analysis of the periodicals and books published in Hungary in the year 1855. From this it appears that out of eighty-one periodicals, fifty-four were printed in Hungarian; while out of 640 works published in volumes, 510 were Hungarian. Thus it is quite clear that the intellectual life of the country was intimately associated with the language of the numerically largest race. With reference to the assistance Austria obtained during the revolutionary period from the Slaves, the Roumans, and the Germans of Hungary, M. Szemere observes, that, "out of 2,400,000 Roumans, there were 1,500,000; out of 1,500,000 Germans, 1,250,000, and out of 4,700,000 Slaves, 3,000,000 who could not be induced by any means of persuasion, nor even by force, to take arms against us;" and there is good reason to hope that, in Hungary as in Italy, the bitter lessons of experience have taught the folly and wickedness of permitting local jealousies to obstruct the plain duty of uniting for national objects against a common foe.

We have recently explained the position of the Protestant Churches in Hungary, and the collision with them which the Austrian Government has so rashly provoked. M. Szemere does full justice to their importance, and reminds us "that all their risings have invariably led to a treaty (as in 1000, 1622, 1645, and 1711), which always had the twofold object of securing political and religious liberty." We can well understand the anxiety of the

Jesuit-led Court of Austria to break up the organisation of the Protestant churches, because they afford a daily practice in self-government to a very numerous and important section of the community. Each member of the commune has a vote in Church affairs, and the communal constituency elects its own minister and schoolmaster. The district business is managed by representatives elected by the communes, and those of the diocese by representatives of the districts. A system like this leads so directly to constitutional liberty, that it can be no other than odious to a sovereign who rules in violation of laws and oaths, and is ready to perpetrate any crime rather than submit to the restraints which free institutions impose upon an arbitrary will.

In entitling his work, which is in the form of letters to Mr. Cobden, *Hungary from 1818 to 1860*, M. Szemere has led us to expect the history of the remarkable negotiation between the Emperor Napoleon and Louis Kossuth, and of the train of incidents connected with the Italian war; but upon these he is silent. He himself appears to have taken no part in them, beyond inditing some wordy epistles to Lord Palmerston and Count Cavour. We are surprised at this omission, because the formation of the Hungarian legions in Italy, and the conditional undertaking to assist Hungary if the Austrians prolonged the war, were among the most remarkable events of the campaign of 1859, and afford good grounds for hoping that the Emperor will aid the Hungarian cause if a legitimate opportunity occurs in which he can do so, with due regard to the interests of France.

M. Szemere contributes nothing new in his record of the grievances of Hungary, with which the speeches and letters of Kossuth have familiarized the British public; but his remarks are valuable, as confirmatory evidence; and the picture represents so much misery and oppression, that it is impossible to believe it can be maintained by any force which the bankrupt finances of Austria will enable her to employ. As a question of humanity, every one must sympathize with the Hungarians, and wish them a prosperous issue out of this prolonged struggle; while the obvious connection of their position with the territorial arrangements of Europe, and with the condition of the Christian races in the Danubian Principalities, oblige the diplomatist and statesman to consider their future destiny as bound up with some of the most important problems which civilization has to solve.

LAMENNAIS AND GIOBERTI.

THE two most gifted and passionate souls the Church of Rome can boast of in recent days are LAMENNAIS and GIOBERTI. No human beings could be more sincere, and none could rush into more flagrant inconsistencies.

What, however, is inconsistency? It may either be the childish fickleness of the shallow, the mean calculation of the mercenary, the adroit yielding to circumstances of the ambitious; or it may be the necessary, earnest, logical development of a noble and opulent mind. The path of LAMENNAIS and GIOBERTI was pure and grand from the beginning to the end. There was the hero, there was the martyr, there was the saint in both. What, therefore, was inconsistency in both but the spontaneous outpouring of energy and genius?

LAMENNAIS, however, alone succeeded in raising himself from Catholicism to Catholicity; GIOBERTI cursed and shook his chains, and uttered the wild cry of freedom; but still he was in bondage to the last.

Better than all other men do LAMENNAIS and GIOBERTI typify that torture, that tragedy of our modern existence—the attempt to reconcile the present and the past. They, therefore, apart from their merit as writers, deserve our most serious study.

We in England settle everything by compromise, that philosophy so dear to MACAULAY, who was no philosopher, and which is not a philosophy. The writhings, the wrestlings of such men as GIOBERTI and LAMENNAIS, Englishmen, therefore, do not understand. In a sort of rough way the English like to be frank and truthful, but they have no impulse except positive personal discomfort to march on to a diviner political, social, or religious state. Till, as they say, the shoe pinches them, they eat, drink, and are merry. The world's improvement they consider to be no affair of theirs. Even in their philanthropy there is no love; they go into philanthropy as they go into money-making, simply as a matter of business. They enter into commercial speculations, promote drainage, convert the Hot-tentots, all on the most mechanical principles.

Now to fierce, fiery southern hearts, how chilling must this stolid utilitarianism be, and how criminal must it appear! They listen to no counsel but that of their tumultuous and eloquent blood. Not till their glowing phantasy has spoken do they form their theories. And if around them are the memories and the monuments of holiest institutions, and if they dream that what has been can again be, how little they must be arrested by craven considerations of expediency! They cry with a loud voice to God to lift up his strong right arm and bring the church of the middle ages back.

To the loftiest natures materialism—the idolatry of hard, harsh material interests—is the grief of griefs, the crown of abomination and iniquity. When progress means, as it certainly means in England, the opportunity afforded to rich men to grow richer, what can they whose bosoms burn with pity and pity, and the glorious vision of human redemption, think of progress? They must throw themselves very far into the future, or very far into the past, to escape from the thralldom and the pollution of the present. If they

are men of the highest order, the further they have thrown themselves into the past, the further will they ultimately throw themselves into the future. As regards GIOBERTI, his final hopes, like his first affections, never wandered beyond Italy. The triumph of Italy was not for him Italy's freedom alone; it was the bowing down once more of all European nations to Italian supremacy; but LAMENNAIS had ascended through speechless tribulation to the idea of the universal people bound by universal sympathy and blessed of Heaven. Creed and ceremonial and institution had ceased to be of any value in his eyes; his faith was in the regenerating potency of compassion. The sacrifice the most acceptable to God was to be offered—the sacrifice brought by the hand of courageous beneficence. When beneficence had done its best there might again be a religion. LAMENNAIS and GIOBERTI were not deep philosophers, though they wrote much on philosophical subjects; they were tribunes, prophets, agitators. Their mission was not to speak the truth in any complete, organic sense; they were not builders of systems, though they might try to be so. Their predecessors had been ARNOLD of Brescia, SAINT BERNARD, JEROME SAVONAROLA, and men of the same stamp, who, whether fighting for authority or against it, despised the poor commonplaces of earth, and urged their brethren to climb to the invisible city. Verily it is of small concern whether the real moral and religious reformer is the upholder of authority or not—whether he points to the future or to the past. In both cases there is the attempt to incarnate an ideal—to teach, to help mankind to incarnate it. If thou purify thy abode, and teach those around thee to purify their abodes, art thou not serving thy race as nobly as if thou showed them how to build fresh abodes? The main thing that thy brethren should learn is that their abodes and their hearts should be temples where the Omnipotent may tabernacle. Let us not confound LAMENNAIS and GIOBERTI with sentimentalists like FREDERICK SCHLEGEL, and Jesuits like MONTALEMBERT. The Catholic Church had been to GIOBERTI and LAMENNAIS a living reality. Away from the horrible domain of sophistry and selfishness they beheld it through their own enthusiasm, beaming and bounteous as in its primitive beauty; stern to the evil-doer, but merciful to all the children of misfortune. If, nevertheless, the Church of Rome had fallen into hopeless decrepitude and corruption, they had still the Church created by their own sacred fervors, and which they summoned him who was bowed by sin and by sorrow to enter. Let us enter it: faultless it may not be; perchance it may shock our taste, but if we deem it a godlike labour to deliver men from materialism, to make them heroes, saints, martyrs, then let us consult the writings and ponder on the lives of GIOBERTI and LAMENNAIS, who loved much, and to whom, therefore, much must be forgiven.

A CITY REVIVAL.

THERE are doubtless many modern traders and merchants who daily whirl up to London by the express morning trains, and return at night to their villas, spending a few hours in their counting-houses, who know as little of the City of London, and its vast memorials of former times, as a Cherokee Indian. We very much question whether there are not many handsome halls and rich companies, which few but those specially connected with them know anything about; and that there are hundreds of corporations and charities of which many Englishmen are as ignorant as a Frenchman; and we cannot give a stronger example of ignorance of English affairs.

Yet in this same City of London there lies, buried as it were under modern accumulations, a complete framework of ancient society. Under the modern system of trading lies another, as under St. Paul's we find St. Faith. The mere visitor sees in the Royal Exchange, in the Bank and its buildings—in Lombard Street and its bankers—in Crutchedfriars and its merchants—in Wood Street and Watling Street, and New Cannon Street, and their great manufacturing dealers—the trade of London, and he little imagines that out of the common thoroughfares exist what may be termed the fossil remains of its former greatness and grandeur. In inconceivably narrow streets, in strange odd angles and corners, are to be found houses that might rival those of Grosvenor Square for size, and which have a substantial though old-fashioned appearance that inspires respect, and bespeaks former grandeur. In these buildings are preserved the Guilds and Corporations which were the bones and arteries of our former trading society, a system which, though now fallen into disuse and out of fashion, has had no small hand in making us the nation we are. The Guilds of the trader and the artisan were the cradles of our liberty; and out of such associations grew our representative system of government. They in the middle ages checked the tyranny of the feudal system, and gave to England that middle class of society which has stood as a mole and a barrier against the tyranny and excesses of a proud and powerful oligarchy.

As, therefore, we owe to these antique institutions so much, it is but a matter of gratitude that we should regard them with respect, and inquire into them with interest. Nor will it be found that they are by any means dead, though the great purposes for which they once existed have, from a variety of causes, flowed into other channels.

The commerce of London, and indeed of the kingdom, was once, as it were, under their control, and aided their revenue; and we all know how, in those pulmy days, kings sued to them for money, and political parties wooed them for their interest. It is a matter of history to trace how this great framework, embracing at one time all

occupations, and wielding and controlling, in a variety of ways, all the trade and operative proceedings of society, came to fall into decay, and to become a mere skeleton of dead bones, held together by the ligaments of endowments and property bequeathed to them for various trusts.

Many reasons, some physical and some moral, conduced to this decay. There were inherent defects in their constitution; and the developments of society proceeded too fast for their slow and narrow system of internal government. Had they possessed men of superior intellect as their rulers, who could have expanded them to the wants of the progressive time, they might have grown with the age. But they were restrained by their narrow rulers within the literal and rigid bounds of their original constitutions; and as they did not enlarge with the enlarging ideas of each generation, they became fossilized, and to a great extent remain so.

The principles of entire freedom for trade, which were so urgently promulgated in the middle of the last century, and have been increasing ever since, hastened their downfall, by bringing into contempt all notions of anything like association and legislation upon such points. The apprenticeship principle was vigorously denounced by ADAM SMITH and his followers; and all corporate bodies were derided as injurious monopolies. This, like all other new doctrines, was pursued with a species of fanaticism, and carried to an extreme that it is beginning to be felt was unjust and unsound.

The great Guilds of the middle ages were very noble institutions, and if like the Church and the Law they required reform, they did not deserve destruction. Had they been judiciously reformed, they would have been of vast advantage to modern society. They would have done much to mitigate the sufferings of the operative classes; they would have prevented that alienation between the masses and their employers, which is found to be producing so many sad, not to say dangerous, effects. Had every Guild attended to its own craft, it must have resulted in good. The very organization would have been beneficial, and the benefits to the arts and to manufactures great. They might have been the medium for that communication between Masters and Men, which a special Committee of the House of Commons is now seeking to promote. They might have effected, in fact, an amount of good, both of an artistic and a philanthropic kind, which is now imperfectly performed by other means. One fatal thing they themselves performed for their own destruction. They admitted to the rights of their corporation the sons of freemen, disregarding of their not being of the trade and craft of the Guild. This fatal error rendered them a mass of individual atoms, having no interests, no pursuits, no rights in common. From the time they did this, they became mere formal associations, without any real vitality or use. Having abandoned the only bond that could hold them together, Uniformity of Trade and occupation, they subsisted only on their accumulated property, and have now become so many fanciful institutions.

There is, however, we firmly believe, yet a real life in them if it could only be ingeniously brought forth. They have still left in them all the scaffolding of effective associations; and, skilfully treated, they yet might materially benefit the crafts they represent, and so society generally. It would seem that such is the opinion of some of their more enlightened members; and we have been carried into this train of thought and dissertation by having presented to our notice a very laudable effort to revive the utility of the old corporations, and to adapt them to living manners and circumstances. The able and intelligent master of the Painter-Stainers' Company, one of the most ancient of the city guilds, has put forth a plan which is certainly likely to arouse the attention and excite the efforts of the operatives engaged in house painting and decoration, which he very properly styles arts. He seems to have thoroughly mastered his subject, and has not sought, with any antiquarian dilettanteism, to revive any obsolete ceremonies or forms, or even usages, but comes at once to utilizing the powers and means of the Guild to modern requirements. We cannot better show his plan than by his circular addressed to his own trade:—"The powers of the various Guilds are not maintainable under their bylaws, and it must be acknowledged they have fallen into desuetude, and operate in restraint of trade. I consider, however, by substituting emulation for coercion, that the Guilds (especially those where skilful handicraft is required) might yet maintain as bodies a firm and useful position in society; and my suggestion for effecting this, as relates to this company, consists in inviting the workmen, artificers, and artists connected with painting and decoration, to submit their works annually to public inspection; their merits to be judged by competent persons. The public exhibition of such works to take place at the company's ancient hall."

