

Charles McNeill Publishers, Publishers
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THE LEADER

AND
SATURDAY ANALYST;

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

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Sunday Trading.			

Crystal Palace.—Arrangements for week ending Saturday, June 30th.
MONDAY, TUESDAY, and THURSDAY, open at 12.
Great French Musical Festival by 3,000 Performers.
For Terms of Admission, &c., see special advertisements. Other days as usual.
SUNDAY. Open at 1.30 to Shareholders, gratuitously, by tickets.

Crystal Palace.—June 25,
26, and 28.—Great French Musical Festival by THREE THOUSAND PERFORMERS.—This great Combination of the French Choral Societies, comprising deputations from nearly every department of France, representing 170 distinct choral societies, and numbering between Three and Four Thousand Performers, conducted by M. Eugene Delaporte, President de l'Association des Sociétés Chorales de Paris, will visit England expressly to hold a Great Musical Festival at the Crystal Palace on the above days.
The Band of the Imperial Regiment of Guides will accompany portions of the vocal music, and perform a selection of the most admired pieces of their repertoire each day. M. Edouard Batiste, the organist of Saint Eustache, Paris, will preside at the Organ.
Admission.—By single day tickets, bought before each day, 5s. By payment on the day, 7s. 6d. Reserved Stalls, in blocks arranged and numbered as at the Handel Festival, 5s. extra. A limited number of Stalls will also be reserved in the Transept Galleries, at 10s. 6d. each. Sets of transferable Tickets (one admission to each of the three performances) 12s. 6d. Sets of Reserved Seats, 12s. 6d. extra; or if in the Galleries, 25s. These Tickets are now on sale at the Crystal Palace, at No. 2, Exeter Hall; and at the agents of the Company: or, by order at the Music-Sellers and Libraries in London and the principal Towns, as at the Handel Festival. Cheques or Post-office Orders (the latter payable at the Chief Office) should be made payable to George Grove, Esq. The Palace will open at 12, and the Performances will commence each day at 3 o'clock.
Notice.—The leading Railway Companies north of London will issue return Tickets over their lines, available from the 23rd to the 29th June. Other Railway Companies will run Excursion Trains, of which they will give due notice.

Crystal Palace.—Band of THE GUIDES.—By the gracious permission of the Emperor of the French, this celebrated Band will accompany the Orpheonists to England, and take part in the Performances on the 25th, 26th, and 28th June.

French Festival.—Monday
NEXT, FIVE SHILLING TICKETS. The Crystal Palace and Exeter Hall Offices will remain open for the Sale of Tickets of Admission at Five Shillings each, or for Reserved Seats, up to Nine o'clock THIS EVENING, SATURDAY.

Crystal Palace.—Summer
POULTRY SHOW. The SUMMER SHOW of POULTRY, PIGEONS, and RABBITS will be held on Saturday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the 25th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of August. Schedules of Prizes can be had on application to Mr. W. Houghton, Secretary to the Show, Crystal Palace. The Entries close on Saturday, July 28.

Loan, Discount, and Deposit
BANK. Established 1849.
DEPOSITS received, bearing interest at from 5 to 10 per cent., withdrawable as per agreement.
LOANS granted.
Prospectuses, and every Information, may be obtained by letter or personal application.
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Globe Insurance, Cornhill
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The CASH PAYMENTS under the division of PROFITS recently declared on PARTICIPATING LIFE Policies, is equal at most ages to considerably more than a WHOLE YEAR'S PREMIUM on Policies of six years' standing.

All classes of FIRE, LIFE, and ANNUITY business transacted.—Rates of Premium very Economical.—No Charge for Volunteer, Rifle, and Militia Service within the United Kingdom.

WILLIAM NEWMARCH,
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COMPANY.

SPECIAL NOTICE.—BONUS YEAR.

SIXTH DIVISION OF PROFITS.
All Policies now effected will participate in the Division to be made as at 15th November next.
THE STANDARD was Established in 1825. The first Division of Profits took place in 1835; and subsequent Divisions have been made in 1840, 1845, 1850, and 1855. The Profits to be divided in 1860 will be those which have arisen since 1855.

Accumulated Fund..... £1,694,598 2 10
Annual Revenue..... 280,231 13 5
Annual average of new Assurances effected during the last Ten years, upwards of Half a Million sterling.

WILL THOS. THOMSON, Manager.
H. JONES WILLIAMS, Resident Secretary.
The Company's Medical Officer attends at the Office, daily, at Half-past One.

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The Mutual Life Assurance
SOCIETY, 30, King Street, Cheapside, E.C.—
A.D. 1834.—The TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT, Cash Account, Balance Sheet, &c., are now ready, and may be had on written or personal application.
CHARLES INGALI, Actuary.

Bank of Deposit. Estab-
lished A.D. 1844. 3, Pall Mall East, London.
Capital Stock, £100,000.

Parties desirous of Investing Money are requested to examine the Plan of the Bank of Deposit, by which a high rate of Interest may be obtained with ample security.

Deposits made by Special Agreement may be withdrawn without notice.

The Interest is payable in January and July.

PETER MORRISON, Managing Director.

Forms for opening accounts sent free on application.

ESTABLISHED 1841.

Medical, Invalid, and Gene-
RAL LIFE OFFICE, 25, PALL MALL, LONDON.—Empowered by special Act of Parliament.
At the Eighteenth Annual Meeting, held on the 24th Nov., 1859, it was shown that on the 30th June last—
The number of policies in force was 6,110
The amount insured was £2,601,925 10s. 8d.
The Annual Income was £121,263 7s. 7d.
The new business transacted during the last five years amounts to £2,482,798 16s. 11d., showing an average yearly amount of new business of nearly

HALF A MILLION STERLING.

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

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

INDIA.—Officers in the Army and Civilians proceeding to India may insure their lives on the most favourable terms, and every possible facility is afforded for the transaction of business in India.

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

VOLUNTEERS.—No extra charge for persons serving in any Volunteer or Rifle Corps within the United Kingdom.

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Every information may be obtained at the chief office, or on application to any of the Society's agents.
C. DOUGLAS SINGER, Secretary.

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Offices—32, Ludgate Hill; and 3, Pall Mall, East, London.

Chairman—The Right Hon. Lord KEANE.
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Capital Half a Million. Premium Income, £30,000 per annum.

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

The Annual Report and every information furnished on application to—

WILLIAM CANWELL, Secretary.

The Rent Guarantee
SOCIETY,
3, CHARLOTTE ROW, MANSION HOUSE.

ESTABLISHED 1850.

Messrs. Collard and Collard

beg leave to announce that their NEW ESTABLISHMENT, No. 16, Grosvenor Street, Bond Street, being completed, the Premises are NOW OPEN for the Transaction of Business, with an ample Stock of PIANOFORTES of all classes, both for SALE and HIRE.

Messrs. C. & C. trust that the arrangements they have made will be found to conduce very materially to the convenience of their customers, more especially of those residing in the Western Districts of the Metropolis. Accounts and Correspondence will be carried on at 16, Grosvenor Street, Bond Street.

16, Grosvenor Street, Bond Street.

NEWSPAPER

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Have the largest stock of ELECTRO-SILVER PLATE and TABLE CUTLERY in the WORLD, which is transmitted direct from their manufactory, Queen's Cutlery Works, Sheffield.

MAPPIN BROTHERS guarantee on all their manufactures in Electro Silver Plate a strong deposit of real silver, according to price charged.

SPOONS AND FORKS.

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

SIDE DISHES.

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

No.	£ s. d.
E 3678 Gadroon Oblong Pattern, Light Plating 8 8 0	
E 5137 Beaded Edge and Handle, similar to E 40133.....	10 15 0
E 1786 Ditto ditto stronger ditto 13 0 0	
E 4012 Antique Scroll Pattern, Melon-shaped Dish.....	12 0 0
E 40133 Beaded Pattern Dish.....	13 4 0
By removing the Handles from the Covers, the set of four can be made to form a set of eight Dishes.	
E 1792 Norfolk Pattern, a very elaborate Design, with rich Scroll Border all round 17 10 0	
Hot Water Dishes for above extra 15 0 0	
E 1797 Threaded Pattern, equally good as the Norfolk Pattern.....	16 12 0
Hot Water Dishes for above extra 15 10 0	

DISH COVERS.

ELECTRO-PLATED ON HARD NICKEL SILVER.

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

No.	Complete set of 4 Covers.
E 2750 Plain Pattern, with Scroll Handle.....	10 10 0
E 2751 Melon Pattern, French Scroll Handle, either Plain or Gadroon edge, very handsome.....	13 12 0
E 3912 Shrewsbury Pattern, with bold Beaded Edge and Handles.....	15 12 0
E 4085 Greek Ornament Pattern, matches E 4375 Side Dishes.....	25 0 0
E 4854 Warwick Pattern, matches E 4853 Side Dishes.....	23 0 0

A Costly Book of Engravings, with Prices attached, may be had on application. Estimates furnished for Services of Plate for Hotels, Steam Ships, and Regimental Messes.

MAPPIN BROTHERS, 67 and 68, King William Street, London Bridge; Manufactory, Queen's Cutlery Works, Sheffield.

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Safes, the most extensive assortment by Milner and other eminent Makers, at half the price of new. Dimensions, 24 in. high, 18 in. wide, and 16 in. deep, £3 10s. At C. GRIFFITHS', 83, Old Change, St. Paul's, E.C. Wanted, Second-hand Safes by Milner, Chubb, Marr, or Mordan.

NOTICE.—Gentlemen possessed of Tann's Safes need not apply.

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Patent Corn Flour.—The

Lancet states:—"This is superior to anything of the kind known."

The most wholesome part of the best Indian Corn, prepared by a process Patented for the Three Kingdoms and France, and wherever it becomes known obtains great favour for Puddings, Custards, Blanc-mange, all the uses of the finest arrow root, and especially suited to the delicacy of Children and Invalids. Browns and Polson, Manufacturers to Her Majesty the Queen—Paisley, Manchester, Dublin, and London.

A Toilette Requisite for the

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

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THEATRES AND AMUSEMENTS.

THEATRE ROYAL, HAYMARKET.

(Under the Management of Mr. Buckstone.)

Monday, June 25, and during the week, to commence at 7, with THE OVERLAND ROUTE, and re-appearance of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Mathews. After which, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, THE ETON BOY—Mr. and Mrs. Charles Mathews. On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, after "The Overland Route," FITZSMYTHE, OF FITZSMYTHE HALL. Mr. Buckstone and Mrs. Wilkins. Concluding, every evening, with THE ODDITIES OF THE OHIO, by the Leclercqs.

ROYAL OLYMPIC THEATRE.

Lessees, Messrs. F. Robson and W. S. Emden.

On Monday, and during the week, will be performed a new Comedietta, in one act, adapted from "La Belle Mère et le Gendre," to be called DEAREST MAMMA. Characters by Messrs. Addison, W. Gordon, and George Vining; Mrs. Leigh Murray, Misses Cottrell and Herbert. After which, the new serio-comic drama, UNCLE ZACHARY. Characters by Messrs. F. Robson, G. Vining, W. Gordon, G. Cooke, E. Vining, H. Rivers and Franks; Mrs. Leigh Murray, and Miss Herbert. To conclude with TOM NODDY'S SECRET. Characters by Messrs. Addison, W. Gordon, and H. Wigan; Miss Cottrell and Miss Marston. Doors open at 7. Commence at half-past 7.

Mr. and Mrs. GERMAN REED

AND

MR. JOHN PARRY.

The combination of these Artists having proved a great attraction, the Public are respectfully informed that Mr. JOHN PARRY will appear in conjunction with Mr. and Mrs. GERMAN REED, in their POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT, at the Royal Gallery of Illustration, 14, Regent Street, for a limited number of Performances, every evening (except Saturday) at Eight, Thursday and Saturday afternoons at Three. Admission, 1s., 2s.; stalls, 3s.; stall chairs, 5s.; secured at the Gallery, and at Cramer, Beale, and Co.'s.

THE VOCAL ASSOCIATION

ST. JAMES' HALL, on FRIDAY, June 26th, at Eight. Great Orchestral Concert. Mendelssohn's "Ave Maria" (from the Opera of LOVELY MSS.). Spohr's "Ode to St. Cecilia," Macfarren's "May Day" and Serenade for Piano-forte and Orchestra; Madame Catherine Hayes, Miss Stabach, Miss Messent, and Mlle. Enrichetta Camelli; Mr. Santley, and Mr. Charles Hallé. Band and Choir of 300 Performers. Conductor, M. Benedict. Sofa Stalls, 5s. each at the Hall.

BURFORD'S PANORAMA OF ROME.

Ancient and Modern, from Drawings taken by himself from the Tower of the Capitol, is NOW OPEN, embracing all the interesting and Classical Objects in the Eternal City, and the recent excavations in the Forum. VENICE and SWITZERLAND are also open daily from Ten till Dusk. Admission, 1s. to each View; Schools and Children, Half Price.—Panorama Royal, Leicester Square.

FLORAL HALL, COVENT GARDEN.

An Exhibition of Roses will take place on WEDNESDAY, July 18th. A List of Prizes, together with full particulars, will be published in the course of a few days.

SOCIETY OF PAINTERS IN WATER COLOURS.

The Fifty-Sixth Annual EXHIBITION is now Open at their Gallery, 5, Pall Mall East, (close to the National Gallery,) from Nine till Dusk. Admission One Shilling. Catalogue Sixpence.

JOSEPH J. JENKINS, Secretary.

Lawrence Hyam, in an-

nouncing that his NEW STOCK of CLOTHING for the Season of 1860, consisting of the largest and choicest variety of SPRING and SUMMER attire ever designed, is now ready for inspection, and to which he solicits public attention and patronage. The greatest confidence may be placed in the durability and style of all garments, combined with the utmost economy in price.

LAWRENCE HYAM'S 15s. and 17s. TROUSERS are made from the choicest patterns in SCOTCH CHEVIOTS and ANGOLAS, all wool, and warranted thoroughly shrank. VESTS to match, 8s. 6d. and 9s. 6d.

FOR PROFESSIONAL GENTLEMEN. LAWRENCE HYAM'S ATTIRE for CLERICAL, LEGAL, and MEDICAL GENTLEMEN is remarkable for sound quality and perfect consistency of design. An unlimited variety of patterns to select from.

FOR THE YOUNG. LAWRENCE HYAM is everywhere celebrated for the becoming style and finished beauty of his Clothing for Children, Boys, and Youths. Perfectly New Styles in Children's Dresses, Boys' Suits, and Single Garments are now on view, ready for immediate wear.

OBSEIVE—The only Establishments of LAWRENCE HYAM are—CITY, 30, GRACECHURCH-STREET; WEST END, 189 and 190, TOTTENHAM-COURT-ROAD.

Sterling Silver.—William

S. BURTON has added to his extensive stock of General FURNISHING IRONMONGERY and HOUSE-FURNISHING REQUISITES, a selection of sterling SILVER SERVICES for the table or for presentation. His prices will be found considerably below those usually charged.

Fiddle Pattern.	oz.	s.	d.	£ s. d.
12 Table Spoons ...	30	at 7	4	11 0 0
12 Table Forks ...	30	" 7	4	11 0 0
12 Dessert Spoons ...	20	" 7	4	7 6 8
12 Dessert Forks ...	20	" 7	4	7 6 8
2 Gravy Spoons ...	10	" 7	4	3 13 4
1 Soup Ladle ...	9	" 7	4	3 6 0
4 Sauce Ladles ...	10	" 7	10	3 18 4
1 Fish Slice ...				2 10 0
4 Salt Spoons, gilt bowls ...				1 0 0
1 Mustard Spoon, ditto ...				0 7 0
12 Tea Spoons ...	10	at 7	10	3 18 4
1 Pair Sugar Tongs ...				0 13 6
1 Moist Sugar Spoon ...				0 8 6
1 Sugar Sifter ...				0 15 0
1 Butter Knife ...				0 12 6

King's Pattern.	oz.	s.	d.	£ s. d.
12 Table Spoons ...	40	at 7	6	15 0 0
12 Table Forks ...	40	" 7	6	15 0 0
12 Dessert Spoons ...	24	" 7	6	9 0 0
12 Dessert Forks ...	23	" 7	6	8 12 6
2 Gravy Spoons ...	11	" 7	6	4 2 6
1 Soup Ladle ...	11	" 7	6	4 2 6
4 Sauce Ladles ...	11	" 8	0	4 8 0
4 Salt Spoons, gilt bowls ...				1 19 0
1 Mustard Spoon, ditto ...				0 10 0
1 Fish Slice ...				3 0 0
12 Tea Spoons ...	14	at 8	0	5 12 0
1 Pair Sugar Tongs ...				1 5 0
1 Moist Sugar Spoon ...				0 15 0
1 Sugar Sifter ...				1 3 0
1 Butter Knife ...				1 1 0

Cottage Pattern Tea and Coffee Service.	oz.	s.	d.	£ s. d.
Teapot ...	22	at 10	0	11 0 0
Sugar Basin ...	14	" 11	0	7 14 0
Milk Ewer ...	7	" 11	0	3 17 0
Coffee-pot ...	25	" 10	0	12 10 0

King's Pattern, Richly Chased.	oz.	s.	d.	£ s. d.
Teapot ...	23	at 10	6	12 1 6
Sugar Basin ...	13	" 11	6	7 9 6
Cream Ewer ...	7	" 11	6	4 0 6
Coffee-pot ...	26	" 10	6	13 13 0

Bedsteads, Baths, and

LAMPS.—WILLIAM S. BURTON has SIX LARGE SHOW-ROOMS devoted exclusively to the SEPARATE DISPLAY of LAMPS, BATHS, and METALLIC BEDSTEADS. The stock of each is at once the largest, newest, and most varied ever submitted to the public, and marked at prices proportionate with those that have tended to make his establishment the most distinguished in this country. Bedsteads, from..... 12s. 6d. to £20 0 each. Shower Baths, from..... 8s. 6d. to £60 each. Lamps (Moderate) from 6s. 6d. to 47 7 each. (All other kinds at the same rate.) Pure Colza Oil..... 4s. per gallon.

William S. Burton's Gene-

ral Furnishing Ironmongery Catalogue may be had gratis, and free by post. It contains upwards of 400 Illustrations of his limited stock of sterling silver and Electro Plate, Nickel Silver, and Britannia Metal Goods, Dish Covers, Hot-water Dishes, Stoves, Fenders, Marble Chimney-pieces, Kitchen Ranges, Lamps, Gaseliers, Tea Trays, Urns, and Kettles, Clocks, Table Cutlery, Baths, Toilet Ware, Turnery, Iron and Brass Bedsteads, Bedding, Bedroom, Cabinet Furniture, &c., with Lists of Prices, and Plans of the Twenty large Show Rooms, at 39, Oxford-street W.; 1, 1A, 2, 3, and 4, Newman-street; 4, 5, and 6, Perry's-place; and 1, Newman-mews, London.

Greenhall, maker of the

SIXTEEN SHILLING TROUSERS, 32s. Oxford-street, London, W. (Two doors west of the Circus.) Overcoats, £2 2s., Frock Coats, £2 10s., Dress Coats £2 10s., Morning Coats £2 2s., Waistcoats 12s., Black Dress Trousers £1 1s. 32s. Oxford-st., W.

