

Charles Nuttall Melhuish Publisher  
18, Abchurch Lane, E.C. 4.

# THE LEADER

## SATURDAY ANALYST;

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

No. 525.  
New Series, No. 15.

April 14th, 1860.

Price 5d.  
Stamped, 6d.

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Offices—No. 1, Dale Street, Liverpool; and 20 and 21, Poultry, London.

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The Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Proprietors in this Company was held on the 16th inst.

The Report of the Board of Directors was adopted unanimously and showed—

That the Fire Premiums for the Year amounted to £205,414 8s. 10d.

That the Life Premiums were £127,115 14s. 0d.

And the New Life Business, 815 Policies, insuring £309,809 0s. 0d., on which the Premiums were £14,920 11s. 8d.

The number of Proprietors exceeds 900; which, with unlimited liability, renders the security of the Company altogether beyond question.

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SWINTON BOULT, Secretary to the Company.

JOHN ATKINS, Resident Secretary, London.

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

Accumulated Fund..... £1,684,598 2 10

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

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

WILL THOS. THOMSON, Manager.

H. JONES WILLIAMS, Resident Secretary.

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

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

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

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

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C. DOUGLAS SINGER, Secretary.

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The Management have much pleasure in announcing to the Public that the Operatic Performances having given general satisfaction, will be repeated every evening until further notice.—See the opinions of the Public Press.

Monday evening, April 16th, will be presented Verdi's favourite Opera of

### IL TROVATORE.

Manrico, Mr. H. J. Haigh; Count de Luna, Mr. Charles Durand; Terrando, Mr. Thompson; Ruiz, Mr. Salvie; Azucena, Miss Emma Heywood; and Leonora, Miss Dyer. Before the Opera, the Band, comprising upwards of Sixty Performers, will play the Overture to OBERON.

Tuesday, April 17, and during the week will be performed a favourite English Opera, supported by the following eminent artists: Miss Dyer, Miss Emma Heywood, &c. Messrs. Henry Haigh, Melior Winter, Salvie, Borran, Thompson, and Charles Durand, and a Band and Chorus of One Hundred Performers. Conductor and Musical Director, Dr. JAMES PECH.

In consequence of its great success, the performance will conclude each evening with a Petite Ballet Comique, by Flexmore, entitled THE SPANISH DANCERS; or, Two too Many. In the course of the Ballet pas by Mdlle. Auriol and Mr. Flexmore, and the Grand Corps de Ballet. Bolero, Mdlle. Auriol and Flexmore, Valse by the Spanish Dancers; Zapateado by Mdlle. Auriol and Flexmore, and the Corps de Ballet of this Theatre.

Stage Manager, Mr. James Martin; Ballet Master, Mr. Flexmore; Treasurer, Mr. Lewis.

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The Box Office, under the direction of Mr. Nugent, open daily.

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Directress, Miss WYNDHAM.

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After which, A CHANGE OF SYSTEM.

To be followed by the highly successful Burlesque of LUCREZIA BORGIA AT HOME, AND ALL

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(of the English Opera), a numerous Corps de Ballet, and Mr. Charles Young.

To conclude with NO. FORTY-NINE.

Box-office open from 11 to 5 daily. Commence at 7.

Acting Manager and Treasurer, Mr. William Willett.

On Monday next, April 16, will be produced an entirely new Comedy, in three acts, entitled A

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MR. and MRS. HOWARD PAUL'S Farewell Season at St. James's Hall, in their brilliant Comedies and Musical Entertainment, which will be given every Evening next Week, and on Tuesday and Saturday Mornings at Three. Mr. Howard Paul in three New Songs—"The Man Who Knows Everybody," "When George the Third was King," and a burlesque serenade, "Tik-a-tik-a-tu." The "Living Photograph" of Mr. Sims Reeves in "Come into the Garden, Maud," and "Geraldine."

Stalls, 3s.; Area, 2s.; Gallery, 1s. Commence at Eight; carriages at Ten. Places may be secured at Austin's West-end Box-office, 28, Piccadilly.

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## THE SECOND ACT OF THE MINISTERIAL PLAY.

AFTER a brief interval Parliament is about to re-assemble. When the curtain fell at the close of the first act of the session, the principal characters were left in a somewhat doubtful position. The varied strength of the company had hardly been tested; and the majority of those who had previously filled distinguished parts had remained almost mute. The two most prominent performers had indeed won applause rather for their manner of giving what they had to give, perhaps, than for the sake of the thing given. Mr. GLADSTONE never stood so high as "the great rhetorician of the day;" his superiority as a logical vocalist never was so universally acknowledged; his rivals never seemed before so far distanced, and the intoxication of success, when it now and then betrayed itself, was never deemed so pardonable. But the plaudits had hardly ceased when doubts arose whether the whole performance was not, in a certain point of view, a splendid mistake. Going off at score, as he had done, and exhausting prematurely every resource and expedient conceivable, what could remain for him throughout the second and third acts? The richest jewels of the Exchequer having been lavishly pawned to secure the friendship of France, what was left to play with, should the first sacrifice prove to have been made in vain? Ominous sounds to this effect had been indistinctly heard while yet the chorus of *Entente Cordiale* was still ringing in our ears; and men whispered moodily to one another as the wizard of the scene was still gracefully bowing his acknowledgments,—“Can we have paid the price and missed the consideration after all?”

The position of Lord JOHN RUSSELL was not very dissimilar. As foreign minister he had from the outset taken a high and ambitious tone. Regardless of Austrian feeling, but confident of being able to exercise a potential influence over the councils of France, his advice to the Italians often outran, indeed, the views of the Tuileries; but he always counted upon being able to restrain, by friendly representations, the impatient egotism of "our great ally." Had he been duped throughout about Savoy? or was there any truth in the retorts, not indistinctly or inaudibly uttered by M. DE PERSIGNY in London and M. DE THOUVENEL in Paris, that ample notice of the Imperial intentions had really been given from the first, but that the English Government could not or would not hear? NAPOLEON III. has certainly some right to say that had England not thwarted him respecting the annexation of Tuscany, he might and would have been content to forego "the French slopes of the Alps;" but that, inasmuch as the autumn was spent by our Government in preventing, by every means short of open interference, the territorial severance of the Grand Duchy from the rest of the Italian kingdom, we could not be surprised at his wishing to compensate himself for his diplomatic defeat by enforcing the terms of the celebrated *Pacte de famille* of January, 1859; and that Lord COWLEY must be a stupider man than even he is believed to be if he did not understand throughout that the two annexations, namely, that of Tuscany and of Savoy, were throughout regarded as counter-weights both at Turin and Paris. The conduct of M. CAVOUR in this business is indeed somewhat difficult to understand. That he was a party to the original bargain admits of no dispute; it is even alleged that the transfer now completed was negotiated by him, together with the marriage of the Princess CLOTILDE, during his visit to the EMPEROR at Plombière, in September, 1858. But as the latter event was kept secret until the eve of its celebration, so the former was steadily denied with more or less emphasis by the Minister of VICTOR EMMANUEL up to the very last hour. The well-known declaration put into the mouth of the KING only six weeks ago, that he would neither sell nor give away his hereditary dominions beyond the Alps, is now attributed to the counsels of England. A few telegraphic flashes of indignation from Paris rapidly succeeded in shaking this chivalrous resolve, if resolve it ever were. The PALMERSTON Cabinet was called upon to say plainly whether it was prepared to back that of Turin in resisting the exactions of France, and the answer being in the negative nothing remained but submission. When the thing was to be done, it might as well be done promptly and gracefully; and so M. CAVOUR, having had the aid of England's moral influence to secure the consolidation of a great and populous kingdom for his sovereign, in spite of the will of France, naturally thought that the next best thing he could do was to retain the friendship of that dangerously powerful friend, by letting him resume quietly the Alpine frontier of 1793. Lord JOHN RUSSELL may fairly claim credit for having aided materially in the establishment of the new Italian kingdom; and he has adroitly contrived to save himself and his colleagues from national blame in the matter of Savoy. But when he ventured to threaten, however vaguely, the renewal of *rapprochements* with the despotic powers of the Conti-

nent, by way of holding Imperial ambition in check, he committed himself in words, at least, to a course which he must feel it would be impossible for him actually to take. The Courts of St. Petersburg and Vienna understand this well, though they would willingly draw the English Ministry on to palterings and palaverings against France, with the *arrière pensée*, that whenever our Government arrived at the point of harking back and recalcitrating, they would be in an advantageous position to make advantageous terms for themselves with the "common enemy." Such is the bottomless quagmire of bad policy and bad faith on the verge of which Lord JOHN has been making his personal reputation prance and cariole. We venture to prognosticate that ere the second act of the parliamentary drama be half played out, Lord JOHN will have been driven to explain away, if not retract altogether, the expressions which were cheered to the echo by a reactionary House of Commons, as foreshadowing another League of Pilsnitz.

Some of the Budget bills still await legislative decision. There will be, it is said, a regular row on the Wine Licenses question, and a pitched battle on the Paper Duty. The most sanguine supporters of the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER begin to talk doubtfully of the necessity for sacrificing so large an amount of revenue this year for sake of an experiment like that which he proposes to try in the art of cheap paper-making. Great doubts are entertained whether the price to the consumer would be perceptibly lessened by the sacrifice of £1,200,000 to the Treasury; and increasing uneasiness is felt as to the depth of the financial chasm that already begins to be visible in 1861. We should not, moreover, be surprised if certain Whig names were found wanting in the list of the division that is likely to take place on the Paper Duties. Jealousy of Mr. GLADSTONE's parliamentary position, distrust of his judgment as a financier, and, above all, antipathy to the pre-eminence self-asserted by the merchant's son, combine in various minds in varying degrees to instigate the meditated mutiny and desertion. Without any desire to swear by Mr. GLADSTONE as a prophet, we own we have a genuine sympathy for him rather than with him; and we should feel it to be a deep disgrace to the Liberal party if, by a combination of despicable intrigues and pettifoggish resentments, he were now to be hustled from power. But a man of genius thus beset can be saved only by himself. If he is wise he will be warned in time, and not wait until he is circumvented. Mr. GLADSTONE must play out or lose the game. He has gone too far to recede, or hesitate with safety. In foreign affairs and in finance he has proved himself to be liberal enough; but, unfortunately, on the pressing question of Reform, he has not only held back hitherto, but to his influence, amongst others in the Cabinet, is ascribed the dwarfish proportions of the present measure. He might clear this fence at a bound. Never was a great speech on a great question more wanted; never would present popularity and future power more certainly follow from a great oratorical effort. If Mr. GLADSTONE has but the courage to speak as he alone can speak on the Second Reading of the Bill it will be carried this session; if he shirks his duty, in the hope of propitiating the GREY and CLARENDON and GOWER factions, who are already plotting his overthrow, he will fail in his object, and the Bill will be lost. We say distinctly and advisedly, that with him the responsibility rests in a peculiar sense at the present moment. People who wish to forget his ill-advised apology for the maintenance of rotten boroughs when he sat on the Tory side of the House will be driven to recall it, if, when the House re-assembles, prompt and vigorous exertions be not made to carry the Bill through Committee. It will be said—and said unanswerably—that had the measure been a better measure, it would have had more support out of doors; and that it is what it is, because Mr. GLADSTONE and other members of the Carlton Club have shared in its production. We do not care to inquire just now into Cabinet mysteries. Mysteries let them remain, so that the people are not again bilked and balked of all even the most moderate concessions. It is pretty clear to all who choose to see that, with half the present holders of office, the promise of Reform is but an organized hypocrisy. Some of these worthies are actively engaged writing and speaking against the Bill; and, as far as we know, there is not a man of them, excepting perhaps Lord JOHN himself, who is taking the slightest part in counteracting these acts of treachery. We call it treachery, for no other phrase is fitting; and we are in possession of proofs which shall not be wanting if it becomes necessary hereafter to disclose them. Meanwhile we repeat it—the fate of the Reform Bill is in Mr. GLADSTONE's hands. Let him cordially and generously unite with Lord JOHN RUSSELL, and dare the Opposition to vote on its main provisions, and the Old Bailey arts and Quarter Session quibbles of opposition will go for naught, as they did when tried against the French Treaty and the Budget.

## NAPOLEONIC TACTICS.

THE Government of NAPOLEON III. may do good things as well as bad things, but it has no capability for simple, straightforward, intelligible conduct. Its foundations were laid in unvarnished, and its superstructure does no discredit to its cornerstone. A little while ago a London journal predicted that some attacks would be made upon England in pursuance of orders from head-quarters, and accordingly we were accused of inciting the insurrection in Sicily, and the Carlist movement in Spain. If we compare these attacks with those which occurred at an earlier date, we notice a diminution of virulence, and, after they had served their purpose, a remonstrance from our ambassador caused an official communication to be sent to the *Pays* and the *Patrie*, in which the "imputations against a neighbouring power" were called "lamentable," and the papers in question were informed that "they ought not to have accepted these imputations, knowing that they were devoid of authenticity."

The fact is, the French Government is in the habit of provoking animosity against England by way of a counter-irritant whenever Imperial schemes require such a diversion, and as an apothecary removes a blister when he thinks it has done its work, so the Napoleonic practitioner withdraws his international cantharides plaster as soon as the cuticle of his patient has been sufficiently disturbed. Such a plan is not honest, and may one day end in producing more inflammation than is required, and it has, moreover, the characteristic of exciting a taste for recrimination and scandal that it may not always be convenient to gratify. There are states of society in which making accusations first and withdrawing them afterwards, damages the reputation and influence of the person so acting; but where a genuine public life is not permitted to exist, there is a probability that the slander will go further and live longer in men's minds than the retraction, and this is why we regret that the Imperial information manufactory should so often be employed in producing a fraudulent article.

But we do not argue from these incidents that an important separation of French and English interests must necessarily occur. In both countries there are parties who dislike to witness an extremity of friendship, and whenever the Emperor finds himself accused of leaning too much towards England, he orders the Gallie cock to utter a querulous or a threatening "Cock-a-doodle-do!" In England we have parties quite as mischievous as the Anglophobists of France, and they get what they want said in the newspapers, without troubling the QUEEN or the PRINCE-CONSORT to drop a communication in the editor's box. The merchant and speculator grow weary of the uncertainty that hangs over foreign affairs, and which continually proves a hindrance to business, and checks the ardour of trade. It is always easy to get up a cry against letting France grow too powerful, and dominate too much over mundane affairs. We do not take upon ourselves the function of prophets, because, judging from the past, great movements have usually the character of a surprise, and such movements are possible at any moment; but we have reason to believe that an occasional difference of opinion between the two countries is precisely what the French Government wants in order to flatter the national vanity by an appearance of independent and autocratic action. We are therefore ready to imagine that when the Swiss or other difficulty has served its object, we may find it susceptible of removal without any particular harm being done. The French empire was itself a surprise, and it lives upon surprises and states of bewildering expectation. If the French were not always expecting that the lessee of their Imperial theatre was on the point of bringing out a new piece with startling effects, they would endeavour to become managers themselves, but they are content to be spectators so long as there exists enough prosperity to supply bread, and their rulers furnish the circus games.

NAPOLEON III. is like METTERNICH in being too jealous of rivals to give any prominence to able men, and were it not for an occasional exhibition of public spirit by the bar, France would be apt to forget that a people can have any other relation towards its Government than that of being either its tools or its slaves. Looking to the importance of any dignified protest on behalf of freedom, it is gratifying to see the way in which the bar of Paris and fourteen other cities have espoused the cause of EMILE OLLIVIER; and although the Court of Cassation has sunk deeper into disgrace by rejecting his appeal, there is some hope for the future, when Government usurpation in courts of law is strenuously condemned by all the principal lawyers of the land. We trust the day is not far distant when France will become an object of imitation for civil liberty; but, in contemplating the faults of the Empire, we cannot forget that the elder BOURBONS have proved themselves the unscrupulous enemies of liberty of all kinds, while the ORLEANS branch worked the constitutional system so dishonestly, as to bring it to destruction

and contempt. Whatever may be its defects or collisions with other European Powers, there is reason to hope that England will be far less dissociated from France as an empire, than from France under any form of BOURBON misrule. It may prove well for the ultimate interests of Europe that a strong and dexterous Government should exist on the other side of the channel, which is bound, for its own safety, to lower the influence of the Ultramontanists and the POPE. The Holy Father cannot forgive the seizure of the papers he had intrusted to M. VEUILLOR, nor is the exposure of the plots of the Vatican likely to soothe the mind of the occupant of the Tuileries. In the Papal quarrel, however, as in other things, the Imperial Government plays a tortuous course, and, by sanctioning the strange act of LAMORICIERE, he gives his enemy an able general in exchange for the maledictions which PRO NOVO is pouring forth. There is, however, policy in this; and LAMORICIERE is encouraged to lose his character and reputation, just as ODILON BARRON was victimized at an earlier date. Imperialism is a gainer when France is taught to despise and distrust her public men; and the spectacle of a republican general acting against the liberties of Italy is well calculated to produce this effect.

In a few days, universal suffrage, worked according to the Imperial patent, will have obtained the predetermined vote from Savoy. Trickery and coercion will prevent the feelings of the inhabitants of the Swiss valleys from expressing their real thoughts. Having cleared away all justice and right, the ground will then be free for an act of grace; and it is not improbable that NAPOLEON III. may think it worth while to purchase laudation by the prudent step of conciliating the Swiss, who might be dangerous enemies if forced to abandon their neutrality and seek safety in an alliance with the German states. We may also look to the forthcoming pamphlet for a further exposition of the programme for 1861; according to report it will threaten to balance the nationalities against any monarchical coalition that is likely to occur.

Next month Quakers are in season, and peace principles will resound from the platform of Exeter Hall; but the country is more likely to pay attention to the "Take care of your pockets" alarm given by the DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE at the Easter Monday Mansion House mixture of war and turtle. His Royal Highness recommends a "judicious but ample expenditure" for the safety of our island. Tax-payers may be sure it will be "ample," and everything is "judicious" that adds to the patronage of the Court the jobbery of departments, and the depression of merit to make way for rank.

## METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS.

A BILL to confer increased powers on the Metropolitan Board of Works has been prepared under the direction of that body, printed, and privately circulated, previous to its consideration in Parliament. The degree of publicity thus given to the designs of our legislators for London, as well as the pressing importance of the subject, renders any apology superfluous from us for directing early attention to the subject. Questions of the utmost practical moment are raised by the contemplated Extension Bill. The act, under which the Metropolitan Board was called into existence three years ago, was confessedly an experiment. It may possibly be said that it is too soon to call for public judgment on the question, whether or not that experiment has succeeded; but if those to whom its conduct has been confided insist upon a verdict, they must abide the issue. Few persons outside the narrow circle in which Messrs. THWAITES, TITE, and Company live and move and have their Metropolitan being, can doubt what that verdict will be. As administrators, the past career of the Board has been characterized by an ineptitude and inefficiency painfully surprising. As financiers they have contrived to earn for themselves the reputation of being unequal taxers and public wastrels. As a corporate body they have come to be regarded as about the most precociously accomplished *job-ocracy* going. In this judgment the undiscerning public will of course be told by its Guildhall tax-masters that it is entirely in the wrong. Diligence, they will be told, was never more exemplary, or disinterestedness more transparent than that of the existing Board. If hardly any minor improvements are to be shown for the vast resources made available for metropolitan purposes generally, it is because these resources are being hoarded frugally to meet the requirements of the magnificent designs for securing the health and comfort of unborn generations by the heavy taxation of this. And when some querulous critic exclaims, How about the estimates?—he is met with the flip-pant reply, that a wide disparity between tenders for large public contracts is a fact familiar in railway undertakings, as in all others of like magnitude:—a reply calculated to provoke certain sharp rejoinders, rather than to silence grave misgivings. But whatever may have been the logical process by which the



community at large have arrived at its present conviction, that conviction indisputably is, that a more ill-constituted governing body for local purposes the kingdom does not contain; and that a less intelligible or satisfactory account of incoming expenditure has seldom been presented to the public, than that which from time to time has been vouchsafed to us thereby.

Under these circumstances, it may appear somewhat extraordinary that a demand should be made from the Legislature of vastly additional powers. Not content with the revenues already placed at their disposal, the members of the Central Board require that several others should be intrusted to them likewise. Were they popular without being efficient, or were they efficient without being popular, these further dippings into the pockets of the public might be endured. As they are neither the one nor the other, we trust they will be resisted as they deserve. Before any new prerogatives are conceded to them, the mode of choosing these metropolitan representatives ought certainly to be changed. We do not believe that one man out of twenty whom they tax has any distinct conception of how they are chosen. We remember to have read, some time ago, perhaps, a paragraph in a morning paper, mentioning that Mr. So-and-So having been agreed on (when, where, or how not stated), by the majority of the vestry of the parish in which he lives, toils, and pays, and that therefore all other candidates have withdrawn; but what all this means, and in what way Mr. So-and-So represents him or his interests, he did not know then, and he does not know now, and he never will know until the end of time. The Metropolitan Board has, in point of fact, been put together on what is called by courtiers "The Albertine System," out of compliment to his Royal Highness, by whom it was imported from Germany. Everything in that country is managed by the indirect method of double election; and the result is deemed so favourable to bureaucratic ascendancy, and the complete domination of the supreme executive Government, that it is not wholly unaccountable how it should happen to be introduced here. Lord GREY, and other flatterers of the Court, do not hesitate to declare that the influence of the Crown has diminished, is diminishing, but ought to be increased; and they well know that what they aim at cannot be effected without disaccustoming the people generally to direct participation in the management of their own affairs. They urge, therefore, upon all occasions, the withdrawal of power from popularly constituted bodies, and its delegation to irresponsible Boards, Corporations, and Commissions; and then, by way of making a show of respect for the old free and English method of public choice, they vest the nomination of such bodies in some other Council, Committee, or Cabal. The whole thing is part and parcel of one great system, alike insidious and subversive; and, as far as the Metropolitan Board is concerned, that non-representative system is now upon its trial.

