

struggle on as they can without either care or aid of any kind from the landlord class. At any rate total neglect on their part in England excites no comment, for little is expected from them; and beyond the domains of the landlord the poor often struggle on without either aid or employment from them. But there exists another class—the middle class—on which, in England, the poor mainly depend for aid and for employment, whether that class be farmers, or shopkeepers, or merchants, or manufacturers. This class is the chief reliance of the poor in England; on this class falls the brunt of their support in periods of calamity, and on this class at all times the lower class mainly depends for employment. But in the Highlands of Scotland, as in Ireland, there are but two classes—the landlords and the poor. It is a kind of patriarchal state. The landlord here is in the position of head, or father, to the whole people of his estate. From him must come all aid, all direction, all employment. There is no middle class to share the duty or the burden with him. Without his aid the people starve; without his direction they never improve; unless he finds employment the mass of his tenantry have nothing to do. The position is an arduous and responsible one, and the neglect of its duties a public calamity. It would be foreign to my present object to endeavour to trace the cause of this radical difference between the state of society in England and in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. It arises, however, neither from custom, nor from law, from misrule, nor from the neglect of landlords, but simply from the difference of the people themselves. The middle class of England originates in and from the people; it is the commercial spirit, the energy, the persevering vigour, the enterprise, and the industry of the people of England which gave rise to the middle class; and if that class which is the mainstay and strength of the country, and which constitutes and accounts for every difference between the condition of the people of England and of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. The difference, in fact, is in the difference of race. The Highlander has qualities excellent in themselves, but of a different nature. He is passive, faithful, and generous, but he has no commercial spirit. Innate energy—that energy which springs from the promptings of a man's own intellect and determined will—he has none. But at the bidding of his chief, or for present reward offered him by another, he will exhibit both energy and impetuosity. Persevering vigour he has none; but he has unlimited patient endurance. Enterprise he cannot conceive; but he sticks with faithful and dogged prejudice to the habits and customs and legends of his fathers. His industry is often great, but never long continued; his industry is a physical exertion prompted by necessity. The Englishman's industry is physical exertion obedient to the direction of intelligence. This radical difference it is, in the very nature of the people themselves, which has always hitherto prevented any number of the people, either in Ireland or in the Highlands, from rising into a middle class; it is this difference which now prevents them doing so; and so long as this radical difference between the Saxon and Celtic races shall exist, in spite of all law, good, bad, or indifferent, and notwithstanding any kind of management, the mass of the people of the Highlands of Scotland and Ireland will ever remain as widely distinct and different in their social condition from the people of England as they are at this day, and have ever been. All aid, then, in a period of calamity like the present—all employment to enable the people to ward off that calamity, must come from the landed proprietors. There is no middle class to break, or to help them to bear the calamity. Proportioned then to the ability of the landlords of the Highlands to give aid, and to afford employment, must the present calamity be mitigated, or dreadful in its results. It is no secret, but rather matter of public notoriety, that so hampered and burdened are the majority of the landed proprietors of Scotland by debts and charges upon their entailed estates, which they can neither sell nor borrow money upon, that their ability to give aid or employment is most limited; and in too many instances and to a frightful extent, the full weight of the present calamity must fall unbroken and unmitigated upon the poor.

[From the Scottish Guardian.]

There was no alternative, we opine,—so at least all parties in Ireland, and the Government at home appear to have felt—but to extend the provisions of the act to private works of a productive character,—with due security that the soil shall everywhere pay for its own improvement. The execution of the plan has doubtless its difficulties, but the principle has been carried by acclamation. Difficulties—no doubt, there are in the execution;—for it is a great, complex, and extensive undertaking. But it is a necessary and unavoidable undertaking; and therefore there is (as the *Times* says) no alternative; and the existence of difficulties—(which are incident to every large and unusual piece of business)—only shows the indispensable importance of consideration and preparation, method and arrangement,—under proper rules to direct, and proper officers to superintend;—so that this great national, and most hopeful enterprise may not miscarry, but may be carried on and completed in a thoroughly satisfactory and business-like manner.

