

FRENCH INTERVENTION AT ROME.

The history of Europe may in vain be ransacked for a parallel to the present relation of the French and Roman people.

It could hardly have been otherwise. It is a thankless task to meddle with the internal quarrels of a foreign state. We who have acquired the largest experience in this matter may speak with confidence and authority upon it.—We have been for 150 years the allies successively of some three or four great European nations; we have lavished money, blood, and interest in their behalf; we have burdened ourselves with huge and accumulating debts for their sake; we have placed at their disposal the pith and courage of the bravest soldiers, the talents of the greatest commanders of the day; we have preserved two or three tottering dynasties, restored one or two more; we have sustained or created important and unencumbered nationalities; we have won for our allies rich provinces or precious colonies, we have foregone for them the legitimate rewards of cordial and unstinted co-operation; we have been, in the worst fortune, the mainstay of Austria, of Spain, of Portugal, of Holland, of Prussia;—and our reward has been to be thoroughly envied, hated, maligned, from the Douro to the Danube. Go where you will, in whatever land the blood of Englishmen has been shed to preserve its liberties or maintain its honour—wherever the treasure of Englishmen has been lavished with heedless generosity, there the English nation has earned the deepest suspicion, the most vigilant jealousy, the most shameful ingratitude. But we have generally had, if not a valid cause, at least a fair pretext for our alliances and our interferences. The support which we gave to Austria against Louis and to the Northern Powers against Napoleon, was not wholly irrespective of previous treaties or present interests. The honour and safety of England were in some measure implicated in the success with which we might resist the schemes of Louis Quatorze or Napoleon. That our efforts were not recalled for nor bootless is indicated by the terms on which we signed the treaties of Utrecht and Vienna. But France had no such excuse for interfering between the Pope and his subjects. This was a domestic broil. It was a civil contest. It did not affect the ecclesiastical rights of the head of the Roman Church. Even if it had, the French Republic could not pretend to usurp the prerogative of the French Monarchy. With the Bourbons went the duties, and the obedience, and companionship which belonged to the eldest son of the church. There was *prima facie*, no stronger case for armed interference between the Pope and his subjects than there would have been between Queen Victoria and the Irish Repealers. The policy of France was aggressive or Quixotic. If a perpetual occupation of Rome was contemplated, then the aggression was one of the most audacious and unjustifiable character. If this was not—and we are quite willing to believe the general tenor of French declarations, that it was not contemplated—then the whole scheme manifests the strangest lack of discernment that it is possible to conceive. Up to the moment that the French army quitted Civita Vecchia its appearance was identified in the minds of the Roman people with the idea of the most unrestrained liberty.—For years and years Italian patriots had been sighing for the moment when French bayonets should glitter from beyond the Alps and point the way to Italian independence. With the siege of Rome a greater monument was destroyed than any that was touched by the artillery of the bombarding army. The prestige of the French name and people vanished from the minds of the Italians. A soldiery fresh from a triumph over a popular royalty had come to establish a despotic hierarchy in the city which aspired to be the sun and centre of regenerated Italy.—Men, whose hands had sprinkled trees of liberty with blood in the streets of Paris, came to crush the nascent hopes of the young democracy of Rome. The Roman Republic fell beneath the ill-matched arms of the French Republic. Never was there so blind, so suicidal a policy. The French Government had sedulously taken the very course which of all others it should have strenuously avoided. In one month it belied the hopes and confidence of its most sanguine friends, and raised the spirits of its chattering foes! Verily, it has its reward!

When did any nation thank the foreigner who meddled in its quarrel? The annals of France might have warned her against a pacific invasion of Italy. Italy is, as she always has been, torn by a thousand jealousies, incapable of union; of political honesty, of public virtue. Too suspicious to combine, and too servile to resist, her discordant and distracted Governments can only curse and malign the foreigner whose intervention is solicited by their necessities or provoked by their infirmities. The policy which five centuries ago placed a foreign mercenary at the head of Italian soldiers, or an alien *poderà* at the head of each Italian municipality, survives to this day. When Italian factions dread each other, they call in the foreigner; when one has mastered the other, they eject or affront the foreigner. The Government which the arms of France has restored, is chafed by the consciousness of an obligation which it cannot repay, and the fear of a force which it cannot defy. It is galled by the recollection of benefits which humiliate it, and the anticipation of demands which will humiliate it still farther. On the ordinary principles of human nature it is disposed to be ungrateful, but it has more than ordinary motives to confirm its ingratitude. It is a Government of priests—of priests who have long held a summary and supreme sway in the Eternal City; of priests whose sway, long hated, long denounced, and often conspired against, was at last wrenched from them, to be restored in the least desirable manner, by the least acceptable of allies. Can it be wondered, if under conditions like these, the Papal Government has added to meanness, ingratitude, and to ingratitude insolence; if it loathe the deliverers on whom it lately favoured, and would abuse the victory which it was unable of itself to win?

