

EUROPE.

ENGLAND.



IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.

House of Commons, Dec. 13.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that perhaps the best mode of rendering himself intelligible would be, to state the supplies that had been voted for the present year, what were the ways and means which had been voted, and what remained to be voted. And first, as to the supplies voted,

The amount voted for the Army was £7,414,000
For the Navy 6,597,000
For the Ordnance 1,695,000
And for the Miscellaneous 1,932,000

Total £16,638,000

To these were to be added £750,000 duty on Exchequer Bills, and £300,000 on account of the Civil List; making in the whole a total of £17,688,000. The ways and means provided to meet this expenditure he stated as follows:

Receipts from the East India Company £60,000
Surplus from supplies of last year 80,000
Sugar Duty 3,000,000
Repayment in Exche. Bills 185,500
From the consolidated fund 12,500,000

£15,823,000

There remained, therefore, £1,865,000 to be voted. At present, however, he called upon the Committee to vote £1,850,000. As to the amount of the Supplies for the present year, he did not feel himself called upon to defend them. He now called upon the Committee merely to make up the deficiency that lay over since last Session. As to the supplies for the ensuing year, when they were brought forward, it would be the duty of the Committee to take the greatest possible care to reduce the Estimates to the lowest standard that was consistent with the public service. As to the intentions of His Majesty's Government, he knew that the expectations of the country were greatly excited; so greatly, that, with all the exertions that could be made, he feared some would be disappointed. He begged the Ministry would do their utmost to show that they were really in earnest in their professions of economy, and if the reduction they contemplated did not amount to as large a saving as some considered desirable, he hoped those who differed with him on that point, would nevertheless give him and the other Members of his Majesty's Government, credit for good intentions—[hear, hear]. The Noble Lord concluded by moving a vote of £1,850,000.

Mr. R. Gordon did not rise to oppose the motion of his Noble Friend, but merely to remind him of the peculiar situation in which the House was placed, with regard to the Estimates. The Estimates were for services performed from the 1st January; they were never presented to the House until the end of February, and they were voted, perhaps in June or July. What was called "the control of Parliament," therefore, was little more than a mockery, as the greater part of the money was spent before it was voted. In France the Estimates were voted a year in advance, and since 1835, when that system commenced, the representatives of the people in that country had a real and efficient control over the public money. He suggested to his Noble Friend, in the next Session, to bring forward the supplies for six quarters instead of four; and then the supplies for the various public services would really come under the control of Parliament. He had the greatest confidence in the plain open conduct of his Noble Friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), who he believed, was strictly an honest man—[hear, hear]. He heard his Noble Friend's determination not to fill up inefficient offices with great satisfaction; but still he felt that some offices had been filled up which were, in a great degree, inefficient. The office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, for instance, which the Noble and Learned Lord now on the woolsack had so pointedly condemned; and the office of Post-master General, which had been recommended to be abolished in the reports of five Committees, of one of which the Noble Lord (Athol) himself was Chairman. He (Mr. Gordon) took the opportunity of throwing out these observations because he considered that the Noble Lord was placed in a most enviable situation—[a laugh]. He repeated the words "enviable," though it had excited a laugh, for his Noble Friend was placed in a situation in which he could do much good. He was now the Minister of the Crown; by his former conduct he had proved himself the friend of the people, and, by combining these two situations, he had it in his power to do incalculable service to the country. Let him not look to patronage or votes; let there be no hankering after boroughmongers, no soothing of one and tampering with another; let him say he depended on his acts, and he would be backed by the country. He had heard it said that the Government kept great offices to give to the attorney, in order to obtain their support. He recommended to Government to sweep away those offices—not to seek for such influence, but to depend on the people. It was not in reference to the Noble Lord's high blood, or the family he represented; but to his present situation and his principles that he (Mr. Gordon) said his Noble Friend had it now in his power to earn a greater name than any one who had ever filled the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer—[hear, hear].

Mr. Ald. Witham expressed his entire satisfaction at what fell from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. His situation was certainly most difficult, for great responsibility attached to it, as the distress of the country was urgent, and the country looked to the Noble Lord and his colleagues for relief. He (Mr. Alderman Witham) should feel it his duty to watch the proceedings of Government; but, as far as it was consistent with his duty, he would give the Noble Lord his support.