#### MAJOR VERSUS MINOR.

EVERYBODY has a fancy for finest specimens—perhaps even of thunder, if he is at a safe distance, or within safeguard of a good conductor; and everybody may not have met with so fine a sample as the following. Its echoes are only to be caught in the far distance of history. Now, the loud roar of the Papacy has dwindled to the childish treble of decrepitude; its gunpowder is of that white kind, the charcoal of which was said to be made of dead men's cinders (the Church of Rome could at one time furnish a good deal of such charcoal), which went off with the mildest possible explosion. But to our specimen:—

"May the offenders never withdraw from the society of JUDAS, CATHARIAS, HEROD, and PONTIUS PILATE. May they perish by the curses of angels, and experience the communion of SATAN in the perdition of the flesh. . . . May they unite celestial maledictions, and terrestrial maledictions. . . . If they amend not, nor make reparation, may they be cursed in the four quarters of the world, cursed in the east, abandoned in the west, interdicted in the north, struck by excommunication in the south: may they be cursed by day and excommunicated by night, cursed in their houses and out of their houses—excommunicated; cursed when they are about, and excommunicated when they are seated; cursed when they eat and cursed when they drink; cursed when they sleep and excommunicated when they wake; cursed when they work, and excommunicated when they endeavour to repose; cursed in spring, and excommunicated in winter, cursed in summer and excommunicated in autumn, cursed in the present, and excommunicated in future ages. May strangers seize all their goods; may their wives go to perdition, and their children perish by the sword; may their nourishment be accursed; may the remains of their table be accursed, and may those who taste of them be accursed also: may the priest who shall offer them the body and blood of our Lord, or who shall visit them in their illness, be cursed and excommunicated: may all those be cursed who shall carry them to the sepulchre, or shall pretend to bury them; may they, in fine, be cursed and excommunicated by all possible maledictions."

This is only a fragment of the bolt launched against Count WILLIAM of Provence and ADELAIDE his mother, and extracted by SAMONDI, the historian, from *Les Preuves de l'Histoire de la Ville de Nismes*.

Just to recover from the effects of all this dreadful cursing and swearing, as SHAKESPEARE softens down the horror in *Macbeth* by introducing the delicateness of the air where the swallows build, and the lovely site of the Castle; and as VIRGIL carries you from the din of the forge where the sooty Cyclops of VULCAN are hammering the thunderbolts, out to the balmy air and twittering birds of the morning—so we tell the reader that we have visited the remains of the Abbey which was the cause of all these tremendous imprecations. Beside a drowsy canal which runs or rather passes between Nismes and the sea, not more than a morning's pilgrimage from the Maison Carrée, and the glorious spring that issues from the base of the Tourmagne hill, is the original nest of the famous RAYMONDS of Toulouse: the abbey church of St. Gilles still stands in its sleepy little town, now scarcely more than a poor village, grey with centuries of the Languedoc sun. When we saw it, all nature seemed to be taking its midday siesta, and we were glad to take cool refuge in the lower church—for it is double, the upper church on a level with the soil, and the lower co-extensive with it—a huge subterranean crypt, its arched roof supported by short but enormously massive pillars. The stillness, sultry without, and dark and solemn within, contrasted strangely with all the passions which, centuries ago, its possession excited, and the curses which it entailed on its usurpers. And who was the curser? Not by any means one of the mightiest of those,

"Who rose like shadows between man and God,  
Till that eclipse, still hanging over heaven,  
Was worshipped by the world o'er which they strode  
For the true sun it quenched."

It was BENEDICT the Eighth, only a minor thunderer; not a GREGORY nor an INNOCENT.

Fierce as they were, we think there is a tendency to overrate the actual effect of excommunications on those against whom they were launched, even in the most vigorous days of the Papacy. We need only cite a very few instances out of many. It seems to have affected subjects far more than princes themselves, some of whom appear to have passed their lives in the pleasing alternations of getting cursed and forgiven. They dreaded it mainly as it gave enemies an excuse and an opportunity for attack, and subjects a pretext for disobedience. Our boldest princes obeyed or disobeyed as it suited them. WILLIAM I. was glad of the justification of GREGORY for his attack upon England, but would allow of no internal interference when he was once in possession. JOHN cowered before INNOCENT, but it was INNOCENT backed by France; and the two only successful expeditions in JOHN's reign, those against Wales and against Ireland, were undertaken when he was actually under an interdict. HENRY the Second of England, and HENRY the Fourth of Germany, bowed to the Pope only because he could hound on armed aliens or revolted subjects against them. The Venetians in Sir HENRY WOTTON's time defied him and his excommunications, on a mere question of mortmain. CHARLES the Fifth and the army of the Constable BOURBON blocked up a threatening, protesting Pope in the Castle of Angelo, till he escaped, fully anticipating that he and his place of refuge would be blown up together, so much more formidable were what HEDIBRAS calls

"Unanswerable barrels  
Of gunpowder for ending quarrels,"

than any fulminations of the Papacy.

Domestic episcopal excommunications fared no better. When HENRY the Third of England was false to our great charter, "the bishops assembled with the peers, in presence of the king, on the 3rd day of May, 1253, in Westminster Hall, and with the most terrific solemnities excommunicated, anathematised, and expelled from the bosom of the Catholic Church all transgressors of the ancient liberties of the realm, especially of those which are contained in the Great Charter. Whilst the sentence was reading, the king held his hand on his heart with a calm and cheerful countenance.\* When the prelates had, according to usage, thrown away their extinct and smoking tapers, saying, 'So let all be extinguished and sink into the pit of hell who incur this sentence,' the king answered, 'So help me God, as I shall observe and keep all these things, as I am a Christian man, as I am a knight, as I am a king crowned and anointed!'" Shortly afterwards he treated the whole affair with as little regard as the barons who won the Charter did the threat of JOHN to bring the Pope and his excommunications to act against them.

The effect of excommunication, indeed, in a purely religious

\* Macintosh's England.

point of view, seems rarely to have been very great on the minds of the parties excommunicated, and we might adduce further instances had we space for them.

And what beside these lightnings which gleam in the far-off of time, is the papal anathema which entertains rather than terrifies the present? It resembles strongly the excommunications which were enacted in that earliest seat of Puritans at Jersey, as described by PETER HEYLIN, chaplain to Lord DANBY, who blames ELIZABETH strongly for allowing the Calvinistic discipline to be there established. The processes were very much like those we have lately seen. On the first Sunday the offending parties are prayed for and remonstrated with, then the persons are named without the offence, and then the offence itself. Thus mild and gradual was the Puritan method. But sheet lightning may do good; even the sham lightning in the play of the *Tempest* is said to have turned one GEORGE BURTON from a life of recklessness. What may, then, be the effect of the powdered resin of the Vatican?

Sometimes the lightning does the most harm to those who hurl it. We do not know whether the Pope is a Latin scholar. Lucretius may be in the Index Expurgatorius of interdicted books, but we have no doubt one may be found in the Vatican library. Did he ever read the following warning?—

“Fulmina mittit et aedes  
Ipse suas disturbat.”

As to those two philosophic FRANKLINS, LOUIS NAPOLEON and VICTOR EMMANUEL, they know, it seems, how to draw the electric fluid from the clouds, and to render it perfectly harmless, though it seems to be descending upon themselves.

Perhaps they will resemble that knight of Burgundy around whose house, as the legend runs, meteoric bolts, some of them as big as milestones, were falling for three years, without once hurting him. One OTTO, an excommunicated German baron, whilst under the curse, could not even get his dogs to take food out of his hands: we wonder if our two offending potentates will find courtiers similarly reluctant.

The Church of Rome, with accursed hypocrisy, used to bite the hardest when she barked the least. Her “*vade in pace*,” “go in peace,” was the form for walling up offenders alive; and when she handed over criminals to the civil arm, it was with the request that they should be leniently treated, which generally meant burnt alive.

We have said nothing with intentional bitterness against the present Pope, whose spirit, naturally mild as he is, seems greater than his prudence or his resources. In trying to defend what he considers his patrimony he has acted at least more nobly than the King of SARDINIA, and he has done what many of those who revile him would have done, if bred in his faith and placed in his position. He may be, saving their fatal end, the CHARLES the First or LOUIS the Sixteenth of the papacy. He has just the character of a victim, more weak than bad, and unequal to the exigencies of his time, with the additional curse of bad advisers.

#### STATE PAPER-CURRENCY.

INDIA is to have a State paper-currency. Mr. WILSON has drawn up a plan to establish it, and Sir CHARLES WOOD is quite ready to sanction the “introduction of a circulation of Government paper.” In truth, the plan appears to be, in a great measure, his own, and Mr. WILSON is only carrying into effect some pre-arrangements with him. “Before Mr. WILSON left this country,” says Sir CHARLES, “I had, in communication with him and the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England, considered the general question of a paper-currency for India, and the proposals submitted by Mr. WILSON in his Minute embody the general features of the scheme then suggested.” There is intrinsic evidence in the plan that it emanates more from Sir CHARLES than Mr. WILSON. With one or two trifling recommendations, his observations on Mr. WILSON’s proposals are approvals. He cordially assists in carrying them into execution. He has taken measures, in conjunction with the Bank of England, to forward a supply of notes for Calcutta early in Autumn, and we may confidently expect that about that time Government notes will be put into circulation in Bengal. The most envious critic cannot accuse either Sir CHARLES or Mr. WILSON of a want of zeal to serve the Hindoos in this matter, and bestow on them all the blessings of a State paper-currency. We may say the thing is positively to be done, and all we have to do is to lay before our readers, from Mr. WILSON’s Minute, a brief outline of his plan.

By the agency and help of the Bank of England, which has put all its resources at the service of Government, foregone all its “exclusive privileges with respect to paper, water-mark, printing,” &c., notes like those issued by it are at once to be

prepared. Mr. WILSON and Sir CHARLES differ a little on this point, for while the Minute proposes to have the requisite machinery for manufacturing the notes sent from England, and that they should be made in Calcutta for all India, Sir CHARLES suggests that they should all be transmitted ready for issue from this country. But having notes promising to pay sums of five, ten, twenty, one hundred, and five hundred rupees, to the manufacture of which there is no limit, they are all to be placed by the Government in the hands of an exclusive Board, to be called the “Currency Commission,” composed of one chief commissioner, the master of the Mint, and some other public functionaries. The chief commissioner is to be the acting officer for the management and issue of notes; and the others are to form a check on “the conduct of the department.” They are to take care that the provisions of the law relative to the quantity of coin to be maintained in proportion to the notes issued, the amount of securities possessed, &c., are carried into effect. This chief commissioner, with the necessary adjuncts of secretaries, clerks, &c., is to have his place at Calcutta. There is to be another commissioner for each Presidency; and deputy commissioners, one for each currency circle—the circles are yet to be marked out—are to be appointed, with whom, in like manner, some local functionaries are to be connected as checks. These deputy commissioners, under the direction of the chief, will perform in the various districts functions similar to those of the Calcutta establishment.

The business of the Chief Commissioner will be to manufacture, as Mr. WILSON proposes, all the notes required for the whole of India, or, as Sir C. WOOD proposes, to receive them ready manufactured from the Bank of England, to adapt the notes for the circles, causing them to be dated from the place of issue; to change notes for coin and coin for notes; to purchase bullion; to supply the local banks with notes; to purchase and hold securities in conformity with regulations laid down by law, and to give orders upon district banks for notes, in exchange for coin, or in payment for Calcutta notes, on terms to be stated and published monthly. This is with a view to inland exchanges. In short, this Board will exercise in the main the functions now exercised by the issue department of the Bank of England.

In order to avoid any danger of the system being “tampered with by the Government of the day,” the duties connected with the issue of notes are to be intrusted to officers rendered as independent as possible of the executive Government. The Board is to do no other business whatever, either for the Government or individuals. The members are to be appointed by the Governor-General in Council, but removable only by the Secretary of State; and their functions are to be strictly defined by an act of the Legislature. They are to be bound, under heavy penalties, to adhere to the regulations. The whole business is accordingly provided for by law.

The notes which the chief Board is to provide, or to have provided for it, are to be declared Legal-tender throughout India for private persons and Government business, except only at the different places of issue, where they must be paid in coin. They are, therefore, to be substituted for money, of which they will perform all the functions. Mr. WILSON has some doubts whether all notes may not be made payable at the “presidency capitals within which they are issued”—a condition considered by Sir C. WOOD to be of importance. “He would be sorry,” he says, “to find it impracticable,” though it may involve some difficulty in securing at every such capital, at all times, coin sufficient to pay the notes which might by possibility be presented. Assuming this difficulty got over, the “notes will be payable for revenue everywhere; each note will be payable in coin at the place of issue, and all notes of the Presidency wherein issued will be payable in coin at the capital of the Presidency.”

It is an essential condition of bank-notes promising to pay on demand, in order to maintain confidence in them, that they should be always paid on demand. To secure this payment, or the instant convertibility of the note at the place of issue, the commissioners, Chiefs and deputies, are to be obliged to retain, at all times, an amount of coin in their possession never less than one-third of the notes issued; and for the remainder of the issue they are to hold Government securities. It is, accordingly, supposed that by regulations in India that may be accomplished which no regulations have yet sufficed to accomplish in Europe, and under all contingencies, without any further help from legislation, such as suspending its own enactments, secure the instant conversion into cash, at the option of the holder, of every note issued. This is probably a mere dream, but the practicability is assumed, and on that assumption promises to pay on demand are to be issued by the Government, and made legal tenders for all purposes for which money is used. This is a very complete and gigantic system for a State paper-currency,—about its probable effects there will be very different opinions.



There can, however, be no doubt that the currency will come largely into use. As soon as notes are in the hands of the independent Commissioners, they are to exchange them with the Treasury for an equal amount of coin; and the Treasury is from that time to pay all demands on it, except sums less than ten shillings, in notes. This will at once place notes to a large amount in circulation, and successive issues by the Treasury will at least cause as many to be used as will be required for all its receipts and payments. Notes are, in many respects, so much superior to coin, especially for making large payments, that they will everywhere come into extensive use, unless restricted or prohibited. At each Presidency, in fact, there exists already a partial paper-currency, issued by the Banks of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and the Government plan necessarily stops them from doing what it undertakes to do. It has to make an arrangement with these banks for withdrawing their notes from circulation. We know no example of a Government undertaking to supply such a currency, and unable to get it into circulation. The difficulty has always been to limit the amount; the danger arising from such a currency has always come from its excess, not from its deficiency. The practical testimony of all civilized people is in favour of paper promises to pay, as subsidiary to, and the means of making actual payment; and we cannot for one moment doubt that her MAJESTY'S Government in India will be able to substitute, to a very great extent, a paper currency for the silver now in use in Hindostan. The notes for five and ten rupees will exclude a multitude of coins from common use.

Another matter equally clear is that these currency boards, chief and subordinate, wholly different from and independent of any revenue or other boards, whether district or metropolitan, will constitute a very large addition to the staff of the civil service of India, and to the patronage of the Government. Men who handle money must be well paid to keep them honest, and the chief and subordinate commissioners will no doubt have large salaries. All the staff, therefore, will require to be paid for doing that which the Banks of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras are now doing with a profit to themselves, and might if allowed do gradually and successfully for all Hindostan. Private bankers or companies of bankers do this for all Scotland. Nor does it appear likely, if the strict provision of keeping on hand coin to the value of one-third of the sum issued as notes be observed, that the Government will gain largely by the issue, beyond the additional loan it will at once contract by exchanging its promises to pay for coin. Sir CHARLES WOOD even anticipates a loss. All the profit which Mr. WILSON sets forth is confined, we think, to the reduction of the debt which will take place in another direction. Government securities purchased by the coin for which notes are substituted will be kept at a higher figure. A portion of the Indian debt will be absorbed by the issue department, and the dividends on the securities it holds will constitute, as far as we can see, its only profit. The Bank of England does not pay dividends by its issue department, exclusive as are its privileges, but by its banking business. Other banks which do not issue notes make larger profit, in proportion to their capital, than the Bank of England.

Not at present to enter at large into the principles which are at issue between this plan and free banking, we content ourselves with observing that there is no example of a State paper-currency not having been "tampered with by the Government of the day" when that suited its purposes. Every continental state of Europe supplies an example of such a currency tampered with, bringing on the confiding people through many years greater disasters than "storm, pestilence, and famine." Nor is our country an exception. Our Government has frequently "tampered" with the Bank circulation, and was the real author of much of the fraud and forgery and misery, which prevailed for many years, when for its own purposes it relieved the Bank from the obligation, written and printed on every one of its notes, to pay the bearer on demand. Even since it was brought to book by an honest and intelligent people for this malversation, and forced to recognise the duty of fulfilling expressed obligations, it has not hesitated to suspend for the behoof of the Bank its own very positive enactments. To save that establishment it promised an indemnity in 1847, and it again relieved it from its legal obligations in 1857. We do not condemn the suspension or the abrogation of a bad law; but we say that the class of men who did this in 1847 and 1857, and the present Secretary for India was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1857, will never boggle at suspending or abrogating the law in India, passed to secure the convertibility of the note, when that may be required by any fancied state necessity. They did it here when only the Bank was in danger, and they will not hesitate to do it in India if they think the Government endangered. We are sure, therefore, that a State paper-currency has not and cannot have

guarantees for its instant and constant convertibility into coin, equal to those of a currency of notes provided by bankers, such as has existed in Scotland without forgeries or failures of any importance for more than a century.

#### THE POPE IN JERUSALEM.

LATE accounts from PASQUIN, at Rome, that centre of pure religion, announce the intention of the POPE to appoint a Bishop of the Dead Sea and a Cardinal of Gomorrah.

Coupled with this startling intelligence comes a truer rumour of a still more surprising nature. We are informed that at the great gathering of the Easter pilgrims at Marseilles, and prior to the starting of the ragged crusade of those fanatics for the Holy Land, a proposition of the POPE's retirement to Jerusalem was seriously discussed among the dignitaries of the French Roman Catholic party. By a large majority of the more zealous, it was pronounced feasible, and the plan may now be considered as the fixed expedient of an influential party of Papal adherents. It was actually proposed to make Jerusalem, and not Rome, the papal capital. Weary of Italian turbulence and of French intrigues, the POPE himself may, for all we know, be a party to this daring and novel scheme, which if carried out, unimpeded by the European powers, would be the commencement of an ecclesiastical revolution, such as the world has not witnessed since the appearance of WYCLIFF, or the Avatar of LUTHER. Rome would again become a desert, tenanted only by staring travellers and the jabbering spectres of monks; the East would again be the seat of religious power, and the anchovy-sauce blood of St. JANUARIUS would boil, unheeded by any but a few half-savage fishermen. There can be no doubt that when the POPE left Europe all civilization worth mentioning would flow back again to the East, its first source. In another century from that terrible exodus, Englishman and Hottentot would be synonymous.

A poetic frenzy seizes us as we think of the POPE's departure from ungrateful Europe. He will sail, not in St. PETER's bark, for that is rather worm-eaten and leaky, but in a tremendous sacred three-decker, built of the wood of the true Cross. The helm will be made of the wooden leg of St. BARABBAS, and the ten thousand mummy virgins, battened down in the hold, will supersede the necessity of all life-boats and cork jackets. All the metal of that miraculous bark will be forged from the wheel on which St. CATHERINE was put to death, and the rigging will be woven from St. CECILIA's harp-strings. The chief ornament of the state cabin will be the three heads of St. DENIS; and no expense will be spared in procuring the most warranted relics, and the feather beds will be stuffed with plumes from the birds of Paradise.

The POPE, it is said, hearing of no relic that could stop seasickness, had expressed a wish to have the Baldachino from St. Peter's erected on the quarter deck into a sort of open-air cabin, but the project has been abandoned on account of the enormous weight of the canopy. The papal keys, a little corroded by being on the shelf near a box of BORGIA poisons, are to be scoured before the departure; and to symbolize the new dominion in the East, Cardinal ANTONELLI has proposed to add a fourth crown to the papal tiara, or *Corona stultitie*, as some call it from its peculiar conical shape.

It is said that a fleet of transports laden with winking Virgins and bleeding images will follow the POPE's great vessel, and that it is proposed to carry off from Rome, after first numbering the stones, the tomb of St. PETER and the holy stairs. It will be a great wrench for the Holy Father to leave the sacred city,—of that there can be no doubt. The treasure-house of art, the nursery of Christianity, where the first martyrs bled, and the saints and apostles preached; the scene of so many miracles, of such holy deeds, of such pious deaths, of so many virtues, of so few crimes. But let it comfort the good man that in going to the other side of Jordan he goes to an ecclesiastical Eden—to scenes of even more miracles—to the spot the holiest and most consecrated in the world. He can found new customs and create new titles; the Dead Sea will now have its efficient bishop, and Gomorrah its learned cardinal; there can be crusades against the Arabs of Edom, and the caravans can carry forth newly made relics to the furthest parts of the favoured earth. That great feast of the Church—the Carnival, can be revived with new attractions and Eastern dresses; and now, unimpeded by European conventions, a snug set of rooms for the Inquisition can be erected on Mount Moriah, with attached dungeons, cool and quiet, in the tombs of the kings in the valley of Jehosaphat. This institution, improved by hints drawn from the foolishly-abolished Star-chamber of that great divine Lana, and the German *Behm-Gericht* is well adapted to meet the wants of the new converts, who would flock in from the furthest regions of the East. The Swiss guards, to meet the times, will wear a costume half Janissary and half

Mameluke, and the *gendarmes*, on account of their late heroism in the Corso, will have a garland of laurel worked round their left arms.

Of course some snarling, bitter-tongued Protestants will say that the POPE's enthronement in Jerusalem is a fulfilment of DANIEL'S prophecy about the "abomination of desolations;" and our Holywell-street Jews will declare that the return of their discounting nation is put off for another score of centuries: but true religion must expect to be railed at.

Nor will the Church in its new seat be divested of its imposing and profitable ceremonies. In the blazing Eastern sun jewelled cope and golden crozier and starry mitre will shine brighter than they ever did in the cold deadly air of the Tramontana and the steaming balefulness of the Pontine malaria. Rome has been too much lived in; all the oxygen has gone from its air—all the living essences from its sepulchral earth—its soil is a solid paste, made up of dead Popes and their victims, martyrs and their murderers, relics, "unpleasant bodies"—Roman emperors and middle-age braves. The last long fallow after its early crops is again fit for the plough, and future harvests lie hid under the bears' feet on the little hill of Hermon, on Sinai, and on Gilboa. The very saints' bodies that will be discovered by the ecclesiastical antiquarians will alone turn Palestine into a Bendigo diggings. There is MOSES to look for, and he can be found "ever so many times," with considerable pecuniary advantage to the Papal treasury.

As for the Girandole, there is no reason that fireworks should not go off as well from the Mosque of Omar as from the Castle of St. Angelo (that great stone cheese—that mill-stone round the neck of Rome), and then what an admirable sight might be made by the POPE once a year drawing a net of purple silk or gold wire through the Sea of Galilee, in remembrance of St. Peter and his early avocation!

