

Protection of American Citizens Abroad.

If there was one declaration in the prospectus of Mr. PIERCE's administration which more than another found a response in the American heart, it was that the citizens of the Republic should be protected in every part of the world. It is very obvious that, although we were once so weak as to be compelled, for a time, to levy a tax upon our own Mediterranean commerce to pay a tribute to the pirates of Algiers; and although, for the same reason, we were long obliged to submit to indignities under the name of "the right of search," yet the gallantry of our seamen and soldiers enabled us to throw off the humiliating submission to those who claimed to be stronger than ourselves. The rapid growth and unquestioned power of our country enables us, however, to take that stand which our national dignity requires. Every American will, therefore, sustain the assertion of individual rights, because every individual abroad is the representative of the national character. It cannot be supposed that in avowing an interest in the maintenance of a position so patriotic we have any wish that the power of our Government should be employed to outrage or to insult others—nor to manifest a sensibility so acute as that every circumstance of disrespect should be construed into cause of hostility. It is precisely because we advocate peace that we commend the prompt resentment of injustice or insult. Courtesy is the highest ornament of courage; it is the polish of the soldier's steel; and those nations and individuals who move most peacefully through life, are those who never offer nor endure an insult.

The manly stand taken by Captain SPRINGHAM in behalf of a man believed to be entitled to the protection of the American flag has been highly commended. His fearless language towards the Austrian officer whose prevarication so nearly occasioned serious consequences, and his withdrawal of any right to interfere so soon as the prisoner disclaimed his citizenship, show a promptness and determination to discharge his duty as an American officer, which seems to have met with general commendation. The *European Times*, however, seems to anticipate in the following paragraphs some further discussion of the subject. In this event, the administration of Mr. PIERCE will perhaps have an opportunity to make some demonstration in regard to the inaugural declaration to which we have referred:

"THE LEVANT.—The Austrian vessels *Artemise* and *Custoza* have been ordered in haste to Smyrna to assist the Hussar in the embarkation of Costa, should any interference be attempted by the American corvette. During the disturbances the life of the Austrian Lieutenant Anrenhamer was saved by two Englishmen, Messrs. Herry and Turrel, at great peril to themselves. According to the Austrian authorities the persons principally implicated are the Hungarian Bassits, and two Italians named Fumagello and Pizzarda."

It will be seen, by reference to another part of our paper, that a very serious collision has arisen at Smyrna, arising out of the seizure by the Austrian authorities of a person named Kosta, a native of Hungary, and formerly aide-de-camp to M. Kossuth. The affair has been further complicated by the interference of the American Consul at Smyrna, and Captain Stringham, the commander of an American corvette lying in the harbor, who, believing that Kosta had been naturalized as an American citizen, would not suffer him to be given up to Austria. In this affair the conduct of the American consul and captain has been spirited, and, although Kosta remains in charge of the Austrian consul, nothing will be done in his case until the Governments of Washington and Vienna have been consulted on the subject."

The Anglo-Saxon in the Pacific. One day a mail from California brings accounts of the astounding discoveries, developments, and progress on the side of our continent bounded by the Pacific ocean, and the next day a mail from Australia gives intelligence equally surprising of the resources and rapid growth of the British colonies in another part of the grand ocean. These rival countries divide the attention of the world. The columns of the press are loaded with the almost fabulous details. Old men hear in silent astonishment, scarcely believing they are not under some hallucination; the young drink the inspiring news, and soar high on the wings of expectation, to look over the continents and islands to the remotest parts of the earth under the conquering power of modern civilization. To calculate time by the progress of the world we live a century in a few years.

Our fathers read the narratives of Captain Cook and other voyagers of their days of discoveries of islands, and of adventures in the far-off Pacific, as, when boys, we read Robinson Crusoe. They were looked upon like Bruce's Travels in Africa, and the adventures of knights errant, as a mixture of romance and truth.

A voyage round the world—what an undertaking! And a man who had made it—what an extraordinary person! And remember, this was not in a period far back in the middle ages, but a few years ago—within the memory of living men.