This is a judicious step, and in the right direction, and is greatly to be commended and encouraged. It must delight Mr. Ruskin, and all the true lovers of art, who know how much depends on the imparting an intellectual and artistic feeling to the actual operating artisan. In no other way can really fine work be produced. Should this simple example take effect, as we have no doubt but it will, it may give a beneficial impetus to all other guilds, which, in the like way, may do much to improve art and elevate the mind of the artisan, and so raise his position in society, and amend his physical as well as artistic condition. Should Mr. Sewell, the originator of this notion, succeed, with the aid of his assistants, the Painter-Stainers' Company, in his laudable attempt, he may not improbably lead to "a city revival" which may excel other revivals, of which we have heard so much in America and elsewhere; and a great social problem may be solved—that of bringing into one focus the interests of the Employers and the Employed.

RAILWAY INVESTMENTS IN CANADA.*

THE subject of colonial and foreign railway management is likely soon to become one of great interest to a large number of persons in this country. Those on the American continent seem first to claim our attention. The aggregate amount of British capital invested in the bonds and shares of railways in the United States and Canada must be something very formidable—probably not less than one hundred millions sterling. How much of this amount consists of share, and how much of bonded or preference capital, we are unable to estimate, except in particular cases. In respect to the Canadian railways, we have more accurate data to go upon. Both classes of securities are mainly held here, and the lines themselves are under English management. This circumstance, however, can scarcely be regarded as a recommendation to British investors. There has been too much mismanagement of this description of property at home to afford guarantees that greater judgment and economy, or more honesty, can be supposed to exist where the same class of men are sent to manage similar undertakings abroad. If suspicion can arise respecting the acts and policy of directors when the property to be managed lies, as it were, under the immediate supervision of its owners, and having the ever-watchful eye of the independent press of this country upon them, what grounds for apprehension must there be where none of these considerations can be brought to bear!

Nearly thirty years of railway management at home have served in some degree to accumulate a stock of experience which we are only just learning how to apply; but who can estimate in pounds, shillings, and pence the cost of such experience? How many thousands of the less cautious or more confiding members of society have been partially or wholly ruined by trusting to the specious reports of directors, stockbrokers, and other interested parties! Although the bulk of the proprietors may travel daily over the lines in which their money has become locked up, how next to impossible has it been found to get anything like a correct insight into the details of their management!

With regard to railway direction abroad, it is only natural to expect from it a complication of the same evils complained of at home. Our great province of Canada is likely to afford us the first exemplification of the correctness of this assumption. We have, besides lending the Province about twelve millions, which we consider a good investment, advanced near twenty millions to build an unrivalled system of railways from one end of Canada to the other. Whether any considerable portion of this latter sum will ever afford any return to those who have supplied it, seems almost problematical. At any rate, it behoves the proprietors in Canadian railways to look sharp after their property. We learn that the process of foreclosure is very active at the present time in the neighbouring States. The failure of companies to meet the interest on their bonded debt is affording active employment to courts and lawyers. Scarcely a week passes without decrees wiping out, as if with a sponge, millions of dollars of share capital.

There is the Erie with its twelve millions, the Michigan Southern with its six or seven millions, the Marietta and Cincinnati with five millions, and numerous others just undergoing the last agonies of extinction. Unless there is a great amendment in business—a material change in management and policy, the inexorable bond or preference shareholder will soon demand his pound of flesh in Canada.

On the present occasion the Great Western of Canada calls for our attention. This line forms a short cut across the western peninsula of the province, extending from the Falls of Niagara to Windsor, opposite Detroit. A more particular description is not deemed requisite, as it is to be presumed that each proprietor has informed himself of the *locus in quo* of his property. The future business of the line, when it was introduced into this market, was predicated mainly upon its being a link in a great chain of railway communication between New York and Boston, on the Atlantic seaboard, and the teeming and almost fabulously growing West.

It was also represented as certain to become a link in the then projected Grand Trunk, which was to run from Hamilton to Portland and Quebec, communicating with Lake Ontario at the former place.

As a link in the great American chain, it was claimed to be—and correctly, no doubt—fifty or sixty miles shorter than the lines south of Lake Erie. Those railways, which were to form its immediate allies and connections—the New York and Michigan Central Lines—were of easier gradients, and both passengers and freight could thus be transported cheaper and more rapidly than by any other route. Add to these striking features the representation made that the line from the Falls of Niagara—two hundred and twenty-eight miles long—was not to cost over a million and a half of pounds, and no one need be surprised that the capital was forthcoming to carry it into effect.

We cannot stop to trace the history of its early management, nor would it be read at this time. The question for inquiry now is, how has a work, possessing such transcendent merits in points of location and connections, failed to realize the hopes and predictions of its first patrons? It is not our province to enter into details. A Committee of Inquiry has been demanded by a portion of the shareholders, and has been conceded by the directors for appointment at

the semi-annual meeting, to be held at the London Tavern on Wednesday next. To them will belong the task of entering into all the acts and policy of those who are responsible for the present state of things. The making up a dividend, partly out of the remission by the Canadian Government of the interest on its loan to the Company, and partly by economizing the construction account, until the wooden bridges and permanent way have become unsafe, can scarcely be regarded by the proprietors as satisfactory.*

From the information we have before us, and which challenges inquiry, it would seem that the chief cause of the depreciation of the Canada Great Western property is to be found in the amplification of the same policy that has so greatly diluted nearly all English railway investments, namely, the expenditure of large sums in the construction of non-paying branches and extensions, under the mistaken notion that they were to become important "feeders."

In the case of this line, the proprietors, it would seem, have not only thrown away in this manner nearly a million sterling, or thirty per cent. of their share capital, upon wholly unproductive undertakings, but they have excited the hostility of their best allies, the Michigan and New York Central Railroad Companies. At the inception of the Great Western of Canada, these Companies, regarding their own success and prosperity to be closely identified with the Canadian line, subscribed for and paid up eight hundred thousand dollars of its capital. Three seats were provided for the American directors at the Hamilton Board, two of which were filled by the presidents of the two Central Companies. This circumstance gave additional confidence to the English public, who were shortly afterwards appealed to, and whose subscriptions soon led to the sending out of a managing director. As each English contribution of money to the concern added fresh strength to this gentleman's position, he very quickly engrossed to himself the entire management of the line. The American gentlemen became alarmed at his extravagance and want of discretion, to say nothing of his inexperience, for he had never held a position at home above an assistant secretaryship in a London office. They therefore came to the conclusion to sell out the investment which they had induced their companies to make in the undertaking, so soon as an opportunity presented itself. This occurred shortly after the opening of the line in 1854.

From the retirement of these gentlemen up to the present time, each year has added more or less to the capital account, until it has risen from its original estimate of a million and a half to five millions—of which two millions is bonded debt. Meantime, a growing hostility has been the result of the withdrawal of the American directors. This was caused by the manifest policy of the Great Western manager to do all in his power to divert business from the two great connecting lines, which, it is asserted, give the Canadian Company fully one half, and that, too, the best paying half of its business.

The building of the Sarnia branch, which terminates at the foot of Lake Huron, was the first grand blunder in this way. That might have passed without exciting any jealousy on the part of the Michigan Central Company, because the managers of that Company saw that a line terminating on Lake Huron, which is closed up half the year by ice, and which during navigation could not be expected to draw away business from its own western sources of traffic, would only injure those who supplied the money to build it. In fact, they simply regarded the expenditure of four or five hundred thousand pounds upon it as so much money thrown away, and which only concerned those who found it.

Even when the Detroit and Milwaukie line, which runs across the State of Michigan in a parallel course with the Central line of that State, was first projected, the directors of the Central Company were favourably disposed towards the enterprise. They considered it as calculated to develop the material resources of the State; and relying upon the strength of their own position, as forming the shortest railway route, unbroken by lake navigation, to the west, they were pleased to see the Detroit and Milwaukie line undertaken by English capitalists. It could not at this time have entered any sane man's head that the Great Western Company would ever attempt, as they have since done, to assume the proprietorship of this Detroit and Milwaukie line. The effect of this state of things is thus narrated in one of the pamphlets before us:—

"The cause of this want of harmony will be found in the unfortunate policy of the directors, which has led to the taking up and working of the Detroit and Milwaukie, as part and parcel of the Great Western line. The more thoroughly to identify the two companies, the directors, or a portion of them, both in England and Canada, have accepted seats at the Detroit Board, and the Great Western managing director has become its president. In furtherance of this plan, the two English directors in Canada, as already stated, have become personally interested, (it is to be assumed with the approbation of their co-directors), in the steamers forming the connection across Lake Michigan between Grand Haven and Milwaukie."

"It will thus be seen that whilst it was the true policy of the Great Western Company to do nothing to damage the interests of their great American allies (the New York and Michigan Central Companies), it has become the direct interest of the Canadian managers to divert from the Michigan Central line and over the Detroit and Milwaukie, all the traffic in their power, in order to give employment to their steamers."

This very clearly explains how so promising a property has been reduced to the brink of ruin by want of judgment in the management. If the proprietors should find, upon inquiry, that the facts which we have laid before them are well founded, it seems obvious that the sooner they retrace their steps the better. A return to the original policy will, to some extent, retrieve the value of their investment, though it can never bring back the hundreds of thousands so reck-

* Great Western Railway of Canada: A few Facts relative to its Present Position and Management. Effingham Wilson.

Great Western Railway of Canada: Things not generally known in England; or the true Policy of the Company. By H. BOWLSBY WILSON, Esq., of Hamilton, Canada.

* See Engineer's Report on the "General Condition of Works," page 25 of Directors' Report.

lessly squandered. If the two powerful American companies want to use their line, and are found to be their best customers, in all conscience let them have their full swing, provided they give a fair and remunerating price; and if they exact good faith and reciprocity in return, let them be met frankly and fairly. We would even venture to suggest that the American parties who appear to have been the first promoters, if not the originators of the Canadian Railway, should again be offered a share in its management. Their local experience, and the powerful interest they have in sending their business through Canada, afford the strongest guarantees of their usefulness. Better far do this, assuming our information to be correct, than continue a policy which must eventuate in the construction of a competing line across the Canadian peninsula, for which a charter has been granted by the provincial legislature.

The effect of constructing this projected parallel railway may be better judged of when it is stated that it will be thirty miles shorter and have far easier gradients. It will also be of the narrow gauge—the same as the American lines, and thus save the cost and delay of transshipment at each terminus. Its cost, unencumbered by non-paying branches, it is affirmed, will be so comparatively small, that the money can be raised upon a simple agreement on the part of the two powerful American companies to lease the new line at the inconsiderable sum of £120,000 a-year. We say inconsiderable, because it is only about six per cent. of the gross average earnings of these companies for the last few years. Let this alternative be forced upon the Americans, and it must be seen, at a glance, that the Great Western share capital, if not also the bonded, must be speedily annihilated.

We have not alluded to the circumstances which knocked the Great Western of Canada out of the Grand Trunk Chain. This was the result, we believe, of bad faith on the part of the Canadian Government, which controlled the location of the latter railway, and made its western extension to London and Sarnia independent of the Great Western, contrary to an express understanding.

Our remarks, if they serve no other purpose, will, we trust, have the effect of pointing out the necessity there exists for greater vigilance on the part of those who have invested largely in colonial and foreign undertakings, whether managed by Englishmen or not. Nothing, perhaps, would have a more salutary effect upon the administration of such property than the bringing to bear with full force the criticisms of the independent press of this country. Colonial and foreign papers, and especially American, are but little read here, and their statements are still less heeded; whilst those home journals specially devoted to railways seldom take the trouble to go beyond official statements for their information.

HUMBOLDT'S CONFIDENCES TO VARNHAGEN VON ENSE.

From Varnhagen's Diary:—

"HUMBOLDT remarked to GANS, after the Revolution of July, Believe me, my friend, my wishes are as ardent as yours for the success of the new Government, but my hopes are very faint. These forty years past I have seen the rulers in Paris come and go, ever falling by their own incapacity, fresh promises succeed each other never to be fulfilled, and the same road to destruction is trodden again and again. I have been intimate with most men of the day, and in some of them I confided; there were excellent and well-meaning men amongst them, but they did not hold fast to their principles, and soon became no better than their predecessors; often they degenerated into something worse, greater rascals. No Government up to the present has kept faith with the people, none have made their selfishness subordinate to the common weal. Till the rulers can do this no power will be stable in France: the nation has been constantly deceived, and will be deceived again,—then again it will punish the falsehood and the deceit, for it is strong enough and ripe enough to do that."

11th May, 1836.

"Early this morning ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT came to see me, and stayed an hour and-a-half. The chief subject of our conversation was the French princes, who have just arrived. The king is in a considerable dilemma; he would gladly show them every attention, but would make it appear at St. Petersburg that every attention was a rudeness. The minister ARCELLOS did not venture to acquaint the crown prince with the certainty of their coming, but left him to obtain a chance knowledge of it. Our princes became much excited about it, and cursed the unwelcome visit; the princesses AUGUSTA and MARY, who spoke favourably of it, were sharply rebuked. It was said an uproar would occur on their appearance at the play; some would cheer, but more, it was to be hoped, would hiss. At Trier a demonstration of this kind has already been made. Nevertheless our princes, in spite of their annoyance, will be very polite, the king's wishes upon this point having been too positively pronounced. The Queen of the Netherlands, who is at present here, and who is supposed to be the most inveterate, sets the example, declaring her readiness to receive the strangers into her house. Both the ambassador, M. BRESSON, and M. von HUMBOLDT counselled against the visit, but it has taken place, and, as it would appear, at the instigation of Prince METTERNICH, who is desirous of obtaining the support of France in the Oriental question, yet at the same time without displeasing Russia. He therefore pushes Prussia forward, after whose example the reception of the French princes will be but proper and a natural consequence. It is an event of great importance, and will be of great effect upon the views and intentions of parties, a fact which speaks for itself. Our

court, every one will think, has either forsaken the principles it has appeared to support hitherto, or that it is too feeble to maintain them, and must therefore pretend to others. In both cases bad!"