Mr. Hume did not wish to go so far as France for an example of voting estimates; at the same time the estimates ought to be laid on the table three months before the House was called on to vote them, in order that they may be fairly explained and considered. The Noble Lord should be prepared now to lay before the House what was required for next year. The Government would surely be able to make all their reductions before January. They may state within a few days what was the largest sum they would want for the next year. It was the largest establishments that should be looked to, if any real savings were contemplated. There

was £7,000,000 for the army, £3,000,000 for the navy, and £1,500,000 for the ordnance; and then the artillery was five times the amount it had been a few years ago. In a state of profound peace, and with pacific intentions, why do the Government keep up a war establishment of 80,000 men, besides 29,000 men for the navy? The artillery was 9,000 at present; and 3,000 was thought sufficient formerly. It was not the pay of these men even, but the expense of barracks, and the many other expenses required for their convenience and efficiency, which swelled the amount of the estimates. He mentioned this particularly, because he heard it rumoured abroad that the Government intended adding to the military force of the country. He (Mr. H.) trusted that they would not be deluded into any such step, and that the report was unfounded; so far from adding to the number, Government ought to reduce at least 20,000 men; and then they would have a large force as existed in 1832. When 30,000 men may be reduced, it was throwing away millions, and piling themselves on saving a few thousands. If 30,000 men were reduced, immediately, the coal and candle duties may be repealed. The navy may also safely be reduced to the extent of 10,000 men, including the 9,000 marines, not one-half of whom were ever afloat at the same time. If these reductions were made immediately the whole of the assessed taxes might be repealed, which pressed so heavily on the class the least able to bear them. He trusted the Chancellor of the Exchequer would now contradict the report that 6,000 or 7,000 additional troops were to be raised. The Government must prove themselves in earnest in their professions of economy, if they did not want to be opposed. If places were to be repaired, built, let it be done out of the profits of the Crown lands, and let not the people of England be called upon to pay for them by additional taxes. If the Government took advice from him as from a friend, he would let the Lord Chancellor enforce the same principles in the Cabinet as he did in his place at that House; and let the offices connected with the Duchy of Lancaster and the Duchy Cornwall likewise be given up. The latter cost only £25,000 a-year, but it secured 15 Members in Parliament, and therefore he objected, not so much for the money as for the patronage and influence. In conclusion, he trusted that the estimates for next year would be produced at an early day, and that a large reduction would be found in the gross amount that was the only way to relieve the distresses of the country.

Sir Joseph Yorke thought the Hon. Member (Mr. Hume's) proposal for cutting down the military establishments, entitled him to be a candidate for a straight waistcoat—[a laugh]. There never was a time when a large military and naval force was so necessary. The Hon. Member for Middlesex kept within moderate bounds; he was pronounced out of all limits, and would actually kill the goose for the sake of the egg. Without the military force which existed, how could the disturbances be put down, and the ringleaders be detected? He spoke from what he had lately observed in the south of the County of Hampshire, where the commotions could never have been put down but for the small band of military stationed there. The military force was reduced to as low a level as possible, consistent with the safety of the country. He wished the Hon. Member for Middlesex had remained in the north, surrounded by the walls of Aberdeen; but he implored the Noble Lords opposite (Athol and Palmerston), who certainly were not on a bed of roses, to throw overboard the dead weight, if they liked, but not to deprive the country of its military force, which was, at this period, its salvation—[hear].

Sir M. Ridley said that he was decidedly opposed to any thing like a reduction of the military establishment of the country at a moment like the present when France and Belgium, and Poland, and Naples, were in such an uncertain situation. The military establishment had, he regretted, been already cut down too low, and any contemplated saving from reductions in that quarter would be wholly nugatory. There could, in fact, be no effectual saving that would be beneficially felt by the public, unless something were cut off from the enormous sum of 30 millions annually appropriated for the payment of the interest of the national debt—[hear, hear]. Unless that sum were taken into consideration there could be no saving which could lead to any material reduction of taxation. Would the reduction of one million of taxes, he would ask, satisfy the expectations of the people?—[hear, hear]. He was confident it would not; and as he could not hope that there could be such reduction of taxes as would be felt very beneficially by the people, he hoped they might be laid on in some other shape less distressing to the poorer classes of Society—[hear, hear].