Now what do we see? Thousands of ships furrowing every parallel and meridian of the oceans—from the arctic to the antarctic circle, and from the coasts of America to those of Asia and Australia. Two great empires have their foundations laid, and are assuming prodigious proportions—one in the northwest, and the other in the southeast of this vast expanse of waters. The people are of the same race and speak the same language. The two nations of which these growing empires form a part number over fifty millions, and go over a fourth of the habitable globe. They hold the commerce of the world. In nearly equal proportions the aggregate tonnage is not far from 100,000,000 tons. The shipping of all the world is insignificant compared to this. In the annals of human life, and in many of its details, they stand first among the nations.

In science and in literature none are superior, and few can claim to rival them; while in their institutions and love of freedom, which develop the man and give energy of character, they are pre-eminent. We speak of England and America together. And though they differ in some things, there is much that is common between them. Not only are they alike in language, but in their ambition, in tenacity of purpose and determined perseverance, and in many other attributes. The institutions of both have a common basis—love of individual independence; and they are the only people who appear to have ever appreciated liberty in a practical, rational manner. This characteristic has much to do, doubtless, with the superior progress of the race. For as England with her free institutions has outstripped the rest of the world, so America with her greater freedom and superior institutions will leave England behind in the race. These, then, are the people who have made a highway of the Pacific and every other ocean—who are fast bringing all nations and tribes into communication with each other, and who are spreading the light of civilization in the darkest corners of the earth. These are the people who have planted themselves in the east and in the west of the Pacific as two points d'appui from which they will press with irresistible force upon the rich countries and among the dense populations of Asia and the Asiatic archipelago.

California in five years has become a great State, with a population of more than 300,000. Her mines are yielding at the rate of \$100,000,000 a year, are increasing, and appear to be inexhaustible. The commerce of San Francisco rivals that of our largest Atlantic cities. From January to the 30th of May, 1853, there entered 487 vessels of 249,033 tons, and cleared 755 vessels of 272,245 tons. Governor BULLER reports that there was a capital of \$108,522,568 employed in agriculture, real estate, and improvements; and comparing her with other States, he says:

"In horses she is in advance of fifteen of the States; in mules, of twenty-six States; in milk cows, of twelve States; in work oxen, of eight; value of live stock, of twenty States; barley, only equaled by New York; potatoes, next to New York, and more than one-half of all produced in the Union; wheat, greater than ten of the States; oats, three-fourths of the other States; hay, exceeding nine of the States; mining, without a parallel; fruits, exceeding all the States in variety, and one-half of them in quantity produced."

Our Territories of Oregon and Washington, though not making such rapid strides as California, are advancing fast, and will soon become States. They have mineral wealth, a delightful climate, and the finest agricultural country in the world. The abundance of unsurpassed timber, and coal, and water-power, with the fine harbors of the strait of Juan de Fuca and Puget's Sound, must make this region a great ship-building and commercial country. These countries, stretching along from the 33d to the 49th parallel of latitude, embracing every climate, and unparalleled in their resources and capabilities for agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and commerce, and inhabited by a people who will soon develop them, are destined to be the controlling power of the Pacific.

In nearly a due southeast direction from San Francisco to Port Jackson, New South Wales, a distance of about 6,950 miles, is the seat of the other mighty embryo empire of which we have spoken. Sydney is a magnificent city, containing a population of nearly 100,000, and has one of the finest harbors in the world. It is the capital of New South Wales, and the first city of Australia. Melbourne, however, since the gold discovery, from being nearer to the mines, has advanced astonishingly; and from its more central position, relatively to the other colonies, threatens to rival Sydney in the contest for the seat of empire. The colonies and settlements of Australia are New South Wales on the east side of that insular continent, stretching from the tropics to the thirty-eighth degree of south latitude. This is a great pastoral wool-growing region, and contains a portion of the gold district. Australia, Felix, or the Port Phillip colony at the extreme southernmost part of the continent, bounded by Bass's Strait, is a rich agricultural and pastoral country—the climate, like that of all the colonies, is very fine. It is not so arid as some of the colonies more north, and therefore is superior for agriculture. It has gold mines also. On the west side of Australia, parallel to New South Wales on the east, is the colony of South Australia, of which Adelaide is the capital. Here are the great Burra Barra and other copper mines. This, too, is a fine pastoral and agricultural country. The colony of Swan River, further north on the west, has not made much progress. Then there are the colonies of Van Dieman's Land and of New Zealand. These are islands with the happiest climate and full of resources. The entire population in the colonies is probably over half a million. The discovery of such an abundance of gold has given them an importance scarcely less than that of California. The amount of gold produced is equal, or nearly equal, to that of our own El Dorado.

