

involve the history of our race; the fruitful mother of heroes; the imperial mistress of the world, exalted by the loftiest achievements of valor and patriotism; and adorned by the most varied and consummate genius; till, degenerate and self-entranced, she became the victim of the sanguinary crimes and lust of power which she herself had endangered. No other city on earth has been the theatre of such events, or suggests the same associations. Who can behold it for the first time unmoved? The statesmen—the philosopher and man of letters—the disciple of Luther and Calvin—all alike regard it with the deepest interest, although with the feelings which belong to their different characters; but it is the devout believers in infallible Rome who behold her with one common feeling of enthusiastic veneration, and enter her gates with exultation as the "Holy City," hallowed by the blood of martyrs, and the residence of the fisherman and his successors.

The Politician.

The British Press.

From Willmer and Smith's European Times.

MR COBDEN AND THE COLONIES

Mr Cobden displays tact and versatility in his public exhibitions. The great speech at Leeds last week, in which he threw down the gauntlet to the Protectionists, and dared them to take it up, has been followed by another great speech at Bradford, differing altogether in substance and mode of treatment.

If the first speech attracted attention by the comprehensive manner in which the controversy between the landlords and the commercial classes was analysed, the last is certainly not less important, for it is devoted to a subject which is at present exciting much interest, and cannot fail to provoke considerable discussion during the ensuing session of Parliament.

We are essentially a colonising people. The energy of the Saxon character is manifest in the daring intrepidity with which we traverse the world's limits, and find a home on every shore. The roaming propensity of our countrymen is not confined to the mariner, with whom it becomes a passion, but is felt in almost every phase of English life. The fifty colonies which profess fealty to the British Crown, scattered over every part of the habitable globe, constitute that empire upon which we are proudly told the sun never sets. The influence which these communities, physically separated, but united in language and in blood, will have upon the destinies of mankind in after ages, is one of those moral truths, the grandeur of which we can at present but dimly appreciate.

It is quite clear that the position in which the colonies stand towards the mother country has been entirely changed by the commercial policy of the last four years. Formerly we imposed high, and in many instances prohibitory, duties on the produce of other countries in order to stimulate the energies of the colonists by giving them the almost total command of the home market. In return, we exacted conditions which prevented our fellow-citizens, the colonists, from buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market,—so that the restrictions on the one hand were counterbalanced by the absence of advantages on the other, and thus both parties jogged on, their hands respectively tied in a noose which Sir Robert Peel was the first to cut. The Free Trade policy of the last Ministry materially interfered with this system, and the repeal of the Navigation Laws has completely changed it.

But notwithstanding the marked difference in the relative position of each, which these events not unnaturally caused, we pursue the same policy towards the colonists that provoked anguish and heart-burnings when the connexion was more close and dependent. We then inflicted upon them governors, often incapable, and almost always arrogant, in whose appointment they had no voice, and we do so still. Every subordinate situation continues to be filled by the nominee of the Colonial Minister, or his supporters in Parliament. The mother country pays the expense of these appointments, but loses all the grace of its liberality by forcing incompetent or unpopular persons into official stations. The result has been a series of unseemly contests between the colonists and the Colonial office, in which the latter has been almost invariably worsted. In fact, every Minister who has governed the colonies of recent years has retired from the office with a damaged reputation. The most marked instance of the kind is the present possessor of the colonial seals. Previously, Lord Grey stood high as a statesman of enlarged views and liberal sympathies. He possessed also a character for business habits, combined with great application. But the prestige of success has departed from him, and he is now only spoken of as exemplifying the folly of continuing to govern our dependencies, in all parts of the world, by an utterly worn-out inapplicable system.

Mr Cobden placed the whole theory of our colonial policy not only in a striking, but in an amusingly ridiculous light. He showed, clearly and forcibly, that, if the colonists were permitted to govern themselves, they would do it satisfactorily and economically. By such a process much of the irritation which now exists would be spared, and England would be saved an immense amount of taxation on behalf of the colonies. The whole colonial expenditure of Great Britain is about eight millions sterling per annum, one-half of which is borne by this country.