Spiced Breakfast Tongues,

74d. each, or 3s. 6d. per half dozen. Cheddar Loaf Cheese, 74d. and 84d. per lb. Osborne's Peat-smoked Breakfast Bacon, 84d. per lb. by the half side. Butters in perfection at reasonable rates. A saving of 15 per cent. is effected by the purchaser at this establishment on all first-class provisions. Packages gratis. OSBORNE'S CHEESE WAREHOUSE, (Osborne House, 30, Ludgate Hill, near St. Paul's, E.C.)

The Forty-Seven Shilling

SUITS are made to order from Scotch Cheviot, Tweed, and Angolas, all wool and thoroughly shrank, by B. BENJAMIN, merchant and family tailor, 74, Regent Street, W. The Two Guinea Dress and Frock Coats, the Guinea Dress Trousers, and the Half-Guinea Waistcoats. N.B.—A perfect fit guaranteed.

Bennett's Watches, 65 and

64, Chancery-lane, in gold and silver, in great variety, of every construction and price, from 3 to 60 guineas. Every watch skillfully examined, and its correct performance guaranteed. Free and safe per post.

Money Orders to JOHN BENNETT, Watch Manufactory, 65 and 64, Chancery-lane.

THE NATIONAL DEFENCE QUESTION.

RATIONAL measures for the defence of England must be founded upon a survey of the whole of the circumstances likely to affect our possible enemies and ourselves. On either side there might, at the beginning of a war, be a naval defeat, or a successful attempt to outmanœuvre the opposing force; and we should probably be exposed to more peril of this sort than our foe, on account of the incorrigible imbecility of the sort of Cabinets that are tolerated by an unreformed Parliament, and that flagitious jobbing with appointments, which is a far greater sin than any of the "vices" against which her MAJESTY has just issued her royal proclamation, and would have formed a better subject for rebuke, especially if the powerful offenders about the Court had been compelled to surrender the offices and pay which they cannot honestly hold. In this matter of possible defeat, or outmanœuvring, the chances would be more against us than during the last French war, as the fleet most likely to be opposed to us is much nearer on a par with our own than was then the case, and if such an accident should occur, the consequences would be more serious from the increased rapidity of such operations as disembarking troops. We have not the elements of an exact comparison, but we should not be far out in intimating that twice the number of men might be landed in a given number of hours. On our side, such a possibility ought not to excite alarm, for our means of meeting an assailing force have multiplied in a far greater proportion; and by means of railways we could throw upon any important point more men in twelve hours, than could have been concentrated in a week under the old system.

With a male population capable of bearing arms estimated at five millions, and of whom one half, or two millions and a half may be fairly taken as really able to assist in their country's defence, a Government that was not always impelled by some sinister motive would have no difficulty in organizing so powerful a defensive system as to make a successful invasion of England as chimerical as a capture of the moon. The problem would be how to establish a good line of defence by a powerful fleet, and behind this to have always in readiness a force for concentration on any point to prevent a landing, and other forces to occupy positions commanding all practicable roads to great arsenals or large towns. Such arrangements would be very easy, and comparatively inexpensive, as Colonel KENNEDY has distinctly shown in his able pamphlet which treats of the organization of volunteers.

The natural and rational plan of defence is disliked by the Court and aristocracy for political reasons: and they fear any extension of popular power, not from the belief that the people would misuse it, but from a conviction that it would be incompatible with arrangements by which a select few profit a great deal at the expense of the general interests of the community. With this determination to do wrong, the Fortification Commission was set going, and its members had neither the moral courage nor the integrity to speak out the whole truth. They commence by assuming that the Government will be permitted to thwart the development of the Volunteer movement into a great national institution, and instead of boldly denouncing such conduct, as would have been instantly done by the late Sir CHARLES NAPIER, they present us with the following process of ratiocination. "We cannot admit," say the fortifiers, "that moveable batteries of field guns, and the few thousand riflemen who might be available on any given point, would prevent the landing of a hostile force." What business have they to assume that only "a few thousand" riflemen would be "available at any given point?" or what right have they to be thus *in limine* accomplices in the base design of limiting our means of defence, and of imperilling the nation for the convenience of worn out political factions? That they have done so casts a doubt upon all their plans, and the House of Commons will not do its duty if it votes one farthing without better authority than can be furnished by such men. It would be easy to throw a considerable force in a few hours on any important landing-place, that is, any landing-place near a primary object of defence; and with reference to less important landing-places, their value could be neutralised by the occupation of all the chief roads accessible from them. With the means at our disposal, if any Government permitted an enemy to land and march twenty miles in any direction, its members would deserve to be impeached; and the aristocracy, who now monopolize all the military power, may rely upon it that they would have to pay for any serious disaster occasioned by their own plans.

Our Fortification Commissioners, after laying down the obvious truism, that a nation's means of resisting invasion depend upon the forces it can bring into play, proceed to tell us that our regular army must be small—a fortunate circumstance, we are glad to admit. After this, they make the astounding assertion that "the expense of a force brought together by volun-

tary enlistment is necessarily much greater than that of one raised by conscription." If this statement referred only to regular armies it might be admitted, but even then not without some reservation, as a system of conscription cannot be worked except the country subjected to it is oppressed with an army to act as a military police, as well as with a fighting army, an arrangement that involves a large outlay, and makes every fighting soldier cost much more than appears. The fact is, that the expense of armies depends chiefly on the rate of wages and the rate of living in various countries; and when the conscription armies of continental despotisms are compared with our own, we must not forget to compare also the development of industry, the ordinary food of the people, and the average earnings of the nations from which the troops are raised. Our Commissioners, however, do not make any reservation, and would have us believe that the 120,000 volunteer riflemen said to be enrolled, cost the country as much as the same number of regular troops. These riflemen are indeed spoken of in another paragraph in a slightly different way; but after a left-handed compliment, we are told they "must necessarily be unable to meet the regularly-disciplined soldiers of continental armies on anything like equal terms." We have no doubt these Commissioners could prove that the newly-raised and unpractised soldiers who fought under WELLINGTON at Waterloo, were unable to meet the enemy on "anything like equal terms;" and they might, for all we know, deny the victories of GARIBALDI's volunteers over the trained soldiers of Austria; but leaving them to make what absurd statements they choose, every one knows that, under good leaders, troops hastily raised have, after a very moderate allowance of drilling, constantly beaten more practised soldiers; and, in the case of an invasion, our Volunteers would have the immense advantage of fighting in their own country, where every inhabitant would assist their plans. We are not reckoning upon the performance of men who had learnt nothing, and hastily shouldered a musket when the enemy came; but we should rely on the conduct of Volunteers who had been in training for weeks or months under judicious teachers, and who have been proved to acquire the business of soldiery very much faster than the lowest section of the working-classes, of whom the regular army is chiefly composed.

If we will not be strong through our Volunteers, we must be weak; and this last alternative being accepted by the Fortification Commissioners, they propose to spend twelve million on works of various kinds. These may be divided into two sorts—the one rational, and the other irrational, or dishonest. The first are directed to obstruct the approach of the hostile fleet near enough to burn our arsenals, and to these we have no objection provided they are likely to answer their purpose. The second, and very expensive portion of the scheme, is to erect costly defences against land attacks. The Commissioners, acting upon the iniquitous notions of the governing class, recommend us to submit to the probability that a larger army would be landed on our shores than we could meet in the field; and to trust our safety to huge forts, by which we might gain time to do what ought to be done at once, namely, provide forces sufficient for our need. Instead of defending London by a couple of hundred thousand riflemen and a good supply of artillery, we are asked to fool away £700,000 on the top of Shooter's Hill, and each principal arsenal is to be surrounded by outworks and entrenchments with a view to a siege. Sir JOHN BURGOYNE, alluding to the schemes of defending Portsmouth, observed,—"If I had 20,000 men, and were a general in command, I would occupy Portsdown Hill and throw up field works, and hold it as long as I possibly could, and very likely *with some success*; but what I should be afraid of would be placing permanent works there, and not being able to occupy the position."

I think it would be of such consequence to put all your good troops constantly in the field, that there would be none to spare for the purpose." Of course not; and the first thing a prudent general would do would be to blow up the preposterous land fortifications of the Commissioners, in order to set the soldiers at liberty to do the real work of the war.

With reference to defending dockyards against bombardment, Sir J. BURGOYNE makes the remark—"It is one of the contingencies of the new rifle-gun, that the extent of fortifications to secure you from bombardment would be so great, that it would be almost impracticable ever to reach it." This shows the folly of relying upon fortifications for the protection of arsenals, except in those cases in which they can prevent an approach by sea. On the subject of landing in face of an enemy, Sir J. BURGOYNE affords equally valuable information; he observes—"I have a very strong opinion about landing in the face of an enemy. I think it the most desperate undertaking possible, unless the landing-place is of considerable extent. I believe that it never was done with success except in Egypt, and that was under very peculiar circumstances. The enemy's batteries were few and far

between; there was an extent of, I think, five or six miles to land upon;—then certainly the operation was beautifully conducted;—6,000 men sprang on shore, and all jumped out of the boats at once." Sir JOHN does not believe the landing in the Crimea could have been effected if the Russians had properly contested it; and he observes that light guns, even three-pounders, will sink boats quite as well as heavier artillery, and such guns, on ARMSTRONG'S principle, can easily be carried from place to place. It is remarkable that Sir JOHN BURGOYNE is as unwilling as other old-school officers to meet the case fairly, and look upon arming and training the people as the only way out of the difficulty. If a French army were landed on our coasts, he believes it would at once make for London, "where success would put an end to the war;" and he coolly adds, "If you could keep them from London for a month or two, you would make a very good fight of it, I have no doubt." The country cannot be satisfied to "make a good fight of it" after a delay that would ruin half the commercial firms in the kingdom, and so destroy credit as to bring all provisions to a famine price. Nothing short of a moral certainty of rapid success in operations of defence can be held sufficient, and there is but one way to obtain this—namely, by a general arming and training of all the able-bodied men willing to lend their aid. Such projects as fortifying Shooter's Hill are only fit for the honesty of Newgate or the intelligence of Bedlam.

No artificial structures can equal the natural fortifications of our country. It is the Government, and the Government only, that stands in the way of our having a countless host of trained defenders; and good officers would convert our hills, hedges, and copses into far better lines of defence than any costly apparatus of permanent works. Nothing, however, should be left to chance, or to the last moment. All approaches to the metropolis, and to every city of importance, should be surveyed with reference to a good plan of action, and volunteers and regulars should have districts assigned to them, so that no time should be lost. We have officers quite competent to arrange the whole thing with the greatest facility; but we fear they are not in favour with the red-tape mediocrities who occupy the War-office, nor with the parasites who disgrace the Court.

INDIA.—MILITARY CHANGES.

AT present, our local regular army of India consists of 229,333 men. Of these, 4,980 are officers, and 13,884 European privates. This number is exclusive of the QUEEN'S troops and of irregular forces. By an Act passed last session, the Government was empowered to raise 30,000 European troops, and form them as the East India Company did, into a local force of all arms; but Sir CHARLES WOOD has asked for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal the Act. It is the intention of the Government to have in India no local force of Europeans, but the regular army administered by the Horse Guards. The Government in India, in like manner, proposes that the whole local native force, regular and irregular, horse and foot, shall be put down, and a constabulary substituted, so that Her Majesty's troops will constitute the entire military garrison of India. We can hardly believe that such a scheme is contemplated to the extent signified, and still less that it will ever be carried into execution. At the same time, it is so confidently announced by the Council in India, in Parliament, and by journals of which the influence is great in proportion to the ignorance of the general public on such a subject, that we are compelled to notice it.

Our empire in India was won by men who studied on the spot the means of conquest. No expedition ever went forth from our shores for this purpose. The adventurers, who, in time accomplished the great work, were traders; and, though they were occasionally assisted by the national forces, as France contended against England in India for superiority as she contended in America, they achieved the conquest in the main by their own means. They studied the character and disposition of the natives, and used them to subjugate their country. The work was done rather by art than force. The majority of the soldiers by which CLIVE and HASTINGS gained their great victories consisted of natives. When our traders went thither, they found India occupied by conquerors, quarrelling about their booty. They found, too, the natives divided into castes, amongst which was a numerous military caste, bearing something of a sacred character, which lived and could only live by bearing arms. That caste furnished them with soldiers. It had been so employed by the Mussulman conquerors of India, and those who had to contend against them found their tools in the Rohillas and others. Having merged all patriotism in superstition, their sword was commanded by the best paymaster. The art which

gained victories, crowned them with rewards. It was, in fact, nothing new that the masterdom over India should be gained and maintained by a foreign race, using its own children for the purpose. Our trading adventurers won an empire, preserved and extended it by deferring to the prejudices of the natives. They stooped to conquer—followed, as BURKE says all rulers must, in order to lead, and were successful beyond example.

A totally different line of policy is to be pursued by our Treasury officials. They are to retain the country, conquered by the help of the people, in spite of them, and ostentatiously avow their object. Sir CHARLES WOOD, about the humblest of loquacious and routine statesmen, is to reverse the policy of CLIVE and HASTINGS, WELLESLEY, and their successors. That the natives cannot now be managed like their forefathers; that the Sepoys, renowned through a whole century for unswerving fidelity, have mutinied, been disbanded, and decimated; that the Government of India has become involved in difficulties, and European residents have been the victims of terrible excesses, is more due to our inattention to the principles by which the natives were first trained to our service, than to any change in their character. If they have grown presumptuous, we have grown careless. Both might be in degree reckless. There is no evidence of any change in the men, there is abundant evidence of gross negligence in the authorities. These have left the regiments without adequate officers; they have not watched over discipline, and have lost the art of training the men to obedience. Nor is the fact without significance, that the same class of men, especially our military authorities, and authorities in every part of the empire, have declined in efficiency. They have not in them the soul of improvement, and only improve from external compulsion. The late disastrous mutiny, with all its dire consequences, was the fruit of their mismanagement, rather than of vice in the men. The judgment is hasty and erroneous which condemns them instead of our officials, and from one frightful example jumps to the conclusion that a native military force can no longer be relied on. It ought to be, with the additional care and precautions of which late events have taught us the necessity. To break up the system by which an empire was won, instead of renovating it after it has been allowed to degenerate, is to run with the causes that hasten decay.

Instead of arming and brigading the natives to serve us, they are to be taxed, merely to pay the European force which is to keep them obedient. This is the vulgar notion of routine and vulgar statesmen. At the same time they are expected to believe that the new system, which shuts them out from power, neither flatters their prejudices, nor conforms to their social policy, is for their benefit. A few money-making bankers and dealers may find their account in the new system, and their support may encourage similar men in a ruinous course. We should like to be informed how Government expects the disbanded troops will be disposed of. How can the caste, doomed to arms, find other occupations? Can it be absorbed, as the comparatively few soldiers disbanded from time to time, on the cessation of war, are absorbed in Europe, into the mass of the miscellaneous population? Is it not rather more likely that the superstition which destroys patriotism, will now be for the military caste a bond of union? Will not the disbanded soldiery be driven to unite in self-defence? May not the alternative for them be conquest or starvation? And may we not expect that by excluding them from military service, we shall increase the force to be subdued, and shall carve out for our own troops more work than they can perform? The new system will enlist a vast population, no longer divided under many rulers, and easily communicating one with another, against us; while the old system enlisted the better and an always increasing part in our service. The new course seems eminently dangerous, and our children, if not ourselves, will have to deplore the delusion which induced us to substitute as the principle of our Indian rule the arrogant ignorance of Canon Row for the deferential knowledge of Leadenhall Street. The great empire was won by deferring to the social institutions of the Hindoos, and what then may we expect from a policy which sets them at defiance?

The consequences of this threatened change in the military means by which we are to hold India will be very important at home. It implies a permanent addition to the standing army, and to the power of the Horse Guards, of at least 30,000 men to replace the Indo-European troops. If the plan be carried out to the full extent mentioned, another 30,000 men, with all the staff appointments belonging to such a body, will scarcely suffice, however skilfully they may be handled, to secure our dominion in India. A permanent addition of at least 60,000, if not 90,000 men, or even more, will be made to our army, officered as it yet is and likely to be exclusively by the connections of the aristocracy, and perverted, as it ever has

been, from the legitimate service of the country, to serve the purposes of a class. Thus, to extend the system, while we cry out against the clothing-colonels' fees, is knocking out the bung-hole, and screaming with despair at the waste of a leaky spigot. It is a vast extension of military misrule, while the House of Lords deliberately usurps a power over the property of the people. The power of the sword already belongs to the aristocracy, and with this amazing extension they also claim the power of the purse. What better England will politically be than Venice was, or than the military and bureaucratic despotisms of the Continent are, should the Peers be triumphant and Sir CHARLES WOOD succeed, ingenuity is puzzled to discover. We don't despair, nevertheless, of the country. Its living power is in the energies of the people, not in political organization. But we dread, as the consequence of such a combined usurpation, a swifter destruction to the power of revolutionary conservatism than may be compatible with internal peace and welfare. England must avoid the continental series of insurrections, revolutions, and despotism, in pursuit of freedom and security.

REMODELLING EUROPE.

IT is doubted in Paris whether the visit of the EMPEROR to Baden is to be considered a failure or a success, but, taken in conjunction with M. ABOUT's pamphlet, it can only be regarded as designed to hasten the internal commotion of Germany, in order that France may have some new "idea" to recommend others to fight for, or, if it should prove convenient, to fight for herself. We have long recommended that the English Government should express itself in favour of German unity, leaving the Germans to make what arrangements they pleased for the realization of a project dear to the national heart, and necessary for the common safety of Europe. Our Cabinets, whose policy has the appearance of having been picked up at an "old clo' shop," redolent with reminiscences of other days, has not given any aid to the liberal party in Germany, whose principles ally them naturally and closely with ourselves, and now the EMPEROR of the French starts forward in advance of England as the advocate of beneficial change. He forestalled us in Italy, and he forestalls us in Germany. We are thrust back as belonging to the past, while he moves forward as the man of the present and of the future also.

In France M. ABOUT's pamphlet will win great popularity for the Government. The nonsense about French liberty may be laughed at, but the national pride will be gratified by the belief that French ideas and French power are about to realize their old ambition of remodelling the world. The rubs for Prussian constitutionality will tell. Neither the PRINCE of Prussia nor any other German potentate can exclaim with HAMLET, "Let the galled jade wince;" and poor FRANCIS JOSEPH will shake in his shoes when he finds the conqueror at Solferino speaking through his scribe, and, alluding to the Germans, say, "They know that in accepting the domination of Austria, they must renounce even a hope of progress," for, as he says in another place, "Austria represents the doctrine of divine right in its most absolute rigour. Political and religious despotism, abnegation of the rights of the people, the most enormous concessions to clerical authority, and blind worship of the past, and an obstinate hatred of all progress, these are the worm-eaten bases of the Austrian monarchy."

The KING of Prussia is asked by M. ABOUT whether he sides with divine right or popular right—"with divine right, and the KING of Naples, or with popular right and the EMPEROR of the French and the KING of Sardinia?" This pamphlet, like other expositions of policy, will very likely be disavowed by Imperial authority, but it would not have appeared, unless in conformity with the designs of the astute Ruler of France. Taking it altogether, it is not comforting for Germany, but it certainly offers a way out of all difficulties; and if the PRINCE of Prussia would forget his political bigotry, and declare himself, as recommended, in favour of popular right, he would at once secure, in the numerous and intelligent German race, a counterpoise to any evil designs of Bonapartist ambition.