3rd May, 1837.

"M. VON HUMBOLDT was with me yesterday, and brought me the little pamphlet by the Minister VON KAMPTZ, 'Casus in Terminis,' of which only twenty-five copies have been printed. In this he represents the change of the French dynasty in the best light, and defends the Mecklenburg marriage. The marriage is still opposed. Duke CHARLES of Mecklenburg Strelitz has regularly intrigued against it, and has striven to form a party in the Mecklenburg and Prussian family, a fraternal union and pledge against all marriages with the House of ORLEANS; there was, in fact, some talk of a formal protest. All this is in the most violent opposition to the express will of the King. Duke CHARLES is now really ill from annoyance and worry, not only about this affair, but others."

May 17th, 1837.

"The Princess HELENA gained a victory over many a rough and obstinate nature by her gentleness and her superior mind. It was thoroughly ridiculous to see how some persons exerted themselves to appear grave, dignified, and—silly. She goes with the greatest joy—at which I am heartily delighted—to her new country. I could wish her to cross the Rhine with some followers less. The mother is worthy and accomplished, but shy, and other parties of her suite were better left on this side of the Rhine. Fortunately in the French great world there is an absence of that petty mockery and scandal which rules in Berlin and Potsdam, where for months together people pick to pieces a caricature of their own dull imaginations."

August 9th, 1838.

"HUMBOLDT told me in the course of a lengthened visit, the news from Toplitz. The King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia have mutually avoided being alone together, each fearing awkward explanations. The Emperor on several occasions spoke contemptuously of the present system of government in France, and worse of King LOUIS PHILIPPE in particular. Prince METTERNICH was easy and cheerful, free from care for the present, but still hugged the gloomy idea that with the death of LOUIS PHILIPPE a change would occur, and war be inevitable. Is it, I ask, his object to impress others with the same idea? In receiving opinions from METTERNICH, it is necessary to examine how far they tally with his own immediate interests."

February 21st, 1842.

"HUMBOLDT gives me a fine account of England. At court the greatest pomp, but the style of living simple and natural, the conversation easy, the tone altogether pleasant and goodnatured, even between ladies and gentlemen connected with opposite parties. PEEL does not please him now any more than of yore; he looks like a Dutchman, is more conceited than ambitious, has petty views. Lord ABERDEEN is a taciturn block, but does not succeed by silence in making people believe that he can talk very sensibly if he pleases. BUNSEN has committed the greatest blunders; all the world is against him, but the king more than ever for him. The journey of the king, altogether, was an intrigue of BUNSEN'S: so say even the English."

April 1st, 1846.

BUNSEN has not improved in understanding; he has advised the king to purchase California, to send missionaries thither, and so forth. He patronises the enterprise of Mrs. HELFERT, and will send his own son with her, and invest twelve thousand pounds of his own property to found a settlement by which missionaries might be encouraged; he withdrew, however, his offer on perceiving that the king's support was uncertain. Mrs. HELFERT, meanwhile, has received only ten thousand thalers from the king; the minister ROTHEN has thwarted her schemes, but had to despatch two agents to report upon the state of her possessions in the East Indies. The king's patronage for a settlement in Texas has been sought, of course mixed up with religious interests. HUMBOLDT wrote BUNSEN a sharp letter of advice, calling upon him to warn EICHORN, and requesting to consider the hatred which the conduct of that man was exciting, and which fell upon the king; he spoke to him in my presence to the same effect, fully and clearly. BUNSEN, however, who had spoken zealously with him about two hours upon Egypt, replied not a syllable to all this, but rose and went away. HUMBOLDT thinks him vain enough to accept office here. I think HUMBOLDT is altogether too intimate and friendly with BUNSEN! HUMBOLDT thinks the queen has no preference for the Catholic religion; she is, on the contrary, thoroughly Protestant, and more religiously zealous than even the king, whom she encourages in this direction. She would effect more if she comprehended the matter better."

June 26, 1844.

"General LEOPOLD VON GERLACH, who is fond of his jest, took the liberty lately of venturing an attack upon HUMBOLDT, and said to him, 'Your Excellency doubtless goes now frequently to church.' This was said with the view to confuse HUMBOLDT. He, however, instantly rejoined: 'That is certainly a very kind inquiry of yours just now. You, no doubt, wish to point out how I might try to push my fortune in the world.' The cutting hypocrite was struck dumb. HUMBOLDT assured me that, but for his connexion with the Court, he could not live in Berlin; he would be banished; so greatly was he hated by the ultras and the sham pious. Every means was adopted to set the king against him; in other countries of Germany he would not be tolerated either so soon as he were to lose the protection and halo of his position."

"1846.

"The abilities of one of the * * * princes was the subject of conversation, and the general opinion was, that they were of a very ordinary kind. HUMBOLDT contradicted. 'I must dispute that,' said he; 'the young prince lately spoke with me; he met me waiting in his mother's apartments, and asked, 'Who are you?' I replied, 'My name is HUMBOLDT.' 'And what are you?' I: 'I am the chamberlain of His Majesty the King.' 'Is that all?' curtly broke off the Prince, turned on his heel, and went his way. That is unquestionably a proof of understanding."

"Feb. 21, 1847.

"At the request of Prince ALBERT when he was at Stolzenfels, I caused a copy of the *Kosmos* to be laid upon his table. He had the politeness not to thank me for it. Now, the Black Eagle has made him polite, that, as well as — he makes me talk about 'circling oceans of light' and 'star terraces,' a Coburgian variation upon my text, quite English, from Windsor, where everything is full of terraces. In the *Kosmos*, page 159, is the star canopy, to explain, by openings, the starless spots. The book upon the Mexican Monuments which he has presented me I bought two years ago. An edition of Lord BYRON's works would have been more delicate. It is singular, too, that no mention is made of QUEEN VICTORIA, who, perhaps, deems my books upon Nature not Christian. You see, I judge severely when princes write."

Prince Albert to Humboldt.

"Windsor Castle, Feb. 7th, 1847.

"Respected Baron,—I have, during the gradual reading of the first volume of your *Kosmos*, continually felt myself impelled to express to you my repeated thanks for the great intellectual enjoyment which this study has afforded me. To be sure I am not able to bestow upon you in this case, as a return present, a sententious judgment on your excellent work, which I received out of your own hands.

"But, however, in want of such, to lend at least a certain external weight to the expression of my thanks, I send you the enclosed work, Catherwood's *Views on Central America*, which, as a supplement to your own great work on Spanish America, might perhaps engage your attention. I need not say with what lively expectation I am looking forward to the appearance of the second volume of the *Kosmos*.

"May it please Heaven, 'whose circling seas of light and star terraces' you depict so gloriously, to keep you yet many years in undisturbed health of body and soul, for the fatherland, the world, and the *Kosmos*.

"This is the sincere wish of

"Yours truly,

ALBERT."

Humboldt to Varnhagen.

"February 27th, 1847.

"You were right to scold me for my harshness towards the man of the *star terraces*. I am only severe with the mighty; and with this man, while at Stolzenfels, I did not feel at ease. I know you sympathize with the misfortunes of the Russian Poles, but, unfortunately, the Poles deserve our sympathy as little as do the Irish.—*Mihi dixit*, and he is the handsome husband of the Queen of Great Britain."

"November 4th, 1849.

"How important is the news from Paris! The imprudent, thoughtless LOUIS NAPOLEON will, probably, obtain the *consulat à vie*; but he will fall, and awake the slumbering lion. Freedom will not lose by it; and German statesmen (are there any except VON GAGERN?) will then perceive that the France of 1789 still exists in Europe—that France, whose nullity has been a by-word this year past. The centres of gravitation are changing places."

"July 2nd, 1850.

"I am glad, in this gloomy period of reaction, to receive so pleasant a token from your hand. My dear friend, I am happy to hear of your journey to Kiel—to that little region, where German sentiments find utterance so consistent and free.—The state of the nations resembles the bottle of water which D'ALEMBERT shook to produce a maze of bubbles of different angles. He then said, in ridicule of that science in which he himself was so great, *Calculez-moi cela!* Many of the bubbles will burst before their transitory forms can be diplomatically calculated.

Varnhagen's Diary.

"January 29th, 1852.

"At one o'clock, HUMBOLDT came. Wonderfully active for his years. Is exasperated at the *coup d'état* in France, at the daring violence, the arbitrary banishments, particularly the robbery of the ORLEANS family. The King was at first overjoyed at the news. The deed of villany perpetrated against the people, against their representatives, against right and his solemn oath, is not so obnoxious to the King and the Court; but that the adventurer leans upon the people, exercises socialism, and will be Emperor besides, that makes him detestable! * * * HUMBOLDT says it is an undoubted fact that LOUIS NAPOLEON is the son of Admiral VERHUEL, his brother MORNAY a son of General FLAHAULT, who lived with both sisters—the Queen of Holland and the Queen of Naples. Of PERSIGNY—ITALIN DE PERSIGNY—he speaks with the utmost contempt; he is a coarse, uncultivated subaltern, who nevertheless has the presumption to pretend to produce something new about the pyramids."

"August 11th, 1855.

"Of the Prince of Prussia, HUMBOLDT said, the Prince had asserted at St. Petersburg, as he had formerly done at Berlin, that the war might have been avoided if Prussia had at the outset taken a decided step, for then the Emperor NICHOLAS would have given way. The Imperial family lived happily together, the Grand Duke CONSTANTINE included, who did not appear so dangerous as represented. The Empress mother had said they were all mere children, she had to remain with them to maintain order. The war is severely felt, everything at a standstill; the country nearly destitute of men, though not so numerous either; Poland, the Baltic provinces, and Finland feebly supplied with troops, the main part of the army being in the Crimea; the losses are tremendous, and impossible to be supplied; GORTSCHAKOFF reports the daily combats cost him from 180 to 200 men, a frightful number in a month. NESSELRODE thinks of fresh negotiations, but first heavy blows must fall upon one side or the other; they are not without fears for Sebastopol."

"March 7th, 1858.

"I presume, dear friend, you have not yet come into possession of the indiscreet, I may say, almost inane work of NORMANBY'S."

"March 8th.

"HUMBOLDT sends me, with a friendly line, the book written by the Marquis of NORMANBY upon the Revolution of 1818. He terms it an indiscreet and almost inane work; I call it a stupid one, and, judging by the contents, a treacherous one; it proves how injurious it is to allow diplomatic interference, more especially non-official, as was that of the Marquis. CAVAIGNAC as well as LAMARTINE gave too much ear to his counsels. He is one of the dullest and most irksome of Englishmen. March 9th: Read more of NORMANBY. He is a sorry wight, but the meanness of LOUIS PHILIPPE, the wickedness of GUIZOT, the ruinous influence of the cringers and cheats, we may learn from his bad book. For the rest he is a master in the art of levelling everything that is animating and sparkling in the mightiest events to a deadening wearisomeness."

We hear that this work is already out of print in Germany; 15,000 copies having been sold. The interest in it continues unabated, and is likely to do so.

HENRY IV. OF FRANCE.*

LE BEARNAIS is one of the most favourite figures of European history; and those who like him least, must make up their minds to the avowal that no amount of evidence which may be brought forward to prove him unworthy of that favour, will succeed in depriving him of it. He is exactly the monarch in whom the whole world can take an interest—an interest which scarcely reaches with the majority to the great political schemes attributed to the king, or the valuable administrative reforms effected by Sully, and other ministers in his name, but centres around the man, his exploits and his peccadilloes. It is that scampishness which forms so large an element in his character, indeed, that makes him such a favourite. It is, we will not say a sad, but an unflattering truth, that great and inflexible virtue seldom or ever makes its possessor popular. He is esteemed and respected; but people shun his society, and prefer that of some clever scapegrace known to be always up to mischief, and quite as likely to make them his next victims as anybody else. The virtuous man is so far above his fellows, that they can feel no sympathy with or for him; the scamp, whose misdeeds are redeemed by wit and good humour, comes down to the general level, and will always find persons to extenuate his follies, and lend him a helping hand out of his scrapes. Just so it is in history. The great kings and potentates who have kept themselves free from all follies are remembered for the deeds they have accomplished, and the influence they have exerted upon national or general history; but no one cares to trace the details of their career, and study the decorous dullness of their private life. But let the great king have been a good companion, a man of easy morals and easy manners, and at once his history becomes interesting, and chroniclers without number fasten upon him. We must not be unjust, however, to that much-suffering lay figure, the world. It takes no interest in vice itself when unredeemed by valour and wit. It reads with pleasure the story of Henri Quatre,—his fickleness, his ingratitude, and his amours; it likes to hear even of the pranks of our own Charles II.; but it cares nothing at all for information about Louis Quinze or George the Fourth, sinners and nothing more.

As the world will therefore hear of Henry IV., it naturally follows that histories of him abound, some written by partisans and some by enemies, but all, however strong the party bias of the writer, influenced, somewhat to indulgence and admiration, by that happy manner, that dashing, adventurous spirit which made even those he had most shamefully deserted still cling to the king with affectionate attachment. The most valuable contribution of later years to the history of Henry's reign is undoubtedly the exhaustive work of M. Poinson, the result of more than fifteen years' intense devotion to the subject; but able as the book is it possesses comparatively little interest for the general reader. Two-thirds of it are occupied in a history of the political, administrative, religious, literary, and industrial condition of France at the time,

* *History of the Reign of Henry IV., King of France and Navarra. Part I. Henry IV., and the League.* By MARTHA W. FREER. Two Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

and the special progress made in each of these fields during the reign of Henry; whilst about one-fourth is devoted to a succinct history of the reign, which gives little of the romantic incident which lends the charm to Henry's career. The value of the bulk of the book to those who desire to understand the actual condition of France at the period is immense; but as we have said, the majority of those who turn to the history of Henry IV. do so for the life and adventures of the king. Miss Freer seems to have perfectly comprehended this truth, and her two volumes are a spirited history of Henry and his daring exploits from his accession to the throne to the capture of Paris, which virtually established his sovereignty over France. As a picture of those exploits, and a narrative of the most interesting portions of those dreadful wars, of the whole forty years' horror of which Davila has so well if not so fairly told us the story, Miss Freer's work is deserving of all commendation. We may especially give her credit for the ability with which she has treated the awkward subject of Henry's *amours*. It would be impossible to write the life or reign of Henry IV. without frequently mentioning his mistresses. They played too important a part in the history, influenced so much the course of each campaign and the policy of the amorous monarch, to be left unnamed; whilst it would be impossible, in a book written for the English society of these days, to dwell upon their scandalous stories. Miss Freer has avoided the difficulty with great judgment. She will, however, find the task more difficult when she comes to the last years of her hero's reign—her hero, in good truth, for although as a lady she of course rates him soundly for his misconduct, and presents with great fairness the consequences of his follies and caprices, still Henry is a hero to her, just as he is to the laborious M. Poinson.