Sir Hesse Vivian said that he was a strong advocate for keeping up the military force of the country, for he was convinced that there could be no happiness where there was not a sufficient protection for persons and property. Mr. Denison was glad to hear that his Majesty's Government did not intend to make any change whatever in the standard of value. He lived in the County of Surrey, near where the disturbances had taken place, and he could confidently assert, that the constabulary, without the assistance of the military, would not have been able to apprehend the rioters. It was impossible, without the assistance of the soldiers, to repress the lawless spirit of some persons. He rejoiced in the pledge of retrenchment given by his Majesty's Ministers; and above all, in their pledge of bringing forward a plan of reform. He was confident, from the knowledge he had of them (having for a long time enjoyed the friendship of many,) that they would redeem their pledges and act up to their principles, and, as long as they did so they should have his support.

Lord Palmerston could not help expressing his surprise that a Member of a great county, like the Hon. Member for Surrey, should entertain the opinions he had expressed. That surprise was not diminished on observing the contradiction in the statement of the Hon. Member, for, while he asserted that no force was necessary, he thought only a large force sufficient to restore that tranquillity which he admitted did not exist. He (Lord Palmerston) denied that this force was to keep down the people, but to give force to the law, and protect the property of those who had a right to expect protection from Government. The outrages arose from evil-disposed persons working upon the feelings of those who were labouring under distress. Those persons whose property was in danger had a right to expect that Government should enforce the authority of the law. It is not to be expected that the constabulary should expose themselves to labour which could only be undergone by a force completely organized. The addition of 6,000 men could not, however, have much effect. The only effect it would produce would be, to give countenance and support to the voluntary exertions of those whose property was attacked. If the Ministry did not aid persons so unjustly

attacked, they ought to be expelled from their places. Mr. Alderman Witham said that the public distress would never be alleviated by a mere reduction of taxation. The resolutions were then agreed to.

FRANCE.

TRIAL AND SENTENCE OF THE EX-MINISTERS.

As the trial of these men proceeded, the excitement throughout Paris daily increased, so that on the last day Tuesday, the 21st December, the proceedings were evidently hurried, for the purpose of getting rid of this melancholy source of so much public excitement. The arguments of the whole of the prisoners' council may be expressed in these few words—by expelling Charles the Tenth, the French nation virtually recognized his responsibility—and if the King were responsible, then the Ministers ceased to be so.—There was, indeed, a legal argument—namely *cogitatio pœnitentis*, as they are called, were contemplated by the charter, and not in violation of it. While the Peers were deliberating on the evidence, the excitement in Paris was awful.—Odillon Barrot published a spirited Proclamation, in which he declared the intention of the government strictly to enforce the law—and Lafayette issued an order of the day, calling on the people to behave orderly, &c. At ten o'clock at night, the President of the Court of Peers, in a voice of deep emotion, pronounced the following sentence:—

"Considering that, by the ordinances of the 25th of July, the Constitutional Charter of 1814, the electoral laws, and those securing the liberty of the Press were manifestly violated, and that the royal powers thereby usurped the functions of the Legislature.

Considering that, although the individual will of Charles the Tenth may have influenced the determination of the accused, that circumstance cannot relieve them from their legal responsibility.

Considering that it appears from the proceedings, that A. Jules Armand Marie Prince de Polignac as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of War and interim, and President of the Council of Ministers; Pierre Dupuis, Comte de Peyronnet, as Minister of the Interior; Jean Claude Balghezar Victor Chantelauze, as Garde des Sceaux and Minister of Justice; and Martial Comte Annibal Perpetue Magloire, Comte de Guernon Ranville, as Minister of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs, all responsible in the terms of the 18th article of the Charter in 1814, counter-signed the Ordinances of the 25th July, the illegality of which they themselves acknowledge; and they took every means to enforce the execution of them; and that they advised the King to declare the city in a state of siege, in order to subdue by arms the legitimate resistance of the citizens—

Considering that these constitute the crime of treason, provided against by the 56th article of the Charter of 1814.

Declares the Prince de Polignac, le Comte de Peyronnet, Victor Chantelauze, and le Comte de Guernon Ranville guilty of the crime of treason.

Considering that no law has been determined for the punishment of treason, and that the court is therefore under the necessity of supplying the deficiency;

According to the 7th article of the penal Code, which classes transportation (1) among the punishments stigmatising with infamy;

According to the 17th article of the same Code, which declares transportation to be for life.

According to the 18th article, which declares that transportation involves civil death, and the 29th article of the Code Civile which regulates the consequences of civil death;

Considering that there is not any place, out of the Continental dominions of France to which criminals sentenced to transportation can be taken and detained;

Condemns le Prince de Polignac to be imprisoned for life in the Continental dominions of the kingdom; declares him deprived of his titles rank and orders—declares him civilly dead—all the other consequences of transportation remaining in force, as regulated by the articles before mentioned.