Our peace-at-any-price contemporaries profess to believe that everything betokens a continuance of calm, but while LOUIS NAPOLEON invites Germany to a rebellion against its princes, and holds Austria up to contempt, events march on in Italy, and bid fair to bring Sardinia once more into the field, without much further delay. If the Neapolitan Government gives up the two steamers which have been seized merely on suspicion, and which are formally reclaimed, GARIBALDI will have another useful triumph, and the moral power of BOMBA II. will sink still lower. If, on the other hand, the latter refuses to make restitution, a war with Sardinia will be imminent. Anyhow we may

reckon that the blaze of revolution will soon be kindled—if it is not so already—on the mainland of Naples, and then Austria will find herself so hard-pressed, that avoiding a conflict will become impossible. At Rome, LAMORICIERE has been of more service to the national party than to the POPE. He has been so craftily opposed by ANTONELLI and the priests, who profit by corruption, that he has reorganized nothing, while his efforts have served the purpose of making confusion worse confounded. A storm in European politics is manifestly brewing; and when the PRINCE of Prussia tells the German Sovereigns assembled at Baden, "that in order to come to an understanding Austria has taken some steps to which he attaches great value," we are curious to know what sort of an alliance with that miserable power the PRINCE will agree to, and whether any such alliance has the approval of the English Court. It is our misfortune that we do not know what our rulers are about. Diplomacy is still a black art—shrouded in mystery, and only worthy of distrust.

SUNDAY TRADING.

YOUR well-meaning man is invariably a mischievous legislator. He is so anxious to put everybody and everything right that, if allowed to have his own way, he will worry people out of their lives with his tender precautions for their welfare. Whenever he sees a nuisance, or what he deems a hardship, he hastens at once to remedy it by Act of Parliament, never considering that small inconveniences are the inevitable accompaniments of laws of a high utility, or thinking that his remedy in healing the particular sore which disgusts him will make the whole body politic exceedingly uncomfortable. Lord CHELMSFORD is distressed beyond measure because the shops are kept open in some quarters of London the whole morning, and introduces a Bill into Parliament the practical effect of which would be to inflict immense inconvenience upon the poorer inhabitants of the metropolis, and fill their minds with a bitter sense of the injustice or indifference of the upper and powerful classes.

Wherever the shops are open on a Sunday they supply a public want. If there were no such want, if the customers of the tradesmen in these quarters could make their purchases on Saturday, the shops could be closed just as easily as warehouses and banks are now closed on Saturday afternoons. In the wealthier districts of London, where the residents can conveniently lay in quantities of the commodities they are likely to consume, the shops are all closed; they are opened in the poorer parts because the working-classes can only buy in very small quantities, and are afraid to keep the meat or fish for their Sunday dinner a whole night in their close unhealthy dwellings. The poor prefer, too, to make their purchases on the Sunday morning, because they have a natural suspicion of the articles palmed off upon them by gaslight. Lord CHELMSFORD, indeed, admits the necessity of some Sunday trading, inasmuch as he allows some shops to be open until 10 o'clock, and a few during the whole day, and by that very admission gives up the principle upon which he professes to legislate. If fruit may be sold all day why not vegetables? Are gooseberries clean and greens unclean? What new revelation justifies Lord CHELMSFORD in pronouncing apples legitimate objects of transfer on the Sunday and water-cresses objectionable? How is the line to be drawn? The police will have to compile a catalogue of the "forbidden fruits" for the benefit of greengrocers and street hawkers. Lord CHELMSFORD, perhaps, thinks that by letting the shops be open until ten he allows everybody plenty of time to procure all he may want for the day; but his lordship, if he knew anything of the habits of the hard-working population of the metropolis, would be aware that Sunday morning is an especial season of indulgence with them; obliged to get up to work every other day at five or six, they like to take several extra hours' sleep on the Sunday. Of course no tradesman ought to be obliged to keep his shop open to indulge this laziness, but he ought not to be compelled to shut it against his will; and if there is such a necessity for the opening of shops on the Sunday that tradesmen cannot of their own motion force their customers to buy on the Saturday, it is absurd to try to effect the object by penalties.

Lord CHELMSFORD, indeed, rests his case very much upon the hardship inflicted upon the shopkeepers themselves, who wish, he says, to be obliged to close on the Sunday. With all deference to the ex-Chancellor, this is sheer nonsense. If the business now done on Sundays could be done before ten, the tradesmen could accomplish all that the Act would try in vain to do. They say, however, that one of their competitors may keep open, and therefore they must do the same, much as it hurts their consciences. The linendrapers, when first asked to close earlier in the evenings, made the same objection, but they have now discovered that there was nothing in their fears. They do not lose customers who would pay for the gas they must burn. So it would be

with these tender-conscienced tradesmen, if Sunday trading be no more necessary than late shopping. But even if their representation were correct, they have no claim to legislation in their behalf. The law has no business to interfere with the public convenience, to protect a small number of grown up men who want to serve God and Mammon at the same time. The law interferes to protect women and children against engagements, which, strictly speaking, are voluntary on their part, because it supposes that they cannot protect themselves. Its interference here, besides being illegitimate, is either unnecessary, or would be ineffective.

The Bill is, in fact, a specimen of that meddling, mischievous appetite for legislation, which devours our noble philanthropists as much as our socialist demagogues. Both see a great deal of suffering and immorality, and both would cure those diseases at once by Acts of Parliament; both obstinately refuse to perceive that the only real cure is to leave natural laws to their free unchecked operation. Something they may, indeed, do by encouraging the social and moral elevation of the people. Sunday trading will diminish as the condition of the working classes improves. As their wages increase, and the fund at their disposal for purchases is larger, they will buy in larger quantities, getting better articles at lower prices; and when their dwellings are improved in sanitary respects, they will not be forced to buy their meat just before they cook it. Should this Bill be carried, we shall have another law on the statute book operative only to gratify malice and annoy honest people—another illustration of the utter ignorance of our legislators of the habits, manners, wants, and wishes of the people for whom they persist in legislating.

We cannot suppose that the House of Commons would stultify itself by passing such a foolish measure, but we are glad that it will be spared the exertion of formally rejecting it. The House is just now preternaturally sensitive about its privileges, and the objection of Mr. DEBY SEYMOUR, which it might have pooh-poohed at any other time, will probably prove fatal to this one Bill of the slightest public interest which hereditary wisdom has produced this session. We willingly accept any way, however undignified, of getting rid of a mischievous measure, and, professing little admiration of Mr. SEYMOUR's patriotic watchfulness, we thank him for saving us the absurd and irritating speeches for which the further progress of this Bill would have given too much occasion.

THE HOUSE OF OBSTRUCTION.

THE House of Lords, although performing its old functions, wants a new name. It might be called a House of Detention, as measures that get in there do not easily get out again; but perhaps House of Obstruction best expresses the services it now renders to the State. Either it must be reformed by strong external pressure, or it must be made to reform itself, in which latter case it would become a House of Correction for its own members, and would then become worthy of public support. At present, the Peers are like a broken-down omnibus stopping the traffic in Cheapside; and they seem to delight in holding themselves out not as an institution to be supported, but as an obstacle to be removed. In the Paper Duties question they overstepped the legal boundaries which separate their functions from those of the Commons; but in rejecting the Church Rate Bill by 128 against 31, they have exerted a power which they legally possess, although their conduct is as badly advised as in the former case. The Dissenters have, however, no right to complain, for their demeanour has led the Peers to presume that public patience was inexhaustible, and that no amount of smiting would rouse the British Lion after the chloroform of respectability and moderation had sent him fast asleep.

It is the vice of the popular agitations of the last ten years, that they are destitute of earnestness. They furnish their friends with no power, and inspire their enemies with no fear. Some wisdom may be learnt from repeated failures; and the middle-class Reformers may see that unless they can surrender a portion of their own exclusiveness, and originate a really popular movement, they will be subject to a series of ignominious defeats; and when the time of excitement comes, they will not have that influence over the masses which their education and social position render desirable, if the integrity of our society is to be maintained.

The spirit of reaction is, from its more definite direction, apparently stronger than the spirit of action; and the successive and successful courses of opposition to measures which have the sanction of the people and the House of Commons, are significant signs. In high quarters the hatred of popular power, and the contemplation of extreme measures for its overthrow, is painfully apparent; and the PRINCE CONSORT, only a few days ago, had the bad taste to remind his regiment of Guards of historical passages that it would have been wiser to

forget. H. R. H. the FIELD MARSHAL is reported to have said, "But, gentlemen, the duty of the British soldier is, unfortunately, not confined to opposing the external enemies of his country. It has been his fate to stand in arms even against his own countrymen, a mournful task. In such circumstances the soldier is upheld by the consideration, that while implicitly obeying the commands of his Sovereign, to whom he has sworn fidelity, he is purchasing for his country by his blood, that internal peace and supremacy of the law which form the only basis of the liberties, as well as of the prosperity of the nation." After this, came praises of the regiment for defending CHARLES II. and JAMES II., and for aiding GEORGE III. in the American war. Naturalization, like vaccination, appears liable to failure. No English Prince would have been guilty of such remarks. He would have known that loyalty to a nation is a loftier principle than servility to a king.

QUARRELS OF INDIAN OFFICIALS.

FROM "copies of correspondence between the Government of India and the Government of Madras," etc., at length reluctantly laid before the House of Commons by Sir CHARLES WOOD, we get some precise information as to the quarrel between Mr. WILSON and Sir CHARLES TREVELYAN. It will be seen by the very title that there is a claim on the side of the subordinate Government of Madras to some independence. Sir CHARLES points out that prior to 1833, the Madras Presidency had a legislature of its own. Then the legislative power for the whole of India was vested in the GOVERNOR-GENERAL in Council; and in 1853 this plan was so far modified, as to give a representative from each Presidency a seat in this legislative Council. This is a recognition of the right in the Madras Presidency to give its opinion on subjects of legislation, particularly if they concern that Presidency. Moreover, it was customary for the Council to ask the opinion of the Presidencies on important measures. Only last year this course was adopted with respect to the proposed imposition of a license and income tax (Mr. HARRINGTON's), and the unfavourable reports from the Presidencies stopped that measure. According to Sir CHARLES TREVELYAN it was the practice to give three months' notice of ordinary projects of law, for the very purpose of enabling the people as well as the officials to make themselves acquainted with measures affecting their interests. To this end projects of law were published in the "Gazette," and considering the extent of India and the diversity of languages which prevail, three months to consider any proposed legislation is by no means too much.

But the Council, consisting exclusively of Sir J. OUTRAM, Sir H. B. FRERE, and Mr. WILSON—the Governor-General and one other member of the Council being ~~absent~~ in spite of a remonstrance from Madras, resolved that it would "not lose the time required again to circulate these measures," but "move the Council to suspend the standing orders that they might be proceeded with without much delay." These three gentlemen, then, in order to pass a law for imposing a new and extensive system of taxation, "nullified," says Sir C. TREVELYAN, "the organic constitution," and took from the Presidency of Madras, as well as all the people, the right which it has by act of Parliament to be patiently heard against any proposed law. The first wrong, then, was done by the Council, consisting of only three members, which, fearing probably that its proposed taxes would, like the previous scheme, be shown to be erroneous, or unnecessary, or mischievous, cut short all discussion by suspending standing orders, and denying the public, including the persons responsible for the peace of the different provinces of India, the opportunity of expressing opinions which the Council professed and was, in fact, by custom bound to ask.

The President of Madras, responsible for the welfare of 30,000,000 of people, with an annual revenue of £6,000,000, and an army of 80,000 men, was neither wrong nor disobedient in remonstrating against such hasty legislation. Nor was he wrong in giving publicity to his remonstrance. The whole system of advice and appeal has publicity for its basis. Accordingly, Sir PATRICK GRANT, the Commander of the Madras army, solemnly stated in a minute, that he considered Sir C. TREVELYAN's conduct, in making public his comments, "worthy of all admiration." It appears to have been the only possible way to meet the arrogant attempt of the Council, without the GOVERNOR-GENERAL, to enact a new system of taxes in hot and uncontradicted haste. The *Times*, and other journals which followed its lead, confounded the discussion of a proposed law with an order of the Executive Government. Sir CHARLES WOOD, with his customary pertness, fell into the same error, and punished Sir C. TREVELYAN for not "giving cordial support to a decision of the Executive Government." The latter only advised

against what he supposed to be a mischievous course of legislation, pursued in an arrogant and uncouth manner. He did not thwart a single authorized act. The whole quarrel, apart from the obvious personal feelings which prevail between Mr. WILSON and Sir CHARLES TREVELYAN, has its foundation in the ill-defined duties and powers possessed by the different Presidencies and the general Government—in loose and unsettled modes of legislation which led the Council astray; and for these defects the Parliament and people of England are to blame.

NEW ZEALAND.—DEFENCE OF THE COLONIES.

THE gradual disappearance of aboriginal races before the advance of European colonists, is not a pleasant subject for contemplation. We know that unless we are prepared to abandon all outlets for the energy of our superabundant population, and are content to let the most fertile spots of the earth lie fallow, the process is an inevitable one—but we cannot feel quite easy about it. The right of discovery may be good enough as against all other strangers, but it gives us no title to drive a native tribe from its hunting-grounds; and of the right of civilization the less said the better, inasmuch as there is not a solitary illustration in the history of European plantations in America or Australia, in which that civilization has not proved to be extermination. Let the intentions of the Home Government be most honourable and benevolent, and let those intentions be seconded by a singular good faith and fairness on the part of the colonists, the fate of the native tribes is still a melancholy one. As they sell their lands and retire into their narrowed limits, their strength and energy depart; they die away—their destruction hastened, too probably, by the vices they easily pick up in their contact with the intruders. Little wonder then that they sometimes turn at bay in a frenzied effort to get rid of their masters, even where they are not maddened by such dreadful outrages as they are subjected to by American pioneers of civilization.

The Maories, the original inhabitants of New Zealand, have been treated, both by the Government and the colonists, with a degree of humanity which far transcends that shown in our dealings with any other race; and our very worst conduct, any time during the last forty years, appears angelic mercy by the side of the demoniac cruelty of other European nations. But still the people feel that they are being driven back and overpowered. Their lands have been fairly and honourably purchased, but, admitting that, they want now to prevent any further diminution of their territory, by stopping further sales. The leader of this movement has taken upon himself to prohibit chiefs from selling land to the British Government, however clear might be the title of the sellers to do so. The Government, of course, refused to recognise his interference, and having purchased a plot of land in the province of New Plymouth, from a chief named TE TERRA, took possession. The rebel chief attempted to prevent this, and several skirmishes have ensued, in which, although the advantage was on the side of the colonists, no decisive blow has been struck. We will not enter upon the controversy which has unfortunately arisen as to the conduct of the commander of the regular troops, Colonel MURRAY, in the most important of these fights. The volunteers, who formed part of the expedition, had gone in advance, and found themselves in an isolated and dangerous position. Colonel MURRAY declined to go to their assistance, and they were only released by the interposition of a party of seamen from Her Majesty's ship Niger. Colonel MURRAY has been severely censured and warmly defended; we prefer waiting for fuller particulars of the fray before offering an opinion upon his conduct. Of course the contest can have but one result. The Governor of New Zealand sent off immediately for the regular troops at Sydney and Melbourne, and with their assistance the revolt will soon be extinguished. The Maories are struggling vainly against their destiny. They must sell their lands, and draw further and further back, until, in a few years, they cease altogether to be a nation, and a few scattered families are the sole representatives of one of the finest and most intelligent races of Australasia.

These disturbances have, however, a larger interest than their effect upon the prosperity of New Zealand, or the fate of its aboriginal inhabitants. They illustrate very clearly the danger of adopting that tempting system recommended by Messrs. HAMILTON and GODLEY, according to which the whole cost of maintaining troops in such colonies as New Zealand would be thrown entirely upon the colonists themselves. The cost of colonial defences figures very largely in the national balance-sheet, reaching a total of three millions and a half; and it is not at all surprising, therefore, that economists should exclaim against it, and call upon the colonies to relieve us of a burden incurred principally upon their account. A little examination will show that no such saving could be effected, even if the rule to which

we have referred were adopted. At least one half of this large sum goes to the defence of dependencies like Malta and Gibraltar, which are called colonies, but are merely fortified outposts, the few inhabitants of which are unable to pay anything. Of the balance, the larger portion is incurred for colonies which are not in a position to defray the expenses of their own defence, and the possession of which is deemed essential to the interests of the empire. Some of the other colonies can contribute and do contribute to their own defence.

Lord GREY, when Secretary for the Colonies, laid down a rule, which seems safe enough, namely, that England should maintain at each colony such a force as she considered necessary for Imperial purposes, and that if any colony desired more troops it should pay for them. General PEEL, however, could not work this rule, and, at his suggestion, a Committee, representing the Treasury, the War-office, and the Colonial-office, was appointed to draw up a better scheme. Two members of this Committee (Messrs. HAMILTON and GODLEY—the third, Mr. ELLIOTT, dissenting) have drawn up a report, the practical effect of which is to recommend that all colonies which have Governments of their own should provide for their own defence. They should have recommended at the same time, that the colonies should be declared independent. What can be more absurd than to ask Canada or Australia to provide for its own defence against an enemy, when neither of them has the slightest control over the events which convert a friend into a foe? If they have ever to fear an enemy, it will be because the mother country has quarrelled with some other power about a matter which, perhaps, did not concern them in the least. Why should the Australians be told to protect themselves against France, when any war with her may spring from some squabble about Sicily or the Rhine? Why should the whole burden of defending themselves against the United States be thrown upon the Canadians, when the cause of quarrel may be Central America, Cuba, or the Right of Search? Again, how can a small number of colonists, who are surrounded by native tribes naturally disposed to attack them, if only for the sake of pillage, be honourably left to their own resources? What would the New Zealanders have done without the regular troops in the islands and on the Australian continent, in these disturbances? And still more may we ask, what could they have done a few years ago, when their number was smaller, and that of the natives greater? It is true that some colonies have cost us enormous sums, which might have been spared. The Cape colonists at one time almost lived upon the expenditure of the enormous garrison maintained there. But the fact that there have been abuses in former years, is no reason that we should abandon the colonies to themselves.

Whether the colonies are worth the cost they put us to, is quite another question. In the opinion of some economists they are not. Men have gone from the one extreme of regarding colonies as indispensable elements of commercial prosperity, to be fostered at any price, to the other, of regarding them as costly incumbrances. This doctrine is entitled to a fair hearing, but it must be put forward plainly and frankly. Its disciples must not try to effect their end by masked and indirect methods. So long as we profess an intention to retain our colonial empire, we must bear the charge of defending it. The extent of that charge the Imperial Government must determine. If the colonies fancy they want more protection, they must pay for it themselves.

A FRENCH INVASION.

THE long-talked-of event is at hand. On Sunday next, the 24th of June, ten steam vessels will leave the ports of Havre, Dieppe, and Calais, with the invading army on board. It is supposed that the landing in this country will be effected at various points of the coast. Some of the ships will steer for Dover, others for Southampton, while possibly a squadron will attempt to force a passage up the Thames. At whatever place or places the landing may take place, the invading host will march at once upon the metropolis; and it is no secret that it is the General's intention to take up a strong position on Penge Hill, and from that commanding ground at once to commence the siege of London. That he will take it by storm there can be no doubt.