What, then, may we not expect from these colonies, which must, before long, become independent States? We shall have an extensive intercourse with them, while we shall rival each other in the trade of the Pacific. It has been said that China and the countries of the northeast of the grand ocean will be subjugated either by the Sarmatian or the Saxon. Great and ambitious as is the Russian power, we have no doubt that the Saxon will be superior to the Sarmatian, and that we shall subjugate those countries, not by arms, but by the peaceful and irresistible power of commerce.

THE PRESIDENT'S SON.—A marble monument, in the obelisk form, has recently been erected in the ancient burial place in Concord, over the remains of the son of President Pierce, killed in January last, bearing this inscription: "Benjamin Pierce, born April 13, 1841; died January 6, 1853. 'Go thy way, thy son liveth.'" FRANCIS DODGE, esq., of Georgetown, D. C., has been unanimously chosen as President of the Metropolitan Railroad Company.

WASHINGTON GOSSIP.

WASHINGTON, August 1, 1853.

In referring to the difficulties in the way of Mr. Walker's departure for China, some days since, I suggested the propriety of ordering a steamer from the Japan squadron—then expected to winter at Macao—to take him from Ceylon to Shanghai and the other points of his destination. I learn since that it is extremely doubtful whether the squadron will return to Macao this fall. Of course if there is the least uncertainty on that point, no reliance should be placed on this method of getting over the difficulty. Nor can we send word to Commodore Perry at Japan to send back a steamer; for we have no vessel on the coast of China to bear the message; and even if we had, a vessel could not return from Japan, meet Mr. Walker at the southern point of Ceylon, and reach Shanghai with him before some time next spring. Decided objection is also made to any reduction of the Japan squadron, which the Commodore feels to be already quite inadequate.

Yet a steamer is absolutely necessary for Mr. Walker's use, not only because of his delicate health, but also because he will need to visit many different points on the coast of China, as well as Peking, which, it will be remembered, is reached through the Yellow sea. If he should go by the overland route from England, the British steamers could take him no further than Hong Kong, in whose sickly climate he would be compelled to wait, indefinitely, for some chance mode of proceeding to Shanghai. It has been understood, from the time of Mr. Walker's acceptance of the appointment, that he declared he would not proceed to China except in an American steamer—to meet him at Ceylon—for reasons already intimated. Humiliating as the confession is, our navy is destitute of a suitable vessel to be devoted to this service. The Princeton, though convalescent, is still in a very precarious situation—afflicted apparently with a chronic disorder of her boilers. The Saratoga—now undergoing extensive repairs at Norfolk—if not ruined by the machinists, at whose mercy she is, will probably be able to crawl along at the rate of a first-class canal steam-tug; and if fortunate, and able to carry fuel enough to take her from one coaling depot to another, might be expected to accomplish the voyage to China, via Ceylon, by early in March—at least two months later than our Minister's arrival there should occur. But it is doubtful whether she can carry sufficient fuel; and, being a side-wheel steamer, when forced to rely on her sails for propelling power, especially against the monsoons, she would probably progress backward, in the most approved crab-fashion. It strikes me, we can look for no relief in that quarter.

Then we have left the San Jacinto and the Albatross, neither of which, I am certain, will the Navy Department think of offering for the service in question. Where, then, shall the means of conveyance for Mr. Walker be found? Surely the Administration cannot think of folding its hands—mourning the inefficient, poverty-stricken condition of the navy, and let its minister stay at home, while the rich prizes of Asiatic commerce are being distributed among other nations, more thrifty than the boasting Republic of America. I have thought much of the suggestion that Government should purchase or charter one of the Collins steamers, or some other private or semi-private vessel, suitable for the important service required. Why cannot this be done? A single week or day's delay may put us a century behind England or France in the great race for commercial superiority. Sir Walter Raleigh said: "Whoever commands the sea, commands the trade; whoever commands the trade of the world, commands the treasures of the world, and consequently the world itself." The race for commercial supremacy is to be run on the Pacific, and the waters of the great East looking towards our western possessions. If we get behind-hand in these diplomatic arrangements which regulate trade and commerce between nations, we may expect to be outstripped in the race; and if the political axiom so well expressed by Raleigh, and so universally adopted by wise statesmen of the present day, is true, we must fall in the scale of nations, because failing in the development of commerce. But I did not design to write a homily on a subject so well understood by all classes as this. I intended simply to suggest that no considerations of false economy should for one moment delay the most extravagant expenditure necessary to secure Mr. Walker's departure at the earliest day possible. I question whether he will not refuse to go altogether, if some mode of conveyance is not speedily decided upon.