On this point, however, we must differ from Miss Freer and M. Poinson; and, useless as it may be to run a tilt against a generally accepted conclusion, avow our own opinion that Henry the Fourth, although brave, able, witty, and courteous, was in the main little better than the best abused monarchs of his house. We are not unjust enough to try him by the standard of an advanced civilization, and a purer morality. But a monarch who persistently sacrificed his duties to his pleasures, and the childish excesses of whose subservience to the rising favourite were balanced by a heartless abandonment of the declining one, is not protected from reprobation by the indulgence which the licence of that age compels us to allow to all its heroes. It might have been excusable in a "captain of cavalry," as Napoleon, in depreciation of his military talents, called him, to waste his time in romantic adventures and sensual excesses; but it is impossible to acquit the King of France, who loses the opportunity of capturing Paris to play the gallant to the Abbess of Montmartre, and risks not only his own life but the lives of his devoted army, by leaving it for a day or two, to visit, in the disguise of a miller, Gabrielle D'Estrées. We will not dwell on such follies; but who can feel respect for the monarch, or even for the man, who suffered "*la charmante Gabrielle*," if not to die, at least to die unavenged; bought Henriette D'Entraques of her father for a certain number of crowns, and, when nearly sixty, exposed himself to the greatest humiliations, and perilled the peace of his country in his mad dotard's passion for the child Princess De Condé? And what can be said in favour of the great king, either as Protestant or Catholic? His religion was, indeed, merely a cloak, without which he would have been nipped in the very bud of his ambitious enterprises. By his profession of Protestantism alone, he maintained himself in the position to claim the throne of France when it legally devolved upon him. By the enthusiastic acceptance of him by the Huguenots as their chief, and by the immense sacrifices they made, he was enabled first to resist the deadly enmity of the Guises, who did not hate him as a Protestant, but as an obstacle to their projects, and then to compel the adherence of those Catholic subjects who joined him against the League. Protestantism did everything for Henry, and the moment he had obtained from it all that it could give, he abjured it, and became a Catholic. If political necessities, or, in other words, his own ambitious interests, made this step inevitable, as the historians who commend his wisdom, and even his self-sacrifice, magniloquently assert,—at all events, they did not oblige him to be ungrateful to the old friends who had ruined themselves in his cause, and to bestow all honours and rewards upon the relatives of his mistresses, or the men who had fought most hard against him, and only accepted his sovereignty because they could no longer resist it.

This sensuality, this ingratitude, this thoughtlessness, this indifference to the feelings or services of his friends, so long as his own pleasures were not interfered with, are indelible stains upon the character of Henry, and led him into many a fault which rises up against him in condemnation. True, against these defects his admirers may set his generosity and easiness, but the generosity was of that spurious kind much practised in our own days. Henry was generous enough of the property and labour of other persons, and his easiness was merely a dislike to being troubled himself. With all, however, he was very brave; had moments of high feeling, and if he did not sketch out great schemes of European policy himself, could adopt them from others. Michelet (we think) summing up his vices and virtues, his faults, follies, and abilities, says that, after all, he was but a type of the France of his day. And of our day, too; for France is really little changed. Paris ruled France in the days of Henry, rules it more completely now; and the spirit of Paris, the outside, the veneer of civilization, with all the old ferocity and lust of war and rapine underneath, is the spirit which rules the France of to-day, and renders Europe uneasy and distrustful, whilst the old projects of Henry IV. for a re-arrangement of

Europe are again brought forward as the basis upon which the policy of France should rest. There must have been some stuff in the man whose spirit, after two hundred and fifty years, yet animates the hearts of his countrymen, but all the efforts of his admirers fail to make Henri Quatre a *preux chevalier*, or a great king.

ROMANCES AND TALES.*

THE author of *The Living among the Dead* has not attached any especial meaning to the above title, which would be equally applicable to any other work of fiction yet upon record, simply signifying the different emotions, passions, and feelings continually enacting around the monuments of our forefathers. This book is decidedly well written, though the incidents are somewhat too much huddled together, and there is an evident want of tact in the arrangement of the characters. The author has also fallen into the fatal error of introducing towards the conclusion three or four retrospective chapters explanatory of events which occurred long before the commencement of his story, and recording the past lives and misfortunes of persons in most of whom, since they have never been presented bodily upon the scene, the reader cannot be supposed to take the slightest interest. This is perhaps the greatest mistake a writer of fiction could possibly commit; it destroys at once all that he has been labouring so long and earnestly to achieve. The sympathy of the reader, thus cut off from the main thread of the story, gradually subsides into weariness and indifference, and before the end of one of these seemingly interminable digressions, becomes completely obliterated; and it requires that the last two or three chapters should be replete with incidents of the most stirring and elevating nature to enable the author to recover the ground he has thus unconsciously lost. *The Living among the Dead*, however, notwithstanding the blemishes above enumerated, possesses considerable merit. Two or three of the characters are well conceived, and the tone throughout is thoroughly healthy and free from all morbid tendencies. We have no doubt that it will enhance the reputation of the author.

A number of tales, entitled *Storied Traditions of Scottish Life*, form a volume of odd and, to such as feel an interest in this peculiar kind of lore, not unpleasant reading. All the tales are remarkably well told, and in some instances wrought up to a climax of no ordinary excitement. The story of "Sergeant Davies's Ghost," which at its termination surprised us into a hearty fit of laughter, deserves a slight sketch at our hands. We give it as follows:—The supposed ghost of Sergeant Davies appears to Sandy McPherson and commissions him to inter with due decency his mouldering remains, which at the time lie exposed on Christie Hill; he also delivers up to him the names of his murderers, Duncan Clerk and Alexander Macdonald. The noise of this affair gets bruited abroad, and inquiries are instituted by the civil authorities, which end in the above-mentioned parties being committed for trial. They are, however, ultimately acquitted by their countrymen. Soon after this Duncan Clerk receives his "quietus" in this world, and his widow becomes thereupon open to the addresses of one Allan McNab, an old and never-wearying suitor, who, in the hope of gaining her favour, promises to bring the traducer of her late husband to justice upon the charge of perjury. After a short lapse of time Agnes Clerk, during a lonely walk through an unfrequented path, encounters a figure bearing the semblance of her deceased lord. The seeming apparition with as little delay as possible reveals the object of his visitation, namely, that his conscience pricks him for the wrongs he committed while in the flesh to the aforesaid Allan McNab; he therefore exhorts his widow to make him adequate compensation by bestowing upon him her hand. The poor woman stands for a few moments in mental perplexity and doubt; suddenly a new light breaks in upon her, and, darting forward, she seizes hold of the arm of the would-be spectre, delivering herself in the following oracular manner: "The deevil's in ye for a false loon, but you're Allan McNab himsel'! and what's mair, ye were the ghost o' Sergeant Davies!"

Say and Seal, by Miss Wetherell, fully justifies the authoress's former reputation. Two editions are published of this extraordinary work. It is, perhaps, the best of this excellent writer's productions, possessing in the highest degree all that simplicity of style, purity of sentiment, and self-development of character for which her works are remarkable. We have only to add that the more expensive edition of this work is profusely illustrated.

MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS.†

THE plan of this little *Stepping Stone* is clear and simple, and really calculated to ensure to the learner a sound knowledge of Greek. It is divided into eleven parts, containing Gospel extracts, fables from Aesop, easy odes from Anacreon, &c. These extracts are also construed into English, thus making the work a first-rate stepping-stone for beginners. By the easy, and at the same time thoroughly sound and critical method adopted by the compiler, the learner may soon acquire a knowledge of the Greek tongue.

* *The Living among the Dead*. A Story founded on Facts. By the Author of "Blenheim." Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co.

Storied Traditions of Scottish Life. By ALEXANDER LEIGHTON. Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo; Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

Say and Seal. By the Author of "Wide Wide World," and "Dollars and Cents." Another Edition of same, illustrated. Richard Bentley.

† *Pontes Classici*. No. II. A *Stepping Stone* from the Beginning of Greek Grammar to Xenophon. By the Rev. JOHN DAY COLLIS, M.A., London: Longman and Co.

Mr. Smith, in his *Hæmorrhoids, their Pathology and Treatment*,* evinces a sound knowledge of the diseases on which he treats; and, from the numerous cases which he publishes, it appears he has successfully pursued his particular treatment of a class of very serious and painful complaints.

A very interesting story about *Riflemen and Rifles*, written by Mr. N. Thornton, is published by Whittaker and Co., London.

The *Cure of the Sick* is certainly a popular and sensible treatise. Dr. Spurgin, in his knowledge and treatment of disease, judiciously avoids a too slavish adherence to precedent and usage, and, instead of walking strictly in the paths of Homœopathy and Allopathy, he would summon a little common sense and sound judgment to his aid in determining the nature and arresting the progress of disease. For his success in pursuing so wise a course he has our best wishes.

Scotland appears to be the modern nursery of prophets. In a tract of forty pages, an anonymous author at Dundee has sketched the condition of Great Britain as it will be in 1880, and a very sad sketch it is. But what is most curious in this little tract is, that where we expected to find numerous sorrowful exclamations at the unhappy fate of our country, the hard-hearted writer has not indulged in a single "oh!" or "ah!" or "alas!" On the contrary, he seems complacent enough himself, though excessively indignant with Great Britain; and, as he beholds in vision the worst calamities coming upon her, he exclaims, "Serve her right!" Should he not rather go about weeping, and clothe himself in sackcloth and ashes, if Great Britain is, as he says, to fall and become the vassal of France in 1880? To say nothing of its nonsense, think of the presumption of an uninspired Dundee man foretelling what will be the exact condition of Great Britain twenty years hence! Considering her present position, we are hopeful of a far different conclusion to the affairs of the nation; and we doubt not, in spite of our alarmist, England will be greater, more free, and more powerful in 1880 than she is now. As, however, the Dundee prophet and, as he hints, Her Majesty the Queen are to live to witness the end of it all, we trust the writer of 1880 will not be vexed if he then find his vaticinations come to nought, and the end of the long and glorious reign of her present Majesty better than the beginning.

The *Leisure Hour* continues the "Ferrol Family; or, Keeping up Appearances," and contains besides plenty of papers and illustrations to occupy pleasantly and instructively a great many leisure hours.

Mr. Fawcett's pamphlet contains a clear and able elucidation of a Bill drawn by Mr. Hare for the purposes of practical legislation. Any scheme which would ensure the following results as embodied by Mr. Fawcett cannot fail to arouse public attention to its merits:—

- 1st. Equal representation without electoral districts, and without depriving localities of their special representatives.
- 2nd. The representation of all minorities and sub-sections of opinion.
- 3rd. The cessation or great diminution of bribery and corruption.
- 4th. The reduction of candidates' expenses.

Direct Taxation and Parliamentary Representation. We concur generally in the views propounded by Mr. Taberner upon the all-important subject of direct taxation and the Parliamentary franchise. The general circulation of Mr. Taberner's treatise on the subject would materially enlighten the public at large as to what the State ought to do in order that the people may be fairly taxed and fairly represented.

Dr. Todd and the late Member for Ashton. This is a reprint of a letter which was addressed by Dr. Granville to the Editor of the *Medical Circular* on the fatal effect of the stimulating treatment of disease in the case of the late member for Ashton. The letter is well written, and we trust the important subject on which it treats will receive the candid attention of medical men generally.

The present *Dictionary of Christian Churches and Sects* has many advantages over former publications of the same kind. It is cheap in price and complete in information. To be able to obtain a clear and full account of the Churches and Sects of Christendom from the earliest times in twelve parts for as many shillings, each part containing eighty pages of legible letter print, is a boon formerly unknown to the public. Supplying as it does information upon all the churches, sects, opinions and creeds of men from the first preaching of the Christian religion, this work will be found valuable for reference to the student and the divine. A general knowledge of human opinion leads to comprehensiveness and liberality of views and sentiments.

Lord Duncannon in the House of Lords moved a resolution that performance of services in Theatres was calculated to injure rather than

**Hæmorrhoids; their Pathology and Treatment.* By HENRY SMITH, F.R.C.S. Second Edition. London: John Churchill.

Cure of the Sick. By J. SPURGIN, M.D. London: John Churchill.

1880; a Retrospect of the Penalty paid by Great Britain, and her Humiliation, the result of her Vainglory and Foolhardy Neglect of all Warnings. Dundee: C. D. Chalmers.

The Leisure Hour: a Family Journal of Instruction and Recreation. London: Jones, Paternoster Row.

Mr. Hare's Reform Bill simplified and explained. By HENRY FAWCETT, Esq., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: James Ridgway, Piccadilly.

Direct Taxation and Parliamentary Representation. By Mr. JOHN TABERNER. With Remarks thereon by the Right Hon. WILLIAM GLADSTONE, M.P. London: Edinham Wilson, Royal Exchange.

Dr. Todd and the late Member for Ashton. By A. B. GRANVILLE, M.D., F.R.S. London: McGowan and Danks, Great Windmill Street.