Considering the facts of the case as appearing from the proceedings;

Condemns le Comte de Peyronnet, Victor Chantelauze, and le Comte de Guernon Ranville, to imprisonment for life—directs them to be placed in a state of interdiction conformably to the 28th and 29th articles of the Penal Code—declares them equally deprived of their titles, rank, and orders.

Condemns all the accused, individually and collectively, to pay the expenses of the proceedings.

Orders the present sentence to be communicated by message to the Chambre de Deputes. Orders that it shall be printed and posted up in Paris and every other commune of the kingdom, and transmitted to the Garde des Sceaux, Minister of Justice, for the purpose of being carried into execution.

After their sentence had been pronounced, the prisoners were removed in the middle of the night to the castle of Vincennes their old lodging—where the judgment of the court was announced to them and where they will remain until removed to their place of ultimate confinement, the fortress of Ha, in Pickardy.—On Wednesday night the whole of the military in Paris were in arms. Every thing seemed to announce a collision between the agents of disturbance and friends of order, when the King, accompanied by the Duke de Nemours, his second son, left the palace at midnight, and rode, accompanied by a picket of cavalry of the National Guard, through the whole of the more crowded streets. The appeal to the Parisians in which it was made. Louis Philip was welcomed with enthusiasm wherever he moved—and the crowds, when he retired, went quietly home.

THE EX-MINISTERS.—All have been convicted of treason, but none condemned to death. They are sentenced to perpetual imprisonment and degradation. The seclusion of Polignac is to be more severe than that of his accomplices, for he is condemned to solitary confinement. The irritation among the lower orders in Paris, which was formidable through the whole progress of the trial of these unfortunate guilty men, became excessive when it was ascertained that the guillotine was to have no victim from amongst them.—The preparations of the Government, are, however, commensurate with the danger, but all must depend upon the fidelity of the troops, and the National Guards.

ORDER OF THE DAY, DEC. 22.

"Every order of the day in moments of crisis can only repeat the thanks of the General-in-Chief to his dear brothers in arms, because each day gives them new titles to his public and personal gratitude. Their conduct on the present occasion will not be thrown away on the general cause of liberty and public order. It will show the nature of institutions founded upon a broad and entire confidence in the rights and sentiments of the French; it points out our

duties; we all know how we shall fulfill them; and the revolution of July, which recalls to the General-in-Chief so many glorious recollections of his dear comrades, so many marks of their affection for and confidence in me, which forms between all of us, men of July, an indissoluble tie, will always remain great and generous. The General-in-Chief would gladly enumerate all his obligations, but what can he do better for the satisfaction of the national guard, than not to delay the publication of the letter which he has just received?

Wednesday Morning, Dec. 22.

"It is through you, my dear general, that I desire to transmit to our brave and indefatigable nation for the zeal and energy with which they have maintained order and prevented my disturbance. It is to yourself, however, my dear general, that I must, in the first place, offer my thanks for having, in those days of trial, again presented an example of that courage, patriotism, and respect for the laws you have so repeatedly shown in the course of your long and noble career.

"Express in my name, how much I have rejoiced in seeing re-established that fine institution, which had been almost entirely annihilated, but which again rose brilliant in force and patriotism, more beautiful and more numerous than it ever was before, the moment the glorious days of July broke the letters with which it had been vainly attempted to bind them forever. It is this grand institution that is destined to ensure to us the triumph of the sacred cause of liberty, to enforce from without the kingdom a respect for our national independence, and by preserving the laws of the country from all infringement. Let it never be forgotten that there is no liberty without law, and that there is no law where any power is able to paralyze its action and become superior to it.

"These my dear general are the sentiments I wish you to express, in my name, to the national guards. I rely upon a continuance of their efforts and yours, that nothing may interrupt that tranquillity so necessary for Paris and for all France, and which it is so essential to maintain. Receive, my dear general, a repetition of the assurance of the sincere friendship you already know I bear towards you.

(Signed) "LOUIS PHILIPPE."

LAFAYETTE.