Nervous persons, whom certain journals have lately been treating to repeated breakfasts of invasion horrors, may almost be excused if they accept this statement in its natural sense. We are informed that LOUIS NAPOLEON, the moment he has extended his frontier to the Rhine and the Vosges, will at once declare that the natural boundary of northern France is not the British Channel, but the Atlantic Ocean, and that he will forthwith proceed to beat the bounds. With this terrible calamity imminently hanging over us, what more likely than that we shall wake up some fine morning, and find the whole programme of a French invasion circumstantially reported in the morning journals? It will be quite consistent with the modern system of communication that we should know all about the plan

beforehand—how many troops are coming, at what points they will disembark, and when they may be expected to sit down before London. We know all these particulars respecting the invasion which is to take place on Sunday next; and we are fully prepared to meet it, though our fleet is declared to be totally inadequate for the protection of our shores, our arsenals wholly undefended, and our forts mere empty shams and pretences. To relieve the alarm of any reader who may have been perusing Lord OVERSTONE's startling picture of the sack of London, we may as well state at once that the army which is to invade us on Sunday next is composed, not of chasseurs and zouaves, but of musicians, members of *L'Orphéon*, an amalgamation of all the musical societies of France; and their object in laying siege to London is not to make us all Frenchmen, and plunder the Bank, but to subdue us, as their classic godfather is said to have subdued the stocks and stones, with melodious music. The general of this invading army of harmonists is the well-known M. EUGENE DELAPORTE, and he and the Directors of the Crystal Palace are the parties to the compact which has decreed us to musical enslavement for one week. The society of which M. DELAPORTE is the head is the largest of the kind in the world. It numbers in all 30,000 members, and its various branches are spread over every nook and corner of France. All classes are represented in its ranks—gentlemen, shop-keepers, artisans, and workmen. Of course it was found impossible to bring over the whole 30,000, and so M. DELAPORTE is content to face us with a tithe of that number. The campaign is to be short, sharp, and decisive. The army of Orpheonists will arrive in London on Sunday night, and take possession of all the spare beds in the neighbourhood of Leicester-square. Early next morning they will march upon Sydenham, and prepare for the assault upon British ears in the afternoon. This will be continued on Tuesday and Thursday; and on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday the town will be given up to the mercy of the invaders. The Bank, the Mint, the Houses of Parliament, St. James's Palace, and the British Museum, will all surrender to the invaders at discretion. As Lord OVERSTONE observes, there is no help for us when things have come to this pass. We must yield up everything without a grumble. And so we shall. We shall show these Frenchmen what freedom is. They will find out for the first time in their lives that they can go about where they please without a passport, and without being watched by a gendarme. They will see a city crowded by an industrious population, living in unrestricted freedom, under a popular constitutional Government. They will see how commerce, unrestricted by arbitrary laws, has become the material bond by which all classes are held together; and, above all, they will learn that the Government is in the hands of the nation, and not the prerogative of an autocratic and irresponsible chief. We cannot help thinking that this friendly invasion will prove more effectual than any number of forts round London in protecting us against the hostile designs of our neighbours. We only regret that M. DELAPORTE cannot bring over the whole of his Orpheonists. With 30,000 missionaries who had been witnesses of our institutions, going back to carry into every corner of France a true account of our freedom and prosperity, we might hope that many of those erroneous notions which still tend to estrange the sympathies of the two nations would soon be dispelled. The bare announcement of M. DELAPORTE's project has already been productive of the best effect on both sides of the Channel. The moment the two nations come down from the high horse of dynastic policy to contemplate questions of social intercourse, they become men and brothers. It is only the projects of ambitious rulers that inflame their jealousies, and provoke antagonism. It is evident from the tone of the French journals that Frenchmen attach as much importance to this visit as Englishmen do, and that they are equally anxious for opportunities to cultivate our acquaintance, and draw closer the bonds of alliance and friendship.

The *Siccle*, which can be very fierce on questions connected with our governmental policy abroad, meets us here on the common ground of brotherhood, and fervently expresses a hope that these three thousand artisans will carry back with them to France juster notions of Great Britain than have hitherto obtained; and M. AUGUSTE LUCIET describes, in characteristic language, the reunion as "a bridge of fraternity thrown across from one country to the other, the electric cable of humanity—a conductor of peace, union, and happiness."

May it be so! In the mean time, while LOTIS NAPOLEON, and not the French nation, is master of France, it may be well if we keep our powder dry; so that when a hostile invasion takes place, we may be prepared to meet it as complacently and with as little misgiving as we shall meet the three thousand Orpheonists at the Crystal Palace on Monday. As to the occupation of London by Frenchmen on any terms but those of landlord and tenant, we will say with Lord OVERSTONE, "We cannot contemplate or trace to its consequences such a supposition. It must never be; it must never be."

THE PAPAL QUESTION SOLVED BY NAPOLEON THE FIRST.

ABOUT half a century ago the Papal question was the order of the day. Another NAPOLEON was seated on the throne of France, in the full tide of success and triumph of victory. Another Pius was Pontiff at the Vatican, under the patronage of French legions; and, strange to say, another ANTONELLI was the leading adviser of the Pope. The city of Rome, too, and the Papal States,

were in a condition of general discontent and disaffection; but, unfortunately, this latter circumstance is one of too constant occurrence, to afford any clue as to the date of the period in question.

In the year of grace 1806, the enemies of NAPOLEON were *ipso facto* our friends; and in consequence the Pope, who was known to be hostile to France, became somewhat of a popular character amongst us. Indeed, PIUS VII. was looked on here rather in the light of a martyr and a hero. It is only of late years that this feeling has worn off, and that we, as a nation, have begun to doubt whether, in his struggle with the Papacy, the "Corsican usurper," as it was the fashion then to style him, may not have been in the right after all. Considerable light has been thrown upon this question by the recent publications of certain private State papers, which remained in the possession of Count ALDINI, the Minister of Italian Affairs under the great EMPEROR. It is the pith of these papers, in so far as they bear on the Papal question, to which we wish to call attention.

There had long been subjects of dissension between the Papal and the Imperial Governments. At last, in 1806, these dissensions came to an open rupture. On the 1st of June in that year, Count ALDINI wrote a despatch, by order of the EMPEROR, to complain of the avowed hostility displayed by the Papal Court against the system of legislation introduced into the kingdom of Italy, and of the private intrigues carried on by Cardinal ANTONELLI. In this despatch occur these words, which at the present day read strangely appropriate:—

"His Majesty cannot behold without indignation, how that authority, which was appointed by God to maintain order and obedience on earth, employs the most perilous weapons to spread disorder and discord."

This appeal to the conscience of the Vatican remained of course without effect, and things only grew worse. At the end of the same year NAPOLEON published at Berlin his famous decrees for the blockade of England, and the exclusion of all English merchandise. Whether justly or unjustly, the Court of Rome was suspected by BONAPARTE of not keeping up the blockade (the most unpardonable of all political offences in his eyes). At last, by a decree of the 2nd April, 1808, he removed the Marches from the Papal Government, and annexed them to the kingdom of Italy. The Legations, by the way, had formed part of that kingdom since the treaty of Tolentino.

This experiment proved unsuccessful. NAPOLEON soon discovered, what his successor is also likely to learn, that the real evil of the Papal Government consisted not in its territorial extent, but in the admixture of temporal and spiritual authority; that, in fact, its power of working mischief was, if anything, in inverse proportion to its size. With that rapidity of resolution which formed half his power, he resolved at once to suppress the temporal power of the Popes, and gave instructions to Count ALDINI to draw up the necessary decrees. The Emperor was then on the eve of departure for the Spanish peninsula, and it was during the harassing reverses of his fortunes in Spain that the following report of ALDINI was perused by him:—

"SIRE,—Your Imperial and Royal Majesty has considered that the time is come to fix the destinies of Rome."

"You have directed me to examine which, amidst the diverse governments that Rome has had during modern times, is most adapted for her actual circumstances, while retaining the character of a free government."

"It appears from history, that CRESCENZIVS governed Rome for many years with the title of Patrician and Consul."

"Pope JOHN XV. having appealed against him to the Emperor OTHO, the appeal was dismissed, and CRESCENZIVS was confirmed in his office, and caused to swear allegiance to the Emperor."

"The supreme dominion of the Emperors over Rome was exercised without contradiction throughout all the dynasty of the OTHOS and CONRADS, and only became assailed under FREDERICK I."

"Afterwards, amidst the multitude of Italian republics, the Roman republic was restored for a time, and in the 13th century had for the head of its government a MATTEO of the ORSINI family, with the title of Senator, in honour of whose memory a medal was struck."

"For a long period the Kings of Naples, of the Anjou race, were Senators of Rome."

"Pope NICHOLAS III. retained the Senatorial dignity for himself, and by a bull of 1268 forbade the election of any Senator, without the sanction of the Pope."

"From this date all the Senators of Rome have been nominated by the Popes, and were never permitted to be foreigners."

"Besides the Senator, there was a Council, called the 'Conservatori.' The members of this council were chosen from amongst the first families of Rome, proposed by the Senator and approved by the Pope."

"From time to time the Pontiffs have endeavoured to diminish the jurisdiction and the prerogatives of the Senators, so that in latter times their office has been reduced to a mere honorary charge."

"It has appeared to me that the restoration of this form of government, replacing the Senator in his old authority, would be a step at once adapted to the circumstances of the present day, and acceptable to the Roman people."

"To declare Rome a free Imperial city, and to reserve a palace there for your Majesty and your court, cannot but produce the most favourable effect on the minds of the Romans."

"In the other dispositions of the proposed statute I have confined myself to following the precedents adopted by your Majesty on former occasions, under similar circumstances."

This report was accompanied by the minutes of three decrees. The first referred to the future government of the Eternal City, and was sketched out in the following articles:—

"Art. 1. Rome is a free Imperial city.
"Art. 2. The palace of the Quirinal, with its dependencies, is declared to be an Imperial palace.

"Art. 3. The confines between the territory of Rome and our kingdom of Italy are to be determined by a line, which, starting from Ardever, passes through Baccano, Palestrina, Marino, Albano, Monterotondo, Palombara, Tivoli, and thence, keeping always at a distance of two miles inland from the sea, returns to Ardever.

"Art. 4. The lands of all communes intersected by the above line form the territory of Rome, excepting all lands that lie between the line and the sea coast.

"Art. 5. A Senator and a Magistracy of forty Conservators are to form the Government of the city and its territory.

"Art. 6. The executive power resides in the Senator; the legislative with the Magistracy of the Conservators. The Senator has the initiative in all projects of law.

"Art. 7. The office of the Senator is for life; that of the Conservators for four years. The Magistracy is to be renewed every year for one-fourth of its members. In the first three years, lot is to decide who go out; afterwards, the members shall retire by rotation.

"Art. 8. Ten Conservators, at least, shall be chosen from the different communes which compose the territory of Rome.

"Art. 9. The Senator is always to be nominated by us and our successors. For the first election alone we reserve to ourselves the right of nominating the Magistracy of the Conservators. Hereafter, as vacancies occur, the Senator shall nominate the Conservators from a double list presented to him by the Magistracy.

"Art. 10. The judicial functions are to be exercised in the name of the Senator, by judges nominated by him. Their appointment shall be for life. They cannot be removed, except for fraud or neglect of duty, recognised as such by the Magistracy, or on being sentenced to any disgraceful or penal punishment.

"Art. 11. Five Ediles, nominated after the same fashion as the Conservators, shall superintend the preservation of the ancient monuments and the repairs of the public buildings. For this purpose a special fund (the amount to be determined by the Government) shall be placed yearly at their disposal.

"Art. 12. Between the Kingdom of Italy and the Roman State there shall be no intermediate line of customs or duties. The Government of Rome may, however, impose an *octroi* duty on victuals at the gates of the city.

"Art. 13. For ——— years no ecclesiastic can hold a civil office in Rome or its territory."

The second decree declares that the Papal States, with the exception of the Roman territories above described, are irrevocably and in perpetuity annexed to the Kingdom of Italy, and that the "Code Napoleon" is to be the law of the land.

The third is headed, "Dispositions with regard to his Holiness," and disposes of the Papal question in this somewhat summary manner:—

"We, Napoleon, by the grace of God and by the Constitution, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Rhenish Confederation,

"Having regard to our first decree concerning Rome, have decreed, and decree as follows:—

"Art. 1. The Church and the Piazza of St. Peter, the palace of the Vatican and that of the Holy Office, with their dependencies, are a free possession of his Holiness the Pope.

"Art. 2. All the property of the Capitol and the Basilica of St. Peter are preserved to those institutions, under whatever administration the Pope may please to appoint.

"Art. 3. His Holiness shall receive a yearly income of one million Italian francs, and shall retain all the honorary privileges he has enjoyed in past times.

"Given at our Imperial Palace of St. Cloud,
"this — day of Sept. 1808."

In the midst of the Spanish campaigns, these documents were perused and approved by the Emperor, who wrote to ALDINI, at that time in Italy, and told him to make private inquiries as to whether the time was opportune for the promulgation of these decrees, and whether it was expedient to require the clergy to take an oath of allegiance to the new constitution. ALDINI's reply contains the following remarkable passage:—

"The Pope, who has never enjoyed the good opinion of the Roman public, has succeeded in these latter days in winning the sympathy of a few fanatics, who call his obstinacy heroic constancy, and wait every day for a miracle to be worked by God in his defence.

"Except these bigots, and a few wealthy persons who dread the possibility that, under a change of government, their privileges might be destroyed, and the taxes on property increased, all classes are of one mind, in desiring a new order of things, and all alike long for its establishment.

"I must not, however, conceal from you that this universal sentiment is chiefly due to two causes:—Firstly, to the idea that the payment of the interest on the public debt will be resumed, as in truth a great number of Roman families depend on these payments for their income; and, secondly, to the hope that Rome will become the capital of a great state, a hope which the Romans know not how to renounce."

Under these circumstances, Count ALDINI goes on to recommend that hopes should be held out of an early resumption of payments on the national debt, and that a provisional air should be

given to the proposed arrangement, so as to keep alive the prospect of a great kingdom, of which Rome should be the centre. He deprecates enforcing an oath of allegiance on the clergy, on the ground that "all priests will consent to obey the civil government; but all will not consent to swear allegiance to it, because they consider obedience an involuntary act, and an oath a voluntary act which might compromise their consciences." He finally recommends delay, under present circumstances, till some decisive victory has crushed the hopes of the priest party.

This delay was fatal to the scheme. After the battle of Wagram, NAPOLEON resumed the project, and resolved to increase the POPE's income to two millions of francs. Then, however, there came, unfortunately, the protests of Pius VII., the bull of excommunication hurled against the EMPEROR, and a whole series of petty insults and annoyances on the part of the POPE: such, for instance, as walling up the doors of his palace, and declaring, like his successor and namesake, his anxiety to be made a martyr. Passion seems to have prevailed over NAPOLEON's cooler and better judgment. The POPE was carried off to Savona. Rome was made part of the French empire, and ALDINI's project slumbered till, fifty years afterwards, it has been revived, though without acknowledgment, by M. LA GUERRONIERE, in his pamphlet of "Le Pape et le Congrès."

ALLEGED LIBELS IN NEWSPAPERS.

THERE are certain disadvantages in being free, and it is perhaps impossible altogether to neutralize them. All we can do is to keep them to a certain extent suppressed, and to be on the watch to apply the remedy as soon as the mischief appears. Among these disadvantages, one is, and probably ever will be, the abuse of freedom on the part of the press. A free press is so important a part of our institutions, it serves so many and such momentous purposes, that we all watch with the most righteous jealousy over everything that even seems to threaten it; and in a country so enlightened as ours, we are as careful to rebuke its occasional excesses as we are to protect it from oppression.

In general, the tone of an English newspaper is singularly gentlemanly and temperate: it rarely imputes unworthy motives; it abstains (except in the case of what are called religious newspapers) from publishing details of private life and personal scandal. It judiciously separates individuals from bodies corporate, and pronounces on acts without deciding on character. When we regard the extent of the surface over which its commentaries extend, the depth and philosophy of many of its disquisitions, its calmness on political questions, some of which are of the most exciting character, and its singular avoidance of offensive matter, we may well be proud of the fourth estate, and rank it as the first of influences for good among us.

But it is impossible to publish news without impugning the character of those who do evil, and it sometimes becomes the duty—the disagreeable, but not the less bounden duty—of the journalist to put the public on its guard against those who prey on its carelessness. In what way this may be done, and to what extent, is a question of no small interest at the present time, and as it may be looked on from two totally distinct points of view, we shall devote a column to its consideration. Everybody knows that more than half the mischief done in the world is to be traced to private slander. Falsehood and malice can find no more convenient weapon than the tongue of the unscrupulous; and if the press be employed in the same cause, the mischief is of course greatly increased. Our law of libel does what it can to apply a remedy to this evil; but the expressive advice, "Only throw plenty of dirt, some of it will be sure to stick," finds a vast multitude of followers at the present, just as it has ever done in all past time. The respectable Scotch clergyman who commenced a sermon on the text, "I said in my haste, All men are liars," with the words, "Ah, DAVID! gin ye had forgotten wi' my parishioners, ye might ha' said the same very much at your leisure," was not a whit more severe than the state of most parishes would warrant. It is, therefore, quite right that character should be protected and slander punished, as far as such objects can be obtained, by legal enactments. We have spoken so highly, and yet, as we believe, so justly of the fourth estate among ourselves, we compare it with so much satisfaction with the French and American press, that we may presume to give—and the conductors of the periodical press may afford to hear—a little sentence of qualification. Our journalists are not perfect; they are not all gentlemen, nor are those who are gentlemen always in the right; and hence there are many actions brought in the course of a year against the conductors of newspapers for libels on personal character. A skilful and practised writer will avoid giving any handle to such—he will know how to castigate fraud and to satirize folly without laying himself open to a charge of libel; and it generally happens that, when an action of this kind is brought it falls to the ground.

We have such an instance before us. A dealer in "marine stores" published a bill, announcing what prices he was willing to pay for certain articles in which he dealt. Among these figured candle-ends, tallow, sperm and wax, dripping, kitchen-stuff, rags, glass bottles, old metal, and many other things which domestic servants are apt to consider as their perquisites. This bill fell into the hands of a not particularly wise magistrate, who commented on it with perhaps more zeal than discretion; his remarks were taken up by a morning paper, and an article was founded on them, setting forth the great incentive to crime which was furnished by shops like the one in question, and taxing a majority of their proprietors with being very little better than receivers of stolen goods. The individual whose

handbill had given rise to this unpleasant discussion felt, or imagined himself damaged, and brought an action against the proprietor of the newspaper. The trial took place before Lord Chief Justice ERLE, and the verdict was for the defendant. In his summing up the learned judge observed that two principles were laid down on the law of libel: it was necessary, first, to show that the articles to be proved libellous were really defamatory, that is, tending "to bring into ridicule and contempt" the person of whom they were published; and, next, that they were published through malice—but that the law did not require the proof of any personal malice, but merely the absence of any justifiable cause for the publication. In the case before us, there was no imputation upon the plaintiff that he was himself a dishonest man, but that he followed a business which tended to encourage dishonesty; in this opinion the judge himself openly and decidedly concurred, after which there could be only one course for the jury to adopt. He also, with equal propriety, certified that the case was one for a special jury, and thus added another to the long list of testimonies daily borne against the common jury system as it exists at present. It is extremely improbable that a common jury would have coincided with the Chief Justice in his opinion on this case, and had the verdict been otherwise, we should have had an additional difficulty thrown in the way of the journalist in the discharge of his most obvious duty. The plaintiff was ill-advised; he had no valid ground of action, and was very properly punished for his vexatious proceedings. Most, however, of these actions are attorneys' actions; they are brought, not for the sake of damages, but for that of costs, and it is in general less the plaintiff than the plaintiff's solicitor who is to blame for the result.