Then again, the scape-goat—there's an opportunity; make it a bull, or even a mule, in allusion to Protestantism; and what a pretty penny might be turned by fixing the true sites of miraculous events. These are low grounds, but we select them because, as one of the Fathers says, there "be people so niggard and narrowwitted that, had they been I or when his wife turned into a pillar of salt, they had nathelesse gone back and filled the family salt-box from the saline columna."

For hermits there would be a noble field of enterprise in the desert; indeed, even martyrs and confessors, some are of opinion, would find occupation in that unexplored section of the new Papal dominions. It will be the special object of the Holy Father to obtain PETER'S pence from these marauders, to be paid in dates and ostrich-feathers; and, as soon as possible, that extensive Bedouin country is to be turned into a see for a new bishop not yet named, though very strongly hinted at. Need we say rumour points to Cardinal W \* \* \* \* \*

With a palace on the shores of the Lake of Tiberias, and a winter palace near the Via Dolorosa, we see no reason the POPE should not be soon quite at home in his new dominion—with the Dead Sea so convenient for bathing, and Jericho, with its plain so admirable for horse-exercise. The missionary enterprises among the hitherto rather neglected Arabs will agreeably occupy, without straining, the mind of his Holiness, while he devotes his moments of solitude to his favourite project for annexing Africa, and settling a Regent Archbishop at Timbuctoo or Soudan. If all goes well, we see a new career of usefulness open to this ill-used but excellent man. We hardly know whether we can credit a report that the Holy Father is thinking of bringing out a popular series of Papal Bulls in penny numbers for general circulation. This, indeed, shows a determination to meet the wants of the age; proves what so many people have denied, that Popery is the friend of civilization and enlightenment.

The Turks once out of Jerusalem—the indecent conflicts between the Greeks and Latins at Easter put a stop to—the whole of Palestine mapped out into a new ecclesiastical hierarchical system, we may expect some good indeed to the world. It will be a glorious sight to see the POPE, in his simple state, riding safely along the plains of Armageddon, or being hauled in a basket up to the walls of the rock convents of Niar Saba. England must benefit by the increased trade in scratched oyster-shells from Bethlehem; and not a converted Arab will dare appear to kiss the Holy Toe, unless he be clad in an English shirt. A country with cardinals and cotton must be happy. Since WILLIAM of Tyre, the Holy City has not smiled till now, and now it is in a broad grin at this good news.

Happy POPE! Happy country to have such a POPE! Rome, miserable, ungrateful Rome! repent in sackcloth and ashes, for thy papa goes to a distant land, and takes with him all the relics that bring visitors. His brigands and gendarmes are going over the Jordan, and return—return to Loosaber no more.

The blood-red Papal sun sets in the west and dawns in the golden east. The dead Popes remain in Rome, because their removal would be expensive. The living incarnation of Papal wisdom talks of settling at Jerusalem. Let us breathe a hope that if he does really go to the other side of Jordan he may not forget to go to Jericho—for it is NAPOLEON'S earnest wish.

#### OUR TROUBLES IN JAPAN.

PHILANTHROPISTS sigh in vain for the advent of the time when civilized and Christian nations can manage to come into contact with untutored tribes, or the possessors of different and older forms of political and social existence, without either immediately quarrelling or laying the foundation for sanguinary and aggressive wars. Whenever the news arrives that an untried country is opened to British enterprise, enthusiastic religionists talk of the mission of England to spread the gospel of the Prince of Peace, while at the very moment, mercantile cupidity and the proverbial rapacity of officials are preparing to propel our principles with gunpowder and insinuate our faith through the agency of sharpened steel. In old Roman days ambitious generals, or emperors, with nothing else to do carried their victorious legions from land to land. They professed the business of conquest, and, making allowance for the barbarity of their generation, they managed it well. Their method had at least the merit of being consistent and intelligible. They came with no hypocritical pretences or bewildering announcements. They demanded sovereignty and tribute, and they stole them if their claims were denied. Our way is different, and scarcely more commendable. We profess the utmost friendship for the objects of our solicitude, and employ somebody who does not clearly know what he is about to negotiate a treaty which the principal parties do not understand. We tell them that our religion and our calico are much better than theirs: animated by the first, we recognise them as brothers, and love them as ourselves; accompanied by the second, we offer clothing to all the naked who are able and willing to give something more valuable in return. If our new acquaintances could at once give up their habits, customs, and traditions, and instantly desire to combine missionaries and bishops with consuls and factories, after the British model, all might go well, but it is not in human nature to make such abrupt transitions, and the aristocracy or ruling powers with whom we have to deal are apt to doubt our motives and despise our ways. Our "free-born Britons" treat their arrangements with disrespect, and neither a chaffering dealer nor an inebriated tar impresses them with a conviction of the superiority of our race. After a little while, some provisions of the treaty are infringed, or somebody gets hustled or pelted in the street. Then our plenipotentiary goes to work. He has acquired no intimacy or friendship with the functionaries with whom he has to deal, and can only speak to them through the medium of an interpreter, who is very likely ignorant of the precise meaning of the words either party employs, and after a sufficient quantity of palaver, despatch writing, and delay, the quarrel grows as ripe as a pear, and we fight, professing a horror of territorial aggrandizement, and a desire not to overthrow the government or institutions of the land.

The "Correspondence with HER MAJESTY'S Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan," recently laid before Parliament, enables us to see the incipient process of this oft-repeated game. The first idea of any rational being desiring to open a friendly intercourse with an almost unknown people, would be to learn to talk to them in their own tongue; and it would not be expecting anything unreasonable if HER MAJESTY'S Government, before accrediting an "Envoy Extraordinary and a Minister Plenipotentiary," should be required to provide a gentleman who could hold a conversation with the persons he was to convince. This would be the way to do it; but British statesmen are too well trained in the opposite art, and it might damage the "constitution" of a country which boasts of hereditary legislators, and has to provide for their relations and clients, if the principle of securing appropriate aptitude before making appointments, were carried into effect. In the Japan case, our "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary" is Mr. RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, a gentleman who, we dare say, possesses many excellent qualities, and who has shown his good sense in declaring that it must be laborious and up-hill work to make progress with a people whom you are not able to talk with. "So long as this exists there can be nothing very satisfactory either in our intercourse or in our relations. It is bad enough in discussing a wide range of subjects involving all the technicalities of trade and the provisions of treaties, that, whatever is said by each of the principals must go through the process in another tongue. But here the last recipient of any ideas sought to be conveyed by us to a Japanese authority offers not the slightest guarantee for fidelity in rendering even as much as he understands of such new matters, and that, I believe, is often very little." Mr. ALCOCK is not to blame for this absurd beginning; it was the Home Government, which provided a talking apparatus that could not talk, and our Envoy has a shrewd guess that, if he learns that art after the fashion of Japan, he shall be sent somewhere else where it will be of no avail. He says, "I am so penetrated with this conviction, that no good is to be done here until we can ourselves speak to the authorities, and in their own tongue, that I shall not hesitate to devote every spare hour to the acquisition of their language. It is quite possible I may not remain long enough to turn it much to account, but at least it will be a satisfaction to myself, and, I trust, may serve as an encouragement to others who are younger, and have more to look forward to in the service of their country."



Soon after his arrival, Mr. ALCOCK received congratulatory visits from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. These "affairs" are in the hands of a Minister and five Governors. The minister is one of the highest members of the Council of State, and according to Japanese custom is provided with a "double," who "sits on all public occasions by his side, and takes part in the business." A well-behaved crowd witnessed the landing and procession of the Envoy; officials ran before, jingling iron rings at the end of long staves, and this, with slight cords drawn across intersecting streets, kept the passage clear; a handsome custom-house, and two "really imposing and beautifully constructed landing-places, with flights of well laid granite steps of great extent," constituted the preparations made for foreign trade. A temple was assigned to our Envoy as a residence, and the people seemed "well pleased and interested in the novel spectacle of a foreign representative going in state to pay his first visit to the Tycoon's ministers far in the imperial quarter." Thus far the diplomatic heavens seem serene; but it is not civilized Europe alone that possesses a breed of reactionary Tories, men of other times, who catch an ague at the name of progress, and regard improvement as a mortal foe. The Protectionists of Japan succeeded in getting a bad locality offered for our merchants, and Envoy Plenipotentiary ALCOCK "considers that the settlement improvised by the Japanese authorities resembles, in all its main features, the humiliating position made for the Dutch at Decima two hundred years ago." All this was contrary to treaty; and so, on the 12th July, 1859, we were in possession of a *casus belli* in a flourishing state of babyhood, if not full grown. By July 13 another grievance was in full feather. The Japanese Government had agreed to furnish British subjects "with Japanese coin in exchange for theirs, equal weight being given, and no discount taken for recoinage." Japanese silver currency was in itzebous, half itzebous, and quarter itzebous—three itzebou being equal in weight to a dollar; but after the stipulation just mentioned, the Japanese authorities made a new kind of half itzebou, two of which were equal to a dollar in weight. If the silver were of equal fineness we do not see what this could matter, except that reckoning would be more complicated, through the existence of two coins bearing the same name, although differing in value; but Mr. ALCOCK complains that, by calling the new coin a half itzebou, it will only exchange for the original half itzebou, or its equivalent in produce. We should have doubted this action taking place, and it seems incredible that the Japanese Government should have, as Mr. ALCOCK supposes, "such absolute authority over their subjects" as to compel them to deal with foreigners, as if the large half itzebou were worth no more than the small one, and then take the big coin to the treasury and accept a little one in its stead. But, however this may be, it seems that, within a month of our "Envoy Plenipotentiary and Minister Extraordinary" meeting the Governor of Nagasaki, he had a location difficulty and a coinage difficulty on his hands together. While these quarrels were brewing, the state processions and upholstery part of the business went on bravely; the treaty, written in Japanese and in Dutch, was carried through the city of Yeddo, resting on a silk cushion, under a canopy decorated with flags and evergreens, guarded by artillery and marines, and followed by "fifty of the crew of Her Majesty's ship Samson," while the officers of the Consulate-General and Captain HANCE, with his officers, "were all on horseback." It was a bright July morning; four miles had to be traversed, "through a populous quarter of the commercial city." The "steadiness and good conduct of the men was exemplary," and our Extraordinary Envoy noticed "that all eyes were fixed upon the canopy, and were evidently drawing each other's attention to it."

While all organs of vision were thus calling each other's attention to the treaty, we are not informed whether Mr. ALCOCK struck up the well-known strain of, "Drink to me only with thine Eyes," which might have been appropriate to the occasion, but we have the satisfaction of learning that Ota Bingono Kami and Manabe Simoosano Kami, Councillors of State for Foreign Affairs of the Empire of Japan, exchanged ratifications of the treaty with Mr. ALCOCK. By the 28th June Consul HODGSON grows weary of official visits at Nagasaki, and declines receiving any more, demanding written replies to his communications, "since nothing came out of these tedious visits." Accordingly he succeeds in getting seven letters, more or less satisfactory. On the 14th July, Envoy Extraordinary ALCOCK writes another epistle to Lord MALMESBURY, which looks as if the little mercantile world which had migrated to Japan did not altogether appreciate his benevolent intentions to afford them a dry-nurse sort of aid. He tells his Lordship that the Dutch merchants had rented houses and stores at the settlement he objected to, which confirms his impression that the Dutch Commissioner, Mr. DUNKER CURTIUS, "took no exception to the proposed site and arrangements." This was a blow to Mr. ALCOCK's location quarrel, but he comforted himself with the reflection that "no act of the representative of another Power could bind him." But the conduct of Mr. DUNKER CURTIUS and the Dutch was not the only grief to which Mr. ALCOCK was exposed. "Mr. KESWICK, a representative of the house of JARDINE MATHESON and Co., has seen fit, notwithstanding a notification warning British merchants of the danger of defeating efforts made in their interest for a fitting location, and a better understanding with the authorities on that and other subjects immediately connected with the opening of the port, to take a house in the Japanese settlement." The American traders are equally intractable, and all began to do business as well as they could, "in despite of the adverse view entertained by the British and American diplomatic agents." Mr. ALCOCK regrets that he cannot punish the people who thus prefer their own interest to diplomatic squabbles; and, as he can do nothing with the

European merchants, he declares it urgent that "something more satisfactory should be obtained without delay, and no time lost, therefore, in bringing the Japanese Government to a sense of the impossibility of maintaining their present position in respect to the trade and location of foreigners at the new port." Thus our Extraordinary Envoy turns out to be an apparatus for quarrelling, and acts in opposition to the merchants who are chiefly concerned.

On the 7th October, Lord JOHN RUSSELL "entirely approves" of Mr. ALCOCK's "various steps," although, in the next sentence, he points out the probability of the Japanese succeeding in making Yokuana the business station. On the 28th July, Mr. ALCOCK writes that the BRUCE and HOPE manufactured disasters in China had produced a bad impression in Japan, that the liberal party had been overthrown at Yeddo, and the Tories installed in office and power. Even the lives of the liberal ministers had been in danger from the violence of the protectionist nobles. With such a state of affairs, it was not to be expected that European residents would enjoy much peace, and accordingly we soon hear of personal outrages committed by Japanese officers, who had the countenance of the Damios, or nobles, in their misdeeds. Moreover, the merchants were compelled to be idle, as the Japanese traders were afraid of taking dollars, and the Treasury made no satisfactory arrangements for their exchange. Presently, matters are made worse by a murder of three Russians, and the unwillingness of the local authorities to discover the assassins. After much recrimination the Japanese ministers write amicably and make concessions. Count MOURAVIEFF is satisfied that efforts will be made to discover the murderers, and the police endeavour to protect foreigners in the streets. But notwithstanding occasional gleams of sunshine, affairs do not advance. The Damios, or hereditary feudal nobles, hold three-fourths of the soil of Japan, and constitute a Great Council of the nation, determined to obstruct intercourse with foreigners, while the European merchants contribute to the difficulty by violating the local laws, and doing their utmost to smuggle the gold currency out of the country.

It may happen that the more liberal portion of the Damios may regain power, or that the others may be alarmed, if our Chinese war is successfully managed; but it is impossible not to foresee a Japanese war "looming in the distance," and we may imagine the delights of residing at Yeddo by reading two extracts from Mr. ALCOCK's epistles. In the first he thus sums up his case:—"It comes to this, then—if we could, as the Japanese, live on rice and fish, with Japanese cookery and saki to aid a bad digestion, in houses with a few lacquer trays for furniture, and a dressing-gown and girdle for all clothing, Japan might form a very cheap, if not a lively or pleasant place of residence."

At the beginning of the present year our envoy was not quite disheartened, although drunken officers made it dangerous to walk abroad, and the commonest sounds in Yeddo were those occasioned by musket and artillery practice, while rumours of an intended massacre of all foreigners were afloat. Mr. ALCOCK observes: "With a perpetual menace of assassination on one hand, and of incendiarism on the other, while earthquakes almost every week shake the houses to their foundation, I cannot say the post of a diplomatic agent in Yeddo is to be recommended for nervous people." We think not, and shall be truly glad if this dangerous and incautious effort to open Japan does not lead to serious calamity and loss of life.

#### THE PARLIAMENT OF THE FUTURE.

IN a recent paper, we made the venture of DRYDEN's doubt,—  
"Uncertain whose the narrower span,  
The unread clown, or half-read gentleman."

Though, since his day, there is the difference that the gentleman has, perhaps, more right to retain the title to "half-read" than the clown to "unread;" and that in purely political knowledge many a mechanic now has a juster view of economical questions than the "gentleman" of eighty or a hundred years ago; nor would it be a bad result of this inference if the gentlemen-educators of gentlemen directed, as ARNOUD did, the attention of their pupils to what BACON calls the more solid and "osseous parts of knowledge," especially the historical, than has been hitherto their wont. Thus much in passing, with the caution that, in despair of the elegances for which the gentleman has time, the poor and more self-educating aspirant to knowledge will apply himself to the more substantial parts of it; and consequently, that, however distasteful, it will be well for the gentleman to lead rather than to follow, taking his hint from a few more lines from the poem of DRYDEN just referred to.

"The panther, full of inward discontent,  
Since they would go, before them wisely went,  
Supplying want of power by drinking first."

We are convinced that the higher classes in England need not begin *se posere en victime* before the lower ones. There are certain plants—the rice plant among them—which, let the floods rise never so high, always manage to keep their flowers above the surface, elongating themselves in proportion to the need. So it is with the upper classes in England, which we thoroughly believe nothing but an almost impossible revolution *de profundis*—a breaking up of the fountains of the great deep—could really endanger, and that no gradual rising of the classes below them could destroy, though they may have to concede, and concede almost *ad infinitum*. By rising to the need, whatever advances the mechanic may make, the man of more wealth and more leisure may always be above him. As a general rule, the more the operatives of our towns are educated, the more

they are likely to respect an education which is, or which is even supposed to be, continually in advance of their own; for it is astonishing how much the upper half of England gains by the mere suppositions of the lower, and their belief in the existence of a superior knowledge and a superior morality in those above themselves, often more imaginary than real, to which they are ever aspiring. This refers to their view even of the middle, much more to their view of the highest class, with its opportunities of travel, of costly practical experiments, its knowledge of languages, and hence its quick comprehension of the nomenclature of science, with its long practical dealing in affairs of state, its elegant courtesies and associations,—perhaps, above all, its easy handling of language, which, as HOOKER said of the Greek, can make every thing plausible, and which, as MICHELET observes in his *France and the French*, the uneducated man envies, above all things, in the educated one, though the latter almost despises his own facility of phrase-making,—a faculty, we may observe, which most unfortunately is one of the baits to the trap into which the English elector oftenest falls, especially when he elects some blustering *condottiere* popular barrister, who has a constant opportunity of advertising himself in the law courts by dubious wit and mercenary fluency. The English are born hero-worshippers, and, after a little swing of licence, are always likely to end in yielding the highest place to those who have a natural or acquired claim to their respect, so that it be a well-established and a just one. The poorer classes in England may demand their rights, but they are ever ready to concede what upper England desires most—the honours. Nothing but a downright and impudently selfish exclusiveness on the part of aristocrats can ever destroy the inborn deference, however often little deserved, felt by the working Englishman for the man naturally, or even artificially, his superior.

It may not be easy with absolute certainty to predict the effects of the Reform Bill, but we cannot say that we should be sorry to see twenty or thirty hard-headed, hard-handed, thoughtful mechanics in the House of Commons, representing their view of the interests of their class, of whom, according to ancient rather than modern views, we should not be sorry to see them act as the delegates. Questions of intercourse with foreign states they might not very clearly understand (CAPEFIGUE), nor always the conjunctures which might make war necessary or honourable (BURKE), but a fair consideration of their own immediate claims or grievances they might lay before the House, and we believe they would be listened to with courtesy and respect. In many questions interest is all: this overgrown brewers' question, for instance, what is it but a gross vulgar flannel-jacketed row in reality—with its publican roarers and its teetotal *rorarii*, a term we use because it points to the dewy and showery element, to whose light impulse the skirmishers were compared in the Roman army? What is this question which embarrasses and divides the House but as vulgar and selfish a push for a special interest as any operative cotton-spinner could make? And if there are to be such squabbles, why should not the poor man have his chance in them as well as the rich? No strike was ever more disgraceful than this rich brewers' question.

If the new voters have the sense to elect the choice men of their own class, their new position in the House of Commons would probably make them respectful and reasonable, and more respected than some of the individuals who brought them there, and who have risen just high enough to fancy that they feel the heels of the aristocracy eternally upon their foreheads, and, hating them for it, endeavour to alienate class from class by unreasonable comparison, rather than by reason to reconcile them.

MACINTOSH has said, in his *Indicia Gallie*, "there never was or will be in civilized society but two great interests, that of the rich and that of the poor." Very likely not; but the rich are, on the whole, not unreasonable, and the poor not impatient; nor would either be likely to become more so by the contemplated increase of the lower element in our legislature; and we trust that, while the middle men are fighting against the grosser abuses of government, year by year, with heart, with knowledge, and with effect, we shall not be driven to an abrupt and sharp decision as to whether the patrician shall make, from mercy and from reason, concessions to the plebeian, or whether the plebeian shall, by violence, force concessions from the patrician. Our people are not, like the *sans-culottes*, mad for a universal levelling, nor are our higher classes, like the French nobility, secluded in the eddies of unprogressive prejudice from the action and current of the main stream. The labourers, mechanical and agricultural, of England, in spite of occasional errors, are on the whole wonderfully contented and cheerful, quite sufficiently to deserve some other rewards than new second broad cloth coats and shabby one-pound premiums. How patiently, without a strike, has the Manchester workman seen his master accumulate around him all the appliances of princely luxury, and still been, shall we say it, too content with his very moderate share of profits, and the very moderate time for self-education, which some of the aforesaid masters would have shortened, and perhaps would still willingly curtail. If it cannot be elsewhere, we should like to see, even in the House of Commons, a little more face-to-face meeting of the employers and the representatives of the employees; perhaps then some of the Radical employers might like to stop as abruptly in the liberal career as the Girondists of France did in the revolutionary one, with a vision before their eyes which we shall borrow from the "Oxford" of Tickell:—

"Such were the Roman fathers when o'ercome:  
They saw the Gauls insult o'er captive Rome;  
Each captive seemed the haughty victor's lord,  
And prostrate chiefs their haughty slaves adored."

*Absit omen!*

There is one point which seems to excite alarm in the stationary and reactionary press, *i.e.*, that the labouring classes will, as soon as possible, exempt themselves from taxpaying and contributing their modicum to the resources of the state. The very apathy of which the *Times* complains proves one of two things, either that the poorer classes do not contemplate any such result from the New Reform Bill, else they would be more anxious to push it; or they see the unreasonableness of any such desire, and would not urge it, even had they the opportunity. We defy any one to escape one of these two conclusions. Unquestionably the poor should, in some slight measure, contribute. We here quite agree with BURKE:—

"None on account of their dignity should be exempt from taxation; none (preserving due proportion) on account of the scantiness of their means. The moment a man is exempted from the maintenance of a community he is in a sort separated from it. He loses the place of a citizen." ("Letters on a Regicidal Peace.")

Those who make a bugbear of the poorer classes throwing all taxation on the shoulders of the rich, know full well that it is a bugbear, and no more; they know full well that all the higher powers and influences of all parties would be set to work to counteract any such movement, even if it were attempted; they know how strong in England is the pressure from above as well as the pressure from without. As to being angry at the extension of the franchise, the higher and privileged classes may just as well work themselves into a fit of indignation because two and two do not make five; the attempt at exclusiveness reminds one of the elderly female who flutters out her silk gown to make believe that there is not room for the party who, with indifferent attire, but with an air of much determination, persists in making the sixth on her side of the omnibus.