The *Messenger des Chambres* of Thursday, says, "This day is quite different from yesterday. Yesterday there was mortal fear—a judgement expected with anger—an assembled Chamber—a sentence to be protected—order to be maintained—the silence of the town in a state of war, and all the gloomy discouragement of a people in expectation of some great event; and when all was said yesterday, the national guard returned home in sad and mournful silence. One would have said that all was not over, and what occasioned some anxiety was, the reflection that amongst those men who had deserved so well of the country there were some discontented. To day the disturbances assumed a different aspect. It was an agitation without end or object; crowds uttered a thousand silly exclamations, like idlers, who seek a little disturbance for the sake of employment. Above all the good citizens had had time, during the night to reflect upon the result of the trial, and they had understood what happiness it was for France to avoid the spectacle of bloodshed upon the *Greve*. What glory for themselves to have resisted such cruel recollections—to have protected those very men whose odious acts they have resisted with such valour! Yes, this might have concluded the benefits of the preceding one—it consecrated the sentence of the Chambre de Peers—it tranquillized all minds and all hearts.

"The National Congresses that a few partial engagements must have taken place this morning in the faubourg St. Germain, had not the young men belonging to the public schools interrupted their authority, we may say, by crying, 'Order!' 'Liberty!' and thus obliged both the detachments of the national guards and workmen themselves to follow them. The Ecole Polytechnique, the medical students, as also those studying the law, traversed the populous quarters of Paris which was most agitated, claiming and fortifying the national guards on one hand, and on the other endeavouring to excite feelings of generosity and respect for the laws. The effect of this youthful interruption was really miraculous. The people followed the young men, repeating with them the cries of 'Liberty!' 'Public order!' And after this promanading during two or three hours, the crowd retired, astonished at finding that its sanguinary dispositions had entirely subsided.

The private letters corroborate the public intelligence that order is restored, and that tranquillity will continue. One of them, after describing the tumults of Wednesday, says—'Last night, soon after candle-light, the streets were, as usual, thronged, the populace noisy, and in bad humour, the national guards and regiments of the line every where strongly posted, and the utmost apprehensions expressed by the public for the peace of the metropolis through the night. The King, however, put an end to all these apprehensions by a *coup d'etat* of his own. He went forth instantly from his palace accompanied by his second son, the Duke de Nemours, and threw himself at once into the crowded streets among the people, and this appeal to their *amour propre* had the desired effect. He placed himself at the head of the cavalry. The trumpets sounded a royal flourish, and the officers in front among whom were several of the marshals of France, as they rode into the rue des Petit Champs, from the rue Valois, in clearing the Palais Royal, exclaimed 'The King is behind us, in the cloak and without his hat; the Duke de Nemours rides with us.' The people, who lined the streets cheered the royal family with enthusiasm. 'Long live the King,' 'Long live the national guard,' was the universal cry, and the burst of enthusiasm along the whole line of the streets through which the King passed for two hours was tremendously decisive of his Majesty's personal influence.

Treaty of Alliance, Offensive and defensive, between France and England.

Paris, December 4, 1830.

Sir—Mr. Pitt said "France and Britain have by their past conduct acted as if they were intended for the destruction of each other; but I hope the time is now come, when they shall justify the order of the universe, and show themselves better calculated for the more amiable purposes of friendly intercourse and mutual benevolence." This was wise, humane, just, and reasonable. I need not show how Mr. Pitt's policy was opposed to Mr. Pitt's eloquence, nor prove how well he could turn a period for peace, and charge the cannons for war. No one will dispute his talents—but the evil nature of his policy is as clear as a sun-beam. But what means the heading which I have prefixed to this letter? "Treaty of alliance offensive and defensive between France and England." I will tell you.

Yesterday, no later than yesterday, an English Journal which is published in Paris, and which is called after its proprietors *Galignani's*

Messenger, published at two o'clock, in its second edition, the following most important paragraph:—

"We are assured that a Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and England, was signed at London on the 12th ult. for the ratification of King Louis Philip."