If the national resources are to be called in aid (to the serious disturbance of the financial, and commercial, and industrial well-being of other parts of the empire) for the support of a people whose energies, well directed, might have placed them so far above such recourse—then the national ruling power, whether of government or opinion, acquires a new jurisdiction over the local management which has resulted in such a crisis. The public, who are called on

to subscribe their capital, have a right to look to their security;—we do not mean merely for repayment of a loan—that is, with us, not the matter most important—but for the accomplishment of the purpose for which alone public aid should be invoked—for the permanent elevation of the people of Ireland above dependence on potatoes, or public advances. \* \* If private property neither fears nor scruples to avail itself of public funds, to an extent hitherto unprecedented—public administration and legislature must neither fear nor scruple to intervene for the modification, or restriction, or control, of every incident of that property which obstructs the permanent improvement of Ireland. And the *Economist*,—after recommending that public money should be applied to bringing the waste lands into cultivation,—or what (as we presume) falls under the same category—the bringing of naturally fertile lands, now neglected, into a state fit for the operations of husbandry,—does not scruple farther to recommend that—If the landlord, owning this or that particular district of waste, (or improvable) land, profess to undertake this operation himself, we would authorize the Government to lend him a sufficient sum (at the ordinary rate of interest) on the security of that land,—the loan to be repaid within a very few years, i. e., as soon as the land has begun to be productive. If (he adds) the owners should prefer surrendering these lands to the Government, we would authorize them to do so; \* \* and, in this case, the Board of Works would superintend the reclaiming of these lands, and should be tied to sell them (in lots of suitable extent) as soon as the reclamation was complete;—the Board, in the former case, having power, on failure of the stipulated condition, to take prompt possession of the land.

The Board of Works, if it performed the functions referred to by the *Economist*, would, it is plain, be substantially converted into the Special Board, or Commission, which we ventured to recommend. But we thought, and still think, that the present enterprise being of so peculiar and so comprehensive a character, and embracing objects which, in their nature not less than their extent, differ so widely from the limited design of the existing Board of Public Works, it would be preferable at once to institute a new and special Board, upon a scale, and with a constitution and composition, that would be properly adapted it for its wide, varied, and important purposes. And though this course would seem to be more in character with the occasion, and on this and other accounts to be practically advantageous,—yet, whether the present Board of Works be thus merged in a more comprehensive Board now to be instituted, or the existing Board be extended and new-modelled, so as to fit it for the same purposes, is a matter of little consequence, provided only the magnitude and full scope of the enterprise be fairly kept in view, and the machinery be made proportionate, and adequate to its successful prosecution.

In adverting, in our last, to the obstructions that might be threatened to the peaceful conduct of the revolution in the tenure of landed property now to be effected in Ireland,—we confined our attention exclusively to those that might possibly arise from the turbulence and waywardness of agitators and Repealers. But, while fully alive to the danger existing in that quarter,—and to the absolute necessity of employing, (at whatever expense,) means sufficient to secure tranquillity and order, during the prosecuting of this great enterprise,—we are, at the same time, quite aware that obstructions are to be anticipated from a very different quarter,—which is equally necessary to meet and bear down with unhesitating and unshrinking firmness. We allude to the difficulties that are not unlikely to be stirred up by the landlords and proprietors in Ireland,—or rather by that class of them who,—owing to entails, family settlements, extensive mortgages, or a long course of neglect, now find their estates in circumstances ill fitted to weather the present crisis, and the changes which it renders indispensable. It is now a long time since we referred to the difficulties of this nature which are accumulated in Ireland, and endeavoured to point out the imperative duty and absolute necessity—if any effectual good was ever to be done in Ireland—of not paltering with such matters, or allowing them to be dealt with according to technical, commonplace maxims,—which are wholly inapplicable to the state and necessities of that country. It is evidently to difficulties of this nature that the *Globe* alludes when he says,—that the public administration and Legislature must neither fear nor scruple to intervene for the modification, or restriction, or control of every incident of Irish property which obstructs the permanent improvement of the country. In these sentiments we most cordially concur. Irish landlords, whose properties, or whose general circumstances, are in a healthy state, have nothing in the world to fear from the present necessary interposition of the Government. Even those whose difficulties are considerable—if at all within moderate bounds—will derive nothing but benefit from the stimulus and meliorations afforded by the Government interference; but as to those who are water-logged, and utterly disabled for meeting the coming tempest,—they may be thankful if the merest wreck be saved to them out of the merciless waves; and, at all events, the Government, as representing the public interests, must be kept secure. The last bond of Bottomry gives the first security; for it is it which saves (if saved at all) both ship and cargo.

*Tidal Harbour Commission.*—Vice Admiral Sir Charles Adam, K. C. B., one of the Lords of the Admiralty, Captain Bethune, R. N., C. B., and Captain Washington, R. N., F. R. S., held a public meeting of enquiry into the past and present state of the port and harbour of Glasgow, and capabilities for improvements,