It is, however, a matter of little consequence to the public whether, in an ordinary action for libel, the plaintiff or the defendant be proved in the wrong; but a trial becomes invested with a manifest importance when it involves the question, "Has the editor of a newspaper the right of commenting on the proceedings of a legal tribunal?" If this question be settled in the negative, then public opinion loses its only means of expression concerning those who administer justice. Any police magistrate, any civic alderman, any county court judge is at liberty, unchecked, to run riot in his office the hasty man, the cruel man, the prejudiced man has no longer anything to keep him in order, and the mischief done by such a restriction would be infinitely greater than the closing against the public of all our courts of justice. This, however, is happily not to be feared; we have had several decisions which have established this right, and the law of libel is amply sufficient to protect the public from its abuse. But though there can be now no longer a doubt as to the right of a journalist not only to report a trial, but to comment on its particulars or on the verdict in which it results, it is not clear what comments are permissible while the case is in course of investigation. Some must be, of necessity; and it is probable that were these altogether withheld, the interests of justice would in more ways than one suffer. The staff of a well-conducted newspaper should comprehend individuals versed in medical jurisprudence, in international law, in general and applied science, and trials are continually occurring in which these branches of information are particularly necessary. The very occurrence of an interesting investigation before a judge or a police magistrate will elicit from the public press the exact knowledge required; the jury will gladly embrace the opportunity, and their verdict will be an enlightened instead of a prejudiced one.

It is one thing to comment on facts solemnly sworn to, and another to comment on the character of a man being tried, or about to be tried, on a charge perhaps affecting his life, before a tribunal of justice. If the question of guilt or innocence be not touched, there can be little doubt that there is a large margin within which the public opinion may be expressed, and guided, not only without harm, but with great advantage. In cases of poisoning, for instance, of which we have unhappily had so many within the last few years, it cannot but be a difficult thing for a jurymen to decide upon the evidence which is laid before him, and which is treated in so widely different a manner by the counsel for the prosecution and by that for the defence. If when the first depositions before the magistrates were made public, a few dispassionate and judicious newspaper articles had a little ventilated the subject, had cleared away some of the mists, had taught the public a little of the pathology of the case, the jurors would go to their task with something like a preparation for their work—they would, in fact, be a special jury *ad hoc*. The innocent would be less likely to be condemned, and the guilty less likely to escape. Comments such as these do from time to time occur; and just so far as they do, may justice be depended upon at the hands of a common jury. In consequence of such remarks a host of letters by qualified persons make their appearance; medical men give their experience, point out the various actions of poison, and give the history of cases in which they have been called in; and it is not too much to say that a barrister who neglects such means of informing himself does less than half his duty to his client. It is quite true that journals have not always been fair, and more than one unhappy man in times past has owed his death to the hounding on of a ferocious public opinion by newspapers not a whit in advance of that which they professed to lead. We see occasional exhibitions of the same spirit, though in a milder guise, even now; but the tone of our journals is for the most part so moderate, that their conductors may safely be trusted to act with discretion even when the lives as well as the fortunes of men may be affected by their remarks.

GENTILISM.

IN these days of appearances, this era of small things, when everybody who has, or has not, realised a fortune, claims to be "highly genteel," it is as well to consider what gentility is. It is a word of wide signification, a kindly gossiping diminutive. One who perhaps dared not boldly avow that he was a gentleman *pur sang*, yet declared that his family was genteel; that is to say, free from vulgarity, not low; so ADDISON, who is the smoothfaced and smoothmannered hero of Mr. THACKERAY's humorists, talks of "genteel comedy," and rough JOHNSON declares *genteelness* "to be a quality befitting persons of rank." But GOLDSMITH, whose genial humour never went wrong, saw how susceptible the word was of a mean and little interpretation, and makes his bear ward, whose rank would correspond with that of our costermonger, declare that his "bear never danced but to the genteelst of tunes, water parted, or the minuet in ARIADNE."

A little later in our social history we find it upon record that an accomplice of a murderer considered the actual assassin "a genteel man because he kept a gig;" and at a police court but very recently, one hesitated to call himself a "gentleman," but he might be considered "genteel," he said, because he lived on his own means. Now it is rather remarkable that amongst the most commercial people in the world the bare fact of living an idle, and frequently a very useless life, should have been thought an essential part of gentility. "I am a gentleman, and do nothing for my existence," said some one to JOHNSON. "Then, sir," answered the stout old litterateur, "you have no visible means of gaining an honest livelihood;" and the satire was just. The peculiar class of gentlefolks (which, by the way, that very conceited compilation, WEBSTER'S Dictionary, tells us is a word now only used by the vulgar) to which JOHNSON'S opponent belongs, would never think of helping themselves if they could get any one else to help them, and it is quite amusing for a genuine worker to get amongst them, and to hear them talk. These sort of gentlefolks flock round the easel of the painter or the model of the sculptor and wonder in their little way—and a very ungenteel way, too, sometimes—at the person who is "doing" anything for them. The "man," they say, is building our carriage, or painting our portrait, or laying down our telegraphs, writing our books, cutting our canals, or making our railways, or it may be fighting our battles; and they refer to the workers as if they were quite a separate institution, as indeed they are; and that they, the genteel people, had only to walk through life, and pay away certain moneys which certain other people earned for them. The general ingratitude towards the common workers around them, the want of appreciation of the hardships and difficulties which beset the life of such, and the utter want of truly Christian feeling which distinguishes them, is something astounding. The genteel Christian lady—and, let us add, the profession of our blessed religion has become eminently genteel—may feel wondrous sympathy for the benighted heathen, or the starving beggar; but she never will be brought to regard as her brother and sister the vulgar butcher boy who in redundant health and a blue coat calls for her orders, or the maudlingly confidential charwoman, who is called in to assist her servants. Gentility builds perhaps an imperceptible, but still a very strong wall around the persons who practise it;—a wall which, like a sunk fence in a park, is not perhaps seen in the distance, but which is very hard to get over; and perhaps the most puzzling fact about it is, that the nearer one gets to it, the further it flies off; like the poet's simile of the horizon, which always bounds the view, and is always at the same distance from us. Yet we feel convinced that, like the genteel young barber in Mr. DICKENS'S story, we must "draw a line somewheres." He, it is known, being a shaver of the chins of only genteel parties, refused, upon a notable occasion, to mow the stubble from a dustman's. "Why," cried the injured individual, his gentility being touched, "I seed you a shavin' a baker t'other day." "Ah," returned the wily young hairdresser, "we must draw a line somewheres; I draws it at journeymen bakers; I can't shave you." But gentility, if she draws a line somewheres, has yet a very elastic cord. In narrow lanes and courts we have genteel day-schools; and in streets a little better—genteel finishing academies. When a man has a weakly son, who cannot, he fancies, rough it in the world, or a girl whose talents and appearance are more than usual, he seeks to place them in a genteel business. Should he succeed in doing so, Heaven help the children! The boy, who may be an attorney's clerk or a law-writer, will find life a dozen times more bitter than in any bustling trade; and the girl, who may be, we will say, a governess, a teacher of music, or a milliner, will have to pay very hardly for the shred of gentility which those professions still retain;—that the vulgar rich will often insult her, and that no morning will rise without a trial, no evening close without a humiliation; till, spent in mind and body, she repents with tears her fatal predilection for gentility; happy will she be if this feeling goes no further.

At the present day—and perhaps always, for the cycles of humanity present very little variation—gentility, or those who profess it, are given to worship money and material success, and, indeed, not to exist without it. Who ever heard of a highly genteel bankrupt, or a genteel inhabitant of debtors' prisons? The superfine quality, like the gloss on cloth, rubs away with hard wear. But we do know a prize fighter who, having by battling made a large fortune, was received into the ranks of genteel society, whose park was envied, and whose presence courted. Time, too, whose light finger adds many a gentle and genteel touch, has rendered the white head of the old gladiator as silvery and as venerable as that of a bishop, who counts the same years, and who has perhaps passed every one

of them in supreme honour. But wealth, as we have hinted, is almost a *sine quâ non* with our devotees of the genteel. That eminent professor of propriety, my Lord CHESTERFIELD, who condemned a proverb, and who sneered at anything like Christian virtue as something not appertaining to high life, equally condemned anything like poverty, which, indeed, as we have said, is certainly ungenteel, and found accompanying all sorts of common and vulgar people. Passion or emotion of any kind, crying or laughter, pity or extreme kindness, do not come within the level plane of this quality; and bravery or force, or terror—yes, even the terrors of death itself ruffle the feelings of those who have lived in its fashionable precincts.

"One would not, sure, look frightful when one's dead;
So, Betty, give this cheek a little red,"

lips the dying coquette; and the genteel French marshal, as we all know, who was surprised by the enemy in his tent, thought it a disgrace to fly without his full-bottomed wig, and so was killed in his attempt to rescue it. To the excessive attachment to this quality we owe a thousand anomalies. For its sake fathers and mothers are content to toil on and pinch themselves, so that their children achieve a position. For this sake a man will rather pay a large rent for an uncomfortable house in a fashionable neighbourhood, than a small one for a good house in a second-rate quarter of the town; for this we call our Britannia metal "plate," our gigs carriages, our boy in buttons a footman, and our unpretending cottage a hall, a lodge, or a villa. For it, too, our suburbs break out in curious highly-sounding names; our schools are called colleges, and our teachers' houses academies. Occasionally it apes humility, wears hoddens grey instead of broad cloth, and eats and digests dishes which nobody likes, because they are eminently "genteel." Through it also, the painter who has perpetrated the portrait of a duchess, can, although a mere dauber, reckon upon any number of the wives of rich citizens as his sitters; the author, who may be a mere dunce, will be the vogue in the libraries, and the preacher whose sermons are an injudicious mixture of nonsense and fustian, of bathos and hyperbole, will find himself surrounded by a fashionable congregation. A reputation for fashion and gentility has, indeed, made the fortune of more than one tailor, and the want of it has broken many a good man's heart with that sickness which is born of hope deferred. So that, if we take these things into consideration, we shall find that gentility, although inculcated as the first of all virtues in some quarters, is not without its evil: the miseries, too, of the would-be genteel, which are fair marks for all the satirists of the Thackerayan school, are not to be despised because of their smallness; a mosquito is a much less formidable animal than a boa constrictor, yet we doubt if the gross amount of misery occasioned by the one does not far exceed that by the other. But the misery of those *parvenu* people, of those who when merely in town society aspire to that of the county families; or who, when knowing respectable tradespeople will determine to visit the dwellers in the squares, has never been written, and assuredly, if written, would never be pitied. When the stupid old frog in the fable burst himself, endeavouring to be as large as an ox, no one pitied him as he lay gasping his life away; and when, as is often the case, an attempt to be highly genteel ends in the bankruptcy court, the commissioner, instead of sympathy, merely expresses the strongest indignation.

We have got thus far without any definition of the word. In fact, the quality is quintessential, and evaporates when you try to define it. There are those who utterly deny it. When the *Dutchesse*, in WEBSTER'S play, asks ANTONIO his opinion of marriage, he says,—

"I take it, as those that deny purgatory;
'Tis either heaven or hell, there's no third place in it."

So we may define gentility by utterly ignoring it. There is vulgarity and nobility, or the spirit of the gentleman; but gentility is an assumption after all which entirely declares the spirit of the snob and nothing less. We can have no half-and-half schemes here. It does not follow, let Sir BERNARD BURKE say what he may, that the spirit of a gentleman is lost because he engages in trade. He may not be able, heraldically speaking, to bear arms;—they may be lost to him; but heraldry is, after all, but a very weak invention,—one of the dark ages, when men were unenlightened and untaught. The ideal gentleman we shall never meet again, if indeed he ever existed; he does not exist now; he was to be the *preux chevalier* of the time, the Admirable CRICHTON; but the time has long since past when we believed in Admirable CRICHTONS. The man who can do everything may do for romance, but we are content to do one thing, and do it well. Let us see what the ideal gentleman was and must be. He must be of gentle blood, that is, gentleman on father's and mother's side for seven generations. His ancestors must be *sans tache*. He himself, well grown, brave, skilled in arms. He must run, tilt, fence, be a perfect horseman, know well the terms and practices of the gentle craft; be a huntsman, a falconer, a perfect woods man, a courtier, and a very EUPHROS in the choice of his phrases. His clothes must be of the latest fashion, his horse and hound the best of their kind, his armour point device. His heart must be ever open, his purse at the command of all who ask. He must succour the unfortunate, engage in battle for those who are wronged, and be a devoted slave to every fair ladye. Learned he must be, or he would be a clown; he must dance well, and bear himself gracefully in all things, be able to "break" a deer, and to carve a kid, to arrange the minstrels in the hall, to act as an ambassador, and to lead an army, and, should occasion require it, to speak in many

tongues; to affix his theses to the gates of the town, and to dispute with the learned; nor must he be ignorant of art. If he possesses all these, he may then say with HEYWOOD,—

"I am a gentleman: and, by my birth,
Companion with a king: a king's no more.
I am possessed of many fair revenues,
Sufficient to maintain a gentleman.
Touching my mind, I'm studied in all arts;
The riches of my thoughts, and of my time
Have been a good proficient."

Add to this what SHAFTESBURY says, that "reading, good company, and reflection, the taste of beauty, and the relish of what is decent, just, and amiable, perfects the character of a gentleman," and we shall find that now-a-days we do not meet with many such. We cannot all be so. We must be content to be what we can be—brave, gentle, generous, and wise. We must not stand too much upon our gentility. We must honour all men. There cannot be a surer proof of low origin, or of an innate meanness of disposition, than to be always talking and thinking of being genteel. And herein lies the true secret of that repose and finish in the manners of a man truly great either by birth or by mental acquirements. A great man never strains and endeavours to make himself greater than he is, any more than a giant tries to stand upon tiptoe; both are conscious of their own true height; and this consciousness is so true, that it is found and recognised, not only in the leaders of *ton* in Paris or London, but in the Hindu and Chinese gentleman, and in the Red Indian of the far west. But, after all, the true secret of all gentlemanhood is a quiet and humble bearing, and a disposition to look upon others to be as good as oneself. A course of reading in the Epistles of St. JOHN or St. PAUL will do more to form a gentleman than the quintessence of St. EVREMOND and CHESTERFIELD, with all the books of etiquette that were ever published to boot. Let us then cry with the author of "Vanity Fair," "Away, then, with this diabolical invention of gentility, which kills natural kindness and honest friendship. Proper pride, indeed! Rank and precedence, forsooth! The table of ranks and degrees is a lie, and should be flung into the fire. Organise rank and precedence! That was well for the masters of ceremonies of the former ages. Come forward, some great marshal! and organise equality in society, and your rod shall swallow up all the juggling old court gold sticks. If this is not gospel truth—if the world does not tend to this—if hereditary great-man worship is not a humbug and an idolatry—let us have the STUARTS back again, and crop the Free Press's ears in the pillory!"

THE AVENGER NEWSPAPER.

PROBABLY there is scarcely an editor who has not at some time or other been plagued to make his journal the vehicle of some private controversy, to spread a scandal or to smother one. He is forced to be very obstinate in his refusals, or very arbitrary in his selections. It is only to the private controversies of any public men that the columns of the *Times*,* or any of our more important newspapers, are thrown open; the magnitude of the personage carries it, not the enormity of the wrong. The circle may be a very wide one, indeed, through which a most-damaging slander is spreading; but if it is not quite wide, or quite lofty enough, a public vindication is sought in vain, unless the matter is carried into the law courts. There are three reasons for the chariness of editors on such points, all of them ample: first, that such controversies are generally interminable; second, that they are generally uninteresting; third, that they are generally unpaid for. Only one paper, and that recently established, has had the generosity to offer a portion of its space to those who have, or fancy they have, wrongs to vindicate. It is called *The Dial*—*nota bene*, not the Seven Dials; but the space allowed for combat is limited, and an affair "must be settled in a few shots." It would require seven to get through the work thoroughly. We applaud the motive, but commiserate the editor, if he is compelled to do justice to his idea, and to his unpaying clients. No conceivable bribe could induce the *Times* to print a controversy, even as an advertisement, unless the subject were one that tickled its own, or would be likely to tickle its readers' fancy.

It is a strange thing in England when there is a great general public demand, if no one is ready to supply his private wants by catering to public ones; yet here we have one, quite enough to encourage our spirits of adventure, and to confer a public benefit in more than one particular. There are two *sine quibus non*s for our future Dijudicator, Moderator, Vindicator, *ASTREA*, Avenger, or whatever its proprietors may please to denominate it: that it should stick faithfully to private controversy, and that the controversialists should pay handsomely. We would have no bitter iambics from disappointed poets, and unsaleable essayists; to them the public is deaf, or by them sufficiently afflicted already; no laments from any suffering members of the GREY family, com-

* Under certain circumstances the *Times* will enter not only into a controversy, but into the details of the life of an individual not of sufficient public importance to justify any such dissection. Many of our readers may remember a gratuitous sketch of the private history of one of our popular preachers; following him through his embarrassments, and searching into his whereabouts at different periods, with all the gusto of a police detective. We know little and care less about the gentleman in question, but the paragraph was a disgraceful one, worthy of the pages of the old *Satirist*, and could only have been intruded upon the public from some motive of private malignity.

plaining that their public services are quite inadequately considered by the Government; no mere misanthropist—

“—bringing to mind,
Like doomsday, all the faults of all mankind;”

no inventor bewailing the neglect of the hundred and fiftieth patent nut-crackers. What we should want would be, Sharps *versus* Blunts, Flints *versus* Steels, Stiffnecks *versus* Bullheads, and the several members of their families. What editor's mouth would not water at the idea of a Highland or Corsican feud, paid for all by the kindred? Ink and JOSEPH GILLOT, instead of blood and ANDREA FERRARA, and lasting *ad infinitum*, without the “truces of GOD” of the middle ages.

There are many subordinate arrangements, many minor benefits, of which we shall be content to indicate only a few—most of them, be it observed, dependent on the ample scale of payment insisted upon,—payment for contributions—for the paper itself should be cheap; not too cheap, as we are apt to undervalue what we underpay for. Even scandal, one of our greatest luxuries, would be still more highly appreciated if well paid for. Scandal has lain hitherto under a great disadvantage in this respect; it has been too cheap; costing rarely more than weak bohea, and trifling risk; it would bear English pineapple price, or that of any other exotic, raised from a dung-heap, under cover, and sometimes peeped at through glass windows, fed with eavesdroppings, sweet and prickly. Rather than that the delight should be relinquished, as many profits might be raised upon a bit of mischief as there are on other articles between first growth and final purchase. The scandal discoverer, the scandal spreader, the scandal exaggerator, and the scandal listener, would all pay, and freely, for their several shares of enjoyment, if payment were necessary; and if people would pay extravagantly for what they know to be scandal, what would they not pay for what they believe to be justice, and justice to themselves, blended with sweet animadversion on the faults of others? Our notion is that for such a gratification it would be difficult to assign a price which wealthy “parties” would not be “agreeable” to put down; but we have to consult for those also who are not in a position to invest a fortune in a debate, though many have wasted one in what was considerably less worth while than a vindication and recovery of their characters. How such a paper would win on both hands, from the justifiable firmness of the right, and the notorious obstinacy of the wrong!

But we should consult “means,” without permitting any to plead exactly in *forma pauperis*; we should have our three-sized types, for patrician, middle-class, and plebeian quarrel, with payment accordingly. We would not have our pages polluted with “minx” and “scoundrel,” and for very strong language short of this, there should be proportionate pay. What lessons would be thereby inculcated of decency in dispute! What an improvement of popular style! What skill, just to avoid libellous matter! What force, without violence of expression! What conciseness, and what keeping to the question in hand, to escape unnecessary expense! What regulation of the winding innuendo of the educated, and desultory onset of the illogical!