#### INTERCHANGE WITH THE FRENCH.

IN the year 1859, the value of our imports from and our own exports to France was £21,614,000. The exchange being mutual, France must have an equal trade with us, the only difference being that the imports in each country would, by the cost of transport, &c., be of greater value than the exports from the other, though the articles were identical. The same tables which inform us of the value of our trade with France inform us of the value of our trade with other countries, and only with the United States and British possessions in India is our trade of greater value than with France. We must not, however, imagine that these figures represent the total utility of this trade. Unless we imported thrown and raw silk from France, we should want a material of manufacture; unless we imported flour, and various kinds of provisions, we should be deficient in food. We should have fewer people to work and pay taxes, and a smaller manufacture of silk, and other things, than at present. We should, in consequence, have less trade with India and the United States. The case is similar with the French. They could not make so much cloth as they do without the wool they import from us, nor work so many steam-engines as at present, wanting the coal they obtain from us. In fact, all trade is interwoven one branch with another, and we cannot injure a relatively small trade without impeding a relatively greater trade. Independently, however, of these interwoven relations, which make every species of interchange of much more total importance to us all than it seems, we invite attention exclusively to the consequences of interrupting or stopping a trade of the annual value to each people of upwards of £21,000,000.

The sum represents the fifteenth part of our total import and export trade, and the sixth part of the total import and export trade of France. To strike off by a war with France the fifteenth part of our trade, and reduce to idleness and poverty every fifteenth worker, to add probably 200,000—certainly not less than 150,000—to the list of paupers, which it has taken us some eight or ten years of continuous prosperity to reduce in a similar degree, would be a great national calamity. We naturally rejoiced very much in the new and great trade with Australia, and to lose it would spread gloom, bankruptcy, and woe over the land. Now, the trade with Australia—excluding the precious metals, as we exclude them from our account of the trade with France—was in 1859 of less value than our trade with France and her colonies. Within the last five years, too, it has not increased so fast as our trade with France, and to lose it would not be more disastrous than to lose the more extensive trade with our neighbour. It would be, so far as the loss of wealth is concerned, tantamount to cutting off the county of Kent from the rest of the kingdom, or having all the low-lying part of Essex overwhelmed by the sea.

From the annihilation of our trade with the French they would suffer more than we should, inasmuch as the trade between the two countries forms a much larger proportion of the whole trade of France than of the whole trade of England. Her population would suffer more than ours from the trade being interrupted, because the resources of our people are more varied than those of the French. She may not have as many actual paupers as England, because her system for the relief of the poor is not equally extensive; but it is a fact—or at least was in 1850, when a diligent inquiry was made—that a great mass of the population of the towns of France are in an extremely bad condition; and it is notorious that many of her agricultural districts have of late become depopulated, like Ireland, though not to the same extent, from poverty and distress. A war which stopped the trade between the two countries would be more disastrous and dangerous for France than England.

Amongst the imports from France are corn and flour, in 1858 of the value of £1,000,000. At the cattle show of Passy only last week, M. ROUEN, the French Minister for Agriculture, could find



no topic more encouraging for the farmers he was addressing than to expatiate on the large quantities of provisions exported to England, and on the certain and increasing markets here which the commercial treaty would give the French farmers. To destroy such prospects, and cut off from them a payment of £4,000,000 in a year, would be a dangerous step for the Government of France to take. We imported articles of embroidery, gloves, silks, &c., &c. from France to the value of perhaps £1,000,000 more. They are the produce of Lyons, St. Etienne, and Paris. Is it to be expected that the Emperor will brave the anger of the populations of these towns? Will he risk the sight of the Faubourg St. Antoine hungering for work and bread? Is the present remarkable contentment and Easter festivities of the population of this Faubourg, noticed in the correspondence from Paris on Thursday, the consequence of the extensive trade now enjoyed with England, and the prospect of that being increased? We believe not; and we believe that the imports from France last year, of the value of £16,869,960, is a pledge for the continuance of peace, because war with us would stop a sixth part of the trade of France. It would deprive her of a market for produce to the extent of nearly £17,000,000, and would reduce to poverty and distress a larger proportion of her people than of ours.

The mutual interchange, of which the loss would be so disastrous, has nothing in common with the peddling and the fraud by which trade is very often contaminated. These being much talked about, trade has come to be considered, in many minds, as only peddling and fraud. In fact, exchange is a necessary part of social production, as essential to the life of society as farming, or weaving, or writing books. It is another name for the mutual service all industrious men render to one another. It enables them to help each other, and rewards all concerned for their labour. It spreads comfort, ease, and luxury through all classes. It assuages national animosities, and substitutes for them confidence and attachment. It is the herald of universal peace. It overrides the policy of ambition, and constrains rulers to consider the material welfare of the multitude. Part of the unjust opprobrium thrown on it comes from classes whose rude power it supersedes. Old wealth and old authorities are overshadowed as it extends; its merits, as it grows, cannot be at once appreciated, and all the prejudices of the past are invoked against it as an upstart novelty. It is continually extended, and the new-growing power is ever regarded with jealousy by old and decaying power.

#### BRITANNIA'S GLORY.

THE argument of the Admiralty, and of all who support the Admiralty, for continuing Britannia's shame, as stated three weeks ago, is that, without it, discipline cannot be maintained. Cases are quoted of incorrigible individuals, thieves, scoundrels, monsters of dirt and negligence, and it is triumphantly asked, What can be done with such men but scourge them? Alas! the scourging does not cure the disease. The dirt and drunkenness and theft continue. The error which formerly pervaded civil society still lingers in the navy. What, it used to be asked, can you do with incorrigible thieves—with unruly, seditious politicians, with obstinate heretics, but hang them? And hanging, or some other method of putting those out of the way who gave offence to their brethren in authority was readily had recourse to. Like flogging, it did not answer the expected purpose. The diseases it was to cure increased in virulence. Gradually, experience taught that the surest way to put an end to wrong was for authorities not to do it; and the conviction has led to the diminution of coercion in all our civil relations, and seems gradually extinguishing even what is yet supposed to be legitimate punishment. Obedience, order, subordination are maintained in every part of our civil life without the use of corporal punishment, and what more can possibly be required on board ship? What more is or can be effected by naval discipline?

Within the memory of persons living it was thought that occasional kicks and cuffs, the use of straps and sticks were required to keep domestic servants and young people orderly and diligent. Battles in mines and Overlookers in mills were quite convinced, like our valiant admirals and the Admiralty clerks who echo their views in Parliament, that they could not get necessary work done unless they had an unlimited power to knock down young people with "Billy rollers," or flay them with straps. They did not make these instruments with cunning ingenuity to torture their subordinates; they did not solemnly and with calm logic demonstrate to their own conviction that the world would come to an end if they did not break heads and flay bodies; they had recourse to violence in a passion, and excused their brutality by alleging a perverseness in youth that would provoke a saint. Their excuses did not convince an intelligent public that the maintenance of discipline in cotton mills and in mines was superior to the laws of humanity; and no sooner was it generally known that discipline was kept up in many mills and mines—not in all, just like the navy—by such questionable means, that the Legislature came to the conclusion that it was its duty to put an end to such disgraceful brutality. It was horrified at the outrages committed by passionate men to secure exertion in mills and mines, yet it solemnly ordains and sanctions far greater outrages in the ships and regiments of the State. The nation has wisely and gloriously put an end to corporal punishment of all kinds in civil life; the Government, for ever in the rear of the nation it pretends to lead, maintains it in spite of reason as the life of its military service. Their soul is honour, its visible emblem is the scourge.

Perhaps it is thought by the kindly public that the grown seamen do not need protection, like infants in mills and mines; but an

individual is utterly helpless against the power of the community. The children were assailed by passionate men; seamen and soldiers are scourged by the unimpassioned State. From its unfeeling logic when it violates its duty to protect them they can only escape by desertion. "Better a child should weep than bearded men," said the Scotch nobles to their infant sovereign. The tears of childhood, "like the dewdrop on the rose," speedily disappear; grief and disgrace sink deep into the hearts of men, and give a character to a nation now and hereafter. It is more incumbent on the State therefore to stop corporeal punishment in its own services, than in mills and mines—to prohibit it for men than for boys. Banished from every other part of the community, it is absurdly cherished by the State as the means of making our defenders valiant, energetic, and orderly.

Is the nation then in error? Is terror the means of obtaining energetic service? Can it be fed, lodged, clothed, and warmed, but not defended without using the scourge? Compared to the incessant services rendered to it by those who feed and clothe it, the occasional services of the Horse Guards and the Admiralty are absolutely trivial. Yet all those great services are performed without raising the hand to strike, or even raising the voice in anger. This is the glory of our civil life. Millions of field labourers, millions of labourers in factories, men, women, and children, patiently and assiduously do their duty to their employers and to one another; they are obedient, orderly, and energetic in their calling; they effectually do their part in creating the wealth and greatness of which we are all so justly proud. Nobody bribes them to serve; nobody forcibly retains them in service. They seek it voluntarily, voluntarily they leave it. If masters and servants do not agree, they separate. The maid gives warning, the labourer seeks another employer, the journeyman goes away. Their mutual services are mutually indispensable. Reciprocal wants in farmers and labourers, in capitalists and non-capitalists, in masters and servants, settle and determine the duties of each and all, bind some together, and separate some; so as to complete all production in the very best known manner. Corporeal punishment, or coercion of any kind, is so little required, and so little consonant to this mighty and daily work, that even the animals which help in it are rarely punished. The waggoner and the ploughman carry whips, but they scarcely require the beneficent and wise teaching of Mr. Rarey to convince them—though it is yet needed by the Admiralty and the Horse Guards—that kindness and skill are more efficacious to get work well done than thongs and goads. That the nation is right and the military authorities wrong is plain from the single consideration, that it is impossible to apply their system to get done the necessary work of civil life.

Now and then a refractory apprentice or a contract-breaking labourer may be summoned before a magistrate; now and then an employer may have to answer in a county court a claim for wages; differences and disputes are unavoidable; but considering the multitude of employers and employed, disputes between them are amazingly few. As the rule, the whole business of civil life is carried on without corporeal punishment, and almost without the semblance of coercion, except where the contiguity and bad example of the naval or military service induces it. The whip is still used to force slaves to labour and keep them obedient. Soldiers and sailors, then, are still treated like slaves. That they must be governed on a principle totally at variance with the principle by which civil society is governed, and abhorrent to its very nature, though always asserted by men who gloat in strong animal self-will, and rebel against knowledge, kindness, and care, has yet to be demonstrated.

There are many occupations, it must be remembered—that of the miner for one—more dangerous than that of the mariner, even when he goes to battle. There are many—that of the grinder, and that of the tailor—more unhealthy than that of the sailor. Accident may cut short his existence, but since the means of obtaining wholesome food for long voyages have been found, he is not necessarily subject to diseases which debilitate, paralyze, and shorten life. Almost every article of elegance or virtue is obtained, according to the *Edinburgh Review*, at the expense of workmen permanently or transiently disabled. Throughout our industrial system there is a continual waste of health and life. Daily, however, are the tasks of each and all repeated; daily are the same dangers braved and the same evils suffered, and the community is ever sustained in vigour and greatness by unforced but by incessant toil.

With all this continuous and unassuming labour we are so familiar, that it excites no observation. When we reflect, however, that by it the nation is not merely sustained, but carried forward and kept in the foremost rank of civilization, and contrast it with the few and occasional services really performed by the army and navy, all accompanied by revolting cruelty, we conclude that civil labour is the glory, and naval and military labour, as now carried on, the shame of our country. Mr. Buxton failed to convince the House of Commons of this; and the representatives of the nation, led by men in blue and red coats, burnished by gold tinsel, refused even to make known the names of individual officers who most deserve, by superfluous flogging, the public execration. They hide and protect those who merit reprobation, and keep alive wrong.

Were it not that attempts are made to show, by persons claiming to be authorities, that the difficulty of getting men for the navy, which has again occupied the attention of Parliament, is due to natural causes, such as the great demand for labour in the manufacturing districts, it would be unnecessary for us to remind our readers of the truth that, wherever subsistence is to be obtained, be

the conditions of obtaining it what they may, they are sure to be fulfilled. The number of paupers, of pensioners, and even of criminals, is well known to be always in proportion to the funds on which they can subsist. What we may call the loose or available wealth for depredators in the metropolis keeps in existence a number, very little variable, of pickpockets and burglars. In spite of the short life of the Sheffield grinders, the men decline to use the means of defending themselves from the grit, because, if they lived longer, the difficulty of getting a living would be increased.\* The complete answer, however, to all apprehensions of want of men now in the navy is to be found in the fact, that a body quite as large as the whole of our seamen was required only a few years ago to make our railways, and immediately navvies sprung into existence. Capitalists never want labourers of any description. It is only necessary for them to beckon, and the multitude crowds forward to obtain whatever the capitalist has to give. The Government is the greatest of all capitalists. It has for the national defence the whole national property at its command, and it is only necessary to defer to the usages of civil life to obtain any number of labourers it chooses to hire and pay.

It is a great mistake, founded in complete ignorance, to suppose that the Royal Navy has only experienced a difficulty in getting men since 1846. The difficulty has existed upwards of a century, and has increased in proportion as civilization has advanced, and the discrepancy between civil and naval discipline has become glaring. It was as great when the number of emigrants was three hundred thousand a year as when it was seventy thousand. For forty-five years the Admiralty has had the means in its power, by adapting the usages on board ship to the usages of civil life, and by embarking and educating only blue jackets in our ships of war, keeping the marines as a reserve—to provide men for the fleet and prepare against all emergencies; but through this long period the Admiralty has neglected this duty, and relies, as the present Prime Minister still relies, on the power which it has nominally and legislatively kept in its hands to seize the seamen when it wants them. To exercise this power is now become impossible, even in war; and the poor Admiralty, with its huge bounties wasting the public money, and its unsuccessful scheme of a reserve, now lies more stranded and helpless than at any former period. Soldiers enough, marines enough, officers enough, and abundance to spare, it can get; but seamen it cannot get, and never will get, till the House of Commons publishes the names of the flogging captains, and takes from the Admiralty the power to flog, as it has taken from the judges the power of immoderate hanging. The new schemes have failed, like the old schemes; and they all will fail till it makes service in the navy agreeable to the youthful population of our maritime country. This population must change its character—must lose its facility of moving from country to country—must lose its love of liberty, and its knowledge of the authorized barbarities practised on board our men-of-war—must lose its energy and courage—must become what it has never yet been, the mere slave of power—before it will freely and voluntarily submit to be imprisoned and scourged for lower wages than seamen can get with good treatment in other services.

#### A NEW THEORY OF EUROPEAN PUBLIC LAW.†

COUNT MAMIANI is amongst the best known of those Italian patriots who have incurred at times the reproach of being moderates, but now enjoy the full benefit of their adherence to a constitutional and cautious policy. Everybody who is acquainted with the eventful history of 1848 will remember him as the minister of Pio Nono, when the holy pontiff, after the assassination of Rossi, granted a liberal administration to his subjects in the few days preceding his flight to Gaeta, and in later years he has played a conspicuous, if not a great, part in the proceedings of the Piedmontese Parliament. He now occupies the post of Minister of Public Instruction in the Sardinian kingdom, no longer, since the annexation of the Legations, the country of his adoption but of his birth, and as a member of the Cavour Cabinet has had his share in the eventful policy by which the new kingdom of Italy inaugurated its foundation. Mamiani is, moreover, well known as a writer of considerable ability, and we should be, therefore, disposed to receive with every favour his treatise *D'un Nuovo Diritto Europeo*, of which a translation has just been offered to the English public by Mr. Jeffs. The book, however, does not fulfil the promise of its title; so far from being a scientific examination of the great sources of public law, and the establishment upon that basis of a new and better code, or the logical deduction, from already admitted principles, of a new rule of conduct for states, applicable to their existing relations, it is merely a bulky pamphlet upon intervention, or rather non-intervention, the object of which is to show that it is quite right for other powers to interfere on behalf of nations, but very inexcusable to do so on behalf of princes. We are far from denying that the treatise has its value. It is useful as a vindication of the right of nations to the enjoyment of liberty, a literary demonstration of that right of Italy to independence which she has established by that far more irrefragable argument, the sword. It has its local utility as an ingenious argument in favour of the legitimacy of the French intervention on behalf of Sardinia, and a conclusive illustration of the

iniquity of any intervention on behalf of the Pope. In fact, it is a good party pamphlet, and if it had presented itself as such, we should, whilst scarcely allowing it to be sufficiently interesting to warrant translation, have cordially recognised its merits. Unfortunately it pretends to be an essay upon the most serious errors of the existing European law, and a development of the essential and directing principles upon which it is to be corrected, the result being the establishment of a new law, to which Europe is to bow, and before which all old doctrines are to pass away. It is no such thing, but, as we have said, a pamphlet in everything but bulk; one of the most verbose and inflated pamphlets, too, that it has ever been our misfortune to read. Count Mamiani tells us that "Gustavus Adolphus, wiser in this than Alexander, took the treatise *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, instead of the poems of Homer, to lay beneath his nightly pillow." We don't see that poor Alexander had any choice between Homer and Grotius; but, leaving the phrase to every one's own interpretation, we think we can assure Count Mamiani, that no great commander will ever put his treatise under his nightly pillow unless, in distress for a bolster, he should pillage some public library.

The object of the treatise, then, is to prove that every state is self-ruling, and as such has an internal and external autonomy, which is violated by any interference upon the part of other nations. Non-intervention is therefore the absolute rule applicable to all disputes between subjects and sovereigns, except the subjects belong to another race, or have never been assimilated with the conquerors, in which case any nation has a right to assist them against their oppressors. In other words, intervention in favour of liberty is right, but in favour of despotism it is wrong. This claim of an autonomy for every people is not very new, nor is there anything particular in the arguments by which it is supported. It is more to the point, however, than the rest of the book, which is taken up with the usual popular indictment against the Congress of Vienna, and M. Mamiani's own views of what a congress should be, and how a treaty should be made. The Congress of Vienna and its settlement of Europe is, of course, fair game for the publicists of revolution; but we cannot say that it meets with that fair play from them which is due, we are told, even to his Satanic majesty. Its arraigners treat the Congress as if it had been guilty of every suppression of freedom, and as if the world had been enjoying, before the adoption of its "final act," a law of perfect liberty. Why, there is scarcely one oppressed nationality which can be said to owe its fetters to that Congress. Venice had been suppressed before Napoleon, the Liberator, had given it to Austria. Hungary and Poland date their grievances from a time long anterior. The Congress of Vienna has faults enough to answer for: it looked to the fancied interests of the sovereigns instead of those of the peoples; but the latter don't owe to it all their misfortunes, and would not get what they most want by its general repudiation.

For future congresses M. Mamiani gives an elaborate recipe. All the sovereign States are to be invited, and however small are to have equal voices with the Great Powers. The sovereign is not to be taken as the state; the people are to be consulted, and their views represented as well as his. How this is to be done we are not told. Then colonies and tributary people ought at least to be asked their opinions; and the conclusions of the Congress, as of every special treaty, are to be heralded by a solemn enunciation of principles, something like, we suppose, the interminable "whereas" which precedes the resolutions of half-a-dozen American "wire pullers." If we add that when two States have been fighting, the winner, however unjustly provoked, is not to recoup herself for the cost she has been put to, and that the peace is not to be concluded until a neutral power has been asked for its opinion, we give a fair abstract of the author's practical suggestions. When we further add that the whole tone is arrogant and flatulent, that the writer keeps telling the reader how closely scientific is his reasoning, and how great are his discoveries, that all writers before him, although well-meaning men enough and intelligent for their age, are farthing rushlights compared with such a shining lamp as himself, and that he introduces a host of imaginary opponents whom he pounds to a jelly with the greatest ease imaginable, we give our readers a very fair idea of Count Mamiani's theory of international law.

That is its general character; there are some fifty pages which stand out in special relief for their power, lucidity, and point. The two chapters to which we refer, "Armed Intervention for Religion," and "Church and State," in which the author discusses and refutes the pretended right and duty of Catholicism to interfere on behalf of the Pope, as well as the general relation of Catholicism to the State, are very well worth reading. We cannot but suspect that they were written twelve years ago, as against the then intervention of France, so strongly do they contrast in their lucidity and power with the garrulous declamation of the old man of to-day.

A few words are due to the translator. We have not the Italian original by us, and cannot judge of the fidelity of his version. He is entitled, however, to the credit of being even a greater master of the verbose and flatulent than his exemplar—if, indeed, Count Mamiani is not indebted for a great deal of his stilted style to his admiring translator. In a most unnecessarily long preface, which he has dated the "Ides of March," and had better have deferred to the Greek Kalends, he has contrived to talk more fustian than we have ever seen heaped up in thirty pages. It was a pity, because he evidently could do better, and is, according to his own showing, old enough to know better; for he has judged it necessary to let the world know who he is, and, as the vanity is harmless, we will just state for his benefit and that of our readers, that he was born in the county of Devon, was a child capable of political impressions in 1832,

\* *Edinburgh Review*, No. 225. Article, "Mortality in Trades and Professions."

† *Rights of Nations*; or, the New Law of European States, applied to the Affairs of Italy. By Count MAMIANI. Translated from the Italian, and edited, with the author's additions and corrections, by ROGER ACTON. London: W. Jeffs.



and received those impressions from a parent who taught him to regard with affectionate reverence Lord John Russell, to whom the book is dedicated. As for his profession, he is "an unworthy member of the Fourth Estate—a fellow of the reading and writing sort!" What a pity he did not avail himself of his experience, and submit his preface to some able editor, who would have cut his thirty pages of declamation down to ten of sober prose, to the profit of the now irate reader, for our "fellow of the writing sort" gives signs of power, and, well reined in, might probably do useful work.