This movement in favor of colonial reform

is not exclusively confined to the Manchester school. Politicians of every grade are at length convinced that a change is necessary, and must speedily take place. Mr J. R. Godley, a Conservative, who sailed for Australia last week, has left behind him an able manifesto on behalf of the colonies, in the form of a letter to Mr W. E. Gladstone; an extract from which will show the spirit of the whole. The letter, we may state, which has attracted much interest from the standing and experience of the writer, advocates self-government, and the writer thus explains what he means by that phrase:—"I do not mean, the mere powers of paving and lighting and road making; nor the privilege of initiatory legislation; nor the liberty of making subordinate official appointments; I do not mean a regimen involving the reservation of civil lists or the interposition of veto, or any other of those provisions in virtue of which Ministers in Downing street are in the habit of interfering with the internal concerns of colonies. I mean by local self-government the right and power to do, within the limits of each colony respectively, without check, control, or intervention of any kind, everything that the supreme Government of this country can do within the limits of the British Islands, with one exception. I allude to the prerogative of regulating relations with foreign powers. This one prerogative, the concentration of which is essential to imperial unity, the colonists themselves would gladly see reserved, in exchange for the privilege and the security of being identified with the empire; but more than this it is neither beneficial nor possible for us to retain. I need hardly say that my idea of self-government includes the power of making and altering local constitutions. We ought not, I am sure, to impose upon the colonists any form of government whatever, even to start with."

PLAN OF COLONIZATION.

The plan proposed by Mr Sydney Herbert, for carrying out a comprehensive scheme of emigration by means of private subscriptions, which we noticed at the time it was first mooted, has been responded to with a promptitude which shows a laudable anxiety, on the part of many benevolent persons, to alleviate, as far as possible, the misery and destitution which exist amongst a large portion of the laboring classes in this country. Emigration, on a scale sufficiently extensive to make its effects visible in thinning the population, ought, we think, to be the work of the Government. It would require all the power and influence of the Executive to carry out a scheme large enough to meet the requirements of the case, and the fact has been pressed on the attention of every successive Cabinet during the last dozen years, but the Government, as a Government, it is clear, will not stir, and therefore private philanthropy must perform, however imperfectly, what the State declines to undertake. Large sums will possibly be raised in furtherance of Mr Herbert's views, and a considerable donation from the crown can hardly fail to give an impetus to the movement among the fashionable and wealthy classes in the metropolis.

Such being the case, the present seems an opportune moment for directing attention to the frauds which are daily practised upon the emigrant at the most critical moment of his existence—the eve of his departure from his native country. Most of the recipients of Mr Sydney Herbert's Emigration fund would probably be destitute females of the metropolis, who would be sent out to Australia under the immediate eye of a committee on the spot, upon whom would devolve the task of providing all the requirements for the voyage, and who, in all likelihood, would charter vessels of the most approved description to convey them outwards. It can hardly be expected that an effort, which must be attended with a heavy pecuniary outlay, and most necessarily involve great personal labor on the part of those who take part in it, can be other than temporary. The stimulant of energy and application which accompanies all such projects, so long as the attention of the public is concentrated on them, will give way in time to lethargy or indifference. It is in the nature of things that this result should follow, and, before that period arrives, we are desirous of throwing out a suggestion or two on the subject of emigration generally.

Unhappily, in every seaport, a number of wretches live and thrive by victimising the emigrant in every imaginable shape. The system of plunder practised upon the poor people is often beyond the cognizance of the law. The Government has an excellent local officer here in the person of Lieutenant Hodder; but all his exertions are insufficient to protect them from falling into the hands of the sharks who prowl about the docks, seeking whom they may devour. Scarcely a day passes that the police court does not record some act of fraud perpetrated upon the unsuspecting emigrant; but the number of instances in which he is robbed, without seeking legal redress are much greater than those in which the offenders are brought before magistrates. That there are some respectable emigrant agents in this port and elsewhere it would be unjust to deny; but it is equally true that the majority, by the means which they employ to secure business, are obnoxious to the charge of indirectly encouraging many of the evils of the present system.