Dictionary of Christian Churches and Sects from the earliest Ages of Christianity. By the Rev. J. B. MARSDEN, M.A., Author of "The History of the early and later Puritans." London: Bentley, New Burlington Street.

A Speech delivered by the Earl of Shaftesbury in the House of Lords, corrected by Himself. London: Chapman and Hall.

A Description of Natal. By DR. MANN, F.R.A.S., Superintendent of Education in Natal. London: F. Algar, Clement's Lane.

Chess Praxis, a Supplement to the Chess Player's Handbook. By H. STAUNTON. London: Henry G. Bohn.

Sabbath Evening Readings on the New Testament. The Pastoral Epistles, By the Rev. JOHN CUMMING, D.D. London: A. Hall, Virtue, and Co.

advance the progress of sound religious principles in the metropolis and throughout the country. To this resolution the Earl of Shaftesbury, who with others had originated these services, replied at length, going into the history of the movement, and showing that the religious services had done good instead of harm. His Lordship's speech is a complete vindication of his conduct in the movement, his only object being to bring the lowest and most ignorant portion of the population in the metropolis to a knowledge of sacred things. As it contains the author's own feelings upon the subject, together with a description of the state of that class for whose benefit the services in question were instituted, the speech will be found exceedingly interesting.

This *Description of Natal* is just the little work that emigrants should consult before they leave England for the Cape. It tells them everything they want to know about Natal, and may be relied upon as authentic.

The very popular game of chess has latterly attained a higher position among the refined recreations of the people than it ever held before. The *Chess Praxis*, published by Mr. Bohn in his Scientific Library, is certainly a most useful supplement to the Chess Player's Handbook. It contains among other valuable things a collection of Mr. Morphy's matches, &c. in England and France. The painstaking and ingenious author of the *Chess Praxis* spares no labour to further the progress and perfection of the game, and this work will prove extremely serviceable to Chess players generally, as it accurately records the latest novelties and improvements in the science.

The Sabbath Evening Readings is a volume of simple and obvious comments upon the Pastoral Epistles—Timothy, Titus, and Philemon—of the New Testament. It is calculated to enlighten the more obtuse and illiterate readers of the Sacred Scriptures, and to such Dr. Cumming's *Sabbath Evening Readings* may be of service.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

(SPECIAL.)

PARIS, March 28, 1860.

THE public gaieties of this winter came to their end on the 15th of this month, the day of the Mi-Carême, that is to say, the middle day of Lent. This occasion is celebrated by a revival of all the joyous fooleries of the carnival, fooleries which few Englishmen can enter into; they feel afraid and ashamed to be caught indulging in such pastimes. A Frenchman, on the other hand, glories in it, and the greater buffoon he can make of himself, the more does he delight his friends and satisfy himself. I suppose we must explain it on Dryden's theory:

"There is a pleasure, sure, in being mad,
Which none but madmen know."

This year the weather was most propitious for the last day of the carnival; warm as June, bright as the sky of Italy. Providence smiled upon the washerwomen, and gave them as clear an atmosphere for the display of their finery as they could desire, for the Mi-Carême, you must know, is the great annual *fête* of the *Blanchisseuses*, and with extraordinary zeal do they take the opportunity of washing their hands of their wash-tubs. From morn to noon, from noon to dewy eve, they parade the streets in enormous waggons decorated with garlands, flags, and all sorts of fantastic devices, whilst they themselves are decked out in the most extravagant costumes imaginable, with monstrous nasal appendages, strange head-gear, hideous masks and wonderful dresses, which remind one of what Joseph's coat is said to have been. The jokes with which they salute one another are certainly not so clean as might be expected from the nature of their profession. From two to five in the afternoon the streets were as crowded as Cheapside itself, only instead of anxious, grave countenances, hasty steps, Pickford's vans, heavy omnibuses, you notice the luxurious lounging pace of pleasure-seekers, faces beaming with laughing enjoyment, open carriages full of extatic children, and gay waggons laden with gay *Blanchisseuses*. All this, with a bright sun and unclouded air, makes a superb picture.

In the evening a different but no less picturesque style of diversion prevails. From the grand opera down to the smallest casino, every place of public amusement is the scene of a masquerade, or *bal costume*, as they are technically styled; though with reference to the female frequenters thereof, *costume* can only be employed on the good old *lucus a non lucendo* principle, for certainly their distinguishing characteristic is want of costume. Most of the balls commence at the witching hour of midnight, but the fun does not reach the fast and furious pitch till about 3 A.M., when it culminates; and from then until five, you may see strange half-clad figures flitting about the Boulevards, taking refuge in *cafés* and snug *cabarets*. Were it not for the noisy French chatter, and the sprinkling of white ties and black coats, you might, without any excessive effort of imagination, fancy yourself in some principal street of Otaheite or Owhyhee. The next morning all resumes its wonted course, and we have no more carnival till next March.

I fear the French Government is scarcely able as yet to appreciate the signification of Free Trade in its full sense. An instance of this ignorance has just occurred in the crusade which has been started on the part of the authorities against the *café* concerts. These *café* concerts are precisely in the same style as the Canterbury Hall or Weston's Music Hall in London; a handsome and well-lighted room, or rather saloon, in which you take your coffee, beer, brandy and water, &c., &c., whilst at the same time you have some very tolerable singing to listen to. Well, the Minister of State has already closed one of these, and threatens to do the same with them all. And why? Because the managers of the theatres say, and possibly with truth, that the *café* concerts operate injuriously upon their receipts; and so without any further ado their injurious operation is prevented. Imagine a grocer re-

questing Government to asphyxiate "the party over the way," because the sale of his groceries was diminished by the competition of the said party; or Mr. E. T. SMITH petitioning Parliament to shut up the Surrey Gardens or Cremorne. It will be a long time before a despotic Government can espouse the side of free competition against monopoly; nor indeed is it natural, for where the functions of legislature and of the executive are monopolised, it is scarcely possible for lower matters not to come under the same blighting and iniquitous influence. This closing of the *café* concerts is not only a sign of the ignorance of the meaning of free-trade in France, but it is an illustration of the want of social liberty, which, in spite of all appearances and all assertions to the contrary, does prevail in France. Where there is not political liberty, social liberty can never exist.

On Saturday last, the Emperor entertained the Savoy deputation at dinner, when he conversed affably with various of its members as to the resources and wealth of their country, and as to the principal requirements of its inhabitants for the development of their powers. When his guests retired, each of them was presented with a likeness of the host, to which the Empress added a portrait of the little Prince Imperial, at the bottom of which was inscribed her autograph—"Souvenir de 24 Mars, 1860—EUGENIE." This Savoyard mission reminds me strongly of a certain French farce, in which an Englishman comes upon the stage intending to hang himself; and to effect this, he brings with him a long ladder, on which he mounts the fatal tree. In the farce this is supposed to be an admirable illustration of the matter-of-fact character of our countrymen. It seems to me that this deputation is the suicidal ladder of the Savoyards. As for the presentation of the portraits, I imagine the feelings of the Savoyards at this ingenious proceeding must be to some extent similar to what those of a criminal condemned to death would be at receiving a likeness of Mr. CALCRAFT, with a view of St. Sepulchre's in the background, and the autograph of Mrs. C.

On Sunday afternoon last I saw a truly delightful picture, and which I cannot forbear describing. This was the spectacle of NAPOLEON III. strolling leisurely about the garden of the Tuileries arm-in-arm with M. THOUVENEL, in the full gaze of all his loyal and loving subjects, who crowded round the light open railing which separates the Emperor's share of the garden from their own. The chosen of the people walked backwards and forwards on a narrow walk scarcely a yard from the crowd, and one could almost catch the words of the world-famous pair. There were a few, a very few feeble cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" but most of the spectators (I dare say all except the Imperial agents) were quiet and indifferent. Is it not beautiful to think of a monarch moving with paternal confidence thus trustingly in the very midst of his affectionate and united people? I may as well mention that there are always about ten sentinels for every twenty yards within the precincts of the Imperial Palace, to say nothing of the *sergens de ville*, and a great many other gentlemen of the same sort in mufti.

Of course all the newspapers (I give this name to the daily sheets of printed paper under protest and in want of a better) are crammed with Savoy: reasons historical why Savoy should be French, reasons philosophical, reasons sophistical, and, above all, reasons Gallican. M. GRANDGUILLON, the editor of the *Constitutionnel*, favours the public with a matutinal broadside daily on this subject; and in a rather less degree the same is the case with all the other journals. The wretchedly mercenary and servile character of the Press is now seen in its utmost degradation.

Apologos of the Press the seventeenth volume of M. THIERS' "History of the Consulate and the Empire" has just come out, and brings "this strange eventful history" down to the abdication of FONTAINEBLEAU. Its appearance has been expected with much impatience, and was delayed a couple of days in consequence of a rather curious circumstance. The publisher received a note from M. JEROME NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, "a French citizen, residing at Baltimore, in the United States," containing an account of the marriage of M. JEROME BUONAPARTE, then a naval officer in the French service, with Miss PATERSON; the marriage was duly celebrated by the Bishop of Baltimore, according to the Roman Catholic ritual. This was in 1803, and in 1805 NAPOLEON I. requested the Pope to annul the marriage, but the Holy Father declared that such a proceeding would be a flagrant and sacrilegious abuse of his powers, to which he would in no way lend himself. When the present Emperor came to the supreme power, the rights of M. JEROME PATERSON as one side would have it, or M. JEROME BUONAPARTE as he styles himself, were brought before an Imperial family council, Prince BUONAPARTE and the Princess MATHILDE being the plaintiffs, and M. BERRYER representing the claimant. It was then decided that the descendants of this marriage have no right to the privileges set forth in the 201st and 202nd of the Code Napoleon. Well, of course M. THIERS' publisher dare not send forth all this without submitting it to the Emperor, who took two days about it. He also added a short note to the effect that he does not even consider the children of Mdlle. PATERSON as members of his family *civile*. As Dr. WATTS remarks,—

"How sweet a thing it is to see,
A little family agree."

TURIN, March 24.

ANNEXATION OF TUSCANY.

THURSDAY, the 22nd, was a glorious day for Turin—a day of national rejoicing. On that day Tuscany formally entered the family of Italian peoples united under the sceptre of King VICTOR

EMMANUEL, and the happy event was worthily celebrated in our sub-alpine capital ten days before. The Tuscan people had hastened in crowds, at the sound of the bell of the Palazzo Vecchio, to vote for that event, the consummation of which we have now so joyfully celebrated. That same bell used formerly to summon the citizens to consult together upon public business, or convoke the people to deliberate upon the piazza when State changes were to be made, or the Balìa constituted. But three hundred years had elapsed since the people had been thus invited to deliberate; and the bell had never been heard in Florence during the interval, except to announce the birth and marriage of its princes and the occurrence of solemn festivals. But traditions are indelible in a country where every name, every street, and every public monument keeps alive the memory of former greatness; and sepulchral tombs read lessons of patriotism, civic wisdom, and intellectual greatness. The voting of the Tuscans was in every respect that of a free and unfettered people, who voluntarily disposed of itself and the fate of its country. The Government, after having performed its office in issuing the invitation to universal suffrage, and stating the formalities necessary to be observed, deliberately stood aloof, exercised no pressure, arranged no intrigues, and uttered no threats, openly or tacitly. On the contrary, in order that the votes should be really and truly spontaneous as far as possible, it employed friendly counsel and prefectural ordinances to dissuade the few who, urged by excessive zeal, desired to go in a body to the committees with their *schede* or balloting-papers affixed to their hats, to abandon their intention. And the voting was, in truth, carried on in the most exemplary manner. Rarely has a population exercised a public right with the same amount of calm dignity, and apparent recognition of the importance of the cause in which it was engaged, as in this case. Upon every face in the crowded streets might be seen the marks of joy and triumph and self-gratulation at the attainment of a nobler, safer, and higher position in the political scale.

The Tuscans having done their duty, it was for us to do ours. The reception given to the illustrious Baron RICASOLI on Thursday could not have been more enthusiastic. The principal shops were closed, and the whole population united to fête the President of the Tuscan Government. All along his route, from Genoa to Turin, at the principal stations he was met with the liveliest attestations of affection and reverence. Upon his arrival here, at one o'clock, the enthusiasm attained a height which is quite indescribable. He was received at the station by the mayor (SINDACO), and accompanied by him in an open carriage to the Hotel Trombetta, in the Piazza Castello. During the drive he was saluted with the most cordial acclamations, and flowers were thrown to him from windows and balconies. Upon reaching the hotel he appeared upon the balcony and addressed the people, thanking them personally for the affectionate reception awarded to him, rendering grateful homage to his Majesty VICTOR EMMANUEL and to Piedmont, and expressing the liveliest hopes for the success of the Union and mutual happiness of Tuscany and Piedmont in their new relationship.

At four o'clock the Marquis DE BREME, senator of the kingdom, and grand master of the ceremonies, repaired in one of the court carriages to the Trombetta, and conducted Baron RICASOLI to court, where he had the honour of being presented to the king, who was surrounded by the ministers of state, the Prince of CARIGNANO, and all the chief personages of the kingdom. This was felt by the multitude assembled in the Piazza Reale to be a solemn moment, and for full five minutes the most profound silence prevailed. At the expiration of that time the banner announcing the acceptance was displayed from a window of the Royal Palace. This was the signal for a burst of applause, of shouting, and clapping of hands, the like of which had rarely been heard; while the booming of artillery from the Monte de' Capucini rendered the scene truly majestic. The feeling of all was that of gratitude towards their august sovereign who, in compliance with the repeated cries of the population, twice presented himself on the balcony of the palace, and was met with the most overwhelming shouts of *Viva il Re!* Baron RICASOLI was reconducted to his hotel in the same manner as he was sent for, and the crowd accompanied him, and saluted him again and again beneath his windows.