#### SOCIAL LIBERTY IN FRANCE.

THE sight of an Arab steed drawing a sand-cart would not be more unpleasant and incongruous than is the spectacle of JOHN BRIGHT's espousing the cause of despotism. That a man who has so nobly and unweariedly defended the interests of the so-called lower classes at home, so fearlessly exposed the iniquities of nepotism, and so generously sacrificed himself to procure the liberty of the English people, should now come forward and warmly advocate the policy of a ruler who turned a free republic into an absolute autocracy, and who is only tolerated lest he should be succeeded by a dynasty equally hostile to freedom but more incapable, is a fact as melancholy to think of as it is difficult to explain. Opposed as we are to the line adopted in foreign affairs by the Conservative party, in want of something else, we cannot but deplore that an independent statesman like Mr. BRIGHT should go out of his way to support so illegal a measure as the annexation of Savoy to the French empire, and should utter sentiments such as those of a fortnight ago, declaring that the loyalty and allegiance of the majority of Englishmen are matters of pounds, shillings, and pence. Double their annual income they will venerate with double respect any Government which secures it. Philosophers say that states of mind result from states of body. Can it be that the offensive atmosphere of Manchester has begun to affect the moral perceptions of the inhabitants, and is making them as cloudy and impure as itself? Undoubtedly, it must have been a violent fit of indigestion which prompted the memorable exclamation, "Perish, Savoy!" and the same speech in another place shows unquestionable symptoms of jaundice. If Mr. BRIGHT's bile had not reached his organs of vision, and so deprived him of the penetrating insight which has hitherto distinguished his political career, he would scarcely have ventured to say that "perhaps the French prefer their social liberty which we have not, to the political liberty which we enjoy." As somebody in *Hamlet* says,

"This is the very coinage of his brain."

Banishing all considerations of national pride, and looking at the matter with entire candour, we confess that this statement of the superiority of social liberty in France to that of England seems singularly rash and unjust, and we have yet to learn in what points such superiority consists. It is not easy to invent a satisfactory definition of social liberty, but taking MILL's account of it, that in its perfection it gives each member of the community the right of doing anything whatsoever, provided it be not positively injurious to the interests of anybody else, and making proper allowance for the yet incomplete development of society, both in our country and the other, we maintain that at the present moment social liberty is more advanced in England than in France.

In the first place, what can be more essential to the existence of social liberty than the power of free expression of opinion on all subjects, including politics?—for we presume that Mr. BRIGHT only uses the phrase political liberty in its ordinary and genuine acceptation—that is, as liberty in exercising political rights. Now open declaration of opinion is not a political but a social right, and its toleration is a distinguishing characteristic of all social freedom. Free discussion and unrestricted expression of views are the very alphabet, the first elements of a social emancipation; without this a society can have only a spurious imitation of liberty. Now any one who is at all acquainted with the French nation at home, who has conversed with average specimens of intelligent Frenchmen, must be aware that on most of the great questions which interest civilized communities, as active and developing organizations, they display considerable reluctance to argue openly and boldly, not from lack of views or information, but from a suspicious timidity which want of political freedom invariably begets. Not only in the fettered press of France, but equally in social intercourse, we may observe this unwillingness and reserve in conversation on serious matters, however open, frank, and light-hearted people seem when pleasure is the topic. Unless, therefore, Mr. BRIGHT shares the opinion of the gentleman who denounced conversation as the bane of society, we must certainly admit that the restraint upon its freedom in France is a serious damage done to the liberty of French society. The slavery of the press is another gross and flagrant infringement, not of political but social liberty, but of so patent a description that it is unnecessary to dwell upon it.

But it is not only Government interference and repression which we instance as opposed to Mr. BRIGHT's notion of the social freedom of France. There is another, courser, and still more hateful tyranny than that of the imperial government; a tyranny whose brutal insolence is not to be conceived in this country—we allude to the soldiery of France. Does Mr. BRIGHT forget a certain duel, no very long time ago, which created some sensation in France, and more in England, in which M. de Pène, a writer in a newspaper, was run through the body for having employed so harmless a phrase as "the inevitable sub-lieutenants?" Are not the Parisian citizens constantly annoyed in *cafés*, theatres, and other places by the importu-

nence and rudeness of swaggering officers? But in Paris the military are to a certain extent restrained, and it is left for the provincial towns to feel the full exuberance of their pride: frequently the visitor may see a trio of officers striding along the footpath of the streets, and forcing all who meet them, men and women alike, into the gutter; and not seldom are the townspeople prevented from enjoyment of their out-door amusements by the ill-bred jeers and insulting remarks of their red-breeched rulers. We might readily give a score of examples of military insolence in *salons*, in *cafés*, in theatres, and in the streets; but we are content to appeal to the abhorrence, in Paris scarcely disguised, which the majority of civilians feel for the soldiery, an abhorrence arising almost entirely from the repression of social liberty by their unscrupulous and resentful behaviour. A large measure of social liberty is impossible where you have an overbearing officer on one side and on the other an imperial spy; for the employment of this odious vermin did not cease with the life of M. FOUCHÉ. A sort of distrust, suspicion, timidity, prevails through the whole of French society; and wherever this element enters it is fatal to free and open intercourse. In short, all history proves clearly that a despotic political government is incompatible with the co-existence of social liberty. A people may possibly be politically free and socially enslaved, but the converse—a nation politically enslaved and socially free—is rarely if ever to be found, either in cotemporary or past history. The details and particulars of the political and the social position are constantly and inevitably interdependent, so that the latter can scarcely ever free itself from the indirect or even the direct influence of the former. There is an unfailing correspondence between the two, between the political and social constitutions of a people. Let us pass for a moment to the much-calumniated social liberty of this country, and even here we find a strong connection with the political liberty which we are fortunate enough to enjoy, and one point will suffice to show it. The chief evil in our political institutions is the undue influence of the aristocratic element, and whence arise the greatest deficiencies in our inheritance of social liberty? From the excessive desire to follow the aristocracy and the clergy, and the excessive fear of breaking the etiquette of the one, and of thinking counter to the dogmatic orthodoxy of the other. There are many signs that we are going to throw off this double yoke. The popularity of authors like CARLYLE, MILL, BUCKLE, and EMERSON is proof abundant that Heterodoxy is rapidly losing all her terrors, whilst the whole tendency of political feeling is to effect a gradual but certain abolition of aristocratical pre-eminence. But more repressive upon society and its liberty than aristocracy and church is an autocracy, and of all autocracies none more fatally crushing than a military autocracy such as that of the French Emperor.

But in England, some may argue, we are too closely restrained by public opinion: in France it is not nearly so absolute or powerful. We do not attempt to deny that in England the influence of public opinion is in excess; but we believe that its exercise, even in excess, is on the whole salutary, and much to be preferred to the absence of public opinion which marks the present state of things in France. In France, public opinion has been annihilated—and replaced by what? By one man's opinion, and that opinion supported by the most degrading of arguments, that of might. But in the present state of circumstances, we are unwilling to prolong these remarks; we are anxious to do all honour to France, and we fully appreciate the valuable services which she has received from her present ruler; only we must protest against a statement such as that of Mr. BRIGHT. We will just remark in closing, that there are certain French customs, which we will not particularise, which may have struck Mr. BRIGHT as indicative of high social liberty, and they are so if social liberty involves indelicacy; but in criticising a broad statement, it is necessary to take high ground.

#### PARLIAMENTARY RETROSPECT.

THE Session of Parliament, as far as it has proceeded, must be pronounced a busy one. The public business which has been initiated, or fully transacted, is in character both varied and important. Measures have been introduced likely to make a prominent figure in history; motions have been brought forward connected with matters of the highest public interest, and questions have been propounded and answered involving materials for future legislation or party hostilities. Government has passed through the parliamentary ordeal with negative advantage. It has *not* gained in numerical strength in the House; it has *not* gained in moral weight in the country. On the other hand, it has lost no important supporter; it has retained about as much public confidence as it ever possessed; and it has stood its ground against all the force which the Opposition has hitherto organized against it. Government has been, on the whole, very fortunate. It has been forced into some ugly situations, and it has had to make the humiliating admission more than once of having been deceived, and of having unwittingly deceived parliament and the country. It has, however, tided over these disasters pretty well, and when the recess has passed, and members meet again within the four walls of the New Palace it will have apparently but few visible political rocks ahead. A brief enumeration of what has been done and attempted since Parliament assembled for the despatch of business may not be uninteresting. First, as to motions. Among the most prominent must be ranked the Ballot and Maynooth, both of which met a somewhat early and sudden death; the motion for a committee to consider the burthens on Shipping and Commerce carried, and the pultry motion connected with the Dover Contracts. Then with respect to questions. There was an incessant storm of queries on all conceivable subjects, fore-

most amongst which was the Savoy business. Here the Government made its first false move. At the outset Lord J. RUSSELL, in the month of January, made his preliminary assertion that the Emperor of the FRENCH did not intend to annex Savoy. In February, when again pressed on the same subject, Lord J. RUSSELL qualified his first statement by saying that France only contemplated annexation under certain remote contingencies, and would first summon a Congress. A third declaration made by Lord J. RUSSELL was to the effect that the annexation would not take place without the consent of the Great Powers of Europe. A fourth statement followed on this, that the annexation had taken place in defiance of repeated pledges to the contrary; that confidence in the French Emperor had been shaken, and that nothing was left to England except the admission that she had been cajoled and defied, and to put forth a disregarded protest. Sir CHARLES WOOD was also unlucky in his denials. Early in the session he asserted broadly that no intention existed to establish a paper currency in India; almost the next mail from Calcutta brought Mr. WILSON'S verbose financial statement, one leading feature of which was the establishment of a Government bank of issue. The right honourable gentleman will have to reconcile this apparent contradiction, and we will not anticipate his defence. The new Bills next come under notice. A few of the most prominent can only receive brief indication. A Bill to extend the Protection of the Factory Act to overworked Women and Children was introduced, and to the honour of Parliament, an amendment directed against it was defeated by 226 to 39. The Criminal Appeal Bill, introduced by Mr. McMAHON, was lost, owing to its impractical character. The Church Rates Abolition Bill was carried by 264 against 234. The Adulteration of Food Bill succeeded in passing through its first stage. The Bill to legalize Divine Services in Theatres and other places was rejected by 161 to 131. The Endowed Schools' Bill was lost by 190 to 120. And last—certainly not least—was brought forward the long-delayed, long-promised NEW REFORM BILL, quietly received by all, cordially welcomed by none. Of the mass of Bills of minor note, which were introduced and forwarded a stage or two, nothing need be said further than to remark that they assist to swell indefinitely the amount of real public business which has distinguished this important session. The special exertions which have devolved on ministers will be found to bear due proportion to the labours which more particularly appertained to individual members. We have already noticed the Reform Bill, itself of importance sufficient to demand almost a session for itself. In addition, Ministers have introduced the Army and Navy Estimates, each of more than usual moment, owing to the exceptional times on which we appear to have fallen. Then the Budget and the French Treaty, with all the endless discussions, debates, and party contests to which they have already led, and which are not yet terminated. It is by these measures that the stability of the Government has been tested, and on which it has won its triumphs. The first fair fight between the antagonistic parties, the "ins" and the "outs," took place on the Budget. Mr. DISRAELI, as opposition chief, led his troops against the Government; the amendment on going into Committee on the Customs' Acts was the field selected for a real trial of strength. Government came off victorious by a majority of 293 to 230. The second real assault, more skilful in design and better adapted to party warfare, was Mr. DU CANE'S motion, on which Government obtained a second triumph, the majority of the three nights' discussion being 339 to 223. The third was an abortive failure incurred by Mr. HOBBSMAN, who retired utterly discomfited, the majority on his motion being 282 to 56. Of course we have only given a bare sketch of the salient features of the doings and deeds in the House of Commons. The by-questions of the Churchward Contract, the Convention with America on the subject of the atrocities committed in American vessels, the Purchase of Commissions in the Army, need only be named as serving to swell the amount of public business fairly dealt with and disposed of at this early period of the session.

The Lords have not been behindhand in their labours. A Bill for the better regulation of Chancery proceedings was brought forward almost as soon as Parliament met. Then came a fire of questions and discussions on the Savoy annexation, not very much to the advantage of Government. Afterwards the address to Her MAJESTY on the Treaty of Commerce with France was debated, and carried by 68 to 38; and, lastly, the Ballot motion was quashed by a majority of 39 over 16. Upon the whole, the public, it will be seen, has no cause to complain of either the quantity or quality of the business which has been brought forward this Session. Lord PALMERSTON has had a difficult post to hold. He has kept pretty well in hand hitherto a somewhat heterogeneous ministerial team; he has had to curb the restive and to lure back the bolters—no sinecure in itself, but it has been done with the tact of a veteran.

#### JUDAICAL CHRISTIANITY.\*

IN no department of letters more than the theological have recent obligations to Germany been greater and more undoubted. One of the above works, certain deductions being made, and some qualifications stipulated, must be accepted by us as increasing that debt. We confess that we opened the volumes with more than the usual critical suspicion. We do so in the case of all theological works,

and in the case of all works published in regular series. For there are many temptations to the uncalled-for publication of religious books, which do not operate so strongly in other branches of literature. Hence the *prima facie* chances against the inherent and new worth of a theological work are greater than in the case of any other. If it be a volume of sermons by an officiating minister more or less popular, his congregation and admirers ensure a certain sale for a book which might not gain success by its own merits. If it be a system of theology, or a definite commentary by a professor of divinity, his own successive classes of students are glad to possess themselves tangibly and completely of the expounded plan to which they have moulded their whole mode of exposition and clerical work.

These volumes form items in the issue of the, for the most part excellent, "Foreign Theological Library," for the presentation of which in our vernacular, English biblical scholars are indebted to the enterprise of the Messrs. Clark. Their *serial* nature, also, we have said, makes us look suspiciously on their probable character; for it is the invariable tendency of such series to degenerate. If the speculation pays, there is the most obvious inducement to spin it out to the utmost limits; to go on publishing, for publishing and paying sake, rather than because the books chosen for reproduction have merit sufficient to have them unlocked from their antique or foreign habilitment. Even in the cases of such serial publications as those for which the Camden Society was responsible, or the old manuscripts now being disinterred from the vaults of the Record Office by Sir John Romilly and his coadjutors, this sentiment has been widely felt and expressed. This, too, in spite of the most advantageous conditions. The end of these publications is *historical*, the largest and the most various imaginable;—for the intrinsically trivial often becomes the most instructive historically. Monkish maunderings and prolix narrations by feudal heralds, illumine, for modern students, whole eras dull and only fitfully lighted without their minute, realistic picturing. A theological series is subject to as decided and special a disadvantage, as a historical series has the antithetical circumstance in its favour. Nine-tenths of the subscribers to the Calvin, Parker, and Wodrow Societies were heartily wearied long ere their shelves were filled with the agreed complement of tomes; and the overdoing of these series did this further damage,—it set the public against the serial plan altogether, and by a natural reaction caused the failure of worthy attempts to extend the plan of joint stock republication into fields of theology and ecclesiastical literature, where much that was locked up was worth reproduction.

With these considerations affecting our judgment, we proceed to ask, "Do the contents of these three works, by the Pastor of Schkeuditz, and the Professor of theology far off in the German colony of Dorpat, in the Russian empire, entitle them to republication in England?" In the one case we answer decidedly, no. In the other, a summing up of faults we find and excellences we admit, leaves the balance to the latter, and dictates a sincere but not unqualified, yes. Stier's expositions are neither fish nor flesh. In their criticism there seems to us nothing new enough to have merited translation; and in style and literary treatment, there is none of that elevation above mediocrity which only could justify their reproduction for English readers.

The Commentary of Dr. Kurtz is the elaborate working out of a theory—one in great favour among the extremely orthodox, and which we believe it not difficult to show is at the root of a good deal of dangerous and despotic opinion in our own days. Heathenism and Judaism were "two series of developments, which, differing not only in the means, but also in the purpose and aim of their development, run side by side, until, in the fulness of time, they meet in Christianity, when the peculiar results and fruits of these respective developments are made subservient to its establishment and spread." "Mankind had to be prepared for salvation, and this salvation prepared for them. \* \* \* Hence we see Judaism developed by the side of Heathenism. The latter was to prepare mankind for salvation, the former salvation for mankind." This preparation of salvation for mankind, then, constituted the final cause of the whole Jewish polity, history, sacerdotalism, and general national training. The immediate means and instrument of training was "the old Covenant," entered into between the Divine Being and the seed of Abraham. Its re-enactment constituted so many different steps towards, first, the immediate end of the development of the Jewish nation; and, second, the further end to which that was the means,—the preparation, in Judaism as a matrix, of "salvation for mankind." The steps of the development were these. First, there were the rare and vague declarations of the Covenant in antediluvian times; then the family or patriarchal period, which was concluded by the death of Jacob. The Egyptian bondage was the first stage in the development of the nation, as contradistinguished from the family. The simile, or theory, is here driven to the furthest. Egypt was the womb out of which the nation was to be born; the oppressions of Pharaohs and taskmasters, the labour and pains preceding parturition. The Exodus was the birth of the Jewish nation. The nation being created, the next stage was its purification, the making it a holy nation. This was fulfilled by the forty years' sojourn in the Desert, of which period the central fact was, the giving of the Law from Sinai. The next stage was the providing the nation, thus nationalized and sanctified, with a land, the essential outward condition of a nationality. The last was the working out of their peculiar nationalism, *i.e.* the growth of specific national character and culture. The work is uncompleted, or at least incomplete, in respect of the last two stages. For the third volume closes upon the death of Moses, and ere the feet of the invading host are dipped in Jordan.

\* *The Words of the Risen Saviour, and Commentary on the Epistle of St. James.* By RUDOLF STIER, Dr. Theol., &c. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

*History of the Old Covenant.* By J. H. KURTZ, D.D. Three vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.



In order to estimate the effects of this elaborate and self-consistent plan of the Hebrew polity upon the faith and works of the modern Christians who entertain it, let us contrast, for the sake of antithetical foil, the counter and more liberal view of what are nicknamed "Broad Church" believers of all ages and lands. For we could cite patristic and mediæval theologians, and Protestant preachers of all days up to our own, who hold it. It is happily given, in a lay and practical way, by the clear-seeing Goethe:—

"The Jewish nation I regard as a wild unfruitful stem, which was surrounded by other wild, unfruitful trees. On this stem, the Eternal gardener grafted the noble branch, Jesus Christ; that by growing therefrom, it might ennoble the nature of the stem itself, and that grafts might be taken from it to fertilize all the other trees. The history and doctrines of this nation are certainly exclusive; and the very little of a universal character which may possibly be found in the anticipations of the grand event to occur in the future, is difficult to find, and hardly worth the seeking."

The latter view admits the essential basis of the former, and logically allows the inspired revelation by the Almighty of Himself to the Jews. It escapes the dilemma which the Kurtz class of theologians cannot possibly avoid, of elevating Judaism into a position of intrinsic worth, while they preach and believe that Christianity which, in all details of inner motive and outward ethical act, is the diametrical opposite and plain reprover of that Judaism, which spurned the Christ for whose reception, according to the professor's theory, long ages and intricate plans prepared them.

The preaching of Old Testament Scripture as verbally authoritative in the same sense as the New, is an error whose ultimate evil influences on legislation, social regulations, and practical liberty, it is impossible to over-estimate. There was one time in English history, when the Old Testament was revered with an ardour, largely in excess of regard for the benign and truly liberal teachings of Christ. For a few years, practical Judaism ruled in England. The Puritans, when dominant, wielded, for state and social purposes, the terrors of Sinai, not the kindly and liberty-loving precepts preached on the Mount. To hold the one is necessarily to disregard the other. Judaism and Christianity are mutually exclusive, reciprocally contradictory. It is with an almost pang that we cite the errors of heroic and earnest men, to whom we owe so much of what we have and are to-day, in illustration of the consideration we are endeavouring to enforce. But there can be nothing more instructive—it has a special instructiveness, entirely its own indeed—than to designate the errors of the pure and earnest souled. And we forget our compunctions when we remember that in our own day a clique, strong-winded, trained to a unity of action which atones for the really slight hold it has upon the thinking and therefore ruling men amongst us, entertains in its heart the very spirit of the extreme errors of the Puritans. The Puritans were unaffected by the great "Law of Liberty," which, had but their eyes been able to see it, the Saviour and his noblest servant, Paul, preached in clearer and more impressive tones, than ever did Milton or Locke. The historic mitigation of their excess cannot be urged in palliation of the socially despotic dogmatists, who marshal at their back a mass of unthinking sectaries, standing, not on their Bible as gospel, but upon a Talmud of their own making—the Judaic system made part and parcel of a sublime Christianity, which is its very antithesis, and which abhors its every restriction.

It is no difficult task to prove that actual facts most thoroughly disprove the Kurtz and philo-Judaic theory. Zealots who set about justifying all the ways of God to man, and explain the humanly inexplicable inconsistencies of a transitional Divine dispensation, have to answer for the existence of a special aggressive scepticism which they, and they only, provoke. For the doubts of the assailants are engendered by their theoretic systems founded on the Book, not on the Book in its own teachings. Sir William Hamilton used frequently to quote a pithy saw, uttered by some one, about the use made by dogmatists of the Bible:—

"This is the Book where each his dogma seeks,  
This is the Book where each his dogma finds."

The French churchman in the fable, looking through a telescope at a celestial luminary, saw distinctly the two spires of a cathedral. The young lady, looking through the same instrument at the same planet, saw in the priest's architectural dark lines a couple of lovers bowing to one another. And we are about as hopeless of disabusing any Kurtzite of his liking for the theory, as we are of convincing him of its practical evil effect. Let the attempt, at all events, be made. How "Heathenism and Judaism" could "meet in Christianity," we cannot conceive, except in a bald chronological sense, valueless as a step in the professor's chain. As plain men, it seems to us that Christianity overthrew both, because it was opposed to both equally radically, opposed to a national monopoly of monotheism, opposed to the Catholic and latitudinarian paganism of Rome, which left to each conquest its own gods, worship, and rites; opposed to a Levitical sacerdotal office, as to Delphic oracles and the rites of Aphrodisium and Vestal adoration. That Christianity was given to the world at the time the world was, in external conditions, best prepared to receive it, as Bishop Porteus, for example, has shown, we do believe. The world had become cosmopolitan. Roman polity and Greek culture had effected that. From Rome roads led to every known region; the journeying of the Apostle was made possible. The propagandism of interest and publicity, which must necessarily precede the propagandism of conviction, was facilitated. And Paul, the Roman citizen and the man learned in Greek literature, had the two-fold key to open an inlet to the minds of all. In this sense, as held by divines who do not theorize with German professors and puny nineteenth-century Puritans, we do

believe that the existing state of the "heathen" world, and the national unity still remaining to the Hebrew, along with the growing esteem of many for a monotheistic faith, favoured the growth of Christianity; and that they demonstrate the Divine Providence in choosing the time chosen for its advent. But this is mightily different from saying that "heathenism was to prepare mankind for salvation, Judaism salvation for mankind."