Some months ago the Post Office Department made a claim against the British post office for the return of transit postages on a large quantity of newspapers erroneously credited to the British offices, which has signified its readiness to pay over to our Department the sum of \$6,499.06. So much clear gain.

Where is the equestrian statue of Washington, by Clark Mills, to be placed? It is suggested that this subject ought to receive attention now, before the erection of the new market-house, before the erection of the latter be placed in the centre of Pennsylvania avenue opposite the termination of Eighth street, and the carriage-way be run on each side of it, taking up the space now occupied by the sidewalks. Of course this plan would include the laying out of a neat little park on the present market-house site. I repeat the suggestion for public discussion. It certainly is worth thinking of. Such an improvement would certainly be an advantage to the property in the vicinity named, would improve the appearance of the avenue very much, and give us one work of art in a very appropriate location, and at the same time where the million could see it daily.

Mr. Crampton, the British Minister, accompanied Mr. Marcy to Berkeley Springs. As he took his secretary, Mr. Cobett, along with him, and Mr. Marcy took Mr. Berrit, it is presumed they have sought the springs more for their quiet than their waters; and that they expect there to negotiate industriously on the fishery question. Mr. Crampton went to the springs at Mr. Marcy's invitation.

The Third Auditor of the Treasury, it is rumored, will receive an invitation to vacate at an early day. He was appointed as a Taylor man, supported Pierce, and was brought up with a round turn for favoring the election of Jenkins, the "conservative." Democratic candidate for Governor of Georgia—Mr. J. being considered to occupy a position inimical to the Administration.

George Saunders, the spy and fearless exponent of "Young America," it is again asserted, will be appointed Consul to London, and receive his commission in a few days, probably as soon as the Southern and Western elections are over, and the Minister to France can be announced.

The statement of Commodore Newton's death at Pensacola, on the 19th ult., was premature. A letter dated the 23d, received at the Navy Department yesterday from his son, who is his secretary, refers to his father as still "very feeble" from the effects of his illness. If the Commodore had died on the 19th, his son would hardly express himself in such feeble terms relative to the Commodore's condition.

The steamer Waterwitch has been heard from at Buenos Ayres, on the 25th of May. She left Rio on the 30th of April, and made the trip to Montevideo in eight days, during two of which the weather was very heavy. At Montevideo the steamer was detained at quarantine eight days, in accordance with an oppressive regulation subjecting all vessels from Rio to that length of quarantine, whether they have sickness on board or not. The Waterwitch, it will be remembered, is on her way to the head-waters of the La Plata, on a surveying and exploration expedition.

The Columbia, on the 23d ultimo, was still at Pensacola, awaiting the arrival of Minister Borden, who was at New Orleans, ill with fever.

The sloop-of-war Cyane is on her way from Pensacola to Norfolk with eighty-one naval recruits. She will probably proceed to the fishing grounds immediately on her arrival.

Nicholas Clinch has been appointed to a first-class clerkship in the Third Auditor's Office, salary \$900.

A. W. Lawrence, esq., of North Carolina, has been appointed professor of mathematics and ordered to duty at the National Observatory.

A. Clifton McLean, of New Jersey, has been appointed United States mail agent to accompany the mails between New York and San Francisco, salary \$1,000.

Pliny Miles, esq., of New York, has been transferred from the Appointment Office in the Post Office Department to a third-class place, as corresponding clerk in the same Department.

J. R. McMahon is transferred from the desk to which Miles is assigned to that vacated by the latter in the Appointment Office.

ZEKE.

From the New Orleans Picayune, July 26. From Mexico.

The United States mail steamship Texas, Captain Place, arrived this morning from Vera Cruz, having made the run in fifty-eight hours from that port.

Left at Vera Cruz schooner Bonita, to leave on the 22d instant for Tampico.

Passed on the 22d of July schooner Esther Bun, entering the port of Vera Cruz.

We learn that the Mexican Ocean Mail and Inland Company had just got their express route from Vera Cruz to Acapulco thoroughly arranged and were about to begin running.