The desire for this union, so long nourished, so deeply felt, subjected to so many oppositions and hinderances, is at length happily satisfied. From the Alps to the Arno one single family is now united under the glorious white cross of Savoy, embellished with the national colours. The union of Tuscany and the Emilia with Piedmont is now an accomplished fact; may it be consolidated, by the good sense, the mutual aid, forbearance, and affection of the different States, henceforth one, and united under one sovereign. History will assuredly preserve the memory of this event as one of the most fortunate for Italy, and of the most important, not only of the reign of VICTOR EMMANUEL II., but of the dynasty to which he belongs. That it should be clouded by the simultaneous loss of a portion of his paternal possessions would be but one of those accidental checks to unmitigated pleasure to which we are always subjected in this world; but the murmurs which arise in some quarters against the good faith of the king, whose perfect honour and straightforwardness have never before been doubted, make the cession of Savoy a matter of grief to many who care little for it in a political sense.

For some days past there has been some talk about the excommunication which, it is declared, is hanging over the head of the king. The fact does not, however, excite any great amount of attention, but is felt by most persons to be utterly indifferent. According to some, the spiritual edict in question will not be a regular excom-

munication, but a *monitorio* in the form of a protest. I very much doubt if the major excommunication will be pronounced under any circumstances. In the first place, a law exists in the Piedmontese code which requires the sovereign's assent to the publication of a bull. It is, therefore, only reasonable to suppose that the Government would issue instructions to its provincial representative to prevent a similar violation of the law, and the consequent disturbance of public order at the bidding of a foreign faction; and I am assured that such instructions have been given. Again; there must surely be some members of the Sacred College of Cardinals sufficiently intelligent to see that such thunderbolts, if issued by the Church of Rome under existing circumstances, would assuredly fall upon her own head, and increase the contempt already felt for the pitiful state of weakness into which she has fallen.

Arrests still go on in Venice and Naples, and no pains whatever is taken in the Pontifical States to conciliate public opinion. The two following facts, which have taken place at Ancona, will serve to show how onerous is the priestly rule and the great opposition which is offered to it. Signor PIETRO ORLANDI has just died at Ancona, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He was a highly respectable, upright man; a scholar, well versed in Greek, Latin, and various modern languages, and a celebrated instructor. As an exiled patriot he spent the years intervening between 1831 and 1848 in France and England, where he conducted himself equally to the honour of himself and his country. In 1848 he returned to his native land, justly held in veneration by his countrymen. It was therefore simply natural, and by no means calculated to excite surprise, if, in accordance with the usages of the town in which he died, a numerous *cortège* of his friends and the populace should purpose to accompany his remains to the tomb. A great number of persons, including the French and British Consuls, were already assembled when the *gendarmes* and Austrian and Swiss soldiers surrounded the house, and ordered the company to retire, employing the most revolting language, striking several persons, and wounding two named PROVENTI and MARTELLI. The French consul in vain tried to interpose, and was obliged to give up his intention of performing an act of Christian charity and piety in attending the funeral ceremony of his departed friend. The family of the deceased, irritated by this barbarous violence, sent away the priests, friars, and religious corporations whom they had summoned to accompany the corpse to the church, and instead of respected friends, and worthy citizens, the bier was escorted by thirty *gendarmes* and police-agents, who kept guard over it until far into the night. In the course of the following day, hundreds of the citizens called at the residence of the deceased, and left their cards, with sums of money to be distributed in alms to the poor, instead of being employed, according to the custom of the place, in saying masses for the departed, because the church was occupied all day by the *gendarmes*.

A subscription has recently been got up by several ladies at Ancona for the benefit of the emigration. The priestly delegate has done every thing in his power to intimidate these ladies, who all belong to the first families of the city, and being unsuccessful in deterring them from carrying on their work of charity, has caused a political warning to be given to the Countess FAZIOLI, and two ladies named GOLINELLI and AJASSE. Their companions would not, however, suffer them to submit to such indignity without protesting, and have addressed a letter to the legate, which I send you as a proof of the feeling which exists among all classes towards the Papal Government and its subordinates:—

"Most Reverend Excellence,—We, the undersigned, desire to express our surprise and grief at hearing that the Countess FAZIOLI and the ladies AJASSE and GOLINELLI have received a political warning, prohibiting them from bestowing succour and alms upon the wretched families of the prisoners and exiles well known to your Excellency. We also took part with these ladies in their work of Christian charity. Like them, we visited the families of these unfortunate men, to succour their poor wives and miserable children. If they have committed a crime, we are equally guilty with them, and, according to justice, the same warning ought to be given to us. Having thus expressed our sentiments to your Excellency, we shall tranquilly await your determination. Protesting ourselves," &c.

The letter is signed by twenty ladies, almost all of whom are Countesses or Princesses.

HANOVER, March 26, 1860.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

IN the tumult of debates, excited by the annexation of Nice and Savoy, a voice is heard, so loud and inexplicable that it fills both liberals and feudalists with doubt and dismay. Why do all the Russian journals advocate with such fiery zeal the annexation of Nice and Savoy to France? What means their persistent hounding on of the Italians against Austria, and their silly abuse and misrepresentations of England? These are questions which occur to every one curious in politics, who condescends to peruse the scribblings of those hirelings without principles and without country. The attitude adopted by the Russian journals published in French, German, and Italian, is a sore puzzle, and tends, in a measure, to throw all Germany into the arms of Austria. Panslavonianism is more dreaded than Austrian despotism or French supremacy. These organs of Russia, while encouraging France, chuckling over the approaching ruin of Austria, and venting second-hand abuse of England, are trumpeting the praises of the Czar for the liberality he evinces by his pretended freedom of the serfs. But it requires no DANIEL to tell us, that the liberty of the serfs means nothing more nor less than the slavery of the nobility and the serfs too.

Another puzzle is the obstinate assertion by the English *Morning Chronicle*, and the as obstinate denial by the Russian papers, of the existence of a treaty of alliance between Austria and Russia. However improbable, judging from the tone of the Russian organs, the *Chronicle's* statement may be, a certain confirmation is lent to it by the retirement of Austria's bitter foe, Prince GORTSCHAKOFF. Doubtless we shall soon discover the end and aims of this mystification; at this moment we are at fault. Up to the present, the efforts of the National Association to call forth unity of action, by venting unity of thought, have not been attended with any practical result. People and journals are loud in expressing their sentiments, but there are not the slightest signs of action. There was a sharp debate the other day in the Hanoverian Chambers, where M. VON BENNIGSEN spoke with an eloquent boldness, worthy of a nobler arena. The people are so thoroughly of one mind that it requires but one prince to step forth and declare himself their leader. Never was Germany so near political and military unity as at this very moment.

The telegraph has long since conveyed to your readers the news of the late disturbances and bloodshed in Hungary. The official Austrian journals have published accounts of the affair, and, upon the whole, they agree with private letters from Pesth. It appears that on the 14th inst. the students of the university, to the number of four hundred or more, made a political and national demonstration, by carrying in procession wreaths to the tombs of those who had fallen in the defence of their country. On the procession, which in the course of its march had swollen to about five thousand persons of all classes, reaching the Cathedral Church the crowd were warned off by the police, who guarded all the entrances. The procession then proceeded to other churches, which however were likewise guarded by the police, or rather military. Finding it impossible to obtain an entrance into any of the Catholic churches, the people directed their steps to the Protestant church, which the police had neglected or considered it unnecessary to guard. The people entered, and ranged themselves in profound silence; a short prayer was said, and then the whole crowd sang a patriotic hymn. After this they issued from the church in the same order they had entered, and proceeded with their wreaths to the burying-ground. Here they found the military police drawn up in line, completely preventing ingress. They were warned off, but the students with one accord flung the wreaths over the heads of the soldiers, who thereupon endeavoured to arrest some of the young men: a struggle ensued, in the course of which the military made use of their weapons, and killed and wounded several students. The journals inimical to Austria have sought to give this affair the appearance of an insurrectionary movement, but, as far as can be gathered from private correspondence, it was a mere demonstration on the part of the students, and an ebullition of temper on the part of the troops, who assert that the young men did not confine themselves to throwing the wreaths over their heads, but flung stones and other missiles at their faces.

As it now turns out, the frauds committed by the Austrian general, or Marshal VON EYNATTEN, are of an almost incredible character. He not only misapplied the funds intrusted to him, but actually sold vast quantities of provisions to the French and Sardinian armies. But the crowning act of his treachery is the betrayal of the movements of the Austrians to the French. He was one of the few high military personages who were made acquainted with the disposition of the troops and their numbers. In his capacity as head of the commissariat, he was as well informed respecting their movements as the Emperor himself. The riddle is at length solved as to how it came to pass that LOUIS NAPOLEON was able to foresee the surprise intended by the Austrians at Solferino. Treachery was suspected, now it is proved; and a more horrible treachery can scarcely be conceived. Many arrests have taken place in connection with this shocking affair, and several officials of the commissariat, staff officers, subalterns, and others, are now in prison. The mischief of the so-called *protegée* system has been clearly shown in the examination of the parties connected with this treachery. General EYNATTEN was indebted to Count GRUNNE for his appointment to the commissariat. The choice was, at the time, generally condemned, and it is said that Field Marshal VON KEMMEN declared at an audience to the Emperor, that he felt it to be his duty to state it as his opinion that VON EYNATTEN was not the right man for so important a trust. Count GRUNNE's influence, however, was too strong, and the traitor was retained. He was not an Austrian by birth, having been born at Frankfort-on-the-Maine; consequently those patriotic instincts which serve as props to honour when the glory and welfare of our country are concerned were wanting in him.

The opposition to the Prussian measure for the re-organization of the army is on the increase. Numerous petitions are being framed against the measure in general, and the three years' term of service in particular. The spread of typhus in the circle of Neustettin has been officially denied, but private letters confirm the reports of the preceding week. The contradiction is put forth by the authorities to excuse the smallness of the sum—fifty thousand thalers—which they have devoted to the relief of the three thousand destitute families of the circle of Schlochau, while the cabinet is demanding ten millions for the army reform. The provincial assembly of Schleswig has been suddenly prorogued, to the rage and despair of the majority of the members. The transactions have been a constant battling between the majority and the Danish officials, the former endeavouring to prolong the session for the sake of uttering their grievances, though without the least hope of seeing them redressed, and the latter striving to bring the transactions to an end that they might

stop the mouths of the representatives of the people. Enough has been said on both sides to widen the breach till the next session; when and under what circumstances that will be, who can tell? Some think that this will be the last prorogation of a Provincial Assembly of Schleswig by a Danish commissioner. The minority, i.e. the Danish party of the Assembly, lately gave the Danish commissioner a grand dinner, at which toasts were drunk evincing the deadliest hatred to the German nation. It is expected that the prorogation of the Assembly will be the signal for the persecution of the leaders of the majority, or German party. The Landtag of Gotha has voted an address to the duke, imploring him to exert his influence with the other princes to obtain a central executive and a national parliament for the whole German people. The minister, in the name of the duke, replied that he held out little hopes of success, although he heartily echoed their wishes.

RECORD OF THE WEEK.

HOME AND COLONIAL.

A MISSIONARY conference was held at Liverpool during the week, commencing Monday, March 14, for the purpose of considering the means of promoting the spread of the Gospel at home and abroad. General Alexander was chosen to preside over the Conference. Major Davidson, an old Indian officer, stated that the natives of India were ready to receive the Bible truths. The Rev. Joseph Mullens, in giving an account of India, said there were now 1,600 missionaries labouring in foreign fields. On Saturday morning the Earl of Shaftesbury, Colonel Edwardes, and the leading members of the Conference were entertained at breakfast at the Town-hall by his worship the Mayor.

On Saturday the 24th Her Majesty the Queen held her first drawing-room this season at St. James's Palace. Her Majesty received a deputation from Christ's Hospital in the Throne-room. Among the presentations were Mr. and Mrs. John Bigelow, of New York.

On Monday night last Lord John Russell, in the House of Commons, declared that the annexation of Savoy was an act of aggression, which would produce great distrust all over Europe, and by which the *entente cordiale* between England and France would be broken.

On Monday, 26th, the motion by Mr. Lumley, late lessee of Her Majesty's Theatre, to prohibit Mr. E. T. Smith, the present lessee of the theatre, from using any of the stage properties, including dresses, scenery, and furniture, was refused by the Vice-Chancellor. —At the sale of English paintings at the rooms of Messrs. Christie, Manson, and Woods, on Monday last, several well-known works by Turner, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and others were disposed of at large prices. "On the Medway," by Müller, was sold at 181 guineas. A Portrait of Mrs. Robinson, the celebrated actress, by Reynolds, was sold at 250 guineas. "The Grand Canal, Venice," by Turner, brought 2,400 guineas.

The ship John Masterman took 245 Government emigrants from Southampton on Sunday morning for Algoa Bay, Cape of Good Hope. This ship is fitted with Graveley's patent cooking apparatus, which is also capable of distilling salt water into fresh while used for cooking.

On Friday, March 23, the Prince of Wales and Royal hunting party, who entered a farmyard near Oxford, were detained there as prisoners by the farmer, and compelled to pay a sovereign for trespassing before he would let them out.

On Monday, March 26, a number of men commenced work on board the Great Eastern to fit her out for sea as rapidly as possible.

The police authorities have resolved, if possible, to prevent the projected contest between Sayers and Heenan.

The mail steamers, under contract with the Swedish Government, have recommenced their voyages between Hull and Gottenburg. Mails for conveyance by these packets will be made up in London on the evening of every Friday until further notice.

The *Northern Whig* shows by figures that at Belfast during the last five months of the Revival excitement, the cases of drunkenness at the Police Court increased to 382 over what they were during the same number of months of the previous year.

On Tuesday a deputation of gentlemen interested in the cultivation of Indian fibres had an interview with Sir Charles Wood, at the India House. These fibres, it is expected, will produce materials of great value to the silk, linen, mohair, and paper trades. They have been subjected to the processes of different manufacturers, and in all cases with satisfactory results.