Bating the theory or skeleton on which the book is hung, and the entire absence of literary workmanship, and the slenderest evidence that the heart of a man beat behind the pen of the writer, the work is an acquisition to the clergyman's library at least. For on all matters of criticism—the route of the Israelites through the desert, the regions of their halting places, the miraculous gifts of manna and quails, and such details—there is evinced the most patient research, and the ripest acquaintance with every cross-light of information—the observations of travellers, as well as the conclusions of commentators. When the author escapes from the shackles of his theory, he proves himself in argument and the whole polemics of exegesis, wary, and inductive. He produces a conviction in the reader's mind of his candour and desire to know the truth; he looks carefully to the links of his chain; and, except, perhaps, in the case of the miracles, which he persists in explaining while he maintains their unimpaired miraculous character, he generally conducts you to his conclusions. The same smallness of view as that to which we have last alluded, affects the work of Stier on "The Words of the Risen Saviour." He dins into his readers the bodily presence of Christ to Peter, Paul, and John in their respective trances. This, because, according to him, the miraculousness and difficulty of the phenomena are thereby enhanced. This upward and spasmodic auctioneering of the omnipotence of the Deity to us produces only disgust. Leaving aside the very tenable ground that every natural phenomenon is equally miraculous and awe-inspiring, in this, at all events, we rest. The communion of their Lord with the souls of his servants is to us just as miraculous, certainly infinitely more sublime and inspiring, than the bodily presence which Pastor Stier's orthodox eyes make out to be the essence of the wonder.

#### GEORGE ELIOT'S NEW ROMANCE.

THE reputation already achieved by the authoress of *Adam Bede* entitles her present work to more than ordinary attention on the part of both reader and critic.

*Adam Bede* was a strictly theological novel. The *Mill on the Floss*, standing upon a less exalted pedestal, claims to be considered in a purely social and semi-educational light. Perhaps, for this reason, it will be even more popular than its predecessor with the general public. But though, in the present instance, the authoress has chosen more humble materials on which to exercise her extraordinary faculties, her mode of treatment is of that high intellectual nature by which the most every-day subjects are exalted and spiritualized, and invested with the halo of genius. But the chief peculiarity of the work now under consideration is the deep knowledge of human nature every where perceptible, and the keen insight into the motives from which the most trivial actions take root and spring. Indeed the authoress's intense desire to dive into the most remote intricacies of the heart, and trace, with minute exactness, the source, progress, and development, of each distinctive phase of human character, occasions a slight tediousness and delay in the progress of the story, which somewhat mars its effect. The story, however, possesses so many points of interest, and is worked out with such a masterly hand, that we must forgive a little tendency to circumlocution which here and there presents itself.

The authoress's intention in the present production must not be mistaken. She has concentrated all the powers of her mind upon the realization of an undeniable theory, namely, that the rare gifts of a lively fancy and fertile imagination are fatal to the possessor unless accompanied by the strength of mind and moral culture necessary to hold them in subjection. Poor Maggie, the heroine of this story, is presented to us as an instance of the truth of this proposition. Born of parents utterly incapable of comprehending the complicated subtleties of a nature so alien to their own, she is looked upon by all connected with her as an ill weed, destined to bring misery upon herself and those concerned in her proceedings. Her impulsive character leads her into eccentricities, for which no allowance is made by her prejudiced family; in vain she strives to do right; she is sure, by some unforeseen accident, or unhappy bungling in her mode of accomplishing it, to bring about the very opposite to what she intends; the consequence is, that her childhood is passed amid continual upbraidings, bickerings, and strife. This is the more trying to our heroine, as the love and approbation of others is one of the great needs of her peculiar disposition. She yearns for affection with an eagerness of appetite that gains fresh intensity, from the fact that few or no attempts are made to appease it. She is left entirely to herself, to the formation of her own regulating principles, and development of her own mental faculties. Can it be wondered that, with such an imperfect education, Maggie should grow up a creature of wild and contradictory impulses, possessing grand and sterling qualities of heart, firm in her resolve to master her own weaker passions, but ever precipitating herself into evil by the errors of her judgment? But our heroine is not allowed to escape with the mere conflict of internal emotions; she is destined to experience early the stroke of outward calamity. Her father, Mr. Tulliver, by the failure of a lawsuit, is suddenly reduced to the last extremity of fortune. In the supremacy of his prejudice and ignorance, he lays all his disasters at the door of his opposing attorney, Mr. Wakem; the latter, upon Tulliver's bank-

rupture, purchases the mill and adjoining premises, offering to retain its late possessor as managing man and head-overseer. Tulliver, for the sake of his family, consents, at the same time hurling an unavailing curse at the head of his employer, calling his children Tom and Maggie to witness his solemn declaration of unremitting hatred towards the fancied destroyer of his life and prospects. He thus endeavours to make each member of his family participate in his feelings; as far as Tom is concerned, he only too readily succeeds; not so Maggie,—her finer perceptions at once detect the inconsistency, nay, even criminality, of such unchristian anathemas. Time wears on, and Maggie, still struggling with her inward burden, at length fancies she has discovered the key to true happiness—self-renunciation. Yes! she will cease the vain search after the means of gratifying her own idle pleasures, and enter the valley of humiliation. For the future she will look at herself out of herself, as the “insignificant part of a divinely-guided whole,” and by resigning herself to patience escape the pain of sorrow. Our heroine does not at once perceive the fallacy of this reasoning,—it is reserved for experience to enlighten her thereon. Some time after this, Maggie accidentally meets Philip Wakem, whose unhappy affliction, in the shape of deformity, had, during her childhood, called forth all the deep feelings and sympathies of her nature, but between whom and herself a barrier had arisen in consequence of their fathers’ animosity. This young man, who is ardently attached to her, at once undertakes to combat, not only her resolution to carry on no correspondence unknown to her parents, but also her doctrine of renunciation. He immediately draws a distinction between resignation and stupefaction, between the determination to bear sorrow with a calm, unbending front, which is still sorrow, inflicting the same amount of torture upon the individual, notwithstanding that it is received unresistingly, and the mere dulling of the senses to all outward impressions, and the shutting out the knowledge of our fellow-men. Maggie feels there is some truth in her lover’s logical definitions, though she cannot see in what way they can be made to bear upon the question whether a child is justified in admitting of concealment from her parents; ultimately, however, her feelings predominate over her principles, and the two are pledged to each other. We have not space to follow the authoress through all the subtleties of her heroine’s character, and the dangers to which she is exposed in consequence of a too vivid and treacherous imagination. After her father’s death, Maggie refuses the shelter liberally offered her by her mother’s relations, and signifies her intention of going forth alone into the battle of life, confident in the ultimate triumph of her own unassisted endeavours. Then comes the last bitter trial, the great temptation by which the strength of her moral resolutions is put to its final test, and an opportunity is offered her of proving the superiority of reason and principle over the lower attributes of passion and impulse. There are two paths before her, the right and the wrong; there can be no doubt upon her mind, no confusion of ideas as to which may be the right or which the wrong;—the two open paths stare her in the face, bearing unmistakable signposts indicative of their separate destinations. But our heroine has received no training to fit her for combating with the evil which now assails her, has imbibed no strength from the example of others, and cultivated no power of self-control to aid her in the moment when yielding to her own desires will only too surely lead her to destruction, and so she falls, dragging along with her an innocent and light-hearted girl, betrayed at once by the lover she idolized and the woman she trusted, and plunging all connected with her into misery and disgrace. It is in vain that at the eleventh hour she recoils from the consequences of her own misdeed, and concentrates all her energies in one grand final effort for the mastery of the right, and flies precipitately from the consummation of her treacherous act; repentance comes too late. Slandering tongues have been busy with her fair name, no shelter and protection awaits her beneath her brother’s roof; her only alternative is to bow before the storm, and submit to the universal odium and misconstruction her conduct has entailed upon her. All this is admirably worked up. The authoress’s command of language enables her to depict the several stages of this great self-struggle with wonderful intensity and accuracy. She suffers no escape her in the complicated meshes of human feeling; but in all her characters dives into the very root and core of all their thoughts, actions, and emotions, presenting us with an insight into these hidden mysteries, which years of practical experience could scarcely have accomplished.

#### THE REFORMATION.\*

IN the fourteenth century began that Reaction against the corruption of the sources of Popular Instruction which led to its fuller development in the sixteenth. The indolence, ambition, and corruption of the clergy had followed on the wealth of the Church, which, by degrees, had accumulated to an enormous amount. At the commencement of that century it was at least ten millions sterling per annum—ten times the sum of the whole civil revenue of the kingdom. The clergy, also, were in possession of more than half the landed property of the kingdom. Besides all this, an immense revenue was flowing daily into the treasury of the Church, and the clergy claimed exemption from the ordinary taxation of the country. The Pope had acquired the habit

\* *Wycliffe and the Huguenots; or, Sketches of the Rise of the Reformation in England, and of the Early History of Protestantism in France.* By Rev. WILLIAM HANNA, LL.D. Thomas Constable and Co.

of issuing his mandates, and having them obeyed by priest and people in England. The Pope dared to name cardinals to English benefices, and to meet the emergency a statute was framed in 1358, and another in the following year. In connection with this matter occurs one of the earliest notices of Wycliffe in our annals. The Parliament had to address remonstrances to the king on the subject. In 1373 a new one represented that the grievance was more intolerable than ever; and this remonstrance, by command of the king, was presented to the Pope, but without effect. Next year, the Parliament caused an exact estimate to be made of the number and value of English benefices held by aliens. The picture of abuse that it presented was so broad and dark, that it was resolved to send a second Commission to the Papal court. The name of John Wycliffe stands second in the list of the commissioners appointed for this purpose.

Dr. Hanna, who has already distinguished himself by a *Life of Dr. Chalmers*, has compiled a portable history of this great reformer and of the Huguenots, uniting with it an account of Protestantism in France down to the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Concerning the latter event he accepts the modified version of Professor Soldan, that that terrible act was not altogether so premeditated as generally supposed; there was a gradation and accumulation of motives that led to that awful catastrophe. In regard to Wycliffe, the author has greatly depended on the two biographies of Dr. Vaughan; not neglecting, however, other sources of information. The Reformer, after his appointment on the royal commission, began to show a bold front, and spake freely against the papacy—so freely, that five separate bulls were launched against him. But the thunders of the Vatican proved harmless. Wycliffe, in his teaching, repudiated the civil and political dominion claimed by the Pope; asserted the right and duty of the state to exercise entire control over ecclesiastical property, to the extent of withholding or permanently withdrawing her endowments from the Church; condemned the use by the Church of her spiritual arms for temporal purposes, such as enforcing the payment of her revenues; denied any power in the Church absolutely and unconditionally to bind and loose, to pardon or to condemn; affirmed that the censures of the Church had power and effect only so far as they were inflicted on what was truly sinful and censurable in the sight of God, and were not otherwise to be regarded; and averred that ecclesiastics, nay, even the Pope himself, might warrantably be impeached and corrected by their subjects, both clergy and laity. And these teachings Wycliffe corroborated with his acts, and called on those he taught to disregard the spiritual anathemas that would be directed against such practical measures. Then came his translation of the Bible, and his consequent defence of the right and duty of all men to read it. Herein Wycliffe met with greater difficulty than any he had yet encountered. Nevertheless, it gave him opportunity to appeal to the texts of Scripture, and to carry the war into the doctrinal province of the Church, which hitherto he had not attacked. It would, however, says Dr. Hanna, “be difficult to frame a creed from his writings, like that of Augsburg, or the Thirty-nine Articles, or the Westminster Confession.” He condemned transubstantiation; but he believed in purgatory. Altogether he disapproved of persecution. “Christ,” said he, “wished his law to be observed willingly, freely, that in such obedience men might find happiness. Hence he appointed no civil punishment to be inflicted on the transgressors of his commandments, but left the persons neglecting them to the sufferings which shall come after the day of doom.”

Perhaps there is as much need as ever for the enforcement of these verities. Clearly there is, wherever the authority of the papacy prevails. The recent bloodshed in Perugia and Florence sufficiently demonstrates that a corrupt Church is as ready as ever for a new St. Bartholomew manifestation, if such were possible. On a smaller scale, much evil may yet be inflicted on the conscientious. On that account publications like the present are exceedingly useful; and Dr. Hanna’s book has, indeed, superior claims to consideration, as combining the facts and views derivable from the best authorities and most able writers on the high argument which he has undertaken to develop and illustrate.

#### SIR E. BULWER LYTTON’S NEW POEM.\*

AN elaborate didactic poem of some two or three thousand lines devoted to the celebration of English parliamentary eloquence, has recently excited some curiosity in the pages of *Blackwood*, and is now anonymously republished in a separate volume, inscribed to Lord Lyndhurst. It bears evident marks in its style of being the production of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, and is now generally understood to have proceeded from his pen. Its merits are, at any rate, of no ordinary kind, and the work ought not to be permitted to pass into circulation without a critical analysis of its contents, and some appreciation of its excellence.

In these days the didactic form of poetry is not popular; indeed, we have heard it disputed whether such works are poems at all. They are admitted to be sometimes admirable essays in verse, but too much wanting in the emotional element to be justly characterized as poetic. This, however, was not the opinion of Greek and Roman critics, who were willing to permit the Muses a wider range than is at present recognised. That range has been confessedly limiting itself within narrower boundaries, in proportion as the distinction between prose and verse has obtained. Certain arguments, it is now agreed, better suit the former; and a treatise on the oratory

\* *St. Stephen’s. A Poem.* Originally published in “*Blackwood’s Magazine*.” William Blackwood and Sons.



of the House of Commons, it is the opinion of most, would be more conveniently indited in prose than in verse. No doubt this is the case in a general way. But in all topics that strongly interest the passions and welfare of mankind, there is an imaginative string of associations, which refuse to be either fully or concisely enough expressed in a prose medium, and demand poetic diction; not fully enough expressed, because prose would naturally refuse expression to them altogether, as too rhapsodical for the means at its disposal; nor concisely enough, for the English couplet admits of a condensation of meaning, of which we find many an example in the poem before us, that would look pedantical and affected in mere prose composition. Take one specimen,—

"What charms us most in great men is to see  
Their greatness doffed, the men as we may be—  
Fox in the Senate—toil beyond our scope!  
Fox at St. Anne's—such leisure all may hope!"

We repeat, that the examples of this eliptical style are frequent in this poem, and they belong properly to didactic poetry. They make the charm of Pope's "Essay on Man," and contribute much to its force and dignity. Sir E. B. Lytton has contrived to say more, and to say it more effectually, in the compass of one hundred and thirty pages, because he says it in rhythmical verse, than he could have said in prose in a closely-printed volume of five hundred. He traces the history of parliamentary eloquence from the Commonwealth to the present hour, by touching on and connecting the salient points with such skill, that by the law of ideal association they suggest the whole of which they are the symbols; and this is one advantage, and no small one, which the poet has over the mere prosaist. Moreover, he gives us the portraits of the mightier speakers, with such decision of outline and such distinctive colouring, that the men stand before us in the habit in which they lived, and form a picture gallery nationally interesting and individually instructive.

In corroboration of these remarks, it is not needful for us to make extracts. The whole of the poem must be already familiar to a large number of competent readers, having been already circulated in one of the most popular and influential of our older periodicals. All that remains is to record our sense of merits that must by this time be extensively recognised, and to assure the reader that the poem is worthy of its subject, and rises to the height of the argument that it proposes to illustrate. There is throughout it a philosophical vein of thought that adds not only to its depth, but its beauty.

#### MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS.\*

THE second Lecture on the History of England, by Mr. Wm. Longman, contains a sketch of the position of England at the death of King John, a summary of early institutions, feudalism, the lord's control over the marriage of females, division of the nation into classes, origin of the laws of England, formation of Lords and Commons, with an illustration of the Parliament of Edward the First, trial by jury, and ecclesiastical courts; these points are, in the lecture, treated in a clear, succinct, and masterly style, and the historical information commonly spread through volumes, is here presented almost at a glance, so that the general reader may obtain, in an hour, the results of the long labours and researches of the historian and the student.

*The Garden that paid the Rent* is an excellent little work, which should, we think, be in the hands of every lady who has attached to her house a piece of ground that can possibly be turned into a garden. It tends to promote a real taste for gardening, and what is more, shows how useful, as well as pleasant, a garden may be made to its possessor. "Had I a daughter," says the writer, "she should be a botanist! Her studies should be in the open air; her deportment should spring from healthy exercise. She should learn the ways of my ideal empress—Nature, by practice with the dibble and the watering-can;" lessons that would, no doubt, be quite as useful to her as music or Italian.

*Cassell's Illustrated Family Bible* has reached the Book of Judges, which is beautifully illustrated. This part contains, also, a view of the City of Tyre, a map of Canaan, as distributed to the twelve tribes, Jephthah met by his daughter, &c., &c. It is printed on good paper, and is, no doubt, the cheapest illustrated Bible publishing.

We have received Part III. of *Cassell's Illustrated History of England*, which ranges from 1772 to 76. It contains portraits of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and an interesting portrait of Washington and his mother. There is also a general view of New York in this part.

*The Colloquies of Edward Osborne* has reached the third edition, which is sufficient evidence that the story really is interesting as a good picture of "what London hath been of ancient time." Edward Osborne is a model of rectitude, and an excellent example to youth how to rise to eminence and respectability in the world by listening to the dictates of truth and duty.

*The Pope's Dream* is a poem of considerable merit. The rapidity of the narrative, the vividness of the description, and the ease and melody of the verse, are amply sufficient to recommend this little poem to the public.

\* *Lectures on the History of England, delivered at Chorleywood, by WILLIAM LONGMAN. Lecture the Second, Jan. 4th, 1860. Comprising an Account of the Feudal System, and of the Origin of the Laws and Government of England. London: Longman and Co.*

*The Garden that paid the Rent. London: Chapman and Hall.*

*The Colloquies of Edward Osborne, Citizen and Clothworker of London. By the author of "Mary Powell." London: Hall, Virtue, and Co.*

*The Pope's Dream: a Tale of the Lower Regions. By THOMAS PLUMMER. London: Judd and Glass.*

*An Essay on Life Assurance. By H. W. PORTER, B.A. London: Charles and Edwin Layton.*

But it appears the author has a higher object in view than the mere ornaments of poetic composition, namely, the civil and religious liberty of every land. This is certainly the burden and design of the *Pope's Dream*, and we wish it success in a mission so noble; for we think, with the author, that

"Nations claim a constitution,  
Like Britannia's, great and free;  
Free from kings and priests' pollution,  
Strong in truth and liberty."

The *Essay on Life Assurance* is certainly a popular exposition of the subject, and a good plea for its more general adoption. It is not bulky, but it contains within its comparatively few pages very able argument, and suggestive reasoning.

#### SERIALS.

IN the *London Review* (quarterly) there is a fine though brief article on "Macaulay," whose writings are just now the subject of universal criticism more or less clever and eulogistic. "Ancient Syriac Gospels," is also the subject of a learned and elaborate criticism of much interest and value. "Whitby," "Eastern Problems," "Morocco," "Socrates," "Arctic Explorations," "Friedrich Schiller," are each and all treated with great intelligence and ability.

*The New Quarterly Review of Literature, Art, Science, and Politics*, commends itself to general notice and attention by the force and critical discrimination of its articles—the Retrospect of the Literature of the Quarter, Biographies of Lord Macaulay, French and English Novels, &c.

*The Westminster Review*, for April, contains eight very able and eloquent articles. "The Vedic Religion" is analysed with consummate skill and eloquence in the first article. "Manin and Venice in 1848-9," fully describes the character and fate of the brave Italian patriot, and the revolution which terminated so unhappily in 1849. "The Ethics of War" is the subject of another article, in which the quarrels between nations are rigorously investigated and weighed. "Plutarch and his Times," as it might be expected, is a subject that is well treated by a modern reviewer. In the article upon "Austria and the Government of Hungary," there is evinced a thorough knowledge of European affairs, and the policy of England with regard to the subject is indicated with no less wisdom. "Japan" is, just now, a popular topic of inquiry and speculation, and we find in the *Westminster* a very good article upon the subject. "Darwin on the Origin of Species" is ably reviewed, and pronounced to be superior to any preceding or contemporary work upon the development hypothesis.

*The British Quarterly Review* has many powerful articles in the present number. The first is an able and comprehensive Review of Lord Macaulay's Poems, Speeches, Essays, and History. Next, "McLeod's Eastern Africa" is an interesting article. In an article on "Christian Revivals," the Christian character and tendency of these religious movements are maintained. Darwin's work on the "Origin of Species," while differing in some points from its contemporaries, the *British Quarterly* has criticised very ably and worthily. "China and Japan" is not the least attractive article in this *Review*. There is also a remarkably good article upon "Italian Nationality."

*The National Review* for April is equal to any of its contemporaries in the sterling quality of its contents and the general ability with which every subject is treated. "Plutarch's Lives," "the Testimony of Geology to the Age of the Human Race," "the Budget and the Treaty in their relation to Political Morality," "the Acts of the Apostles, how far Historical?" "The Reform Bill, its real Bearing and ultimate Results," "Christianity in Japan," and "Mr. Bright, painted by himself," are articles of great interest and value.

We have received the *Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology*, edited by Forbes Winslow, M.D., D.C.L. It contains many valuable papers for this quarter upon subjects about which knowledge is most required, but in our periodical literature is frequently the least given. "Psychological Quarterly Retrospect," "On Habits of Intoxication as causing a Type of Disease," "the Platonic Dialogues," "the Asylums of Spain," are a few of the excellent articles in the present number.

*La Revue Indépendante, Politique, Philosophie, Littérature, Sciences, Beaux Arts*, contains "The French Clergy," "The Official World of the French Empire," "The Condition of the Working Classes under the reign of Napoleon III.," &c.

*The Journal of Mental Science* contains a descriptive notice of the Sussex Lunatic Asylum, "Physical Diseases of Early Life," "On the want of better Provision for the Labouring and Middle Classes when attacked or threatened with Insanity," "Edgar Allen Poe," "Consciousness as a Truth-organ considered." As these articles are, for the most part, written by medical literary gentlemen, they are, of course, strictly to the purpose, and abounding in sound views and valuable information.

*Kingstone's Magazine for Boys*, for this month, continues the interesting story of "The Old Schoolfellows," "Sketches from the Life of the late Major W. S. R. Hodson, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge," "The Life and Adventures of Paul Kane," and also commences the first chapter of "The Rambles of a Naturalist."

*The Ladies' Treasury, an Illustrated Magazine*, is exceedingly attractive. "The Soldier's Dream," illustrated; "the Soul never Grows Old," illustrated; "the Fashions," illustrated; together with a variety of very pleasing articles, form the great source of attraction for April.

*Cassell's Popular Natural History* continues with the history of the Dog, of the varieties of which there are several well-executed illustrations.

*Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper* is made interesting by the spirited continuation of the story entitled, "Left to themselves; or, Arab Life in London;" and "the Autobiography of an Heiress; or, the Old Feud."