The editor might sometimes offer a little delicate though not final arbitration, and by encouragement and discouragement alternately fan the flame. Expending now and then some of the receipts of the paper at the secret information offices, he might arrive thereby at something of the real truth of the matter, which he would generally be wholly unable to ascertain from either of the parties to the contest.

As disputes and accusations continued, the public would begin gradually to experience a newly-created interest. Names, at first utterly insignificant, might gradually dilate into importance; and the same process might at once turn nobodies into somebodies, and supply an infinite fund of general amusement, to say nothing of instruction in style. Condensation is much wanted in newspapers at present, as in Parliament.

If London would supply a harvest, what are we to say of the provinces, but that they would supply a much more plentiful one? So the larger country towns, or, still better, a union of third or fourth rates. Here, we care comparatively little about gossip, except the scandal of our particular circles or the mutual abuse of our particular friends; but further in the country, amongst the MONTAGUES and CAPULETS of York or Exeter, where all know everybody, and everybody talks about all, what opportunities of comment upon every controversy, and conversational corrections of it from personal knowledge of character. What happy parties to be amused out of the material of unhappy homes! Some Frenchman has said that small towns and villages paid the lawyers, in proportion to their population, ten times better than Paris or London, and from our personal experience we should be very much inclined to believe him.

Fortunately, all people are not of SHERIDAN's temperament, who is said to have attacked himself most violently in a paper, the pages of which he could command, in order that he might afterwards vindicate himself triumphantly from his own charges, which after all he was too lazy to do; and so the accusations were left to perform their work. Such a temperament would indeed be ruinous to our adventure; but the fact is, no man can get sincerely and thoroughly angry with blows which he inflicts upon himself. Our paper should be guarded, if possible, from all mock attacks likely to die off in this extremely unsatisfactory manner. We must have—

“The patient watch, and vigil long,
Of him who treasures up a wrong;”

or, in SHAKESPEARE's words, the determination

“To wrong the wronger till he renders right,”—
a rather indefinite process.

THE SPIRITS OF THE AGE.

“THERE are as good fish in the sea as any that ever came out of it.” This is a proverb that we have frequently heard cited by disappointed men, conscious of merit, and expectant of ultimate success. That it is not believed in is, however, evident from the criticism to which the famous line in MR. TAYLOR's “Philip van Artevelde” was once subject:—“The world knows nothing of its greatest men.” To be sure the verse in question went a step further than the proverb. It asserted that there were *better* fish in the ocean than out of it; reversing another proverb also, which asserts that “a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.” The world is not disposed to give so much credit to the ocean and the bush; but, after all, this may be because it knows nothing of their real tenants, and is disposed to congratulate itself upon what it has managed to possess. The world naturally values its acquisitions, and regards property with an affection which it cannot extend to what has not yet become property. Besides, it cannot get on without self-flattery. It is as vain as a player or a portrait painter. Said an artist once to us, when sitting for our likeness: “You are silent; don't you like the picture? If you do, I wish you would say so. To speak the truth, I can't get on without a little flattery.” So, of course, we felt in duty bound to become demonstrative in our approbation. Our most popular living tragedians have the same failing. Provincial audiences are sometimes very dull and stupid, and neglect to applaud in the proper or any places. The country spectator is a diffident animal, and, in fact, is afraid to use his privilege, or incapable of doing so. He is either ashamed to give his opinion, or has no opinion to give. It is not every one who has their audacity of the kitchen-maid, who, when summoned to the parlour to pass her judgment on two pictures, and called on to decide between a Bowles-and-Carver coloured engraving (such things were celebrated a quarter of a century ago) and a sketch by FUSSELL, gave the preference to the former because it was so smooth and glossy, and the latter so scratchy and disagreeable. The poor player, however, who “struts and frets his hour upon the stage,” is little inclined to accredit his audience with the virtue of modesty, and would prefer even the kitchen-maid's assurance to apparent indifference. Accordingly, the eminent actors to whom we have referred, have more than once come forward on the stage, and announced to the country audience that unless they were applauded they could not possibly proceed with the performance, so discouraging was it to be kept in ignorance whether they were liked or not. Of course the audience thus appealed to did with the players as we did with the painter, applaud “to the very echo that did applaud again.” Now the world is quite as avaricious of praise as either the artist of the studio or of the green-room. It expects the assent of every man who would live by it, and he who is not disposed to please the world is not very likely to be pleased by the world. The world, in fact, flatters itself that the prize it has taken the pains to capture and secure is worth more than the unknown treasure that still remains unmoved or unwon. And yet this was not the opinion of him who had conquered that same world—for he wept that there were no more worlds to win, and, according to the poet,—

“All he had done of little worth esteemed,
Compared with what he yet had power to do.”

And there are speculative ALEXANDERS, too, who, in the greatness of their imagination, “apprehend a world of figures” in those blank spaces of history where nothing yet has figured, and people the void for themselves with beings of impossible excellence.

What proof have we that the greatness of which we know nothing, is greater than that which the penny-trumpet of fame has sounded with so much persistency and effect? Is it not a fact, now accepted and undeniable, that the acknowledged great men of any age are the expressions of its spirit and principles? There is a progress in the development of the human being, both socially and individually; and the steps of this development mark the several ages in their succession. The mass of mankind are inarticulate animals: but there are a select few who can speak, and do speak, in more than one language—the poet, the orator, the artist, the statesman; and in these the principles that govern the time are embodied. Sometimes it happens that one among these is their single exponent; and in him the spirit of the race and of the age is incarnate. To attain to this elevation, much force of character, much original ability, much patient waiting for opportunity are necessary. Without opportunity, power and talent go for nothing. Hence it happens that some readily yield to the notion that opportunity is the all-in-all, and that the great men of whom the world is ignorant consist of those who had all the will and merit, but were not blessed with the opportunity. Such reasoners, however, forget that opportunity again is nothing in itself. Thousands of men have abundant opportunities, but neglect them. The opportunity is realized only by him who takes advantage of it; and this same taking advantage presumes that the successful individual had the sufficient energy, and was on the look-out for the chance. We, therefore, see that the three must go together—the virtue, and the patience, and the opportunity; and that these three unite in the acknowledged hero of the occasion.

On the other hand, any one who has had much experience with the world, and has reflected ever so little, must be aware that there always is a large crop of unused talent and genius in it. In some

instances we are aware of seeds of greatness that appear to us to be full of the sublimest promise. But disappointment ensues from various accidents—lowly station, the force of competition, and early death. The last is a frequent cause. If good fortune be expedient to a prosperous career, most of all is that of being born with a lasting constitution. "A sound mind in a sound body" is of itself the primal privilege, and constitutes in itself a condition of success above all others. In cases where "the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak," it is probable that we should recognise the unsuccessful great man. In these judgments, however, we do the body wrong. The greatness we would predicate is nearly as much dependent on the body as on the mind. Such a man would make a great preacher, if only he had the requisite organ to make himself heard: shall we therefore credit him with the preacher's powers? By no means. Another would make a valiant soldier, only he has not the physique, and is not tall enough: shall we therefore credit him with the warrior's fame? It would be perfectly absurd. Another man might be a poet, but he lacks "the accomplishment of verse:" shall we therefore award him the honours of the minstrel? Notwithstanding some authoritative dicta to the contrary, still we answer, Certainly not. The final test in all these cases is wanting, the triumph over the last difficulty. The spiritual and material coalesce in the production of indisputable greatness. Long life belongs to Nature's great men by right of birth. Some few, indeed, have won fame early, and died early. These have been favoured by a special Providence; but, in general, greatness is tested by the wear and tear of a life-long labour; a long stand-up fight against difficulty and danger.

"Virtue in elevated region dwells,
A steep and rugged road, moist with the dew
That Labour from his wrinkled forehead sheds,
Scaling the rough ascent."

But here we must guard against misapprehension. The argument does not require that success should be produced as the test of greatness, but notoriety. It must be *known* by the world to have struggled, to have persevered, and to have died. That is all that is required. A great man need not be a conqueror, it is sufficient that he works in the daylight. Also, he may have his conquests, but not be finally triumphant. He may boast of his Leipzig and his Marengo;—and yet have his Waterloo and St. Helena. For this, however, he is not the less the hero; his greatness, in fact, may come out strongest in his reverses and his fall. No, publicity is all that is asked for. Martyrs are great men, though they perish before their cause is established. SAVONAROLA is as proud a name as LUTHER. Greatness is activity, actuality; not an abstract possibility. Power incapable of exertion or development is merely a tantalising irritation;—it qualifies as vanity, not as genius. It is a lazy, indolent assumption of merit, not the diligent proof and fruitful evidence of it. It is the barren fig-tree, on which resteth the curse.

There is more than one reason why sometimes very considerable talent fails in obtaining publicity. Sometimes it is behind the age. Public men, we have seen, are the embodiments of prevailing principles, which demand, and through them achieve, utterance. The man of talent, whose instincts are conservative of old usages, has simply come into the world too late. The work he would do is already done to his hands. With the work that is doing, or remains to be undertaken, he has no sympathy. He lives in the past, only vegetates in the present, and has no faith in the future. No public result can possibly be generated by the wriggings of such a piece of intellectual senility. With such literary or artistic effort is all "vanity and vexation of spirit." Were they listened to, there would be a stop to the vital motions of the universe. Time must retrograde to suit itself to the snail pace of their reluctant activity. Reform and improvement would have no name to live, and ideas would revolve in a circle without any progression. It is, in fact, mercy to minds like these that their borrowed notions should confine themselves to a sphere of privacy, the walls of a cathedral town, or the back parlour of an old marine store-shop. Their interference with the real business of society would only apply the drag-chain while the vehicle was labouring up-hill; and, if it gained the top, would find that the effort had left no chain at all to regulate its journey down the opposite side. It is, however, by "the decree of the Watchers" that ancient prejudices, however obstinate, shall dissolve before the sunbeams of advancing truth, and that their advocates perforce bury themselves in the night and obscurity of the past.

Doubtless, also, there are some men of genius who are before their age, and, accordingly, find difficulty in commanding immediate attention. Prophets like these may die before they can get the slightest hearing; and many of such visionaries and dreamers are, indeed, short-lived, men of delicate constitutions, and little calculated for personal contact with the busy competitors in the market of life, with whom they most unwillingly associate. Nevertheless, as a class, they have no reason to complain; for their dreams not seldom justify themselves, and become the leading facts of the future; thus their work is done, though they may not get the credit of it. Prophets, however, are rather favourites with cliques and coteries, and obtain especial recognitions among fellow workers, and thus cannot be said to be entirely ignored by the world they live in. Some have even risen to fame and power, though not ultimately successful.

We have already mentioned SAVONAROLA, and we might add the names of many mystical thinkers—names not unknown to literary investigators, nor without disciples, constituting after their deaths

small sects and churches, but on which the broad seal of the world's chancery has not been set.

After all, we may grant that the world knows less than it ought of some great men. There is many a good man who conceals his benevolences, and "lets not his left hand know what his right hand doeth;" and in such reticences there is a greatness above the world's appreciation. In spiritual and moral martyrdoms there is frequently an unutterable majesty. There is a supernatural kind of power, as to which the revelation is also the hiding of its manifestation; it so perpetually expresses itself in negations, owing to the inadequacy of the utmost affirmation. It comes in clouds and darkness, and remains, however powerfully expressed, still inarticulate. This is the mystery of goodness, which rather avoids than seeks recognition.

On the other hand, there are many writers who insist on a divorce between Goodness and Greatness, and would not allow that the heroes of the former are to be confounded with the latter. But is it advisable that universal ideas should be thus broken into sectarian conceptions? If some of our so-called great men may not be properly ranked also as good, nevertheless is there any so bold as to assert that the good deserve not likewise the epithet of great? Is not, in fact, goodness the only true greatness? Amongst these, we may readily enough apprehend that the most illustrious of the illustrious obscure are to be found. That quiet, secret goodness which haunts the by-ways of life—which, while it keeps itself unspotted from the world, seeks out its sorrowful places, and wherever it penetrates dispels, like the daylight, the shadows of sin and misery that skulk in the darkness of its mighty capitals, and love the veil of night, because of the evil of their deeds—that serene virtue which, while in itself it is godlike, arrogates nothing, but pities and relieves every sufferer as a brother—that ever-present charity which endures all, believes all, and pardons all;—such is the goodness which is the soul of the highest greatness, and without which the latter is but an inanimate body, however Titanic in its dimensions, and seemingly grand in its exterior form. It is like the letter which, however eloquent, still killeth; while the former, like the spirit, not only liveth, but maketh alive.

CHINA AND JAPAN.*

THE decision of the French Government to send an Embassy to China has resulted in a valuable record of the mission. On the 7th May, 1857, the *Moniteur* stated that Baron Gros had "been appointed by his Majesty the Emperor to proceed to China, in the capacity of Special High Commissioner." Lord Elgin had received a similar commission from the Queen of England. The Russian and American Governments were also invited to combine in the demonstration, but they refused to take any part in the affair. The latter proceeded upon the usual policy of the United States, which was, never to become bound by treaty with a European power. The French Embassy effected their departure on the 27th May, in the frigate *Audacieuse*. They arrived in the Canton river on the 14th October. Three days afterwards, Baron Gros proceeded to Hong Kong, and received a warm welcome from the English authorities. After remaining five days in the roads at Hong Kong, Baron Gros returned to Castle Peak Bay, to rejoin the French squadron. On the spot where a few miserable junks used timidly to anchor, in terror lest they should be set upon by pirates, there is now a forest of ships of war and merchantmen belonging to every nation under the sun. A great amount of capital is employed in new buildings, which were rapidly going forward. Sir John Bowring entertained them to dinner on the day after their arrival. The Baron was surprised at the familiarity and ease with which the English mixed with the Chinese, while at war with their country. He learned, however, to associate with the English authorities, and they visited a Chinese play together. The drama commenced at eight o'clock in the morning, and continued without interruption till six o'clock in the evening, the stage never being altogether deserted by the players during the whole of the period. "Gods and heroes, and mythological personages of divers sorts, make their appearance in the pieces performed, and do battle with each other after a fashion altogether preternatural. For pantomime the Chinese actors are unrivalled, and nothing can surpass the richness of their costumes, which literally glitter in silk and gold. Women never make their appearance on the stage in the Middle Empire; they are prevented from doing so by religious precepts, and consequently the female parts are taken by young men. The tone of the voice of the actors is so sharp and grating, and the music is so deafening, that the patience of a European spectator who understands nothing of what he sees never outlasts half an hour."

Much of the Baron's statement relates to the Roman Catholic establishments in China; but there is nothing in regard to them that need detain the reader. What relates to the war with the Governor of the two Kwangs is of more interest. Lord Elgin and Baron Gros agreed in the step to be taken. All was life and activity in preparing for battle. The firing of cannon was constant. Every day the disembarkation companies went on shore for exercise, and to get used again to the fatigue of long marches and the drill on land. On board the *Nemesis* theatrical per-

* *Recollections of Baron Gros' Embassy to China and Japan in 1857*—58. By the MARQUIS DE MOGES, Attaché to the Mission. (Authorized Translation.) With Coloured Illustrations. London and Glasgow: R.D. Griffin & Co.

formances were frequent. The Audaciense started a rival company.

Commissioner Yeh having refused to come to terms, hostilities commenced. Canton was subjected to bombardment and capture. The description of the Tatar soldiers is interesting. They amount to six or eight thousand men, and are Chinese by female descent. They have been settled for six or seven generations at Canton, and have exchanged the courage and vigour of their ancestors for that want of firmness and promptness to turn and run which characterizes the Imperial troops of China. There is nothing to distinguish them from the Chinese soldiers. They carry the same arms which belong to primitive times, and recall the period of Genghis Khan and Timour. They wear a round hat, a breast-plate, a cartridge-box, after the Circassian fashion, at their belts, a long musket, arrows, and a flag, which they wave about to rouse their courage. Some trace of the Tatar descent they do preserve. They are stronger, bigger, more broad-shouldered, and not so dark in the complexion as the ordinary Chinese.

But now, let us improve the situation, and moralise the song. A subsequent examination of the scene of battle afforded opportunity for this. Our author, passing the Hall of Examination, noted the cells of the litterati. Wide avenues, planted with trees, and elegant porticoes, give a very handsome and even noble appearance to this building. But, adds the marquis, it presents only another proof of the present decline of China. Literature, he tells us, "is certainly not now held in high esteem, nor can it be considered to flourish, if we are to judge by the nettles and parasitical plants which grow in unweeded luxuriance in this sanctuary of the muses. We counted the number of cells. There was accommodation for 7000 students. If the great soul of Confucius could revisit this sublunary sphere, with what sadness would that spirit contemplate the manners of this degenerate age. The children of the Land of Flowers now worship mammon. They are absorbed in the race after material wealth. To the computation of filthy coppers, they have turned from the contemplative study of the sacred book of changes. In China there is a general break up of the old system; the great administrative machine is getting daily more and more out of gear. It is kept going merely in virtue of old habits and prejudices. All its wheels are worn down. It is gold now, and not knowledge, which obtains the diploma necessary to preferment. Why, then, should a man now shut himself up in a hole four feet square, to write his thesis? It is more to the purpose to insinuate a handsome bribe into the pocket of a rapacious and powerful mandarin."

We suspect that this is a hasty and one-sided view. There is, however, some truth in it. Especially significant was the fact, that they who were then sauntering over the northern rampart, were the first of barbarians who had ever passed within the sacred enclosure. A dozen corpses of Tatars were still lying about, who had been precipitated over the edge at the point of the bayonet, or had fallen from it in their flight; and their arms were lying near them on the ground. They had been tall, stout, dark-complexioned men, and were frightfully mutilated. One was half consumed by a shell that had burst near him. The following is well pictured:—

"We were accommodated separately in the different pagodas during the night, some sleeping on tables, others on the floor, rolled up in a blanket, and all surrounded, like saints in a picture, with a glory, formed in our case of mosquitoes, which effectually drove sleep away. There was the greatest stillness in the town. Although the terror was general, the authorities in their impenetrable pride would as yet give no acknowledgment of their defeat. We heard only from time to time the distant howling of the Tatar dogs, the sputtering of some smouldering fire which had gone ablaze again, the call of the sentries, and the occasional discharge of musketry from the distant outposts. The appearance of the camp was very picturesque, and such only as an Asiatic war can exhibit. Long spears, arrows, red and yellow banners, were lying about on every side. The wardrobe of the mandarins had been well ransacked by our seamen, and with what result was everywhere apparent. The altars had been converted into sleeping berths, while the cloaks of the Chinese ladies supplied nightgowns. Every where there were gilded Buddhas dragged from their niches, by one to be employed as a pillow, and by another to be used as a lamp-stand. The abdomens both of the human figures and the horses had been broken open, the English soldiers recollecting that in the first war large sums of money were found in this way. Every one ate and drank out of China-ware, but as the only dishes in use in the country were cups and saucers, soup, beef, and cheese were eaten off them. Propped against a fierce-looking dragon, or seated upon a moral maxim, we laid into the good cheer of the mandarins. In everything there was an indescribable mixture of the comic and grotesque."