By the Texas we have received files of our Mexican exchanges to the 16th from the city of Mexico, and of the 22d from Vera Cruz. The news is of little interest.

The questions of a Spanish protectorate and a Spanish alliance have given rise to a fierce newspaper war in Mexico, in which the organs of the government are arrayed in a sort of self-defence of either or both against the *Siglo XIX*, which vigorously opposes all returns, whether partial or complete, to the *Yankee* yoke.

The government gives daily signs of a union between Church and State. The government portion of the *Espiritu Santo* building has been ceded to the priests for the establishment of a hospital by the sisters of charity. A commission has been named for drawing up the rules for the return of the Jesuits to Mexico, and the donations granted by the Pope to several Mexican citizens are allowed to be worn. Labor and games on the Sabbath mill after mass has been heard has been strictly prohibited by the government, but the parish priests can give a license in case of necessity.

Regular *conduelas* have been established between Guanajuato and Vera Cruz, and San Luis Potosi and Mexico.

The town of Huejuar, in the State of Jalisco, was overthrown and a large portion of it destroyed on the 21st of June, in consequence of the bursting of an irrigating dam. It was not known how many persons had perished, but at the last dates twenty-three bodies had been recovered.

Table-turning is turning the heads of people in the State of Mexico, and is now the rage.

Count Raoussed de Boulbon, who last fall attacked Sonora, had arrived in the city of Mexico, via Acapulco, and was presented to the President. He is said to be in very ill-health.

The commission for forming the new territorial division make very slow progress, and there seems to be little harmony among the members.

Great complaints are made in the public money, forgers, or destroyers of documents relating to the revenue.

The British schooner *Amethyst* was lost near Vera Cruz. She was from Liverpool. It was supposed part of the cargo would be saved, but the vessel would be a total loss.

On the 24th ult., a boat belonging to an English brig-of-war was captured on the bar of Tampico. Seven men and one officer were drowned.

The *Omnibus*, which had for a long time been praising the law of the press, had been seized for an infringement of it, and now thinks that it was in error about the benefits of that law.

Active measures against the highwaymen have been instituted, and several have been taken, tried, and executed.

General Yañez was to have left Guadalajara for Mexico on the 29th ultimo, having declined to serve any longer as governor of the State.

The papers say that his long administration presents only one bad measure, which was the closing of the Library Institute.

Great complaints are made in the city of Mexico, and through the country, of the rise in prices of the necessities of life. It has been very great, and is attributed to the new alcabala tax law.

THE KNICKERBOCKER.—This ever rich and humorous magazine, for August, has been received in this city, and copies may be obtained of the indefatigable periodical and newspaper dealer, JOE SHILLINGTON.

"PUTNAM'S MONTHLY" and HARPER'S MAGAZINE, for August, are each on sale at BECKINGHAM'S, under the National Hotel.

Question of War of Peace in Europe.

The following speculations on the present aspect of affairs in Europe we copy from the *Boston Journal of Saturday*. In introducing them that paper observes that they are entitled to more than ordinary weight, as coming from the pen of a gentleman who has resided for many years in Russia. His views are clearly advanced, and certainly have much plausibility:

As everybody is speculating upon the probable results of the present political condition of things abroad, permit me to offer you my speculations as to what may take place. There are so many unseemly elements entering into these matters, and the matters themselves are so complicated, that of course there is much uncertainty as to results. There are, some, however, which appear to me exceedingly probable.

I believe that Russia is determined to make war upon Turkey, not merely to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia, but to wrest from that power all her possessions in Europe, Constantinople included. I will give my reasons for so believing.

I believe it because such has been the well-known design of Russia for more than a century back, and she has been only waiting her opportunity. The czar probably now considers all things ready. He will make it a religious war; that is, to liberate the Christians of the Greek Church—his church—from vassalage to the infidels. Nothing could be more politic. He will thereby secure the support of the whole Christian population of Turkey, amounting to many millions—in European Turkey vastly outnumbering the Mussulmans. By the same means he will make it a holy war to his own people, thereby adding religious piety to their constitutional hatred of their enemy. This will add not a little to his strength in fighting the Turk. The Russian soldier, always formidable, will become a hero and a martyr for his church. He is ruled, body and soul, by superstitious attachment to it. Another advantage is, that whilst he, Nicholas, will have the credit of combatting the infidel to free the Christians, christian France and England, should they side with Turkey, will present the odious and strange inconsistency of helping the infidel against the Christians. This at least will be the appearance of the thing—and appearances are by no means unimportant.