We have received the fourth part of the People's Edition, published by Messrs. Longman and Co., of MOORE'S very interesting *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence*, which extends from the time of the poet's leaving Rome in 1819, to his arrival in England, in 1822, a long stay in Paris and elsewhere intervening. This part also contains a portrait of Henry, Marquis of Lansdowne.

## GLEANINGS FROM FOREIGN BOOKS.

A NOBLE ROTHSCHILD.

When, in the year 1792, the French Army drew near to the territory of Hesse-Cassel, the Elector was compelled to flee. Passing through Frankfort-on-the-Maine, he became acquainted with a Jewish banker there—Moses Rothschild. The man was not rich, but on account of his integrity and business ability had a high reputation;—by reason whereof the Elector intrusted to him gold and jewels to the value of several millions of thalers,—the German thaler or dollar being worth about three shillings. The Jew at first was not willing to take charge of so large a sum; but the Elector persuaded him and left the treasure with him without even taking a receipt. Moses had scarcely buried the treasure in his garden, when the French marched plundering into Frankfort. To save the treasure of the prince, Moses abandoned all his own property to the mercy of the foe. As soon as tranquillity was restored, Moses Rothschild resumed his business as banker and money-changer. This was done first of all on a small scale; but with the help of the Elector's treasure he gradually extended his affairs, so that by and by he was regarded as a man of vast and solid wealth. When the Elector, in 1802, returned to his states, he once more went to Frankfort, and called on Moses Rothschild:—

"The rascals have no doubt stolen all the treasure which I intrusted to you, Moses?"

"Not one thaler," answered Moses solemnly.

"What do you say?"

"Not one thaler."

"What! I was informed that the Sansculottes had robbed you of everything. I also read the same thing in the newspapers."

"All that was mine they certainly took; but your Electoral Highness's treasure I was fortunate enough to save. Your gold and silver I employed in my affairs, and I am now in a position to restore it all to you with interest at five per cent."

The Elector, astonished and grateful, gave back the interest as compensation for what the French had taken from the honourable Jew. As reward for his unexampled integrity, he allowed him the use of the treasure for twenty years more, at an interest of two per cent. The Prince besides sought out every way of being useful to the noble Moses. At the Congress of Vienna, he was enthusiastic to the assembled sovereigns in praise of the Jew's spotless uprightness, whereby Moses Rothschild at once gained the confidence of the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and of other European rulers. The Jew's sterling honesty, furthermore, laid the firm foundation of the colossal money power of the Brothers Rothschild, his sons, at London, Vienna, Paris, and Frankfort, who reign as kings in every Stock Exchange of Europe.—*German Anecdotes.*

## FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

ROME, 6th April, 1860.

## THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

"SENATUS Populusque Romanus." The phrase sounds strangely in our ears, like the accents of a lost language, or the burden of a forgotten melody. In those four initial letters is embodied an epitome of the world's history—the rise and decline, and fall of Rome. On the escutcheons of the Roman nobles, the S. P. Q. R. still stand conspicuous, but where shall we look for the realities expressed by those world-famed letters? It is true the Senate is still represented by a single Senator, who is nominated by the Pope; and drives in a Lord Mayor's coach on state occasions; and regularly, on the first night of the opera season, sends round ices as a present to the favoured occupants of the second and third tiers of boxes at the Apollo. This gentleman, by all the laws of senatorial succession, is the heir and representative of the old Roman Senate, who sat with their togas wrapt around them, waiting for the Gaul to strike; but alas! the "Populus Romanus" has left no successor.

Yet surely if anything of dead Rome be still left in the living city, it should be found in the Roman people. In the "Mystères du Peuple" of EUGÈNE SUE there is a story, that to the Proletarian people, the sons of toil and labour, belong genealogies of their own pedigrees of families, who from remote times have lived and died among the ranks of industry. We have often thought that these fabulous families should have had their birth in Rome. Amongst the peasants that you meet praying in the churches, or loitering in the sun-light, or labouring in the deadly "Campagna" plains, there must be some who, if they knew it, descend in direct lineage from the ancient Plebs. It may be so, or rather it must be so; but of the fact there is little outward evidence. You look in vain for the characteristic features of the old Roman face, such as you behold them portrayed in ancient statues. The broad low brow, the depressed skull, the protruding under-jaw, and the thin compressed lips, are to be seen here no longer. Indeed, though we make the remark with the fear of artists before our eyes, we should hardly say ourselves that the Roman people of the present day were a very handsome race; and certainly, as a race, they are inferior both to Tuscans and Neapolitans. The men are well-formed, and of good height, but not powerful in build or make, and their features are rather marked than regular. As for the women, when you have once perceived that hair may be black as coal, and yet coarse as string, that bright sparkling eyes may be utterly devoid of expression, and that an olive complexion may be caused by an absence of washing, you grow somewhat sceptical as to the reality of their

vaunted beauty. All this, however, is a matter of personal taste, about which it is useless to express much opinion. We must content ourselves with saying that the Roman peasantry, as depicted year after year on the walls of the Academy, bear about the same resemblance to the article provided for home consumption, as the ladies in an ordinary London ball-room bear to the portraits in the "Book of Beauty."

The peasants' costumes, too, like the scarlet cloaks and smock-frocks of Old England, are dying out fast. On the steps in the "Piazza di Spagna," and in the artists' quarter above, you see some twenty or thirty models in the braided boddices and the folded linen head-dresses, standing about for hire. The braid, it is true, is torn; the snow-white linen dirt-besmeared; and the brigand looks feeble and inoffensive, while the hoary patriarch plays at pitch and toss. But still they are the same figures that we know so well, the traditional Roman peasantry of the "Grecian" and the "Old Adelphi." Alas! they are the last of the Romans. In other parts of the city, the peasant dresses are few and far between. The costume has become so uncommon as to be now a fashionable dress for Roman ladies at Carnival time and other state festivities. On Sundays and "Festas" in the mountains, you still can find real peasants with real dresses; but even here Manchester stuffs and cottons are making their way fast, and every year the original costume becomes rarer and rarer. A grey serge jacket, coarse nondescript-coloured cloth trousers and a brown felt hat, all more or less dusty and ragged, compose the ordinary dress of the Roman working man. Provisions are dear here. Bread of the coarsest and mouldiest quality costs, according to the Government tariff, from two to three baiocchi, that is, from a penny to three halfpence per pound. Meat is about a third dearer than in London; and clothing, even of the poorest sort, is very high in price. On the other hand, lodgings of the class used by the poor are cheap enough. There is no outlay for firing, as even in the coldest weather, with the thermometer below freezing point, even well-to-do Romans never think of lighting a fire; and then, in this climate, the actual quantity of victuals required by the labourer is far smaller than in our northern countries. From all these causes we feel no doubt that the cost of living for the poor is comparatively small, though of course the rate of wages is low in proportion. For ordinary unskilled labour, the wages at this season of the year are about three pauls or three pauls and a half a-day; in summer about five pauls; and during the height of the vintage as much as six or seven pauls, though this is only for a very few weeks. We should suppose, therefore, that from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 9d. a-day, taking the paul at 5d., were the average wages of a good workman at Rome. From these wages, however, there are several deductions. In the first place, the immense number of "festas" tells heavily on the workman's receipts. On the more important feast-days all work is strictly forbidden by the Government, and either employer or labourer who was detected in an infraction of the law would be subject to heavy fines. On the minor festivals, however, about the observance of which the Church is not so strict, labour is equally out of the question. The people have got so used to holiday-keeping that nothing but absolute necessity can induce them to work save on working days. All over Italy this feeling is too common. We were informed by a large manufacturer in Florence, that, having a great number of orders on hand, and knowing great distress to exist among his workmen's families, he offered double wages to any one who came to work on a recent "festa," but only one or two in a hundred responded to his offer. In Rome, where every moral influence is exerted in favour of idleness against industry, the observance of holidays is practised most religiously. Then, too, the higher rate of wages paid in summer is counterbalanced by the extra risk to which the labourer is exposed. The ravages created by the malaria fevers amongst the ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-cared-for labourers, are really fearful. The subject, however, of the malaria, and its influence on the population, is too wide a one to be treated of in this letter. An allusion to the fact is sufficient for the present. The greatest curse of all to the working man at Rome, greater than the "festas" or the malaria, is the middle-man system, which is almost universal. If you require any work done, from stone-carving to digging, you seldom or never deal with the actual workman. If you are a farmer, and want your harvest got in, you contract months before with an agent, who agrees to supply you with harvest-men in certain numbers and at a certain price, out of which price the agent pockets as large a per-centage as he can. If you are a sculptor, and wish a block of marble chiselled in the rough, the man you contract with to hew the block at certain day wages brings a boy to do the work at half the above amount, or less. If you wish to make a purchase, or effect a sale, you have a whole series of commissions and brokerages to pay before you come into contact with your principal; and so on, in every branch of trade or business. If you inquire why this system is not broken through, why the employer does not deal directly with his workman, you are told that the custom of the country is against any other method; that amongst the workmen themselves there is so much terrorism and intimidation that any single employer or labourer who contracted for work directly, would run a risk of annoyance or actual injury—of having, for example, his block of marble split, or his tools destroyed, or a knife stuck into him as he went home at night; and, more than all, that, without the supervision of the actual overseer, your workmen would cheat you right and left, no matter what wages you paid. After all, it is better to be cheated by one man than by a hundred; and, in fact, being at Rome, you must do as the Romans do.

It may possibly have been observed that, in the foregoing para-



graph, we have spoken of the "workman at Rome," not of the "Roman workman." The difference, though slight, is an all-important one. The workmen at Rome are not Romans, for the Romans proper never work. The Campagna is tilled in winter by groups of peasants, who come from the Marches in long straggling files, headed by the "Pifferari"—pipers. In summer time the harvest is reaped and the vintage gathered in by labourers whose homes are in the Abruzzi mountains. In many ways these mountaineers bear a strong resemblance to the swarms of Irish labourers who come over to England for the harvest. They are frugal, good-humoured, and, for Italians, hard-working and industrious. A very small proportion, too, of the working men in Rome itself are Romans. Certain trades, as that of the cooks, for instance, are confined to the inhabitants of particular districts. The masons, carpenters, carvers, and other mechanical trades are filled by men who do not belong to the city, and are called and considered foreigners. Of course, the rule is not without exceptions, and you will find sometimes genuine Romans amongst the common workmen, but amongst the skilled workmen never. There is a very large poor population in Rome, and, in some form or other, these poor must work for their living; but their rule is to do as little work as possible. There still exists amongst the Romans a sort of debased Imperial pride; a belief that a Roman is, *per se*, superior to all other Italians. For manual labour, or labour under others, he has a contempt and dislike. All the semi-independent trades, like those of cab-drivers, street pedlars, petty shopkeepers, &c., are eagerly sought after and monopolised by Romans. Indeed, the extent to which small trades are carried on by persons without capital and miserably in debt, is, we understand, one of the greatest evils in the social system which prevails here. If the Romans also, like the unjust steward, are too proud to dig, unlike that worthy, to beg they are "not" ashamed. Begging is a recognised and a respected profession; and if other trades fail, there is always this left. Besides, the poor at Rome are not afraid of actual starvation. Any man who goes to confession, is not a "scontento," and can get a good word from his priest, is sure of food at the convent doors for himself and his family. We are not saying there is no good in this custom; in fact, it is the one good thing we have come across in connection with the priestly system of government; but still, on an indolent and demoralised population like that of Rome, the benefit of this sort of charity, which destroys the last and strongest motive for exertion, is by no means unmixed. The cardinal principle, indeed, of Papal rule is to teach its subjects to rely on charity in place of industry. In order to relieve, in some measure, the fearful distress that exists among the poor of Rome, the Government has taken some hundreds (nearly a thousand we should guess) of persons into their employment, and set them to work on excavating the Forum. The sight of these men working, or rather pretending to work, is reckoned one of the stock jokes of the season. Six men are regularly employed in conveying a wheelbarrow filled with two spadefuls of soil. There is one man to each handle, two in front to pull when the road rises, and one on each side to keep the barrow steady. You will see any day long files of such barrows so escorted, creeping at a snail's pace, to and from the Forum. It is hardly necessary to say that no progress whatever has been made in the excavations, or, in truth, is likely to be made. Yet all these workmen are able-bodied fellows, who receive two pauls a-day for doing nothing. Much less injury would be inflicted on their self-respect by giving them the money outright than in return for this mockery of labour. The amusements of the people are much what might be expected from their occupations. To do them justice, they drink but little, and even at the road-side "Osterias" on a Sunday you rarely see a Roman drunk. On the other hand, they are a nation of gamblers. Their chief amusement, not to say their chief occupation, is gambling. In the middle of the day, at street corners and in sunny spots, you see groups of working-men playing at pitch halfpenny, or gesticulating wildly over the mysterious game of "moro." Skittles and stone-throwing are the only popular amusements which require bodily exertion; and both of these, as played here, are as much chance as skill. The lottery, too, of which we have spoken before, is the delight of every true Roman.

This picture of the Roman people may not seem a very favourable or a very promising one. We quite admit that many persons who have come much into contact with them speak highly of their general good humour, their affectionate feelings, and their sharpness of intellect. At the same time we have observed that these eulogists of the Roman population are either Papal partisans, who, believing that "this is the best of all possible worlds," wish to prove that "everything here is for the best;" or else they are vehement Italy-olaters, who are afraid of damaging their beloved cause by admission of the plain truth, that the Romans are not, as a people, either honest, truthful, or industrious. For our own part, our faith is different. A bad government produces bad subjects, and we are not surprised to find in the debasement and degradation of a priest-ruled people the strongest condemnation of the papal system.

TURIN, April 7, 1860.

#### THE CHURCH AND PIEDMONT.

BY bills posted upon the walls of the Eternal City the world learns that the long-expected papal performance has taken place. The pontifical tragedy has been presented, but in the unpretentious, humble fashion befitting the present restricted resources of the mistress of the Seven Hills. Afraid to utter her loudest thunder, lest its reverberations should shake her tottering seat and upheave her decaying foundations, she has ventured upon little more than a

hoarse whisper of indignation and reproach. Even this embraces so many persons in general, that it affects no one in particular. The curse has been adapted to so many thousands of individuals, that a mere homœopathic dose, which can be swallowed with perfect ease and facility, falls to the share of each. In vain does poor Rome try to get up a little excitement, to disturb the unscrupulous consciences of the nineteenth century. Her performance has taken place at least six hundred years too late, to do more than cause a passing smile of pity. Past ages, and Italy no less than foreign lands, afford abundant examples of the same indifference to Papal anathema which Piedmont shows in the present emergency. England was always independent of bulls and excommunications, even when she called herself Roman Catholic. WILLIAM the Conqueror would not suffer his bishops to issue any edicts contrary to his views. HENRY II. prescribed the way in which excommunication might be pronounced against private individuals, and also the manner in which his subjects might appeal from the unjust excommunications of the archbishop to the royal tribunal. The offences for which alone it might be pronounced were limited, and distinctly named. HENRY III. ordered the restitution of their goods and privileges to some of his subjects who were excommunicated by clerical authority. The same king obliged the Bishops of Coventry, Lichfield, and Lincoln to retract anathemas which they had pronounced in perfect accordance with the canon law, but which they had fulminated without consulting the royal pleasure. EDWARD I. went so far as to banish certain prelates for daring to issue censures without his leave. In the case of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he not only sent him into exile, but compelled the Dean and Chapter to revoke the anathema which the Archbishop had pronounced against the prior and canons of the Chapel Royal.

The reigns of EDWARD II. and EDWARD III. offer examples of the same kind, while that of HENRY VIII. so far outvies the rest that our memory and admiration are reserved for it almost exclusively. When the formidable pontifical bull came forth which discharged HENRY's subjects from their allegiance, pronounced his throne forfeited, and conferred his dominions on the King of SCOTLAND, no one ventured to put the strength of English loyalty to the test. To the thunder of the Vatican the king opposed the artillery of a new translation of the Scriptures. A copy was provided for every parish church, at the joint expense of the incumbent and parishioners. The clergy were commanded to teach the creed, dominical oration, and Ten Commandments in English, to call off men's attention from pilgrimages and relics, and to discourage saintly intercession. HENRY, moreover, declared that his own will should decide upon all questions of doctrine and ritual, and that no English delegates should appear at any pretended general council which might be summoned under Italian influence. The well-known bull of PIUS V., which declared Queen ELIZABETH a heretic and favourer of heretics, and her adherents to have incurred the sentence of anathema, was followed by ministerial and parliamentary decrees making it treasonable to acknowledge the authority of the Pope, or to introduce a papal missive into the kingdom. In continental countries the plan adopted has been somewhat different. Kings have, in general, resisted papal violence, not by prohibiting excommunication, or ordering that it should be revoked, but by preventing its publication or execution, and taking measures to render it void and utterly without effect. Venice more than once displayed great firmness and courage in tacitly opposing the papal interdict; but the most marked occasion was at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when PAUL V. sought to humble her beneath his spiritual anathemas. Immediately upon his elevation to the pontificate he announced his intention of exalting the power of the Church at the expense of that of the secular princes of Italy, whose presumption he declared required to be mortified. While still cardinal, indeed, he had expressed himself to this effect to LEONARDO DONATO, declaring that if he were Pope and the republic of Venice gave him the least ground of complaint, he would lose no time in warnings and negotiations, but would at once launch an interdict. "And if I were Doge," answered the ambassador, "I would despise your anathemas." Both soon kept their word. The republic was placed under interdict by the Pope for having most righteously imprisoned and refused to give up to the claims of Rome an ecclesiastic who had been guilty of scandalous crimes of a secular nature. At this period the Doge died, and PAUL ordered his nuncio to oppose the election of another Doge, on the ground that any act performed by those who were excommunicated was null and void. The nuncio was refused an audience by the Seignoury, who declared that it could not be accorded while the ducal throne was vacant; and, in spite of him and his instructions, the election of DONATO as Doge took place. The Papal denunciations were met by the Venetians with offers of men and money, and declarations of adherence to the Government; and the Pope found that all his spiritual fulminations ended in smoke. In 1488, INNOCENT VIII. having laid Ghent and Bruges under an interdict, the parliament commanded the continuance of divine service as usual. PHILIPPE LE BEL and LOUIS VII. of France acted in the same manner when BONIFACE VIII. and JULIUS II. pronounced excommunication against them.

The history of Naples gives repeated instances of the same indifference to Papal anathema. MANFRED so far despised the excommunications of Pope ALEXANDER and his successor, URBAN IV., as to attend Divine service in interdicted places. PETER of Aragon did the same in Sicily, when MARTIN IV. excommunicated him and laid his kingdom under an interdict. Queen JANE I. utterly contemned the wrath of URBAN VI.; and CHARLES III. employed resolution and force in preventing the anathemas of ALEXANDER V. from being executed in his kingdom. LADISLAUS took no notice

whatever of Papal displays of this kind; and we might carry our list of names to an almost indefinite extent. It is, however, of importance to notice the prejudices which were formerly entertained, incited chiefly by the decretals of the Roman pontiffs and the new doctrines of the canonists. Effects were ascribed to the excommunications such as the canons themselves would not venture to attribute to them; so that the secular magistrates often had a greater share in the excommunication than the ecclesiastical judges who uttered them; and, to the great disorder and prejudice, not only of the sovereign rights of the prince, but of the civil rights of the people, frequently rendered these fulminations more formidable than they were in themselves. They contended that magistrates, advocates, or other public men who were unjustly excommunicated for judicial causes must, if they wished to continue in the exercise of their functions and privileges, obtain letters of permission, called *dispensations* or *licenses*, from the collateral council. This practice was introduced to quiet the consciences of the weak and ignorant, as a protest against the injustice, and a declaration of the nullity of such excommunications, in order that the scrupulous might not fear to communicate with those under censure, even when not absolutely obliged to do so. Catholic authorities, including the most celebrated theologians and canonists, have been found to defend such resistance to Papal pretensions. GIANXONE, the well-known writer on civil law, says: "Princes are the rightful arbitrators of the policy of their states, and it has been demonstrated that it is within their province to augment the penalties of excommunication, or nullify them at their pleasure. When they see that Papal excommunications are launched, not for religious purposes, but for temporal and profane ends, let them give them no support, and they will fall of themselves—be rendered null and void, and be incapable of exciting fear. When magistrates continue to exercise their functions and do their duty without heeding them;—when the excommunicated are not prohibited from availing themselves of the legal tribunals, and are permitted to make contracts, to marry and bequeath property;—when their fellow-subjects are commanded to maintain the same relations with the excommunicated as if such excommunication had not taken place;—when, in short, those rights are guaranteed to all which appertain to them by the enactments of the Legislature, by the laws of their sovereign, by custom, and their civil position without any change whatever, then all fear will cease in reference to Papal excommunications. Experience shows that it is very frequently not the prelates, but the magistrates who, for want of doing their duty, or even we ourselves who, from abject timidity, have excommunicated ourselves. The arms of the clerical power would remain pointless and without effect did we not ourselves lend them sharpness and vigour, and treat shadows as substance." The present excommunication is so manifestly unconnected with spiritual considerations—so utterly secular in its origin and aim—that it may fairly be classed among those which a prince is empowered to consider null and void.

The growing independence of Rome, manifested both in spiritual and temporal affairs by Piedmont of late years, is the more worthy of remark and admiration, in that no Catholic power was ever so devoted to the Church as the House of Savoy during a succession of generations. The devotion shown on the one side was repaid by protection and privileges on the other, although it will be well understood by all who have observed the conduct of Rome towards those whom she most favours, that the lion's share of the mutual benefit was reaped by the Church. Many of the Savoyard princes renounced the splendours of temporal sovereignty to take orders and dedicate themselves entirely to the service of the Church. AIMONE, the second son of HUMBERT, became bishop of Lyons in 1040. AMADEUS VIII. laid down his sceptre to retire into ascetic life, consented to quit his cell to occupy the chair of St. PETER, and voluntarily and spontaneously resigned the Pontificate when he saw that his renunciation might conduce to restoring peace to the Church, and aid in healing the schism with which it was lacerated. The earliest acts to which the names of the Savoyard princes are found appended are donations to churches and monasteries, some of which gifts seem really excessive if the times and condition of the country be considered. All the persecutions of their subjects by the Savoyard and Piedmontese monarchs, all the cruel and dishonourable acts of their history, may, with scarcely an exception, be traced to the influence of the Church over these princes. It was due to the incitement of the Court of Rome and the priests that EMMANUEL PHILIBERT dishonoured his sword, that both the VICTORS AMADEUS engaged in the most cruel and senseless crusade recorded in history—that against the quiet and unoffending Waldensians; though the last had the opportunity of redeeming his reputation by recalling this poor persecuted people, and granting them full religious liberty in their own valleys. Urged by the same influence, CHARLES EMMANUEL I. made his faithless and shameful attempt upon Geneva, where his best officers ingloriously lost their lives, and he his reputation and honour. To please the pontifical powers, the laws of hospitality were infamously violated in the case of illustrious and unfortunate exiles, who sought an asylum in Savoy and Piedmont, and were betrayed to Rome, in defiance of right and humanity.