When this morose and French subscribers to the *Messenger*, they were astounded though delighted, and breathless with joy, they hastened to the Bourse—to the cafes—to the saloons—and to the promenades, to give circulation to so important and memorable announcement. The first impression which was produced by the intelligence, or by the report, was that of joy—but the next was that of suspicion—and thousands exclaimed "It is too good to be true." After joy and suspicion came inquiry, and those who are not in the habit of seeing or reading this *Galignani's Messenger* naturally inquired into the character of that Journal—of its proprietors—and of the degree of confidence which might be placed in the news it announced. The answer to these inquiries were more satisfactory than otherwise, and the French public learnt, that inasmuch as the Journal in question was a compilation from other, and especially from English newspapers, and that it hardly ever gave a syllable of original news or original matter, that, therefore, more confidence might be placed in such news when given, since like angels' visits, such intelligence "was few and far between." In less than three hours almost every corner of Paris was put in possession of this joyful intelligence. The funds rose in value. The countenances of thousands became enlivened with hope.—The English were every where questioned, even by strangers, as to whether they thought the news was true—and the gloom of the past two months seemed at once dispersed. "We are assured that a Treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive between France and England, has been signed," was repeated a thousand and ten thousand times through the course of the evening—and, go where you might, you were asked "Have you heard the news—the glorious news, of an Alliance between England and France?" The *Messenger des Chambres* and *Gazette de France* of yesterday evening, repeated the news without confirming it; and the *Moniteur* of this morning was looked to with anxiety, in order to discover if any official paragraph should be inserted, either confirming or negating this joyful and important intelligence. But the *Moniteur* is silent. The official or semi-official newspapers of the French Ministry are silent; and except an oracular, delphic conclusion to a leading article in the *London Courier* of Thursday, which to-day has reached us by express, we have no news from England, confirming the truth of the intelligence, which thirty-two millions of people in a few hours all desire to be true. In this state of uncertainty we are placed to-day. Some state that a question may be put in the Chambers; others that a communication may be made by the Ministers; and others that the Ministers of the Interior may forward the joyful intelligence to the Bourse.

But, perchance, all these hopes will be disappointed—perchance the *Galignani's Messenger* was in error—perchance some one imposed upon the proprietors, and even obtained the insertion of the paragraph, not for the avowed but for the hidden purpose of rising the price of the funds—perchance we have been in a dream, and that we have to wake to the sad reality of "No Treaty, no alliance, and the paragraph all a mistake."

But shall this discourage us? Shall we derive no advantage from this false report, if false report it be? Shall we allow such a fact—such an exhibition of public feeling—such a marked and unanimous desire that the report may be true—to pass unnoticed and to die away like the other dreams and shadows of life? No, no; we will do no such thing! If this Treaty do not yet exist, it must—it shall do so. Thirty-two millions of Frenchmen desire it; and we are persuaded that no British patriot—no British Statesman—no lover of his species, of civilization, and human happiness, can do otherwise than sincerely wish that such a Treaty may speedily exist.

Take it, then, as you will—that there is a Treaty, or that there is not a Treaty—that it has not been signed, or that it has been signed; yes, take it as you will, the paragraph in question was most important, and may lead to consequences at which not merely the present but future ages will rejoice.

"A Treaty of Alliance Offensive and Defensive between France and England," and let me ask, why not? Are the interests of France really distinct from those of Great Britain? Would the prosperity of the one be the ruin of the other, and would France gain more by the alliance than her powerful maritime neighbour? Must France and Britain be as divided in heart as they are in their territories?—Is the dark blue ocean which rolls between us be the grave of natural friendship, and in a passage of three hours are we to leave behind us all the humanity and benevolence of our natures?

Must it be that France and Britain shall be estranged in order to secure the safety of Thrones—the peace of Europe—and the happiness of man? Must it be that those who live under similar laws, who possess similar Charters, who have alike shaken off the despotism of their rulers and have become free, and who have the same object in view in the diffusion of education, the emancipation of the slave, and the progressive improvement of the arts and sciences—I ask, must it be that two such nations shall ever be opposed to each other by petty jealousies, miserable rivalry, and by that mutual want of sympathy which should only be felt by the ignorant and the wicked? No, no; England and France must become real allies—for civilization demands it—the more threatening aspect of the North of Europe demands it—and all the men of sense and feeling, honour and virtue, who live or have lived in the first thirty years of this nineteenth century of the Christian *Æra* demand it.

"Yes," says yonder timid old man, who would startle at the sound of a pop-gun—and tremble with fear at a loaded pistol. "Yes—yes—let England and France be good friends—let an alliance offensive and defensive would be a measure which would endanger, instead of secure, the peace which you so much desire." Poor old man! he has lived his seventy years in vain, and if possible I will endeavour to convince him of this—though perhaps it will be almost cruel to do so. But though cruel to him it will be kind to the millions, and therefore I will explain. No—an alliance offensive and defensive between England and France will not endanger, but will secure the peace of Europe. If this Treaty of Alliance shall displease any one, it will be Russia; and what can Russia do without France—without a fleet adequate to meet that of England—without a loan, and where will she find money out of England and France; who will lend her money to fight the fleet of the one, and the army of the other? But Russia will appeal to Prussia, to Austria