The improvements and acceleration of the mail services between England and France, projected by Mr. J. G. Churchward, will be commenced on the 1st of May next. Under the new arrangement letters will leave the London Post-office at 7 in the morning, instead of 1.30 p.m. as at present, and will arrive at Paris in time to be delivered the same evening.

A benevolent lady, who withholds her name, has offered to defray the cost (amounting to £720) of four life-boats, which the National Life-Boat Society has decided to station at Newquay and St. Ives, in Cornwall; North Dumdum Bay, in Ireland; and Buckie, on the northern coast of Scotland.

The total number of British ships employed in the trade of the United Kingdom in 1859, was 18,675 sailing ships and 895 steam-vessels.

The thirtieth quarterly general meeting of the Conservative

Land Society was held at the offices, in Norfolk-street, Strand, on Tuesday, the 27th instant, Viscount Ranelagh in the chair. The report of the executive committee, read by the noble chairman, showed a large increase in the business returns; the receipts for the quarter being £17,883 13s. 9d., making an increase, for the half-year of 1860 over 1859, of upwards of £13,000. The total receipts amounted to £442,870 1s. 4d., and the sale of land to £237,173 18s. 11d. The Society has acquired its fortieth estate at Oxford, on the Ifley road, within a mile of the city. The estate is well adapted for villas and houses, being the highest land in the whole district of the Valley of the Thames.

FOREIGN.

On Saturday, March 24, the *Constitutionnel* published an article, stating that Europe was satisfied with France with reference to the question of Savoy—only Switzerland and England protesting, gave to the act almost a friendly character.

On the same day, the treaty, by which the King of Sardinia consents to the annexation of Savoy and Nice to France, was signed at Turin.

The populations of Northern Savoy have expressed their desire to be united to the Swiss Confederation.

On Sunday, March 25, an armistice was concluded between Spain and Morocco.

Advices have been received of a revolution in New Grenada. Early in February, Carrilo, an officer of the general Government, fell upon the town of Cartago, and massacred seventy of the inhabitants. General Mosquera called the people to arms, with the supposed intention of separating the State of Cauca from the Confederation.

A proclamation of the King to the people of Central Italy has been published, congratulating them upon being united under one monarchy.

The first French battalion, returning from Italy, have entered Savoy.

The *Pays* expresses its regret on account of what it terms "the angry words" pronounced by Lord John Russell in the House of Commons.

M. Nigra has been appointed Minister-Resident of Sardinia at Paris.

On Tuesday, March 27, the treaty concerning the annexation of Savoy and Nice was ratified by the French Government.

Prussia, by an answer to Monsieur Thouvenel, on the 27th, energetically supports the demands of Switzerland.

A telegram from Spain states, that the treaty of peace with Morocco includes an indemnity of 400,000,000 reals; the territorial aggrandizement of Melilla, and a Spanish Minister to reside at Fez.

Latest intelligence received on the 28th, from the United States, states the Senate has rejected the treaty with Nicaragua. A bill for the suppression of polygamy in Utah had been introduced in the House of Representatives. A fire occurred on the 13th at Mobile, by which the theatre and the Union Cotton Press were destroyed. War in Rio Grande had been officially reported. There was a good prospect of an extension of the telegraph to the Pacific. Stephens and Hazlett, who were engaged in the affair of Harper's Ferry, were executed at Charleston. Commercial news from New York, stocks active and firm and at advanced prices.

On the morning of Thursday, 29th, the screw steamer North American arrived in Liverpool. It was reported in New York that Spain had agreed to sell Cuba to the United States, but that the price had not been fixed.

ENTERTAINMENTS.

THE author and players of the well and closely written farce "B. B.," which is creating a more than usual sensation at the OLYMPIC, are most successful in treating with rich humour, yet almost without vulgarity, a subject which might have been made the vehicle for any amount of the latter quality. Mr. Robson as *Benjamin Bobbin*, a civil engineer, green and unsophisticated to an extent never contemplated in Great George Street, is found on a semi-professional and semi-matrimonial expedition at a Northumbrian inn, where the arrival of the notorious *Benicia Boy*, for training purposes, happens to be eagerly looked for by the landlady and her gossips. The initials on his baggage, and his fortuitous possession of the sporting colours of the Yankee champion (taken by mistake from the railway carriage) lead these worthies to welcome his arrival with enthusiasm, and to insist, with all the customary fervour of theatrical mis-identifiers, upon the quality of their bewildered guest. As in "The Wandering Minstrel" we have the character of a noble troubadour thrust upon vulgar *Jem Baggs*, so by converse, in "B. B.," that of the prize-fighter is attributed to a nice little person of almost preternatural mildness. The paroxysms of bewilderment which our readers may remember in "To Oblige Benson," are re-introduced very effectively by Mr. Robson into his present character. His first loud protests subside by degrees into abject submission as the boots, the chambermaid, the landlady, a local member of the fancy yeelp *The Chicken*, and, lastly, the village squire, boisterously greet him seriatim, assure him of their secrecy and sympathy, try the power of his biceps muscle, and perform war dances about him in excited fashion. At last, however, in his agony to avoid a "set-to" with *The Chicken*, his real name drops out, the blunder is explained, and the farce ends satisfactorily. Mr. Robson's performance is not more excellent than that of Mr. Horace Wigan, whose *Chicken* is a gem. The other parts are satisfactorily taken by Mr. Cooke and Mrs. Emden.

The Sixteenth of the MONDAY POPULAR CONCERTS at ST. JAMES'S HALL on Monday last was the most fashionably crowded at which we have assisted. Beethoven's grand septet for violin, viola, clarinet, horn, bassoon, violoncello, and contrabasso, was apparently the grand attraction for we observed that the company had, with very few exceptions, arrived before the commencement of that superb work. Were the inspired septet repeated more frequently, the more rapidly would the

English public scale the heights of Beethoven knowledge and appreciation. No mystic absurdities deform it (hence, possibly, it was no favourite with the composer himself), or raise it above the comprehension of the million, or the executive power of skilled musicians like Becker, Doyle, Lazarus, Harper, Chisholm, Severn, and Piatti. It was superbly given by these artists, and thoroughly enjoyed by all present. Not so perfectly done was the Kreutzer sonata, the immensely long and difficult duo for pianoforte and violin. Miss Arabella Goddard is absolute mistress of the "Kreutzer;" but in one of its three movements Herr Becker yet manifests uncertainty and weakness of tread; but, in truth, one whom all admit to be so near to Joachim has little to learn. The greatest enthusiasm was created by Miss Goddard's solo sonata (Beethoven, Op. 109), and in the solo for violin wherewith Becker opened Part II., he was warmly encored. From the days when poor Jullien began timidly to test the fitness of the mass for classical music, times have wondrously changed. The classic pill was then administered to the pupil public with large bribes of the gay and meretricious. Now, after forty-five minutes of Beethoven septuor and thirty minutes of Beethoven sonata, we have a Beethoven violin solo redemanded, with the Kreutzer yet to come! These instrumental pieces left room for but four songs. Miss Rowland was much admired in two of Chappell's old English ditties, "The Oak and the Ash," and "At her Cottage Door."

The instrumental portion of the concert of Monday next will be taken from the works of Mozart, beginning with his famous Quintette in A major, and ending with a most delicious nocturno for wind instruments.

A new farce at the LYCEUM, "117, Arundel Street, Strand," gives a lesson to married gentlemen, (and we have met with them elsewhere than in farces,) who, when they can get away from the restraints of home, affect the humours and airs of bachelorhood. Mr. Walter Lacy is such a gentleman, who, taking lodgings in London, establishes a flirtation with the maidservant, and gets into infinite trouble, when, upon the appearance of his spouse, he finds himself compelled to disavow her, and so subjects her to the proposals of another gentleman who believes her a spinster. The equivocal is amusing enough, and the make-up and acting of Mr. Rouse and Mrs. Keeley, the empress of "servantgism," are both humorous in the extreme.

We regret, with our contemporaries, that we may no more know the place in every complete orchestra of Lovell Phillips, the violoncello player. He died at Camden Town, on the 19th inst., in the forty-fourth year of his age, and his genial and familiar presence will be not more missed in the musical world, than in the social circles wherein he was so popular, for he was a truly kindhearted man, and a most agreeable companion. As a musical executant he had great merit, and his ability as a composer is attested by morceaux recognised among connoisseurs, and popular with the many, and he has, we understand, left an opera of his own composition. He held the public appointments of organist to St. Katherine's Church, Regent's Park, and Professor of Composition at the Royal Academy of Music.

MR. AND MRS. HOWARD PAUL on Monday next resume their entertainment, with new songs and characters, at the St. James's Hall, Piccadilly, for a brief farewell season. Mrs. Howard Paul is as popular as ever in her "living photograph" of Mr. Sims Reeves; and she is also announced to appear as the representative of Signor Tamberlik in "Il mio Tesoro."

Mr. E. T. Smith has issued the programme for the forthcoming season at HER MAJESTY'S THEATRE. Recent legal decisions having disentangled the fortunes of that favourite establishment, Mr. Smith seems to have been selected as the most fitting person to undertake the work of again familiarising the public with it. The list of artists is a long one. First on it we find the superb lyrical artiste Mademoiselle Titiens, who, with the delicious tenor Giuglini, will open the season on the 10th proximo, in Flatow's "Martha," an elegant work, which the gifted pair, with the able assistance of the basso Vialletti, raised to its proper pedestal last year at Drury Lane, under Mr. Smith's management. We are to hear Madame Titiens also, and we hope the same tenor, in Beethoven's magnificent "Fidelio," who is to be the Rocco we are unaware, but the lady has already distinguished herself as *Leonora*, and Signor Mongini should be all we could desire as *Florestan*. Let us hope that the chorus will be found in this work to answer its description in the programme, "carefully selected and highly trained." Then we are to have Weber's "Oberon" and "Der Freyschutz," and a new opera by a new Maestro Campana. Madame Borghi-Mamo, contralto and mezzo soprano, for many years at the Italiens at Paris, will appear in "La Favorita;" Albani in "Semiramide;" and Piccolomini (her last season) in "Traviata," and perhaps other works. The repertory also includes the "Nozze di Figaro," "Rigoletto," with, of course, "Il Barbiere" and the "Don Giovanni" for "long Thursdays." Besides the artists named we are to have Signor Aldighieri, a baritone, whose promise we noticed favourably last season; Mons. Gassier, Mons. Belart; Madame Marie Cabel, some time prima donna of the Theatre Lyrique, at Paris, and late successor to Anna Thillon at the Opera Comique there; with two of our countrywomen, Misses Vaneri and Laura Baxter. The Ballet is announced to comprise Amalia Ferrario, Pocchino, Salviani, and Claudina Cucchi, all names of mark in their department. Messrs. Arditi and Benedict are the musical directors, and have grave responsibility to organise an adequate orchestra. The theatre, inside and out, has long been in the hands of the restorers and decorators. It is stated that the lessee has received formal intimation that the Court favour will be extended to his enterprise, and should the aristocratic *clientelle*, who have never ceased to deplore the closure of the house, add their patronage to that of the mass, who seem ever to stand by him in his new undertakings, there seems every probability that Mr. Smith may hereafter inscribe the season of 1860 at Her Majesty's Theatre on the roll of his triumphs.

When we went to press, the arrangements for the COVENT GARDEN OPERA Season had not been made public.

The last three nights of the ROYAL ENGLISH OPERA Season closed on Wednesday with Miss Louisa Pyne's benefit, when the crowd was, if possible, denser than on previous occasions. The "Lurline" has taken full hold upon the public, and the charming voice of the fair manageress has, we are glad to see, suffered apparently nothing by the frightful caprices of temperature displayed by the London climate for the last five weeks. Miss Pyne's physique must, we feel sure, demand repose: a repose we fear she will not have, if it be true that the *troupe* leave

London immediately, on a provincial tour. Mr. Santley has been absent from the cast of "Lurline" since Saturday last: but his place was supplied by Mr. Durand, a singer of good voice and ability, who has not, we believe, appeared on the great operatic stage of London since he was the *Ferrando*,—now five years ago— with Miss Escott, Mr. Augustus Braham, and Mr. Drayton, in the first production of the *Trovatore*, then a novelty at Drury Lane.

The CRYSTAL PALACE Concert on Saturday last was an interesting one. Madame Catherine Hayes, who gave one Italian and two English songs, and Herr Becker, whose violin playing reminds us very strongly of the yet unrivalled Joachim, were the bright particular stars. The Orpheus Glee Union sang some of their best morceaux, and the Company's band played the overture to "Fidelio," and repeated Robert Schumann's clever first symphony. This day (31st March) Dr. Sterndale Bennett's cantata "The May Queen," commencing at 3 o'clock, will, we hope, favoured by the weather, draw such an audience as may encourage the Direction in their expenditure on such high class attractions. The parts in this gem of modern English composition are allotted to Madame Catherine Hayes, Mr. Wilbye Cooper, Miss Palmer, and Mr. Santley. We have before heard these artists, with the exception of Madame Hayes, in "The May Queen;" and we can assure such of our readers as may attend the Concert that they will find themselves amply repaid for even a good deal of trouble. During Passion week and Easter week, Madame Piccolomini is to sing at the Palace at the Concerts daily, and, except on Saturday, as usual, there is no additional charge for this attraction.

VOCAL ASSOCIATION. — Under the accomplished conductor, Mr. Benedict, the members of the choir whose performances constitute the principal source of attraction are making remarkable progress. At the Concert last night (the third of the fifth season), which drew a very large audience to St. JAMES'S HALL, all the different schools were represented—the Italian, by Luca Marenzio's "Fair May Queen;" the English, by Orlando Gibbons's "Silver Swan," which is worthy of a place by the side of the most finished Italian models; the French, by Auber's prayer in the market-scene of *La Muette de Portici*; the German, by Mendelssohn's "Remembrance," Kücken's "Suabian Melody," Herr Otto Goldschmidt's ably written part song, "Come when the Dawn of the Morn is Breaking," Mr. Benedict's serenade, "Bless'd be the Home," and the same composer's "Cradle Song," a specimen of vocal part-writing, distinguished in an equal degree by grace of melody and purity of harmony. The solo singers were Madame Sinton Dolby, and Miss Fanny Rowland. Miss Fanny Rowland sang one of Mozart's Italian airs, and Mr. Macfarren's ballad, "The Beating of my own Heart," the last verse of which she was called upon to repeat. There were also some instrumental solos, comprising a *fantasia* on the "Traviata," and the "Valse de Concert" of M. Sinton; besides an effective piece by Herr Kuhe, performed by Miss Eleanor Ward, a very young pianist, with much spirit and brilliancy.