France stands in a delicate and anxious position before the world. She has put her hand to a quarrel which concerned her not. But being a party to that quarrel she

cannot recede from it without discharging the duties which she has voluntarily undertaken. She has, indeed, done one good thing, and let us gratefully acknowledge it. She has preserved Rome from the frightful orgies of a revolutionary committee—she has prevented the havoc which Italian vengeance might have wreaked over a prostrate Government in a vanquished city. We leave the imagination of this contingent but averred calamity to the minds of those who know the violence of Italian passions and the despotism of sacerdotal politics. What massacres and crimes, what horrors has Rome not escaped? So far France has turned bad means, to a good end. But if she rests here, she will have done nothing, and worse than nothing. It was not to replace a plenary authority in the hands of the cardinals that the French people sent 30,000 men against Mazzini. It was to give the Romans a constitutional Government—liberty without licentiousness, law without despotism. It was to secure for them, if not the full measure, at least the germ and nucleus of those representative institutions which the most flourishing kingdoms of the earth enjoy. It was to provide for the Roman people security from capricious oppression, an equal administration of justice, and an immunity from the jealous tyranny which has emasculated the courage, perverted the integrity, and corrupted the manners of its miserable victims, and turned the inheritors of a fair land and glorious name into a medley of flatters, singers, and dancers. It was under this pretext that the French fleet sailed from Marseilles—it was with these professions that the French army entered Rome; and if the hopes thus raised be not realized, if the preservers cannot obtain conditions from the preserved, if Rome is to sink back into the lethargic stagnation in which she was before, hopeless nevertheless, purposeless,—if the iron rule of cardinals and priests is to be re-imposed without mitigation—then France will stand before Europe guilty of a twofold crime; indifference to the peace of the world which she needlessly perilled, and indifference to the cause of national freedom which she wantonly abandoned.—*London Times.*

From the Quebec Gazette.

We have the pleasure of publishing in our present issue another of Mr. Wilson's excellent addresses to the people of the Eastern Provinces. Mr. Wilson lays bare with a masterly hand, the political and commercial evils under which, as a colony, we suffer; and while doing so, prescribes what we conceive to be the most feasible plan that has yet been propounded, for their cure. The idea of Annexation to the United States we are convinced is an extremely injudicious proposition, one which would, in all probability, involve its promoters in ruin, and if attempted, would inevitably deluge the country in blood. The plan proposed by Mr. Wilson is of an opposite character; it can be prosecuted peaceably, in perfect consistency with our fealty to the Sovereign, and if acceded to, would unquestionably place us in a more advantageous position than we could expect to enjoy, if annexed to the American republic to-morrow.

To the Inhabitants of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, and Newfoundland.

FELLOW COLONISTS—

As the laws of gravitation and attraction unite the elements of the material world we inhabit, so are the people of different nations bound together by ties of interest.

To unite, in one unbroken whole, an Empire scattered like that of Great Britain, in subjection and fealty to one Sovereign and Government, there must exist a community of interests and feeling uniting it from other countries. To break down this demarkation or distinctive feature, either by an outrage upon loyalty or a disregard of established rights, is to endanger the stability of the Crown and the integrity of the Empire.

The civil rights of the whole colonial empire of Great Britain, have been violated by the commercial policy of England, adopted in 1763. And the loyalty of the British inhabitants of Canada has been repudiated by the Indemnity Act, passed in the last session of the Provincial Parliament, and approved by the Home Government against the voice of the people.

By an unparalleled course of mendacity and dishonesty, in the highest official quarters, have the British population of Canada been cruelly slandered and maligned in the country of their fathers. But a day of retribution is fast approaching, in which truth will be vindicated, and every act of theirs detected intelligibly and beyond mistake.

Before the adoption of that commercial policy which is now the law of Great Britain, her colonial empire was united to her by an intercourse mutually advantageous. She gave a preference in her markets to the products thereof, which were paid for by her manufactures. That tie is now broken. The commodities of foreign countries are imported into England without being subject to any duty. Her protection to colonial industry is withdrawn. But we are left subject to the letters and cost of imperial patronage and authority; to contend with rivals independent in their legislation, and who moreover possess advantages over us in their proximity to the British markets.

The injustice of such a connection is manifest; it is a bondage to which Anglo-Saxons will not submit, and against it, it is our duty to appeal.

Many, who look with a senseless superstition upon the form of a government without examining its constitutional merits, will resist the proposal to have an elective governor and legislative council, as encroachments on the prerogative of the crown. To these I say, that I want only to establish a transcript of the British constitution—a government of independent checks; and that I disclaim alike the dogmas of monarchy and the despotism of unchecked democracy. All governments ought to be established and conducted—First, with reference to the capabilities of the people to appreciate their freedom, and next, for the public advancement and welfare.