An excellent remedy would be found in the erection of suitable lodging houses, with baths and other conveniences, for the reception of the emigrants when they arrive at the port of embarkation. Such establishments, under the surveillance of brokers of character, would possess all the comforts of a home, and place the emigrant and his family beyond the reach

of the vampires who live by the present species of blood sucking. If the provisioning for the voyage were made from the stores of the same establishment, or under the eye of its clerks or servants, it would be a guarantee that no undue advantage was taken of the stranger. An Emigrant's Home has become a positive necessity in every seaport, and, if the project is beyond the means of private persons, it would amply remunerate a body of capitalists, even supposing them to be actuated by no higher philanthropy than the worldly christian who "built churches for the glory of God and ten per cent." Liverpool has all but completed the erection of a home for the sailor, the foundation stone of which was laid by Royalty. The comfort and security to be found in this building will go far to repay the neglect with which his country has too long regarded the British tar. It is the peculiar fate of persons in a subordinate station in life, "who encounter the dangers of the sea" to be at the mercy of the unprincipled persons who infest all maritime towns. The sailor and the emigrant are often plucked to the last feather. The evil is notorious, and the most melancholy consequences follow; but it continues, because attention is not sufficiently directed to a prompt and suitable remedy. Whether considered with reference to the humanity of the project, or merely looking at its pecuniary return, which is carried out by private means or by a public company, we are as certain as we live that the erection of an "Emigrant's Home" would pay, and furnish an antidote to the system of barefaced robbery and disguised plunder, which is daily practised upon the class of society whose necessities compel them to bid farewell for ever to their native land, and who, in taking leave of all that is most dear to them on earth, are objects of sympathy and respect in the eyes of every honest, heart-felling man.

SIR ROBERT PEEL AND HIS TENANTRY.

The following is a copy of a Letter which has been addressed by Sir Robert Peel to his tenantry:

TO THE TENANT-FARMERS ON THE ESTATE OF SIR ROBERT PEEL.

I wish to communicate with you on the present state and the prospects of Agriculture, so far as they concern our relations of landlord and tenant, and I know not that I could select any better mode of communication than this which I have adopted.

There can, I think, be no question that the effect of the recent changes of the law in respect to the free import of the main articles of subsistence, will be to maintain a range of low prices in average seasons, and to prevent very high prices in seasons of dearth. In other words, their effect will be to ensure, so far as legislation can ensure it, cheapness and abundance of food as the ordinary rule—to diminish the risk of scarcity—and to mitigate the suffering from it, should it unfortunately occur.

It is because I believe that this will be the effect of the changes to which I have referred, that I look upon them as irrevocable, and that I advise you to dismiss altogether from your calculations the prospect of renewed protection.

It is my firm persuasion that neither the present nor any future Parliament will consent to reimpose duties upon the main articles of human food, either for the purpose of protection or of revenue.

I would at once act upon that persuasion, and proceed to consider in what degree the free import of provisions affects the relation in which we stand to each other, if I did not believe that other causes, less permanent in their operation, have had a material influence upon the present value of agricultural produce. I allude in particular to the general scarcity and high prices which recently prevailed for two or three successive years, not merely in this country, but throughout great part of Europe—to the extraordinary stimulus thus given to production—and the natural consequence of that stimulus—a temporary and undue depression of price.

I propose, therefore, to defer for a time, that general review of the relation in which we stand to each other, which, but for the circumstances to which I have referred, I would at once have undertaken.

When undertaken, it will be upon principles which I think you will admit to be just. I shall not refer merely to the diminished price of one article or another, but I shall take into the account all the considerations which fairly enter into the question—shall try to estimate the effect of recent legislation and of improved means of conveyance, in reducing not only the price of produce, but the cost of production also—and shall compare the disadvantage to which the tenant-farmer may be exposed from competition with producers in other countries, with the benefit which he may derive, if he has ordinary skill and capital, from the abolition of duties on many articles which are, or may be, profitably consumed upon a farm.

I do not undertake to make a general and indiscriminate abatement of rent, but, aided by good advice, I shall consider the special case of each farm, and the circumstances under which it was entered upon; and in the instances in which I shall be satisfied that there is a fair claim for an abatement of rent, I will make it, and make it with much greater pleasure in favour of an old and improving tenant, than in favour of a stranger.

Although, as I have before observed, I do not consider the present the suitable period for this general review of our position, yet I am prepared without delay, to co-operate with you

in preparing to meet, not foreign competition only—but that competition with domestic skill and capital which will be at least as formidable to those farmers who are insensible to the rapid progress of agricultural improvement, and neglect to keep pace with it.

