

principle of Obsolete Anti-reform, that was so visible in the Commons, was scarcely recognized among the Peers. All, or nearly all, acknowledged the necessity of Reform—of not moderate, nor of considerable Reform. Many Peers in Public—many more I have heard in private, object not to the extent of the proposed Reform, but to isolated defects in its plan;—for, let us be ingenious, some who oppose the Reform are yet strong Reformers. There are Vivians in the Upper House as in the Lower; men who would go to the democratic extent of a district representation, and there are few who do not acknowledge at once the two vital principles of the Bill—the disfranchisement of close Boroughs—the enfranchisement of large communities. Well, then, we have among the opposing Peers not all stubborn Anti-reformers; who cannot be converted, but some warm, nay, if you please, reluctant Reformers, who may be conciliated:—deviations from the old Bill—that we, the people, would not only yield, but consider amendments, may satisfy at least some three or four—some four or five out of the hostile majority. One or two more, (we can readily conceive this number) haughty, not illiberal noblemen; not adverse to concession, but chafed by seeming intimidation, and seduced by the cry of a faction to consider the warnings of the press, or the cautions of the Lower House, or an indiscreet vehemence in petitions, as a general attempt to substitute menace for reasoning, may have wished to show a firmness in the first refusal, but may have wisdom not to show obstinacy in a second. A third set of individuals, of more unpopular tenets, have been taught to consider the cry for Reform a momentary ebullition. Every month of perseverance—patient, steady, unrelaxing perseverance on the part of the people, is an incontrovertible proof of the fallacy of this conception; they can no longer haunt his belief, when the People and the Bill appear a second time before them. There is a fourth, and far more numerous party, among the majority, who will recognize the wide difference between rejecting the Bill once, and rejecting it twice.—And this is, indeed, a most serious, a most important consideration; a second rejection will do all that the Anti-reformers, most sanguine apprehensions of the Reform could prophesy in the future,—that is to say, it will place the Lords and Commons in one prolonged, determined, angry collision, to which there could be administered no remedy, and there could be contemplated no end;—no end but one—the ultimate and entire concession of the Peers, when concession can no longer appease resentment,—and what might have been the grace of Power has become the necessity of Weakness. I say this with the most respectful desire to avoid menace. I appeal to experience,—have not the Lords always, in a similar contest, yielded to the Commons? The second appeal to the Lords is also different from the first—inasmuch as the stagnation of business will be greater and discontent deeper. It will no longer be a subscription to a great popular experiment—it will be the only remedy for a great national embarrassment.—There are yet a fifth class of noble politicians who will perceive a consequence of the first. Many a deep and sagacious tactician, the moment it was understood that Ministers were not to resign if the Bill were lost, perceived that the danger that otherwise would follow rejection was averted. The people would not give vent to general and systematic disturbance. Why? because such disturbance would involve them in a conflict with the Powers of Government.—What was that Government? the leaders of their own party and the friends of their own cause. This reflection was the bridle to excess. But if again defeated, the Ministers must resign—a Tory Cabinet must come in; and I have not yet met the Tory who did not acknowledge that such a change would be the signal for commotion—the signal for violent men to act and moderate men to despair.

I expect, then, that influence by the one or the other of these motives, several Peers who voted against the late bill will fall from the hostile party, and won not by sordid, but wise and honest feelings, he found among the friends of quiet and of the people, in the next division on the subject of Reform. There is this advantage in covering the present peers, rather than creating new: a Peer created counts as but one vote gained; a Peer converted counts as two.* And it

will be remembered, as a proof and a consequence of that feebler and less united spirit of party that distinguishes the Peers from the Commons, that to converts among the Lords there never has attached that blame of inconsistency or tergiversation which there has to Members of the Lower House, who have committed themselves more decisively not only to measures the wisdom of which necessarily fluctuates, but to the guidance of persons whom it has been considered by the spirit of party a yet greater crime to desert. Thus, in the converts on the Catholic question, the weight of tory indignation fell on every Commoner so converted, and singled out but one or two Peers among the Majority in the Lords.

It is, I cannot but imagine, to these individual changes—honourable, not degrading—that Ministers now look for the success of the New Bill. Actuated by this expectation, I believe that they delay a numerous creation, which may be unnecessary. Perhaps a few new Peers may be made soon; and certainly a few sooner or later, may at all events be inevitable. But within at furthest a fortnight after the introduction of the New Bill in the Lower House Ministers must decisively know their exact strength in the Upper.—If then it should be found that new allies among old foes are not to be gained, that a large creation of Peers is necessary, we may rely upon it that that creation will be made. On the probable chance of that creation the Ministers must have counted when they brought in the Bill, and when they adhered to office after its loss. On that chance the King also must have counted, when he retained his reforming Ministers, and prorogued his reforming Commons. The Ministers and the King must then have resolved on that creation if necessary. To execute any measure, men want but two things—the wish and the power. We have from the King the most open assurance—we have from the Ministers the most solemn pledges—of their common wish. The power they have. What then is wanting?—No—we may consider the Bill as already passed! without a numerous creation of Peers, in all likelihood—with that creation, if indispensable. In either event success is certain, because it is Constitutional.

