

ed England to effect a peace with Sardinia on the basis of the cession of Lombardy. It that proposition had been vigorously acted upon, the greater part of Northern Italy would have been independent, the armies of Sardinia and Naples might have defended the Italian Governments against anarchy, and the Imperial forces, not being divided between a foreign and domestic war, would probably have terminated the latter before the Hungarians had had time to organize their present army, or the arrogance to propose conditions incompatible with the existence of the empire. The fact that the Austrian empire is held together by little more than the name of a sovereign and the discipline of an army—the fact that some of its chief cities are disaffected, its races incited one against another, and that its kingdoms of Hungary and Lombardy have repudiated the imperial authority—the fact that in Germany itself Austria is forsaken by her natural allies, and assailed by a strange combination of democracy and imperialism—are all incontrovertible. But it is precisely because this power has been reduced to a condition so far beneath her ancient dignity and the place she has hitherto filled in Europe, that we see the Russian and the French armies in their respective positions on the frontiers of Germany and in Central Italy; for, although both these interventions have been undertaken against the revolutionary principle of the Hungarian insurgents and the Roman demagogues, we are not the less sensible to the blow which they are calculated to inflict on the political independence of the Austrian empire.

Whatever tends to weaken or disunite the forces of Central Europe, which are represented by the Germanic Confederation and the Austrian empire, tends in the same proportion to increase the relative power and to awaken the ambition of the great military nations of France and Russia. That is the plain and incontrovertible principle which we apply to the great occurrences of the present time, holding it to be a fundamental proposition of British policy that our interests are opposed to the ascendancy or progress of either extreme, whether it hoist the banner of the French Republic or of Russian absolutism. For this reason we have deprecated and we deplore the political contest which threatens to divide and dismember Germany under the pretext of unity and to reduce her to the condition of a federal republic under the pretext of a federal empire. For this reason we lament the division of the resources of the Austrian empire against itself, which has left the Ministers of that Crown no better expedient than to accept the succour of a Russian Army, and has ended in the resolution of the Magyars to depose the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine; for, even if the Hungarian campaign were successful, the difficulty of reorganising the Government of that country will remain extremely great, the dissension between Pesth and Vienna is incurably deep, and not only Austria but Germany itself, is threatened with the loss of those eastern auxiliaries which have invariably played so important a part in the defence of the whole Germanic territory. For the same reason we regret to find that the French expedition to Rome is calculated to raise the gravest suspicions, and that the soldiers sent by the President to restore the Pope are enjoined by the Assembly to fraternise with the Roman Republic. Whilst Russia is enabled by these events to turn her forces with greater effect and less resistance against Eastern Germany or Turkey, France may gradually avail herself of similar advantages and opportunities against Western Germany or Italy. If Germany herself should fall from her present state of division into actual civil war, it is by no means improbable that the two great contending principles of Eastern and Western Europe would ere long join in mortal conflict on German soil.

From Willmer & Smith's European Times.
A cloud of difficulties seems to be gathering fast over the destinies of France, and the most fearless politician may try in vain to penetrate the inscrutable veil which hangs over the future. All is uncertainty, increasing confusion and distrust, and a new series of events seems to be fast approaching. The rupture between the President and M. Napoleon Bonaparte is complete. A fierce quarrel rages between the two Bonapartes, fomented by the inventive faculties of their enemies. The ex-ambassador is said to have denounced the President as a bastard,—that he was not only a kite's egg put into the eagle's nest but that the whole Bonaparte family knew him to be so.—The official organs deny that the parties have had any interview, but in public they have met and only exchange scowls instead of smiles. But far more important events than personal quarrels add to the present dangers which surround the President. We pass over the details of the festival of the 4th of May, which was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence. The reception of the President by the people, and the general satisfaction which prevailed, as usual, when the Parisians are amused in sight seeing, must have been gratifying to the chief of the Republic. But, turning from these holiday amusements, we find increasing discontent amongst large bodies of the army, the privates and officers of which seem to have been greatly wrought upon by the Socialists. A serious riot and mutiny has taken place in the barracks of the 7th light infantry, stationed at the Hotel des Invalides. A sergeant-major, Boichot, having had his name placed amongst the list of Socialist candidates for the new Assembly, was arrested—the men insisted upon his release—a riot of a serious character ensued—the officers were disobeyed and defied, and at length Boichot was sent off to Vincennes but not without great difficulty. The regiment has been sent away from Paris,