The patronage enjoyed by Great Britain at the expense

of colonial industry, might be palliated under that policy in which she appeared to give large advantages to colonial industry, but now that that policy is abandoned, and every preference in her markets to that industry taken away, it becomes an abuse, a violation of rights.

It may be asserted that we have not the materials—men of principle, education and talent—to govern ourselves. This I deny. The existing practice contradicts such a statement. At present we are governed by a party created within ourselves. The representative of the crown is a cypher in the hands of that party, appointed under the patronage of the Government of England, at a cost to the colony of many thousands a year. The Legislative Council named by the crown, is moulded by the political views of the party in power in the colony, if necessary, by the addition of members of a party character, and this branch of the Legislature is virtually but a body to register the Acts of the popular assembly. So disgracefully is it now deprived of its deliberate functions, that in the last session of the Provincial Parliament of Canada, many bills, having an important bearing on the public interests, actually passed the appointed votes without being read at all.

There are but two modes in which England can hold her colonies, without abuse and discontent. One is under a governor in council, and the other, to leave them in all social and industrial matters to legislate for themselves.

Whenever the powers of the crown are exercised hurriedly to the people, they become an abuse, a cause for disaffection, and the parent of great evils. And it is only by a judicious reformation of the abuse that the fealty of the subjects can be preserved.

In appointing so unfit an individual as Lord Elgin to the first Estate in the Government of this Colony, and in the party character of the second (the Legislative Council), we have the most condemning proofs against the prevailing system in constituting a Colonial Legislature.

These are not now considerate branches of a good government, but the passive instruments of a dominant party, to carry out the vindictive measures of a triumphant faction; and this they have done in a most ungracious and disgraceful manner. They exist only as a curse calculated to create and mature the worst passions of the human heart; to blight and not to bless the country.

To Lord Elgin's want of every qualification to fill the high appointment he holds, must be attributed the disgraceful popular excesses that have taken place in the cities and towns of Canada during the present year.

Devoid of penetration, firmness and judgment, he came among us a stranger to the Province, and ignorant of our wants. Incapable of attaining knowledge by experience, his natural weakness and deficiency made him the shuttlecock of a party, to be played with, or laid aside, according to the temperature of the political atmosphere.—To this injudicious exercise of the power vested in him, must be attributed the acts of murder, incendiarism and riot that have followed his public proceeding. He has given a name to a party—the "Elgin party"—and virtually stands as—I cannot say the courageous leader—but certainly the leader of a party faction, which has sapped the foundations of loyalty, invaded the rights and liberties of the people, and driven the Province to the verge of rebellion and civil war. So much for the appointment by the Crown of a Colonial Governor.

The responsibility, however, for the acts of Lord Elgin has been assumed by Earl Grey, now Her Majesty's Colonial Minister, to whom the Queen and the people of England must look, should the British American Provinces be lost to the Empire. A calamity, of which few in Great Britain have yet calculated the consequences.

It requires no little exercise of patience, to hear men who ought to have some knowledge of constitutional law speak of the three branches forming the Government of this Province as prototypes of the King, Lords and Commons in England. As a Government, the thing over us is a farce, an impertinent exhibition to an enlightened people, and it must be constitutionally scouted as an unworkable piece of machinery, an extravagant pageantry, a mockery of our rights.

The difficulties in which we are placed are great, and it will require great coolness, discretion and firmness, to escape from them but at a frightful loss. We have Imperial abuse without, and party spirit within, to contend against. We have a discontented people to act with, who are suffering all the miseries of want and loss of property, and we have not got among us a commanding and powerful mind to direct in the emergency.

Under the pressure from our grievances, the questions still present themselves—what course are we to take?—and what state are we to endeavour to attain? Move we must; for to remain as we are, is certain destruction to every blessing which renders life desirable.

There appear to me but two courses open to us: the first, to endeavour to attain a state of comparative, with a view to entire independence: the second, annexation to the United States.

I am against the last, from interest, from principle, and from feeling. I am in favour of the first, because we can seek it consistently with our duty to ourselves, our country and our Sovereign; and because I am convinced if it can be obtained, it will yield the greatest advantages at the least sacrifice.

I remain, your faithful servant,

THOS. WILSON.

Quebec, 4th October, 1849.

LIGHTING THE CITY.—The last *Gazette* contains the ordinance, or bye-law, relative to lighting the city of Halifax with Gas—as approved or allowed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council. And so we are to have the old city lighted at last. Well, we congratulate our citizens generally on having arrived thus far on the journey of improvement. It is an important point gained. With plenty of pure water, and the streets lighted with the eighty lamps provided for the regulation, Halifax will be quite a comfortable city to reside in for the time to come.—*Novascotian.*