The author ridicules the Chinese militia. Two regiments of Chasseurs, he says, and two regiments of Zouaves, would suffice to conquer China. Its inhabitants are not soldiers, but labourers;—the country is a great workshop, a hive of busy bees. The capture and behaviour of Yeh is described at full; but we must refer the reader to the book. The state of the town is most picturesquely described. There is also an interesting account of Fo-Kien, where the people speak a different dialect from the rest of China. At Amoy, too, there are distinctive peculiarities; here are many English residents. Amoy is the only place in China where the English ladies visit the Chinese ladies, and receive calls from them in return. In Shanghai there is a college under the direction of Jesuits. It has been in existence seven years, and numbers a hundred pupils. The influence of the French, moreover, is great at Shanghai.

Of the manners and customs of China, the Marquis dilates at

large, devoting a chapter to the discussion of the subject. He found everything reversed in China. The East was in all respects the opposite of the West. English writers have long been aware of this fact; but it appears to have had a novelty for the French. All Europeans settled in the free ports of China willingly bear testimony to the honourable manner in which business on a great scale is conducted by Chinese merchants. In Mongolia there were from 8,000 to 10,000 Christians, but they are all Chinamen. Opium-eating and smoking is, with the Chinese, an ineradicable habit; and, indeed, is only curable at a risk of life, for the stomach, when deprived of its sustenance, contracts, and suffers acute agony. The picture given of the habit is full, and with much detail, which it is impossible to follow. The author adds:—"It is humanitarian England—so noisy, vigilant, and susceptible about the negro slave-trade—which unscrupulously causes all this misery."

"O that some power the gift would give us,
To see ourselves as others see us!"

We must now pay some attention to Japan. The Marquis speaks in high terms of the beauty of the country, and the cleanliness of the people. The women are not shy, and the men of the poorer classes are simply arrayed in a wide dress with a belt, every part of it being exquisitely clean. In their manners, he noted every sort of little refinement of luxury and elegance. The bazaar was crowded with marvels of taste; and the crew spent at Simoda about £1200 in the purchase of lacquered articles exhibited. Their intercourse with the inhabitants was familiar, and they were frankly received everywhere. The Japanese are anxious to get instruction. In Yedo, they resemble in their manners the Chinese; the authorities seldom making their appearance among the people, and then only in full dress and accompanied by a *cortège*. "Accordingly," says the writer, "the Japanese could scarcely believe us when we told them that the Emperor Napoleon III. went out every day in a phaeton without any attendants, driving the conveyance himself; that he rode through the streets on horseback attended only by an aide-de-camp; and that he spent his time in attending to public business. The idea of a prince moving about familiarly among his subjects was altogether at variance with their prejudices, but the fact of a sovereign being hardworked in the administration of state affairs seemed to them to be altogether absurd. They remarked ingenuously, that it must be more tiresome than pleasant to be taicoon of the French."

Such a remark will strike the thoughtful reader as evidently suggestive. Baron Gros named our author his secretary in Japan. Great was his surprise when, as such, he attended a public meeting, to find that a functionary who never opened his mouth during an animated discussion, was the most important personage in the assembly; his title was that of imperial spy; and that was his office too, for espionage is a mode of government in Yedo. "It may be said, without exaggeration, that one half of the population of Japan are employed as spies to watch over the other half. Our one hundred iacounin, or men with two swords, were pleasant fellows enough, no doubt, but, for all that, they kept jotting down upon their fans all that took place, however trivial, while we were walking or talking in our rooms, to give an account of what had taken place, doubtless, in the proper quarter. But the iacounin had to be watched themselves, so we had six new persons added to our guard to look after them, and see how they conducted themselves towards us. They were, in short, spies upon the spies."

There is much good information compressed into a small space in the Marquis de Moge's book. Thus we learn that the importance of the trade between China and Japan has been very much exaggerated, and that there is scarcely any intercourse between the two countries. There is a freshness and originality also about his book which, to us, is very attractive, and we commend it earnestly to serious perusal.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE OPERATIVE BUILDERS.

To the Editor of THE LEADER AND SATURDAY ANALYST.

SIR,—Your able advocacy of those noble-minded workmen, who have merited well of all their fellow citizens, whether laboured for or labouring, induces me to tender for your ben evolent and enlightened pages a word on their behalf.

At the commencement of the winter, the rigour of which these men, with such a scarcity of means, so heroically endured, I attended their meetings in St. Martin's Hall, and on one occasion I was invited by their secretary to preside. Conceiving that their proceedings would be more efficiently conducted by themselves, I preferred supporting them simply by being present on the platform, with the able secretary and his well-chosen staff of speakers. I can, however, truly declare that I never came in contact with Mr. Potter, or the other leaders of their Society, without being impressed with the proofs of integrity and true loftiness of soul which these representatives of the body continually exhibited. Surely, Sir, had any such sentiments been found among the masters, they never could have conceived and brought forth such a contemptible as well as unconstitutional production as the "Déclaration;" nay, could they have had an idea of the "sterner stuff" of which these men's souls are constituted, they would never have dared so far to brave their resolution. But let us look at this limitation of the hours of labour for which they are still so valiantly, but so peacefully withal, contending. One of the grounds upon which they make the request is, that the less skilled of their brother operatives would thereby

have a better chance of employment, the labour of the rest being so far reduced. Now, can men be actuated by a nobler feeling than this? Is it not to remember practically the words, "We, then, that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak?" Did master builders evince the same concern for "the weak," would not the poor-rate be immediately reduced? The fraternal feeling, nay, the Christian charity, which these operatives manifest towards the less prosperous of their fellow-workmen, is such, Sir, that were it general, very different would be the state at this moment of our manufacturing country. Let any candid person think of the thousands of pounds which are yearly raised by the Amalgamated Engineers alone, for the relief of the necessities of those temporarily incapacitated for labour, and he would ever after frown down the remotest insinuation that combinations of working-men are injurious to the interests of society.

But this claim for the reduction of the hours of labour is supported by other considerations. When were master builders living in such style and luxury as at present? Now is it just and right that they should enjoy all the benefits of labour, whilst the real producers of that greatly increased wealth should ever remain but as "hewers of wood and drawers of water," in a state of servitude incapable of amelioration? The amount of knowledge, too, which they have acquired by dint of the most laudable perseverance, rather than reaped from any educational privileges which the more favoured classes have offered them, constitutes just ground for appeal to the good sense of their fellow countrymen. "*Non omnis moriar*," is the assured conviction of thousands and tens of thousands of their number. They would fain, then, convinced as they are of their imperishable nature and boundless capacities, secure to themselves at least some portion of every day to spend in a manner becoming those who know and feel that "Tis the divinity that stirs within us," which produces that "longing after immortality," which will not suffer them to remain on a level with those "brute beasts" which work, and eat, and die, going to their own place, and coming not again into existence. No doubt many a master builder deems it his interest to keep from his men such knowledge, but he is mistaken. Those are the men, after all, to give him a fair day's work for a fair day's wages.

And the spirit with which these magnanimous men are animated, as it regards their children, is no less commendable. They tell us that they would fain see the daughters of their fellow-labourers preserved from augmenting that now devastating torrent of demoralisation, which,

"*Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis ævum*,"

unless their natural protectors are enabled to preserve them from the ways of the destroyer, by having more time for the performance of home duties.

That you, Mr. Editor, are ready in these vacillating times to demand that an impartial hearing be granted to operatives as well as to the capitalists that employ them, is a fact which inspires with hope all sincere lovers of justice. While too many of your contemporaries are maligning and misrepresenting these our fellow-citizens and fellow-labourers, there are those who will not cease to rejoice that the LEADER is distinguished not less by its eminent talent than by its ardent love of equity.—I am, Sir, faithfully yours,

RICHARD HIBBS,

Incumbent of the New Church of England Chapel, Edinburgh,
1, Great Stuart Street, Edinburgh, June 18th, 1860.

LORD CHELMSFORD'S BILL.

To the Editor of THE LEADER AND SATURDAY ANALYST.

SIR,—The LEADER being devoted to the progress of truth, will you permit me to lay before its enlightened readers an excerpt of a letter of the Rev. Richard Hibbs, M.A., to the Clerical Secretary of the Lord's-Day Observance Society, on "the Sabbath question." The latter had been challenged by Mr. Hibbs to a public discussion, which he declined.—I have the honour to be, Sir, faithfully yours,

PHILALETHES.

EXCERPT.

"But, sir, there is one point touching this reading of the Decalogue in our Liturgy, which may have escaped you, as I confess it did me for years. When, in the Communion Service, you read 'God spake these words, and said, I am the Lord thy God; thou shalt have none other gods but me,' are you aware that you seriously mutilate the words of Jehovah? In Exodus xx., from which we profess to quote, the passage runs thus: 'And God spake all these words, saying, I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.' Having discovered during the recent discussion of 'the Sabbath question' in this city, the effect which this suppression produces in some minds, I have formed, I trust, the unalterable resolution never again, whether in England or Scotland, to read that portion of the Divine Word except in its entirety. There is also found in this Prayer Book version the substitution of the word 'seventh' for 'sabbath.' In my present ministrations I read the whole as found in our Bibles. Let me hope, Sir, that you, as a conscientious minister of the Word, will do the same without fear of the consequence. Better to suffer ourselves to be 'put out of the Church,' than to 'diminish ought' from that 'Word which liveth and abideth for ever.' I trust we both consider all such 'pious frauds' as nothing less than impious perversions of immutable truth."

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

SPECIAL.

LUCERNE, 14th June, 1860.

PARTING WORDS.

THE summer, or, rather, the summer time, has come at last. The stork flocks are flying northwards, to their deserted straw-built nests, by the side of the dull sluggish streams of Holland. The swallows are twittering again beneath the eaves of English farm-houses; and in the track of the storks and swallows the tribe of northern winter wanderers through Italy are hastening homewards. It is true, the Italians tell us that we leave too soon. It is in the broad summer sunlight that Italy should aright be seen. When the sun burns down upon the deserted streets, and the dirt is scorched into dust, and the vineyards are red with grapes, and the malaria-stricken labourers gather in the rich corn harvest—then, so say those who ought to know, is the time to behold Italy in its deadly beauty. We English, however, are a gregarious people—a very nation of PANURGE'S sheep. What one does, we all do. So we are all crowding to the north—I who write amidst the number,—and the great "natural frontier" of the Alps, covered still with snow down to its lowest valleys, lies between us and the southern land.

While, then, the recollections of what I have seen and passed through are as yet those of yesterday—while the labels of Italian stations are still fresh upon my trunks, and the accents of the German tongue still sound harshly strange upon my ears, I would fain trouble you with a few parting words. It is too much to hope that a series of letters, written at hazard and read by chance, should leave any distinct impression on the reader's mind. For the benefit, however, of that ideal reader, in whose existence every writer believes with a faith that passeth understanding, I will seek to point out certain conclusions to which my observations have led me. Out of many truths I have chosen three,—one for the past, one for the present, and one for the future. These truths I have thus selected because they are only too true, and because their existence seems to me too often denied at home; as such they are worth recording.

First, then, with regard to the past. Italian liberty, the very existence of an Italian nation, is due to France, and to France alone. This truth is one, I am aware, not popular amongst our volunteer enthusiasts; but, both for good and for evil, it is true, and is felt throughout Italy to be true also. The questions about the annexation of the Duchies, the autonomy of Tuscany, and even about Sicily itself, were, all-important as they seem now, mere questions of detail a year ago. The vital question was then the overthrow of Austria. As long as the Austrian armies held their own, the petty tyrants of Italy were secure; so long as they remained satraps of the German oppressor, for Italy there was no hope. The very existence of Sardinia was a struggle for bare life. Under most favourable circumstances the Italians had sought to expel the Austrians by their own efforts. The trial had been most gallant, but most unsuccessful. The proud saying, "*L'Italia farà da se*," had become a bitter mockery. The fear of France alone deterred the Austrians from annexing Piedmont after the battle of Novara. Without foreign help it was physically impossible, as far as human foresight could tell, for Italy to free herself.—England, whether right or wrong, had refused all aid, save that of good advice. In the hour of her deepest distress Italy turned to France, and was not refused. It seems a small matter now, to have driven the Austrians out of Lombardy. It did not seem so before the event. It was no idle risk that France ran; no empty sacrifice that France made; no barren reward that she won, and deserved to win. For common decency, if for no higher motive, Englishmen should, in the matter of Italy, give France the credit that is her due. Even if the "good Samaritan" had charged his *protégé* subsequently somewhat heavily for attendance, a sneer at his philanthropy would come but ungracefully from the Levite and the Pharisee, who walked by on the other side. To do them justice, the Italians, as a nation, feel their debt of gratitude, and confess it openly. Indeed, the feeling of Italy, with regard to France and England, may be easily understood. It is one which, on a smaller scale, is seen daily in ordinary life. Everybody, I suppose, has had a friend embarrassed for money—some of us a very intimate friend. Well, I am speaking, be it remembered, from that friend's confessions. A time comes when the immediate possession of a certain sum of money is a matter of your ruin or safety—if not of life or death. You have got two friends who can both lend the money. You go to the first, and he tells you that he feels for your trouble, that unfortunately he makes it a matter of principle not to interfere in other people's concerns; but that he is sure if you look after your small expenses, and keep a strict account of every penny you spend, you will find yourself much richer some day or other. With a heavy heart you go to the second, and he at once brings out the money; and though he may charge high, gives you what you want. Now, neither of your two friends were obliged to help you. One of them saved you, and the other left you to your own resources. Which of the two, so my embarrassed friend puts it, are you most likely to feel grateful to? To the former, certainly; more especially, he adds, cynically, if you think it probable that you may want a second loan before many days are out. Now, *mutato nomine*, this parable is that of Italy. It is from France alone she has found real help in time past. It is to France alone she looks for real help in time to come. The only English statesman who ever has done something for Italy—Lord PALMERSTON, be it noted—knows how little that something is, and never boasts of his

achievements. As to the self-glorification of Lord JOHN RUSSELL and his satellites, about the wonders they have performed with their "moral influence," it is estimated in Italy at its true value. Whatever may be the case theologically, as a practical matter, the man who comes in at the eleventh hour, when the labour is over and the battle fought and won, does not receive the same reward as the labourer who has borne the heat of the day. It is in France, then, that the destinies of Italy have been decided. It is from France that those destinies must be directed for many a long day to come.

So much for the past truth; and now about the present one. It hardly seems to me that justice has been done at home to the Italian nation. My residence in Italy has raised my opinion of the Italians. In the whole of the last year they have had to play, as I have sought to show above, a secondary part; but because their part was secondary, it was none the less arduous. It is the fashion now to talk about Italian astuteness—a new rendering, I suppose, of the old common-place about Italian cunning. For my own part, I have seen little proof of any great acuteness of intellect. On the contrary, I think that the Italians, like all people who have been kept in political bondage for centuries, are deficient in intellectual qualities. They are poorly educated, little skilled in exercising their own powers of mind, and subject to superstitious influences. The real and the sole secret of their success lies in the fact, that what they have willed they have willed simply and honestly. The one article of their faith is, that Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic, from the slopes of Switzerland to the shores of Sicily, must be one nation. Whatever contradicts that one article of faith, they reject unhesitatingly, whatever supports it they accept blindly. It is by virtue of that simple, unreasoning creed that they have succeeded hitherto, that they will, I trust, succeed eventually. This theory explains the striking fact, which all who have studied Italy cannot but acknowledge, that the revolution is not a social one, still less a religious one, but solely and simply a political one. Let Italy be once one country, under one political government, be that government a despotism, a republic, or a monarchy, and then social and religious questions will find their own solution, somehow or other. Then, and then only, Italy will manage for herself. Till then, let all questions which interfere with the one great end be deferred, put aside, ignored, or suppressed. It is in the simple earnestness of this faith that I see hope for Italy. A nation who, after centuries of oppression and foreign slavery, can will so firmly and so straightforwardly,—can sacrifice all private, all local, and all temporary considerations to one sole object, will surely be capable of great things, as a free and united people;—reversing the old saying, those who have been faithful in great matters may be trusted to be faithful in little also.

With regard to the future, I speak more hesitatingly. It seems to me, however, that the real solution of the Italian question will be found at Rome. The Italians, as a nation, have a positive distaste to all theological considerations, and would only be too happy to leave the priests to themselves, if priests would abstain from interference with secular affairs. Unfortunately, or fortunately, this is not possible. The instinct of self-preservation, common to priests as to the whole animal creation, drives them to take part with the foreign despots of Italy. Day by day the gulf between the nation and the priesthood is growing wider. Up to this time the Italians have gone on flattering themselves with the belief that they can retain their priest-creed, and yet deliver themselves from priest rule. Sooner or later the impracticability of the idea will become apparent. Then the nation must surrender their freedom to the priesthood—or the priests must give up their power to the nation. On the whole, I think the latter hypothesis the more probable, but the struggle will be a long and a doubtful one. Of this much, however, I am convinced, that till the Pope becomes a mere ecclesiastical dignitary, subject to the state, like any other Italian citizen, the freedom and the independence of Italy will not be secured. When, or whether, that event occurs, time alone can show. It is in Rome, now, not in Sicily, or Naples, or Venice, that the fate of Italy has to be decided.

I could go on for long, drawing out thus the moral of my story; but, if I may be allowed to parody the dying phrase of King CHARLES the Second, I have been "an unconscionably long time in" ending. If, then, in these letters of mine I have inspired anything of respect for the great deed of one nation, on whom we are apt to look jealously, and anything of esteem for the struggles of another nation, whom I think we regard too lightly, I shall be content.

RECORD OF THE WEEK.

HOME AND COLONIAL.

The Great Eastern sailed on Sunday morning last.

On Saturday the new Act for refreshment-houses and wine licenses, which received the royal assent on the 14th inst., was printed. It contains forty-six sections, and the new duties are to commence "from and after the 1st of July, 1860," so that the actual operation of the new law will be on the 2nd of July. For refreshment-houses the charge for a license where the rent is under £20 a year is 10s. 6d., and at £20 and upwards £1 1s. To sell wine to be consumed on the premises, where the rent is under £50 a-year, the duty is to be £3 3s., and £50 and over, £5 5s. To sell wine not to be consumed on the premises, where the rent is under £50 the charge is £2 2s., and over £50 it is to be £3 3s. The houses are to be properly conducted, and neither drunkenness nor gaming

is to be permitted therein. The houses are to be opened to police officers, and in the license the parties undertake not to mix any spirits or drugs, or to adulterate the same, under penalties. The wine not to be consumed on the premises is to be sold "in reputed quart or pint bottles." When sold in bottles the licenses are to terminate on the 1st of April in each year, and the houses are not to be opened before five o'clock in the morning or after twelve o'clock at night. The Act is not to extend to Scotland or Ireland.

The recent dreadful loss of fishing boats belonging to Yarmouth and Lowestoft has cast a great gloom over the eastern fisheries. Several boats have, however, succeeded during the past week in taking 600 to 700 mackerel each, and these have been sold at 40s. to 45s. per 100. The late awful destruction of fishing boats was attended with the loss of about 200 men, and meetings have been held at both Yarmouth and Lowestoft to promote subscriptions in aid of their destitute widows and orphans.

A very disastrous fire occurred at Beverly, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, on Friday morning last, upon the premises of the trustees of Mr. W. Crosskill, a celebrated agricultural implement maker, &c. The whole range of buildings covered an area of about four acres, and afforded employment for upwards of 300 men. The whole of the machinery, and upwards of 10,000 spokes in the adjoining building, the wheelshop, have been entirely destroyed. The entire damage is estimated at £25,000.