But what convinces me more than all that the Russian Emperor has resolved to wage war against the Turks, and for nothing less than the conquest of European Turkey, is the extravagance of his designs upon the Sultan, the peremptory and offensive manner in which they were presented, and the tenacity, against all influences, with which he adheres to them. I believe that, in all this, he intended to provoke a war—to make it inevitable. The Sultan could not yield—how could he, without utter humiliation, giving up every attribute of a sovereign? What should we think of a foreign power demanding of us the surrender of our religious affairs as a matter of right? Should we grant it? I need not answer such a question.

There is still another reason, and to my mind a very powerful one, why the czar should be seriously bent on war. He has been engaged in a bloody and fruitless contest with the Christians for more than twenty years. They are still unsubdued and formidable as ever. Their country borders upon the Black Sea, and through the Bosphorus they receive their supplies of warlike stores, and with them recruits, consisting of adventurers of all nations, which does much towards enabling them thus successfully to beat back their enemies. The Turks, no doubt, have their own army to the Russians, but at this and probably encourage it. So long as it continues, the czar, from the experience he has had, might well despair of subduing these formidable mountain tribes. But give him Constantinople, and thereby the command of the passage into the Black Sea, and he can put an effectual stop to all such help given to his enemies—and he can do it in no other way. I have never seen this, as it appears to me, most important political consideration taken into account, in speculating upon the present designs of Nicholas.

There is much also in the personal character of the Emperor to convince me that he is in earnest, to the fullest extent, in this business. He is a proud, stern, determined man. I have often seen him when grand duke, and had opportunity to know his character as it then was, and I have seen no evidence of any material change in him since he was made Emperor. What he wills to do he will at least try to do. He is not easily put back or frightened. That he is ambitious there can be no doubt, and, as such, he will do all in his power to gratify his ambition. He is verging towards declining life, though now active and vigorous. He has accomplished much by diplomacy, something by arms, though nothing particularly brilliant. Would it be at all wonderful if such a man should seek to signalize the latter years of his reign by effecting that which has so long been the darling object with his imperial predecessors and his nation—the seizure of Constantinople—a prize of such incalculable value to Russia, giving her a free passage to the Mediterranean and to the ocean, whereas now it is in the hands of a power of necessity unfriendly to her, and upon which she is dependent for its use, whilst her northern ports, from which alone her fleets may issue without asking permission of others, are one-half of the year closed by the rigors of winter? Is it to be expected that such a power will always be content thus to be shut up?

The world has been comparatively so long at peace, there seems to be a vague idea abroad that war is scarcely possible. Would that it were so. But I fear that the passions of men, who are "come wars and fightings," are now the same as they ever were. I should rely but little upon any favorable change in this respect for the preservation of peace. Certain it is, that the warlike preparations of the European nations, collectively, are now as great, if not greater, than they ever were. This would seem to imply, at least, very little confidence in the pacific intentions of each other.

But it may be said that these armaments are kept up, not so much for the purpose of aggression or defence, as to preserve internal tranquillity—to keep down the revolutionary spirit so widely prevalent. This is no doubt an object, and a principal one. Let us suppose it to be the chief object. Whom do the nations most menace with their revolution most look to, to prevent or suppress it? Undoubtedly to the Emperor of Russia. None so ready as he to render assistance in doing this, and none so able. May it not be supposed that he seeks the conquest of European Turkey, among other purposes, for this very one—to place himself in a position more effectually to oversee and subdue the turbulent elements so dreaded by him and his brother despots? Look at the advantages it would give him. He would completely encircle Europe on one side. It would bring him directly in contact with Hungary, one of the most dreaded foci of the revolutionary spirit; and by possession of the naval passage into the Mediterranean he would have free access to Italy—the other most dangerous point. And how immensely, in every respect, would this increase his power, and thereby his ability, to keep the peace.