but we fear that the same insubordination prevails in many regiments, as the socialists, by the most unceasing unscrupulous efforts continue to seduce the soldiery from their duty. But the check which the French troops have met in the Papal States has moved all France to the centre, and touched the people upon their tenderest point—the glory of France in Italy. It will be seen that the French having advanced from Civita Vecchia towards Rome, found the people wholly opposed to their intervention. The Romans, instead of receiving the troops with fraternisation and open arms, poured into their ranks a volley of musketry, which compelled them to retire. In the meantime the Neapolitans and Austrians are advancing from the north and the south towards Rome, and will probably effect, by overwhelming force, and that for which the French were unequal. The National Assembly, by a vote of 328 to 241, declared it expedient "that the expedition to Italy be not any longer turned aside from its real object." It is rather difficult to say what its real object was; but the Assembly contemplated that the troops would remain at Civita Vecchia, unless Austria moved on Rome. General Oudinot perhaps thought by moving on Rome at once he should secure for France the exclusive glory of re-instating the Pope, whereas he has led to the defeat of the troops under his command.

The latest news from Paris is of the most startling importance. No fewer than 180 wounded French soldiers have reached Civita Vecchia, whilst it is confidently announced that 47 officers have been killed by the Romans.—Indeed the repulse of the French has been most serious. Under such circumstances of excitement the President wrote a letter of condolence to General Oudinot, which will be found elsewhere, containing passages of political importance directly at variance with constitutional forms. He says, "Our soldiers have been received as enemies. Our military honor is at stake. I shall not allow it to suffer the slightest injury. Reinforcements shall not be wanting to you." Thereby not only taking the case out of the hands of his responsible Ministers, but actually flying in the face of the Assembly, who evidently are not so much disposed to crush the Roman Republic. This indiscreet "imperial" letter has caused the most intense excitement. The proposed reductions in the army have been refused by the Assembly and Ministers were in a minority upon a question of the proper mode of dissolving the corps of National Guards when such cases occur.—The most violent interpellations have been made in the Assembly. Ministers defended the President, and assumed the responsibility of the letter. The discussion has been postponed until after the receipt of the next despatches from Rome which are hourly expected. But the press pours forth a volley of attacks against the president. Some demand his impeachment; others his deposition at once; and upon the complexion of the next news from Rome will depend the most pregnant results. There is, however, little doubt but that the Austrians, the Neapolitans, and the French, who have been admitted to share in the intervention, now occupy Rome, but the details have not yet reached us. We have grave doubts whether the Assembly will sanction this. An incipient Republic to be put down by brother Republicans of France, aided by absolutist Neapolitans and Austrians, will be too much for the Assembly, and a storm is brewing. The case, long before contemplated, of a collision of powers between the president and the Assembly seems now inevitable. The idea is thrown out that the present Assembly should declare its powers permanent for two years, deferring the elections for that period. All the elements of mischief are at work, and the frightful condition of Germany aggravates the danger incalculably. The success of the Liberal or Parliamentary party in Germany, would be inevitably a declaration of war against France. All parties from the President to the Socialists would regard it as that light. Under these conflicting circumstances the danger of an European war is more imminent than at any former period.

The whole of Continental Europe seems ready to burst into one general conflagration. The Danish war is forgotten amidst the universal confusion which prevails from the Rhine to the Oder, from the Baltic to the Adriatic. The blockade of the Elbe has been so far modified as to admit the English General Steam Navigation vessels, with passengers and cargoes, but no anchors exist at present of a termination of the war. During the last ten days the quarrel between the Parliamentary party throughout all the various divisions of Germany and their respective Princes has reached to the highest pitch. It is altogether impossible to conceive how the dispute can be settled without recourse to arms. Indeed in Saxony a frightful conflict has already taken place. At Dresden the people, or rather the Red Republican party, fought with the troops during seven hours on the 5th inst., and a great loss of life occurred; the railroads were displaced in order to prevent troops from Berlin arriving; but a sufficient force of Prussians having come opportunely, a momentary tranquillity was secured by sheer military force. The fight, however, was renewed on the 6th, and a frightful cannonading lasted all day, till night separated the combatants. On the 7th the battle was again renewed at 7 o'clock in the morning, and the most deadly warfare was going on in the streets by the latest advices up till six o'clock in the morning of that day. At Leipzig the same fury is about to break out into similar popular insurrection. Hanover is yet quiet, but in Mecklenburg the spirit of Red Republicanism is most active. The Rhenish provinces are in the highest state of excitement, and are