* Moreover, there is a difficulty in finding sixty proper persons for Peers, which does not sufficiently strike the public. Elder sons of Peers are not as abundant as blackberries; and very few among them would consent to figure in so numerous a creation. Nor would the haughty race of great country gentlemen, from whom Peers are usually made, like, especially in those critical times, to accept an equivocal, and with the Peers, an obnoxious title; the occasion and the number of creations taking away, all individual honor in the promotion. I know that this difficulty does exist. To this it will be answered by the Country.—If you cannot find proper persons as Peers, take improper persons, rather than expose us to the chance of revolution. Very well—certainly, if necessary—but it would be better, if possible, to pass the Bill without it.

EUROPE.

CONSTANTINOPLE, Oct. 10.—On the 5th inst. a natural phenomenon, such as few persons remember, and the effect of which has been most destructive, filled with terror the inhabitants of this country, who are at the same time suffering under all kinds of evils. After an uncommonly sultry night, threatening clouds rose about six in the morning in the horizon, to the south and west, and a noise between thunder and tempest, and yet not to be compared to either, increased every moment, and the inhabitants of the capital, roused from their sleep awaited with anxious expectation the issue of this threatening phenomenon. Their uncertainty was of not long duration; lumps of ice as large as a man's foot falling first singly, and then like a thick shower of stones, which destroyed every thing that they came in contact with. The oldest persons do not remember ever to have seen such hail stones. Some were picked up half an hour afterwards which weighed above a pound. This dreadful storm passed over Constantinople, and along the Bosphorus, over Therapia, Bujukdere, and Belgrade, and the fairest, nay the only hope of this beautiful and fertile tract, the vintage just commenced, was destroyed in a day.—Animals of all kinds, and even some persons, are said to have been killed, an innumerable quantity are wounded, and the damage done to the houses is incalculable.—Besides that scarcely a window has escaped in all the country, the force of the falling masses of ice

was so great, they broke all the tiles on the roofs, and shattered like musket-balls planks half an inch thick. Since that day the rain has not ceased to pour down in torrents, and from the slight way in which the houses are built, almost wholly consisting of windows, and with very flat roofs that have nothing to keep off the wet besides tiles, innumerable families are not much more comfortable than in bivouac. If, in addition to this, we consider that in consequence of the burning of Pera, and the great fires in Constantinople itself, many have no shelter whatever, and recollect besides the plague which continues to spread, and the cases of cholera which still occur, both together indeed made the whole a most gloomy picture.

ALEXANDRIA, Oct. 6.—This terrible scourge has ceased, thank God! since the 20th September, after having swept away four per cent, of the population of Egypt. By accounts just received from Cairo, we learn that the Cholera is ascending the Nile. It infects Siout, and all the surrounding country up to Thebes.

VIENNA, Oct. 28.—Letters from Lemberg say that General Rudiger has repeatedly demanded that the remains of the Polish army, which have sought refuge in our territory should be given up; but this demanded has been refused, by the Emperor's commands.

PARIS, Nov. 9.—The ministers have triumphed over their opponents in defeating the expensive project, of an army of reserve; have proceeded with their modification of the existing law for calling out the moveable National Guards, so as that the Government can, if necessary, set in motion 300,000 of this corps in the space of 35 days.

TOULON, Nov. 3.—The Aviso says; We are assured that orders are come to have the Algeiras and Marengo ready to put to sea, as well as other ships of our squadron, to go and reduce the Bedouins, who have taken possession of Bono, and even to bombard the town, if necessary. They will at the same time take on board the 55th and 11th regiments of the line, and land them at Algiers, where they are going to take the place of two regiments that return to France.

The Chamber of Deputies of Baden received on the 27th Oct a petition signed by 253 Catholic Priests, praying for the abolition of celibacy.

GREECE.—A letter from Zante, dated the 17th Oct. state that great excesses have been committed by the troops of Colocotroni. One hundred men of what is called his regular cavalry, having been sent by him to Poros, were guilty of the most horrible brutalities, which we refrain from describing, but from which not even the wife of the European Colonel commanding the fort was exempted.

HOLLAND AND ENGLAND.—On Wednesday afternoon a Flushing pilot-boat perceived the English fleet, consisting of fifteen sail, off Blankenberg.—One of the frigates made a signal for a pilot, but the boat immediately put about, and refused to answer it. The buoys marking the channel have all been taken up by the Dutch. The town of Flushing has been declared to be in a state of siege. King William has issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, calling upon them to defend it to the utmost, and lay in provisions for three weeks; and every measure has been taken for a vigorous resistance in case the English attempt to enter the Scheldt.

BRISTOL, Nov. 14.—Notwithstanding the amount of military force now in this city, we have every night proofs of its disorganized state, and the shameful neglect of the Corporate Authorities in suffering a place of so great importance and containing so great a population, to be placed in so defenceless a condition with reference to any thing like the protection of a Civil power. Every evening after nightfall the most dangerous characters prow about, and except in the most public thoroughfares the passengers are not secure from attack. A very daring attempt at incendiarism was made late on Saturday night, or early on Sunday morning, by some ruffians, who had gained access to the extensive premises of a Mr. Wild, in Radcliff street, occupied in the wine and spirit business. A woman fortunately made a timely discovery of their horrible design.

Reform.—A Stanford paper says, "We may pres-