PARLIAMENT.

ON Friday the preliminary discussion on the new Reform Bill was inaugurated by the Earl of ARLING moving for a variety of returns, to get at the number of registered household voters, in order to be prepared for dealing with the bill when it reached that House. The noble Earl indicated the course he should take on the question by a severe criticism on Mr. GLADSTONE'S Budget. The annexation of Nice was the next topic, introduced by the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, who required from Government further information as to the absorption of the territories of Sardinia by France, as he was deeply impressed with the serious aspect of affairs on the Continent. All he required was, that there should be frankness and fair dealing between the two Governments in this grave matter. Lord WODEHOUSE had no additional information to lay before Parliament. The question of promotion in the army was brought on through the order of the day for the second reading of the Mutiny Bill. Lord PANMURE disapproved of the recommendations of the commission which had been adopted by the Government. He saw no valid reason for doing away with the existing system of purchase. There might be blots in that system, but they were not of sufficient magnitude to justify the sweeping change contemplated. Earl DE GREY and RIBS implied that Government entertained no idea of abolishing entirely the system of purchase. They proposed to modify the prevailing system, and to do away with some of its anomalies. No plan would be determined upon without a previous consultation with the military authorities, and without careful deliberation. The Earl of LUCAN earnestly implored the Government to pause before they took a step which might prove fatal to the interests of the army. He frankly admitted the evils of high-priced commissions, but those evils might be better dealt with than by the abolition of the system of purchase. The Duke of SOMERSET said the conclusion he had arrived at was, that the command of a regiment was a serious trust, and ought not to be bought or sold. The rule ought to be, not to give commands according to money, but according to fitness. The change ought to be made with caution, and it would be made with caution. Earl GREY said the real question was, by which system were they most likely to get the best men for the command of regiments. For his own part, he was not unfavourable to a well-regulated system of purchase. The Duke of CAMBRIDGE said, his sentiments were too well known to require repetition. He was quite willing to adopt the decision which Parliament might arrive at. Lord HARDINGE thought that no compromise would work satisfactorily. He objected to the principle of selection by merit, feeling assured it would lead to evil results. The subject dropped. On Monday the Earl of ELLENBOROUGH censured the published Indian financial scheme of Mr. WILSON, inasmuch as it extended the income tax to soldiers and non-commissioned officers. The Duke of ARYL thought there must be some mistake in the printed statement. It was impossible Her Majesty's Government could have sanctioned such a plan. In reply to a question, the Duke of NEWCASTLE stated that, although it had been found necessary to withdraw the army estimates for revision, there would be no increase of the amount. On the important question of Harbours of Refuge, the Marquis of CLANRICARDE was anxious that Government should take into consideration the question of adopting the best means to mitigate the enormous loss of life and property which yearly occurred

from shipwrecks on our coasts. He thought resort should be had to breakwaters and other means of reducing the perils of our coasts. The Duke of SOMERSET denied that extravagant expenditure had taken place on harbours of refuge. At present, Government were not prepared either with a new suggestion of their own on the subject, or to adopt the suggestions of others. The Mutiny and Marine Bill passed through committee. The attention of Parliament is to be called, after Easter, by the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, to the exclusion of the Bible from Schools and Colleges in India. With reference to the War between Spain and Morocco, the Earl of CARNARVON wished to know if Government could give any information on the subject; whether, in fact, it was likely to terminate, how and when? Lord WODEHOUSE believed that overtures for peace had been made, but he could not state precisely what were their conditions. Lord MONTEAGLE brought forward the question of Indian Finance, his object being to discountenance any attempt to establish a Government bank with power to issue notes. The Duke of ARGYLE said the noble lord's financial views were totally opposed to those of Lords OVERSTONE and GREY. The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH did not think any great mischief would ensue if Government established a bank of issue, as no very large amount of paper was likely to be required.

In the House of Commons, on Friday, Mr. BRIGHT called attention to a petition from the Mayor and Corporation of Norwich, charging on some persons extensive bribery at the late election. Mr. ROEBUCK said, to withhold the issuing of the writ for a new election was the proper mode of punishing delinquent voters. Mr. BOUVIER did not see how the writ could be refused, the House having already agreed to issue another writ under circumstances analogous to those which had unseated Lord BURY. Sir G. GREY thought a penal suspension of the writ would effect good. Mr. BENTINCK denied that there was any unwillingness, as asserted by Mr. BRIGHT, on the part of that House to follow up a case of detected bribery. Mr. DUNCOMBE did not think there was sufficient ground to warrant the House in withholding the writ. After some further discussion, the motion for the writ was assented to. A good deal of miscellaneous business was despatched, principally, however, in the form of questions. The replies will be a sufficient indication of the substance of the queries. Lord J. RUSSELL, with reference to the Mission to China, said Mr. BRUCE would not be recalled. Lord ELGIN would be sent out as pacificator, and would only remain as long as his services were required. The cost of this extra mission could not be correctly estimated. With reference to the Spanish question, the Spanish Government had at the outset asserted there was no intention to make permanent occupation of Morocco territory. The war was not yet ended, therefore the Spaniards could not be expected to vacate the territory they had conquered. He had no doubt, when peace was proclaimed, that the Spanish Government would adhere to their promise. The third question had reference to a memoir and map defining the boundaries of Savoy and Nice. The memoir was in the printer's hands, and an outline of the map was being prepared. Both would speedily be laid before the House. The fourth question related to private correspondence with Lord COWLEY on the subject of the annexation of Savoy, with a request for its production. He must decline to produce private correspondence; and with reference to the intentions of the Emperor in respect to Savoy and Nice, they were set forth in the correspondence and despatches already produced. The question was yet a matter of negotiation, Switzerland having made an appeal to Great Britain, which appeal would be laid before the other great powers of Europe. Mr. DISRAELI could not deny that a demand for the production of private correspondence was improper, and must be resisted. But when private despatches of importance were received, and those despatches referred to in public despatches, he thought that proper extracts from those private despatches ought to be filed in the Foreign Office for reference. Viscount PALMERSTON, after setting Mr. DISRAELI right on the subject of the functions of a Congress, went on to say that private communications to Ministers could not be produced without great inconvenience and mischief to public business and foreign negotiations. All that ought to have been produced on the subject of Savoy and Nice had been presented to that House. Mr. HORSMAN regretted that the subject of the annexation of Savoy had been so often postponed; for had an expression of British opinion been elicited beforehand, it might have operated on the mind of the French Emperor. After a few words from Mr. B. COCHRANE, who asserted that nine-tenths of the population of Savoy were opposed to annexation, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER admitted that the construction put by Her Majesty's Government on the declaration of the French Emperor with regard to Savoy, was that the Emperor would do something very different to what he had done. With respect to the discussion on Savoy he would remind the House there had been several discussions, in which very strong language had been used, which might possibly have produced a detrimental effect on the feelings of a neighbouring country. Mr. ROEBUCK would ever afterwards hold any declaration coming from the French Emperor very cheap. Mr. MILNES hoped a consultation of the Great Powers would take place of the subject, by the neutrality of the provinces on the Swiss frontier. Mr. KINGLAKE protested against the doctrine, that they were to adapt their language to suit the sensibilities of the French people or the French Emperor. Mr. D. GRIFFITH wished to conciliate France, and draw closer the connection between the two countries. Some remarkable statements relative to frauds in the collection of the Income Tax having been made by Mr. AYRTON, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said it was his intention to introduce a Bill, to place the collection of the tax more under the direct control of Government. The question of the imposition of an income tax of 10d. in the pound was then brought on. Lord GRAHAM objected to the increase, and considered that it was putting a delusion on the public to hold out hopes that the income tax would only be temporary. Mr. MARTIN considered the proposition of Government remarkable under existing circumstances. Mr. JARRETT could not see how the enormous expenditure could be defrayed without this addition. Sir C. NAPIER said there could be no prospect of any reduction of expenditure so long as the Emperor of the French went on building war ships. He had no doubt the French Emperor meant mischief, and we must therefore be prepared to meet it with a powerful fleet. With respect to the Chinese war, it was absurd to suppose that the expense would be defrayed by the vote of £800,000. Sir S. NORTHGOTE looked with suspicion on the war estimates. He was satis-

fied they would be found vastly insufficient. With reference to the new Parliament under the new Reform Bill, he was afraid that the new House, from its composition, would not be for reducing expenditure, but for throwing the burthen on the upper classes. Sir M. PETO said his constituents did not so much object to the tax as to the mode in which it was levied. He looked at the Budget as a whole, and would therefore vote for the increased income tax with sincere pleasure. Sir H. WILLOUGHBY moved, by way of amendment, that the income tax be 9d. instead of 10d. He objected flinging away one and a half million paper duty in order to impose further income tax burthens. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said the House had decided on the abolition of the paper duty, and the gap in the revenue from that and other sources must be filled up. With respect to income and property, he did not object to state that he was favourable to some mitigation of the admitted inequality of assessment. Mr. VANSITTART had relied on the abolition of the income tax, according to promise, but, in common with the whole people of England, was disappointed. Sir F. BARING thought the income tax the worst tax that could be imposed on any nation. The Committee divided, and the amendment was lost by 187 to 132. Further progress was made with the Budget, and the House terminated a long sitting at nearly two o'clock. Another of those irregular discussions which of late have been so common, arose through Mr. HORSMAN complaining of want of information relative to the Morocco business, the Chinese expedition, and the Savoy question. After venting many caustic remarks on all of those subjects, the hon. member concluded by stating that, in his opinion, the Emperor of the French had deceived the Government and the people of this country, and that Parliament ought not to abstain from pronouncing a strong opinion on the duplicity which had been throughout practised by the French Emperor. Lord J. RUSSELL, who evidently felt the gravity of the situation, declared he had no wish to stifle discussion, and in reference to the Savoy question, he could not deny that the Emperor's acts had belied his professions. The annexation of Savoy must be regarded as an accomplished fact, as none of the great European powers appeared inclined to move energetically in the matter; but with regard to the threatened attack on the independence of Switzerland, that was an affair which touched the peace of Europe nearly, and must be strictly canvassed by the guaranteeing powers of Europe. The noble Lord, with great dignity, which had an impressive effect on the House, concluded by saying that the annexation of Savoy with France would lead to other demands by France, and would increase the distrust of the other great Powers; and though wishing to live on the most friendly terms with France, it would be necessary to state broadly and firmly that no tranquillity could be expected in Europe while doubts existed of the French Emperor's intentions with respect to attacking this or that country, and that it would therefore be necessary for a union of the other Powers, for the purpose of preserving the rights and boundaries of nations. Lord J. MANNERS was entirely satisfied with the concluding remarks of Lord J. RUSSELL. Mr. BRIGHT considered we had nothing to do with the Savoy question, and he would interfere in no continental question, except those in which the honour of the country was concerned. He preferred entire isolation to perpetual intermeddling in the affairs of other nations. Lord C. HAMILTON emphatically protested against the narrow and selfish doctrines enunciated by Mr. BRIGHT. Mr. KINGLAKE also condemned the principles Mr. BRIGHT, and approved of the declaration just made by Lord J. RUSSELL. The subject then dropped; and the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER proceeded to push forward his Budget. The wine licensing question then came on, and was elucidated by Mr. GLADSTONE, but with no result, as the debate was adjourned till Monday. On Tuesday, Mr. KINGLAKE said Lord J. RUSSELL's declaration the previous evening induced him to withdraw the motion on Savoy, of which he had given repeated notice. The squabble about the Dover Packet Contract occupied nearly the whole of the sitting, and was brought to a termination by the House deciding, on a division, by 162 to 117 that the contract ought not to be carried out. The Church Rates question, when called on, induced Mr. PACE to state that he did not intend to trouble the House to divide on his amendment that the Bill be read that day six months. Mr. NEWDEGATE, however, refused to allow the division to be shelved, and accordingly moved that the House should consider in committee the expediency of providing some substitute for Church Rates. The amendment was seconded by Mr. CROSS. Mr. HORSMAN said the question of Church Rates' abolition had been fully exhausted; he would only therefore say that the settlement ought to come from Governmental, and not from private legislation. Sir J. TRELAUNY was prepared to give a candid consideration to any reasonable suggestion for the final settlement of the question. After a few words for the amendment from Mr. HENLEY and Mr. PHILLIPS, and against by Lord HENLEY, Sir M. PETO declared that nothing would satisfy the dissenters but unconditional repeal. Mr. WATTINGTON objected to the repeal of Church Rates without an equivalent, but he could not support the amendment. Mr. EVANS wished the question equitably settled. Lord JOHN MANNERL said, the obstacle to a fair settlement was the Bill of the hon. member for Tavistock. If the Bill passed in that House it would meet its deserved fate in the other House. After a few desultory remarks, Mr. WALTER said he was satisfied there were only two modes of properly dealing with the question: one was to repeal the decision of the Lords in the Baintree Case, the other to abolish Church Rates altogether. After a few strong remarks from Admiral WALCOT in favour of the Established Church and its usage, the House divided, and the amendment was lost by 222 to 49. The Bill then went into Committee. Sir G. GREY proposed three clauses, the effect of which was to charge rent on appropriated pews, the money to be applied to the repair of the fabric of the Church. The first clause having been negatived, the two others were withdrawn. Supply questions then occupied the rest of the sitting.

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