resolved to form an united Germany 'this time.' At Berlin the people are only kept down by the King at the head of a vast military organization, and the events going on at Dresden, are reacting with redoubled force upon the people of the Prussian capital. The King, conscious that his acceptance of the democratic Frankfurt Constitution would lead to a general European war, is still at a loss how to save Germany from the horrors of interminable intestine commotions, and yet preserve his throne. The prejudices against the Jesuits are also brought into play, and only add to the unmitigated animosities which prevail. The Parliamentary party, as the Frankfurt section is called, is becoming so strong in Wurtemberg, that rumours are afloat that the Parliament will make their head quarters in Wurtemberg. Calculations are made of the relative strength of the several powers, drawn from their population, but the overwhelming military force of Prussia, with the auxiliary strength of Hanover and Bavaria, baffles anything like a calculation of results. It seems inevitable that a great convulsion is at hand, with the certainty that if the liberal Parliamentary party succeeds, that France will not allow an United Empire to threaten her Rhenish frontiers. Whilst these convulsions are taking place, the Austrian empire is in actual danger of dissolution by the continued success of the Hungarians. The Imperialists hold Buda still, but the Hungarians have pushed forward their successes on all sides. Gran and Raab are said to be in the possession of the insurgents. Tyrnau is also in the hands of the Hungarians. Kosenuth has declared Hungary a free nation, but the last accounts imply that his followers pause before they take this irredeemable step. In the meantime the Russians are undoubtedly advancing to retrieve the fortunes of Austria. A Russian general of high rank has reached Vienna, we believe General Berg, who is concerting a comprehensive plan for the campaign. But all accounts concur in representing that the excitement of the Hungarians is raised to the highest pitch, and that at least 100,000 Russians will be required to quell this national insurrection. Every endeavour in the meantime is being made to create a revolution in Gallacia; and in fact, from Posen down to Pesth, the whole country is waging, or is on the brink of actual hostilities. The battle of liberty or of races is being fought in Eastern Europe with almost the certainty that it will spread westward in Germany.

We have thus rapidly sketched the threatened position of affairs, not forgetting that Radetsky has marched to Malghera to reduce Venice. History scarcely furnishes an example of a more disordered state of European politics; and no man conjecture what will happen next.

The question of a progressive or retrograde policy in commercial legislation has been deliberately submitted to the Lords; and their verdict is in favor of progress. After a debate of two nights, their lordships, on Wednesday morning, assented to the second reading of the Navigation Bill by a majority of ten, the division being—Contents, 173; Non-contents, 163. This result is, undoubtedly, a very great and signal free trade triumph. The Protectionists have been defeated in the House which they fondly fancied to be peculiarly their own, and for whose existence they have been publicly thanking God for the last six months—deferted too, on a question, on which, of all others, they belived themselves to be strongest, and which could not have been tried at greater disadvantages to free trade principles. For it is specially to be remarked, that the arguments chiefly to be relied upon by the protectionist lords, however hypocritically advanced, bore no analogy to the principles which were recently propounded in the Hall of Commerce by the new Protectionist League. Lord Stanley rested his opposition to the measure on the ground of providing for national safety and defence, and leaving untouched the basis of our naval strength. Nay, in near view of the responsibilities of office, he was constrained to speak of the reciprocity treaties, which G. F. Young and other shipowners hold to be a virtual abolition of their protection, as 'wise and judicious concessions of what it was impossible this country could maintain'; and he gave his followers very plainly to understand that he was prepared to make further concessions in the way of relaxing the navigation laws. All that he opposes is repeal simple, but any extent of modification which the interest of commerce may demand, he is ready to apply. 'If it could be shown,' said his lordship, 'that the peculiar circumstances of Canada required the relaxation of the Navigation laws, an exception could be made specially in favor of that colony, and he believed that the merchants and shipowners of this country would not object to this measure.' The debate is highly creditable to the Upper House. A singular amount of ability has been shown on both sides. Among the many excellent free trade speeches delivered, we regret that we can do no more at present than point attention to the really admirable address of the Earl of Carlisle and Earl Gray. The speech of the latter, more particularly, was a perfect masterpiece of argumentative eloquence. On the other side, the speech of Lord Stanley is justly regarded by his admirers as one of the best he ever made. The fullest justice has been done to the discussion of the question; and their lordships have a true verdict returned to the weight of the argument and evidence. We are aware that the measure has been carried by proxies, and that, if decided by the votes of members present, there would have been a majority of 14 against the bill. This may hold out a temptation to the defeated party to mutilate the