I have not the presumption to offer you advice as to the practical management of your farms, but I may try to impress upon you this truth, that if there be any of you who produce on the average, not more than eighteen or twenty bushels of wheat per acre, and if there be other farmers who, in not more favoured positions, and on land of equal quality, produce forty—and if they produce this, not by expensive farming, but by wise economy—by the command of adequate capital—by the application of scientific skill—by the liberal employment of labour—by the saving of every particle of manure, and the restoration to the earth of those elements of fertility which are withdrawn with every crop—I may, I say, without presumption, try to impress upon you this truth, there is no amount of protection from foreign produce, no abatement of rent, which would enable you to meet the competition of your own countrymen.

To aid the exertions which are required to encounter successfully that competition, I make to you the following proposals:—

The rent due at Michaelmas last, will be payable, according to custom, in the course of a few days. In the case of all those tenants occupying more than ten acres of land, who shall pay the Michaelmas rent, and discharge any former arrears that may be due, I will set apart 20 per cent. of the last half year's rent, and will forthwith apply the amount, under the general direction of my agent, but in concert with the tenant, in such improvements as may be beneficial to the farm. I shall give the preference to drainage, and to the removal of unnecessary fences, and to the means of preventing the waste of manure. On this expenditure no return will be required from the tenant.

The same course shall be taken with regard to the half-year's rent which will be due at Lady-day next.

If upon any of your farms additional draining should still be requisite, I will execute the work upon the same terms as heretofore; the tenant drawing the materials and paying four per cent. upon the outlay. As to other permanent improvements, requiring an expenditure which the tenant cannot conveniently meet, but on which he may be willing to pay a reasonable rate of interest (such, for instance as additional shedding for the feeding of cattle) I will consider favourably any proposals that may be made to me on that head.

It is hardly necessary to refer to leases of longer duration than one year, as they are so few in number. In the cases, however, in which they do exist, I will consent to release the tenant from his engagement, on his giving, at the proper period of the present year, the same notice which would be required in the case of yearly tenancies. Such tenancies are, as you are well aware, the almost invariable rule in this immediate neighbourhood; but if any of you are desirous of expending money on the improvement of your farm, and wish for the additional security of a lease for years, I have no disinclination to grant it, being satisfied as to the skill and capital of the tenant requiring it.

If you prefer to a lease a written agreement, stipulating for reimbursement on account of unexhausted improvements, on the principle long acted upon in certain districts, I am willing to enter upon such agreement.

It does not occur to me that there are any other points to which it is necessary for me, for the present at least, to refer. I have thought it would be for your advantage, that I should fully explain to you my views and intentions with regard to matters so deeply concerning your interests, and I hope I have done so in a spirit becoming the long connection that has subsisted between us, and the friendly intercourse we have always maintained.

Believe me, with every good wish for your welfare, sincerely yours,

ROBERT PEEL.

Drayton Manor, December 24, 1849.

List of Letters for Nov. 1849.

Remaining for delivery in the Post Office,

Chatham, 15th December, 1849.

Blakely Chas, Napan	Kinsella Patrick
Burchell George,	care of Mr Cross
St. Paul's Church	Lenoir Thomas, jun
Campbell James	schr Mary Elizabeth
care of D. Steel	Landregia Michael
Connor Margaret	Moran Patrick
care of Mr White	Back Lats
Desmon Pat, Chatham	Murphy John, care of
Dupont Narcisse	Mr Burke
Donohoe Chas	Maunder Richard, care
Teacher, Glenelg	Collector Wright
Hamilton John, do, do	Moran James, care of
Giffrey Alfred	John Green
Henderson Mrs James	McLaughlin Michae
Chatham	McLaughlin John,
Hay John, care of Alex	care of D McNaughton
Goodfellow, Esq	McDonald Jane
Holland Mathew	Black River
care of W Dicken	Noble John, care of
Kelly Peter, Glenelg	D. Baldwin
Kerr John, Fraser's	Phelim James
Island Williston Benjamin	
Ray du Via	
N. B. Persons, when asking for any of the above letters, will please to say "advertised"	
JAMES CAIR, P. M.	