From time to time the Princes of SAVOY, in spite of their piety, endeavoured to shake off the yoke; but, unfortunately, they sought to do so by means of negotiations, which seldom succeed with the Court of Rome. This Power is an adept in the art of prolonging questions indefinitely, in cavilling, subtilizing, and throwing spiritual dust into the eyes of ambassadors. Thus the princes failed to obtain their desires, and in some cases only aggravated the evils of which they complained. Such was the case, for example, in 1650,

when Pope PIUS IV., in response to some grievance, sent the first ordinary nuncio to Turin to reside at the Court under pretence of doing it honour, but in fact to act the spy, and keep the Pontiff informed of all that went forward. The honour was soon felt to be dearly bought; but, in spite of all remonstrances, one nuncio was replaced by another for more than a century and a half. Piedmont was involved in the Roman meshes after nearly all the other Catholic Powers had freed themselves to a considerable extent. Germany, France, and even bigoted Spain itself, were becoming independent; and the reforms of MARIA THERESA and JOSEPH II. in Lombardy, PETER LEOPOLD in Tuscany, the minister TANUCCI in Naples, and DENTILLOT in Parma and Piacenza, will show how far Piedmont lagged behind in the race of laical independence. But the advancing light of the eighteenth century was not to be resisted. Philosophy, erudition, and criticism rendered sight to the blind, and illumined men's inner faculties; and the ancient edifice of Roman superstition and ignorance threatened to crumble to dust. Piedmont began to assert her independence of Rome, and from that time hostilities more or less deadly have been carried on between the two Powers. Since 1847 political discord has been unceasing, arising from causes too well known to the political and general reader to require mention here. Rome has fairly worn out the patience, not only of the people, but even of the clergy, by her systematic opposition to liberty and the spread of intelligence. The sacerdotal ranks are becoming aware of the degraded and false position in which they have hitherto been held. Several recent addresses of the clergy to the king clearly attest that they are no longer disposed to support the papacy in its pretensions and struggles against Italy, and the employment of spiritual arms for the defence of its temporal interests, but are willing and anxious to co-operate in the work of political regeneration. Every thing, then, seems to show that if Piedmont will only remain true to herself and the principles which she has adopted, she need fear nothing from the worst attacks of Rome.

## RECORD OF THE WEEK.

### HOME AND COLONIAL.

SATURDAY, April 7, being the birthday of his Royal Highness Prince Leopold, Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, and the Princess of Leiningen, paid Her Majesty an early congratulatory visit.

The British and North American Royal Mail steamship America took her departure on Saturday morning for Halifax and Boston, taking about 90 passengers, a full cargo, and the mails for the United States and Canada.

Heenan, the American pugilist, has given the magistrates at Derby his own recognizance of £50, and two sureties of £25 each to keep the peace.

On Monday night the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress gave the customary Easter dinner in the Egyptian Hall of the Mansion-house. There were upwards of 300 guests present.

On Monday last William Dickenson, an elderly man, was brought before Mr. Self charged with having wilfully disturbed the Rev. Bryan King, the Minister of St. George's-in-the-East, on Sunday evening. He was fined £1 6s. 8d., which was collected by subscription among the people in and about the court. On the same day an alarming fire occurred in the premises known by the sign of the Coach and Horses Tavern in Aldersgate Street. The inmates were rescued by the courageous conductors of the Royal Society's escapes stationed in that street and at Cheapside, and the fire was got under. Much property was destroyed.

On Tuesday evening Her Majesty's Theatre, under the management of Mr. E. T. Smith, and the Royal Italian Opera, under that of Mr. F. Gye, commenced their operatic season.

A Vestry meeting of the inhabitants of St. Paul's and St. Barnabas was held on Tuesday afternoon in the New Schoolroom, Wilton Place, Knightsbridge, for the election of churchwardens for the ensuing year. Mr. Westerton, an opponent of Romanising tendencies, was elected.

J. C. Symons, Esq., Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, died on Saturday last, of rapid consumption, at Malvern House, Great Malvern.

On Tuesday evening the subscribers and exhibitors of the Architectural Society held a *conversazione* at their large rooms, Conduit Street, Regent Street, on the occasion of their second anniversary. On the same day Mr. Bonamy Dobree was elected Governor, and Mr. Alfred Latham Deputy Governor of the Bank of England for the ensuing year.

The Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt held a quarterly meeting on Tuesday at the official residence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Downing Street.

The number of patients relieved at the Royal Free Hospital, Gray's Inn Road, during the week ending 7th April, was 2,510, of which 585 were new cases.

Mary Ann Hodges and Ellen Norton, two very young girls, were charged on Tuesday before Mr. Mansfield, at Worship Street, with attempting to commit suicide, the one from jealousy of her step-mother, the other from fear that she would be punished for stopping out late at night.

A grand review of the entire force of the Chatham garrison, numbering about 5,000 men of all ranks, took place on Chatham Lines on Tuesday afternoon, by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.

On Saturday, April 7, the prisoners Cuno and Bliss were com-



mitted for trial at the next Hertford Assizes for the murder of John Seabrook, the gamekeeper, in a poaching affray at Beechwood, Herts.

The deliveries of tea in London estimated for the week ending April 7, were 760,304 lbs.

On Tuesday, the remains of the Dowager Countess of Elgin were deposited in the family vault under the south aisle of Dunfermline Abbey.

On Wednesday, there was an election of two East India House Directors. Colonel Sykes, M.P. (the Chairman), and Major-General Moore, were re-elected without opposition.

On Tuesday morning, a collier, named William Whitehouse, was killed at Lawley-street station, Birmingham, on attempting to enter a train while it was in motion.

On the evening of the same day there was a military riot at Greenwich, in which the police were severely injured by the soldiers. A double picket of Royal Marines arrived from Woolwich to apprehend all stragglers who might be found at Greenwich without a pass.

The Spaniard, Serafin Manzano, who was convicted at the recent Wilts Assizes for the murder of Anastasia Trowbridge, at Ashcombe, was executed on Wednesday, in front of the New Prison, Devizes.

On Easter Tuesday, the Bluecoat boys proceeded in procession to the Mansion-house, where they were regaled with a glass of wine, two buns, a new shilling, and the monitors half-a-crown each; after which they were joined by the Lord Mayor, and from thence proceeded in state to Christ Church, where the Rev. Henry Christmas, M.A., preached the Spital sermon on the occasion.

The examination of candidates for direct commissioners by the Council of Military Education commenced on Wednesday, before Major-General Rumley, the Vice-President, and other Members of the Council. There were above 100 candidates.

On Wednesday night an address was delivered at the Workmen's Institute and Benefit Club, in the Euston-road, on the subject of "Public Health," by Sir F. H. Goldsmid, M.P.

At the weekly meeting of the Society of Arts last evening, Mr. Apsley Pellatt in the chair, the paper read was, "On Stoneware," by Mr. Edwin Goddard.

The Bishop of London has addressed a pastoral letter to the laity of the metropolitan diocese on the necessity of church extension in London. Since he came to the See, the Bishop of London has consecrated 29 new churches, which are capable of reaching the wants of at least 90,000 persons, but according to the Registrar-General's calculation the population of the diocese has meanwhile increased by 140,000.

The steam-tug Resolute sailed from Liverpool at noon Wednesday, with the telegraph cable to be laid across the river Dee, from Hilbre Island to Point of Ayr, in connexion with the Mersey Docks, and Harbour Boards line of Telegraph from Liverpool to Holyhead.

The American begging-letter impostors have, in spite of recent exposures, renewed their attempts upon a family in Hull, one of whose members has lately been removed by death.

A meeting of medical practitioners from all parts of England was held on Thursday afternoon, at the Freemasons' Tavern, for the purpose of promoting the success of the measure introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Pigott, having for its object an extensive reform in the system of Poor-law relief at present existing in England and Wales.

On the same afternoon a meeting of the proprietors of the Metropolitan Railway Company took place at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, for the purpose of approving three bills for enabling the company to acquire additional lands for forming a new street and railway to connect the Metropolitan Railway with the proposed meat-market in Smithfield, and an improved connection between the Metropolitan Railway and the Great Northern Railway at King's Cross.

#### FOREIGN.

According to news from Naples, April 8th, the insurrection in Sicily continued. The Neapolitan Government had sent reinforcements.

The Carlist attempt in Spain has failed. It is asserted that three personages of the highest rank have been arrested with General Ortega at Colanda. Ortega will be tried at Tortosa. The Moors, it is believed, will immediately pay the indemnity stipulated in the conditions of peace.

The *Moniteur* of Saturday morning announces that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Thouvenel, had informed the Municipality of Thonon of the intention of the Emperor to protect the commercial interests of Faucigny and Chablais by establishing a commercial zone in their favour similar to that existing at Gex.

General Lamoricière was received April 2 at the Vatican. It is asserted that the King of Sardinia has claimed the political prisoners belonging to the Legations.

General Lamoricière has been appointed Commander-in-chief of the papal troops.

The intelligence from America is that the offer of the British Government for an arrangement of the San Juan difficulty has been respectfully declined.

The siege of Vera Cruz had been renewed with considerable effect. The reported flight of Miramon and the dispersion of his forces is unfounded.

By telegram from Paris, Monday, April 9, we learn that the French Government has sent the following official communication to the *Pays* and *Patrie*:—"On the occasion of the attempts at

insurrection in Sicily and Spain, the *Pays* and *Patrie* contained lamentable imputations against a neighbouring power. These papers ought so much the less to have accepted those imputations, knowing that they were devoid of authenticity."

Intelligence from Geneva, Monday, states that M. Laitz, French Imperial Commissioner, who is travelling through the neutralized provinces of Savoy, arrived yesterday at Bonneville, where he was received very coldly.

The Concordat in Baden: news from Karlsruhe, Monday, is that a manifesto of the Grand Duke has been published, proclaiming the principle of the independence of the Catholic Church, and adding that its laws are placed under the protection of the Constitution. The contents of the Concordat shall be lawfully sanctioned by special laws. The manifesto also promises the free development of the Protestant Church, as well as other public requirements.

From Madrid, Sunday evening, April 8: the *Official Gazette* promulgates the Concordat concluded with Rome. The Emperor of Morocco has ratified the bases of peace.

On Tuesday, April 10, news was received from Calcutta that outrages by the ryots of Lower Bengal have taken place.

Trade was uninterrupted at all ports in Shanghai.

Affairs in Japan are still in a very unsettled state.

It is rumoured that the Chinese have withdrawn the guns from the Taku forts to strengthen with them the Tien-tsin forts.

The Court of Pekin is alarmed at the preparations of the allies.

Washington advices, dated March 29, state that the President has sent a message to the House of Representatives, firmly protesting against its resolution for an inquiry into the abuses of power. The President takes as ground for his protest, that Congress can only act under impeachment.

All connexion with Mexico has been severed.

Brigham Young had started a public school at Utah.

From Mexico it is reported that Miramon has ordered the Americans to quit the country.

At New York, March 30, stocks were firm and active. New York Central, 78. Money and exchanges unaltered.

At New Orleans, sales of cotton, 30,000 bales; middling, 10½ c. to 10¾ c. Sales of the week, 100,000. Receipts, 56,000; Exports, 88,000. Freight to Liverpool, ½.

According to news from Naples to the 10th, the insurgents, numbering about 10,000 well armed men, were concentrated in the Sicilian Islands, and had interrupted the canals communicating with Palermo. The troops quartered in that city were attacked every night. Great agitation prevails at Naples.

From Paris, April 11.—The tendency of the Bourse has undergone a decided improvement, and Rentes closed very firm at 70 f. 20 c., being an advance of 30 c. since the day before.

The following is from Naples, April 9:—Order reigns at Palermo and in Sicily. The landowners offer to co-operate with the Government.

The Duke of Brabant arrived at Constantinople on the 9th, and was received by the Sultan at the Tophana Palace. On the following day the Duke visited the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Bulwer.

General Lamoricière issued an order of the day at Rome, on the 11th, in which he declares that he has not hesitated to resume his sword in the Pope's cause—that of "civilization and liberty;" and exhorts the army to have confidence in the success of the enterprise entrusted to them.

The appeal of Switzerland to the Great Powers has been answered already by Prussia and England.

A special meeting of the Ipswich Farmers' Club was convened on Tuesday evening, April 10th, for the purpose of organising a campaign against the malt-tax.

A telegraphic despatch from Turin informs us that M. Lanza has been elected President of the Sardinian Chamber of Deputies. M. Lanza was the candidate proposed by the Government.

The *Indépendance Belge* reports a Parisian rumour to the effect that Switzerland has accepted a proposal made by France for the neutralization of a strip of territory round the Lake of Geneva, as a solution of the North Savoy question, and that as a consequence of this Switzerland has withdrawn her demand for a conference.

A murdered man was found, on Tuesday, in the field at the end of Gilwilly Lane, Penrith. The man, who was a German, had been in Penrith for a day or two previous to his death. He had been drinking on the night before the murder at the Grey Bull Inn, kept by Mr. Thomas Hyslop. He left about eleven o'clock. About fifty yards from the Town-head, judging from some marks of blood on the wall, a violent blow had been dealt out to the unfortunate man, and a few yards further from the wall the earth on the spot where the man's head had laid was saturated with blood. The police immediately commenced a vigilant search, and on Tuesday afternoon Thomas Sowerby, alias Grey, a servant in the employment of Mr. Hetherington, of the Black Bull Inn, Penrith, was arrested on suspicion of being concerned in the murder. He had been sent to Patterdale by his master with a load of straw early in the morning. He was apprehended by Superintendent Carson, and remains in close custody.

#### ENTERTAINMENTS.

Once more, contrary to expectation, we have under the old title to record the performance of Italian opera. HER MAJESTY'S THEATRE, the very name of which, all the glory of Covent Garden notwithstanding, has ever enjoyed an odour of

sanctity among the votaries of fashion and music alike, has positively opened its portals once more, and apparently under conditions that can hardly fail to command success. The inscrutable Napoleon of *entrepreneurs*, Mr. E. T. Smith, must be so much better qualified than ourselves to decide whether there be room for two Italian operas in London (for we should hope he never dreams of extinguishing Mr. Gye's) that we cannot pretend to a contrary opinion. He has at all events started with an apparent abundance of the sinews of war and a determination to exert them. That capital has been lavishly laid out in securing a superb operatic *troupe*, our last week's notice of the season's programme will have already apprised our readers; and we may now report that in beautifying the theatre itself, a startling amount of money and taste has been just as liberally expended. As regards the interior of the *salle*, there is no great change. It has been thoroughly cleaned; the well-known amber-coloured drapery is retained; "Fops' alley" is no more; and for the old stalls new *fauteuils* have been substituted; but the greatest change will be observed by visitors in the approaches and saloon. For the dingy maze of lobbies and the cheerless crush-room which all may recollect, we now have a superbly-decorated thoroughfare from the Haymarket to the opera arcade, and an elegantly-carpeted and decorated staircase, leading to a grand saloon with ceiling of azure, studded with silver stars, and walls of white and gold with crystal panels. Here is a figure of Autumn bearing fruits, and bending over a brightly illuminated fountain. The wand of an enchanter seems, in fact, to have been waved over the edifice that, a few short weeks since, was the picture of desolation, so rapidly has the transformation been effected. The season was inaugurated on Tuesday night with Flotow's "Martha." The able company of artists who so well illustrated that winning work last year at Drury Lane, were of course warmly received. Giuglini was, we apprehend, labouring under a cold, but divided the honours with Mdlle. Titiens, who was in the greatest force, and was enthusiastically received. Her "Last Rose of Summer" created the customary sensation; the "Spinning-wheel" quartette was vivaciously encored; and Giuglini gave the "M'Appari" magnificently. His passionate delivery of the "Marta! Marta!" renders this *morceau* one of his greatest achievements. Signor Vialletti remains the best representative, within our ken, of *Plunket*, and was encored, of course, in the drinking song. The "Fleur des Champs," in which La Pocchini, a very accomplished young *danseuse*, sustained the principal part, brought to a close the re-opening night of Her Majesty's Theatre.

The selection of "Dinorah" for the opening of the campaign at COVENT GARDEN OPERA on Tuesday, enabled us to renew our acquaintance with Madame Miolan-Carvalho, who, it will be remembered, was the heroine of that opera for the seven nights of its production during Mr. Gye's season last year. We are glad now to recognise in this artist an important accession to our list of *prime donne*. As an actress she is excellent, and is remarkable for an organ of exquisite truth, tone, and flexibility. Her vocalization in the "Shadow song" produced an immense sensation, and secured her the honour of a rapturous "encore." M. Faure, of the "Opéra Comique," assumed on Tuesday, for the first time in London, his original character of *Hoel*. While certainly not equal in quality of voice to the capricious Graziani, he is infinitely in advance of him in every other of the sundry qualifications of a lyric artist. Notwithstanding all difficulties, and they are not few, of his first appearance in Italian Opera and on the London stage, M. Faure may be said with truth to have made an extremely favourable impression. The able Gardoni made, as before, an excellent *Correntino*, and Signors Tagliafico and Neri-Beraldi contributed loyally to the completeness of the cast as *The Hunter* and *The Reaper*. Mr. Costa still directs the superb band.

And behold another Richmond in the field in the shape of Dr. Peck, the new *Gérant* at DRURY LANE, who introduced Wallace's beautiful "Maritana" to a crowded house there on Monday last, and has met with the greatest success throughout the week. The *Don Cesar de Bazan* of the present cast is Mr. Haigh, with whose beautiful voice yet constrained action we are by turns charmed and disappointed. Mr. Duraud is competent to the *Don José*, so is M. Borroni to *The King*. Miss Dyer and Miss E. Heywood are the *Maritana* and *Lazarillo*. The *ensemble*, in which we must include band and chorus (both to our surprise, considering the demands of the two Italian Operas), has been hitherto extremely satisfactory. A neat ballet, arranged by Mr. Flexmore, follows the opera, and has been found an attraction to Easter audiences.

Instead of the usual classical burlesque of the season from Mr. Francis Talfourd's pen, we have at the HAYMARKET a very elegantly written adaptation from one of Washington Irving's "Tales of the Alhambra," by Mr. H. J. Byron. We can no more afford space for a *resumé* of the story of "The Pilgrim of Love," than we can for that of the whole pitiless storm of novelties that has pelted us for the last week. The piece, as we have already intimated, is very cleverly and pleasantly written. Mr. Compton as *The King of Toledo*, Miss M. Fernan as the fair *Princess* of that ancient city, and Mrs. Buckingham White as *Princo Ahmed*, the hero of the tale, are the principal figures of interest, and by intelligently seconding the author have secured an excellent reception of the romance.

At the PRINCESS'S Theatre an amusing burlesque upon Barnett's famous opera "The Mountain Sylph" has been supplied by Mr. William Brough, and affords opportunity for the display of the utmost grace by Miss C. Leclercq and her sister Rose, and the greatest vivacity and intelligence by Miss Keeley. A great deal of pretty music, really good singing, and extremely effective scenery, in addition to the attractions we have mentioned, complete a trium-

phant success. But the one real theatrical event of the week took place here, when, on Monday last, Mr. Phelps appeared as *Sir Pertinax MacSycophant*, in Macklin's admirably written five act Comedy, "The Man of the World." Mr. Phelps's interpretation of this powerful character is one of his greatest achievements, and we regret to observe that the inferior "Fool's Revenge" is announced to interfere with such a run of the imposing and legitimate comedy under notice, as Mr. Phelps's fine performance of *Sir Pertinax* would surely, if permitted, obtain for it. If this eminent actor fancy himself more as the hero of Mr. Taylor's production, he has fallen into an error into which, we apprehend, the west end public are little likely to follow him.

At the ST. JAMES'S, "Lucrezia Borgia," ingeniously travestied by Mr. Buckingham, affords Mr. Charles Young and Miss Wyndham ample employment, for they have to carry the whole weight of the piece between them. Fortunately to this they are competent. Mr. Edmond Falconer, author of "Extremes," has been as successful in his "Next of Kin," which the new management of the LYCEUM produced on Easter Monday. The hero, *Timothy Clump*, is well acted by Mr. Calhaem. Mr. Emery is capital as one *Lawyer Grubton*, and Miss E. Travers and Miss K. Saxon are the ladies of the cast. Miss C. St. Casse (late at the St. James's) is a great acquisition to this company. She is the *Ganem* of "The Forty Thieves"—the burlesque lately played by the "Savages," and now revived here. Miss Lydia Thomson takes the part of *Harry Halcyon* in the last piece, "The Middy Ashore," and that of the robber captain of "The Forty." This now famous piece loses, to our mind, almost as considerably by being confided to the "professionals" as the "School for Scandal" gained by a similar change. The amateurs are decidedly the better hands at making their extravaganza hits tell and their lines scan, and their "make up" as the gang of thieves was infinitely more artistic than that of the supernumerary artists who succeed them. At the STRAND, least and last of playhouses, is the best of all the Easter pieces, namely, the "Miller and his Men," very cleverly written by Messrs. Byron and Talfourd, and as cleverly acted by all the talents of this capital company. The joint authors have done their work with reverence for our old friends of the "penny-plain-and-two-pence-coloured" character sheets, and have discarded neither *Grindoff*, *Karl*, *Lothair*, *Count Friberg*, *Kelman*, *Ravina*, nor *Claudine* from their old positions. The piece is saturated with comicality and free from vulgarity. Misses Bufton, Saunders, Simpson, and Wilton are the ladies engaged, playing—except in Miss Bufton's case—the male parts; and Messrs. Bland, Clark, and Rogers are the gentlemen. The *Ravina* of the latter is an able piece of burlesque acting, and nightly creates a *furor*. The Strand *troupe* is renowned for the musical ability of its members, and the result is, of course, that the extravaganza is immensely assisted by the introduction of much pleasing vocal music. We should not omit to notice one more great attraction, to wit, the fascinating *pas* of Miss Rosina Wright. This "Mealy-drama" as its facetious authors are pleased to term it, is certainly the hit of hits this Easter-tide.

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