measure in committee, where proxies do not count. We can hardly, however, suppose that this policy will be adopted. The bill is much too simple an affair to create work for a committee. It can hardly be touched, except for the purpose of rejecting it altogether; and though there may possibly be some in the House who would be glad to destroy the bill on the pretence of improving it, the majority of the peers are too generous opponents to continue a vexatious fight when the field is decided. We may therefore safely congratulate the country on achieving another great step and setting another great example in the progress of freedom. The measure places, to borrow the simile of Sir James Graham, the capital on the column of commercial freedom; and the most bigoted protectionist must at length awake from the idle dream of a reaction against free trade.

The social revolution in Ireland seems going on with accelerated progress, and the Irish journals teem with nothing but revolting descriptions of unrelenting evictions, deplorable destitution, famine, murder, spalling mortality; whilst all those who can raise means are flocking to the seaports in order to make their escape from such accumulated misery. The condition of the landed proprietors seems intolerable. Pressed down by their mortgages, who cannot foreclose, sell the land and dispossess the occupiers, now that the poor rates are levied inexorably their solvency is complete. And yet such is the fatuity of journalists in the south of Ireland that we perceive that they declaim against 'the overgorged capitalist or mortgagee, for being exempt from the burdens of the land. It never formed any part of the lender's contract that he should be burdened with rates and taxes. Until better notions prevail upon the rights of property in Ireland, and law exist to protect and enforce them, what capitalist will lend money upon Irish securities. In one breath, the Irish journals are demanding the use of English capital to extricate them from the depths of their misery; and at the same instant they are abusing 'overgorged capitalist,' for requiring payment of the interest of their claims, without contributing to taxation. Now the aim of the improvement in the Poor Law is to make the land available to those who will cultivate it. By summary processes of law it will enable the rate collector to sell the land for arrears of rates to those who have the means to render it productive; it will enable the capitalist to make his bargain with a certainty that his liabilities are fixed and determined.

In the meantime it is in vain to attempt to disguise that the country is in a most deplorable condition. Prices of agricultural produce, the main prop of Irish prosperity, are ruinously low. The great cattle fair at Ballinasloe, on Monday last, is reported to have been the most disastrous which has ever taken place in the country. A large quantity of the cattle was driven back unsold, without a bidding. The continued low unremunerating prices for the marketable commodities produced in Ireland, must operate most disadvantageously, and tend to retard the improvement of the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has further applied to Parliament for powers to promote arterial drainage in Ireland, involving a sum which exceeds a quarter of a million. For this purpose he demands actually £200,000, which, with certain sums re-paid and re-issuable, will enable him to accomplish his wishes for this year.

It is confidently rumoured that the prosecution of Mr Charles Gavon Duffy is abandoned.

We are still without improvement in Commercial matters. Political affairs on the continent are still far from being settled, so that almost every department of trade is in a kind of stand still way. The markets for both Colonial and Foreign Produce are quiet, and the transactions going forward are confined to the immediate wants of the trade.

The heavy feeling which prevailed in the Corn trade last week, still continues. The excitement and state of war in several of the large producing countries of Europe, will, it is feared, affect the character of the next harvest. In the Danish and German war nearly 100,000 men are occupied, of whom one half should be engaged in cultivating the land. Against this unfavorable state of things the crops in this country look unusually well.

The Colonial papers furnish a few items of news, which we annex.

UNITED STATES.—The total number of buildings burnt lately in St. Louis is 418—the number of lives lost is supposed to be twenty. The total loss of property is estimated at six millions of dollars.

A gentleman who came down from the Indian country a few days since, informs us that a runner came in just before he left, and reported that a sanguinary battle had been fought on the prairies between the Camanches and an alleged force of several other tribes, led by a Shawnee chief, and that, after a desperate fight, in which about 500 were slain, the Camanches fled, leaving the field in possession of the victors.—Little Rock, *Arkans. Democrat.*

Sir Allan McNab, Hon. Mr. Hincks, and Mr. Macready were passengers in the *Hibernia*, which left Boston on Wednesday last.

Three cases of cholera were reported in Baltimore on Tuesday and 8 in Philadelphia.

Accounts from New Orleans of the 18th inst. have been received, at which time the water in the Mississippi was on the rise, and the lower part of the city was inundated.