Two material defects in the new Refreshment and Wine Licenses Act have been discovered, and an Act will be required to amend them. The houses are not to be opened before five or after twelve in the section, but in the license in the schedule of the Act "four" has been placed for "five." In the 27th section, where the hours are mentioned, the borough of "Finsbury" has been omitted from the other metropolitan boroughs and cities. The new duties are payable from the 1st of July, and a short Act will probably be forthwith introduced.

A deputation, consisting of the Right Hon. Milner Gibson, the Earl Stanhope, the Right Hon. Wm. Cowper, Sir John Boileau, and Mr. Haywood, had an interview yesterday morning with his Royal Highness the Prince Consort, and obtained his Royal Highness's consent to become president of the proposed International Statistical Congress.

General Sir John Robert Harvey died on Monday evening, at his residence, Mousehold House, near Norwich. The death of the gallant officer causes a vacancy in the colonelcy of the 2nd West India regiment.

A parliamentary return issued on Wednesday shows that during the session of 1859 the cost of the reports, &c., printed for the Home Office, was £4,005; for the Foreign Office, £1,912; for the War Department, £1,085; for the Colonial Office, £1,302; for the Treasury, £2,042; for the Board of Trade, £3,612; for the Admiralty, £2,707; for the Irish Government, £1,855; for the India Office, £1,084: the total being £19,706. This is exclusive of the cost of printing ordered by the two Houses of Parliament, of job-work printing, and of all printed work not laid before Parliament, and not paid for by her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Mr. Baring and Mr. Labouchere, the latter for the firm of Hope and Co., at Amsterdam, during their recent sojourn at St. Petersburg, have completed their transactions with the Russian Government relative to the realisation of the last abortive loan of £10,000,000.

The deaths in London, which had fallen to 909 in the first week of the present month, rose to 1,064 in the second week, that ended last Saturday. For the weeks corresponding with last week in ten years, 1850-9, the average number of deaths, after correction for increase of population, will be found to be 1,070, with which estimated result the actual number of deaths in last week very nearly agrees. Last week the births of 879 boys, and 873 girls, in all 1,752 children, were registered in London. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1850-9, the average number was 1,495.

A public subscription has been opened at Berne to send arms to Garibaldi.

It may be remembered that in the course of the war in Morocco, General Buceta, who commanded at Melilla, had a combat with the Riffians, which ended in a severe check for his troops, and that he was afterwards placed under arrest by Marshal O'Donnell for having engaged in the combat contrary to orders, and for having misconducted himself in it. He has just been brought to trial on those two charges before a court-martial sitting at Granada, and has been condemned to two years' detention in a fortress.

The Rev. P. Jacob, Canon of Winchester, has been appointed by Lord Palmerston to the Archdeaconry of Winchester, vacant by the promotion of Bishop Wigram. The Rev. M. Cooper, rector of Bramshaw, has been appointed to the living of St. Mary's, Southampton.

On Tuesday last, Mr. Elliott, the presiding magistrate at Lambeth police court, delivered judgment in the toll case, argued before him on that day week, against the volunteers who claimed the right to exemption from toll. It is intended to take the case to the Queen's Bench.

The commemoration at Oxford of 1860 was celebrated during the last week with the utmost enthusiasm and success.

The officers of the 3rd Regiment of Scots Fusilier Guards gave a dinner on Wednesday to the non-commissioned officers and men at the Crystal Palace, in celebration of the 200th anniversary of the raising of the regiment.

FOREIGN.

On Saturday, the 16th, the Emperor Napoleon, the Prince Regent, and the German Sovereigns had a meeting at Baden. It is asserted that communications exchanged between Berlin and Vienna represent the interview as a most auspicious event, and as a token of the general pacification of Germany and Europe.

Advices from Rome state that an official despatch had been received from Naples giving details of the capture of the two steamers with Garibaldians by the Neapolitan frigate Fulminante. These steamers, which displayed the Sardinian and American flags, had on board 25,000 muskets, 32 cannons, 2,000,000lbs. of powder, and a considerable sum of money. 800 armed passengers were made prisoners, and were, together with the steamers, conveyed to Gaeta on the 12th inst.

General Lamoricière had despatched troops to the Neapolitan frontier.

General Garibaldi had opened a national subscription on behalf of the war. The Archbishop and all the noble families in Sicily had subscribed.

A Conference was held on Sunday afternoon, June 17th, at the residence of the King of Bavaria, and was attended by the four Kings, and by the Grand Dukes of Hesse-Darmstadt and Nassau. Before dinner the Emperor Napoleon presented the Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour to the King of Hanover.

It is stated on good authority that the Emperor Napoleon, in his conversations with the German Sovereigns, repeated pacific assurances, without alluding to questions regarding the interior or exterior policy of Germany, or to the Italian question.

June 18, the Prince Regent of Prussia assembled the German Sovereigns to thank them for having been present at his meeting with the Emperor of the French, in order to receive together the peaceful assurances of his Majesty. The Prince Regent said, "The maintenance of the integrity of Germany will always be my principal care."

The *Moniteur* of the 19th says, "It was necessary that the Emperor's visit to Baden should have been spontaneously taken, to silence the unanimous concert of evil rumours and false appreciations."

Mr. Elliot, the English Ambassador, has supported the Sardinian Ambassador's demand for the restitution of the two steamers and their 800 passengers who were captured by the Neapolitan frigate Fulminante, as they had passports for Malta. The King has dismissed Lanza, Letizia, and three other generals of Sicily, and has exiled them to the island of Ischia.

From Vienna, June 19th. Since the peace of Villafranca the Austrian army has been reduced by more than four-fifths. It is officially asserted that, owing to her perfect regimental organization, Austria would be able, in a fortnight, to bring into the field 60,000 men under arms. The artillery has been augmented on a large scale.

Baden, June 19.—In yesterday's Conference of the Sovereigns at the castle at Baden, the King of Wurtemberg, in the name of the Federal Government, returned thanks for the patriotic representation of the interests of Germany by Prussia. His Majesty also expressed a desire that an understanding should be brought about between Prussia and Austria. The sovereigns offered their good services for that purpose.

Palermo, June 13. Garibaldi has organised a division under the command of Colonel Turr, and has re-established the Property Tax on its anterior footing. Colonel Medici, with 3,000 volunteers, has arrived at Palermo. Important desertions from the Neapolitan army have taken place.

Paris, June 20. The *Opinion Nationale* has received a second *avertissement* for the publication of Victor Hugo's speech. The motive given is, that this article contains expressions, with regard to Neapolitan affairs, constituting a general and violent appeal to revolutionary passions.

According to advices received at Marseilles, June 20, from Syria, thirty-six villages had been burnt on Mount Lebanon. At Saidi the Turkish soldiers are said to have supported the Druses, and to have participated in the massacre of the Christians. Fresh advices announce the commission of murders and burnings by Bashi-Bazouks.

Advices from Beyrout state that the civil war in Lebanon commenced towards the end of May. The Druses were the victors, and had burned several fine villages on the mountains, respecting only the manufactories of the Europeans. The Turkish authorities had not interfered. A fresh outbreak was expected.

ENTERTAINMENTS.

At HER MAJESTY'S THEATRE, Herr Steger, a new tenor, was introduced to the audience on Tuesday evening, in the character of *Edgardo* in "*Lucia di Lammermoor*." His debut was unquestionably successful, but he does not as yet appear to advantage among the great tenors whom Mr. E. T. Smith has already in his company to startle and thrill the dense crowds who are attracted to this theatre. Mdlle. Titien's performance of *Lucia di Lammermoor* was splendid in the extreme, and her wonderful singing has the rare effect of retarding rather than hastening forward the performance of a piece, so little can the audience resist the feeling to recall her during its progress. The fine singing of Signor Gassier contributed greatly to the effect of this superb opera. The performances commenced with the selection from "*La Prova d'un opera Seria*," in which

Mdlle. Lotti and Signors Ronconi and Ciampi appeared. The performance was extremely humorous and amusing.

Herr Flotow's "*Martha*" was revived, on Tuesday night, at the ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA, with unequivocal success. It was richly and carefully put upon the stage, and the music, which is throughout highly animated and popular, was rendered as finely as could be desired by the most critical. The cast of the opera, with one exception, was precisely the same as before. The part of *Lady Henrietta* (Martha), sustained in 1859 by Madame Bosio, and 1859 by Mademoiselle Lotti, was on this occasion allotted to Madame Penco. Madame Penco undoubtedly approaches much more nearly to Madame Bosio than any other artist of the day. Her delivery of the "*Last Rose of Summer*" was inexpressibly touching and beautiful. In her acting, Madame Penco also displays qualities of the highest order. Madame Nantier Didiée's *Nancy*, Signor Graziani's *Plunkett*, M. Tagliafico's *Lord Tristram*, and M. Zelger's *Sheriff of Richmond* were each admirable and successful. Signor Mario, however, sang with more than his usual earnestness and fervour. The whole performance gave the utmost satisfaction to a crowded audience, among whom was her Majesty the Queen.

M. BENEDICT'S CONCERT took place on Monday afternoon in Her Majesty's Theatre, every part of which was densely crowded. The vocal music consisted of selections from the most popular operas of the day, the rendering of which was confided to the young and popular singer, Mdlle. Brunetti, Mdlle. Vaneri, and Signors Corsi, Gassier, and Belart. Besides the vocal music, there was one of Spohr's duets for two violins, played by Herrs Molique and Straus, and M. Benedict's sparkling "*Concertino*" for piano-forte, with orchestral accompaniment, which was executed in his finest style by the composer himself. The long and varied entertainment given by this eminent composer terminated to the satisfaction and delight of his immense audience.

The programme of the Monday evening's PHILHARMONIC CONCERTS was particularly choice. Herr Riter's playing in the piano-forte concerto of Hummel was highly successful, and exhibited the spirit and skill of a master. Madame Borghi-Mamo and Mr. Tennant, gave the vocal music in a manner that charmed all hearts by the beauty and fervour of their singing. This concert is, we believe, the last but one of the season. Professor Sterndale Bennett, whose name is a guarantee for the surpassing excellence of these concerts, is the conductor.

PARLIAMENT.

IN the House of Lords on Thursday night the DUKE of NEWCASTLE, in reply to Lord CARNARVON, said that he could not assert the incorrectness of the newspaper accounts relative to the rebellion in New Zealand. A despatch which he had received from New Zealand corroborated the statements put forth in the public prints. Lord GRANVILLE, in reply to Lord MONTEAGLE, said he believed that the reduction of the wine duties would not interfere with the produce of the duties on malt, hops, and British spirits. If wine, however, should be substituted in any important degree for malt liquor, then the substitute would have to pay a higher duty.—In the House of Commons, on the order for going into committee of supply, Mr. LINDSAY called attention to the state of our reserves for the navy, which were considerably below the numbers recommended by the Royal Manning Commission. We were expending in time of peace £15,000,000 per annum on our navy, yet we were not prepared, because we had not a sufficient reserve of seamen. He moved that, "with a view to greater efficiency in war, and less expenditure in peace, more prompt and effective measures should be adopted to complete the reserves of marines and seamen for her Majesty's navy." After some observations by Mr. LIDDELL on the subject of school ships, Lord C. PAGET said very great progress had been made in obtaining first-class men. The whole number of the reserves was 23,831, including officers. No exertion should be spared to get up the reserves to the required number as soon as possible. With respect to the Articles of War for the navy (the severity of which, in the opinion of Mr. LINDSAY, deterred seamen from entering the Queen's service,) a bill, he said, would be introduced into the other House for modifying and improving them. Sir C. NAPIER urged the keeping up of our navy at any cost, instead of expending millions in coast fortifications which would be useless. After some further discussion, the motion of Mr. LINDSAY was negatived. Mr. WHALLEY called attention to the mode of assessing the property and income tax, and to the principle of the assessment. He contended that the tax could be more equitably adjusted, and that the Government had at their command materials for its readjustment and the mitigation of its injustice. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER observed that there was one consideration which ought to be borne in mind in discussing the mode of assessing this tax, namely, that the relief of one class would lay an additional burden upon another. It would be pattering with the House and the country, he said, if he pretended that the Government saw their way to a plan for its reconstruction, though he was far from saying that an improvement of the present plan might not be practicable. Sir H. WILLOUGHBY complained that the holders of the Long Annuities had been compelled to pay tax upon incomes which they had never received. The House then went into a Committee of Supply, when a vote an account was taken for the Civil Services, and the Committee then proceeded to discuss the Navy Estimates. In the course of the discussion, Lord C. PAGET developed a proposed scheme of retirement, increased half-pay, and promotion of officers in the Navy, comprehending captains, commanders, and lieutenants. Sir

J. PAKINGTON disapproved the scheme. Ultimately the vote, which would have carried the adoption of the scheme, was withdrawn, and another vote of reduced amount substituted. Other votes having been agreed to, the Chairman was ordered to report the same. The Phoenix Park Bill was read a second time. Other bills were advanced a stage.—In the House of Lords, on Friday night Lord DE GREY and RIFON, in reply to questions from Lord CAMPERDOWN, stated that no rifled cast iron guns had been delivered to the navy as the ARMSTRONG guns were not of cast iron; that cast-iron guns had been hooped and rifled upon the "shunting plan," at the suggestion of Sir W. ARMSTRONG, but the experiment had proved a failure; and that the Ordnance Select Committee had not been consulted before these guns were rifled. The report of the amendments of the Duchy of Cornwall (Limitation of Actions) Bill was brought up, and received. The Union of Benefices Bill, after an amendment to the first clause, proposed by the Bishop of LONDON, extending the operation of the Bill to the suburbs of any town, was read a third time and passed.—The House of Commons, at a morning sitting, resumed in Committee the consideration of the clauses of the Annuity-tax Abolition (Edinburgh) Bill. In the evening, on the motion for adjournment till Monday, among the subjects discussed, Lord A. CHURCHILL asked for information respecting the recent disturbances in New Zealand, and what course HER MAJESTY'S Government intended to pursue. He stated facts to show the cause of the disturbances, and the difficulties which regular troops encountered in operating against the native tribes. He likewise suggested means of preventing the recurrence of such disturbances. Colonel DICKSON requested the House to suspend its opinion as to the conduct of Colonel MURRAY till further information had been received. After other subjects had been discussed, the motion for adjournment was agreed to. Mr. BUTT moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend and declare the law relating to votes given for a disqualified candidate at Parliamentary elections. According to the present law, a person might be returned against the will of the constituency, owing to the Election Committee holding votes to have been thrown away, and he briefly explained the provisions of the bill intended to remedy this evil. Leave was given. On the order for the second reading of the Selling and Hawking Goods on Sunday Bill, sent down from the Lords, Mr. W. D. SEYMOUR suggested that one of the clauses of the Bill constructively lessened the charge upon the Consolidated Fund, and, thus being in aid of the revenue, interfered with the privileges of that House. On the motion of Mr. BRIGHT, the debate was adjourned to that day fortnight. The Tithe Commutation Bill passed the Committee. On the consideration of the Law of Property Bill, as amended, further amendments were discussed. On the order for going into Committee upon the Tenure and Improvement of Land (Ireland) Bill, a long discussion took place, embracing the history of the abortive attempts at legislation upon this subject. At a late hour the House got into Committee, and upon reaching the 10th clause, the Chairman was ordered to report progress. Other Bills were advanced a stage. In the House of Lords, on Monday night, the Duke of NEWCASTLE, in reply to Lord LYTTLETON, explained what steps the Government proposed to take, and what steps had been already taken, to carry out the suggestions of the Commission on Cathedral Churches. The Church Temporalities (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill, after a short discussion, passed through Committee. In the House of Commons, on the motion of Lord PALMERSTON, it was resolved, that upon Friday next, and upon every succeeding Friday during the remainder of the Session, orders of the day have precedence of notices of motions, Government orders having priority. Mr. JAMES called attention to the enlistment now going on in Ireland to furnish the Pope with troops in Italy, and asked the Government what measures they had adopted or intended to adopt, and what official communication they had received upon the subject. Mr. CARDWELL stated the course which the Government had taken in this matter. They had given fair notice to all persons of what the law prohibited and the penalties attached to its infraction, and had given directions that it should be enforced. Mr. SCULLY complained of the insults offered to the Pope, and the provocations given by speeches in that House. The House went into Committee of Supply upon the Army Estimates. The votes agreed to were ordered to be reported. The Phoenix Park Bill passed through Committee. Tenison's Charity Bill was read a second time. The Criminal Lunatic Asylum Bill was also read a second time. The consideration of the Roman Catholic Charities Bill, as amended, gave rise to a debate, which was ultimately adjourned. Leave was given to introduce certain Bills. In the House of Lords, on Tuesday night, Lord LYVEDEN moved the second reading of the Church-rates Abolition Bill. The Duke of MARLBOROUGH opposed the Bill. Lords DE GREY and RIFON supported the motion for the second reading of the Bill. The ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY did not believe that the voluntary system would be a benefit to the Church. Lord GREY was opposed to compromise on the matter. Lord DERBY opposed the Bill. After a few words in reply from Lord LYVEDEN, their Lordships divided, when the numbers were for the second reading, content, 31; non-content, 128; majority 97; so the Bill was lost. In the House of Commons Mr. LINDSAY moved a resolution, "That it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to adopt, at the earliest possible period, the necessary measure to carry into effect the recommendations of the Commissioners appointed in 1858, to inquire into the formation of harbours of refuge on the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland." The motion was seconded by Mr. FARRER. Mr. BAXTER hoped the Government were not prepared to give a hasty assent to a proposal that would involve an expenditure of £2,565,000. He would prefer the expenditure of a moderate sum of money on the improvement of existing harbours.

He moved the previous question. The motion was seconded by Mr. DODSON. After a long discussion, in which Mr. GIBSON and Lord PALMERSTON took part, the House divided upon the previous question, namely, "that this question be now put," which was carried in the affirmative by 145 to 128. The original resolution was then put and agreed to. Mr. SPOONER obtained leave to bring in a Bill for regulating the business of dealers in marine stores. Mr. DEASY obtained leave to bring in a Bill for granting to Her Majesty certain duties on wine licenses and refreshment-houses, for regulating the licensing of refreshment-houses, and the granting of wine licenses in Ireland. Mr. LOWE moved for a select Committee to inquire and report what buildings are necessary for the South Kensington Museum. This motion modified in its terms, was agreed to. In the House of Commons on Wednesday, the Professional Oaths Bill was read a second time. On the motion for going into Committee on the Aggravated Assaults Bill, Lord ENFIELD moved as an amendment that the House should go into committee that day three months. The House divided, and rejected the bill by 174 to 57; majority, 117. The Highways (South Wales) Bill was read a second time. The Felony and Misdemeanor Bill was read a second time. Mr. HENLEY resumed the adjourned debate on the second reading of the Ecclesiastical Commission, &c., Bill, which he supported in opposition to the amendment for its rejection. Mr. PEASE complained that the diocese of Durham, while it contributed more largely than any other to the common fund, was itself singularly destitute of church accommodation. Mr. G. C. BENTINCK opposed the Bill, but the debate was cut short at a quarter to six. The Tramway (Scotland) Bill passed through Committee. The Stipendiary Magistrates Bill and the Inland Bonding Bill were read a second time, and the Tenison's Charity Bill a third time and passed.

MENDELSSOHN'S "Ave Maria," from the posthumous Opera of Loveley, Spohr's "Ode to St. Cecilia;" and Macfarren's "May-Day," will be the principal features of the Great Orchestral Performance of the Vocal Association, under the direction of M. Benedict, on Friday evening, June 29th, at St. James's Hall.

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