The industrial and moneyed interests of the world, it is said, forbid war. True, these interests are now of vast magnitude, greater than they ever were, and war—anything like a general war—would make sad confusion and havoc among them. The moneyed interests at stake are to an incalculable amount. The States of Europe are, for the most part, immensely in debt, and all who hold their securities, from the great banker to the small fund-holder, would be ruined by war, and the number of the latter is very great—six hundred thousand, it is said, in Great Britain alone. It is perhaps not too much to say that this vast moneyed interest has been more effectual in preserving peace, and putting down insurrection, than all other causes combined. The public fund-holder is naturally the staunch friend of tranquillity and order, at almost any price—even to the bartering of his own freedom, and the honor and freedom of his country. And money is power, all the world over.

But Russia, for her means, is not very largely in debt. Money has, comparatively, little political influence there. Nor is there much in the shape of public sentiment to check or control the government. The Emperor is absolute, and the people submissive. There is nothing in the interior condition of the country to have any serious operation in preventing war. Russia has great material resources within herself. She is not largely dependent for essential things upon other nations.

Nothing, among all the speculations upon this subject, has more surprised me than the opinion apparently entertained by many, that Austria will take side with France and England on this question. She dare not do it—at least so I believe. She is too much indebted to Russia. Without her aid, Hungary had been lost to her, and might still be lost, for the revolutionary spirit may at any time again break out there, to say nothing of her other provinces. She is too dependent upon Russia to quarrel with her. She is far more likely, I think, actively to cooperate with her, which case she would receive a share of the spoil, though by no means the lion's share. She is no friend either to France or England. The most that can be expected of her is neutrality; and, in my estimation, there are but slight hopes even of this. She has her part to act, about which I doubt not there is a full and complete understanding with the czar; and that is to cajole the governments of France and England, play a double game, and gain time.

Russia may be expected to remain neutral. From her position she has no very direct interest at stake. So far as her political sympathies are concerned, they are with Russia, to say nothing of family alliance, the present Empress of Russia being a Prussian princess. Revolution has once driven the king from his capital, and may do it again. Like Austria, therefore, she in such an emergency would look to Russia.

We have then but France and England left to oppose the designs of the czar—two great powers, certainly, and truly formidable, if cordially united. But are they so? And is it to be expected they can be so? To say nothing of the ancient rivalry and enmity between them, is the present political state of France such as would be likely to lead to a cordial alliance? Have the English government and people confidence in the stability of the French government? Do they even wish it? Is Louis Napoleon favorably thought of by them? Would any Bonapartes—that hated name—be acceptable to them? Would they not—especially the aristocracy—prefer seeing the Bourbons again upon the throne?

And the French Emperor, and people, have they—particularly the former—any special love for England? Has Louis Napoleon forgotten the abuse, the scurrility, the lampoons and jests, so freely launched by the English press against him? Why, it is but a few months since that all England was frightened from her propriety by the apprehension of a French invasion, and the abuse of the Emperor. I know that nations which have no great love for each other are sometimes brought to unite for what they consider a common interest—but such unions are not very efficient, and are easily broken. I have no doubt the czar has taken all this into consideration, and hopes in some way to divide what is so discordantly joined together.

But suppose he is disappointed in this, and the two powers not only combine, but with a good will determine to put forth their united efforts to the utmost to oppose him, can they prevent him from effecting what he aims at? On their part it must be almost entirely a naval warfare. England has no troops to spare, and France can only send troops by water, and these would be comparatively few in number. The difficulty of transporting a great military force in this manner. Could ten or fifteen, or even twenty thousand Frenchmen stop the victorious advance of one hundred or one hundred and fifty thousand Russians, and these, most probably, backed by half the number of Austrians? I see not how, with all the aid of the Turks, they could possibly do this. The English and French fleets might bombard Odessa, Sebastopol, and Cronstadt, and perhaps lay them in ashes, and annihilate the Russian navy. But this would not arrest the march of the Russian armies. It could not reach them. Their road to Constantinople would be unobstructed as ever, and the possession of that capital would abundantly compensate for the loss of their naval arsenals, which they could easily rebuild.

But it appears to me that England or the English government has no great heart in this business after all. They vacillate, and hesitate, and hang back, and seem to be but half in earnest. They are not like John Bull in former times. There was a time when John would as soon fight as eat—of interest either. Happily it is not so now. Vast changes have been wrought in the policy and concerns of England within the last thirty years. Once she almost monopolized the trade of the world, and she did it by war. Her naval supremacy enabled her to shut all other nations up, and keep the ocean to herself. She could not do it in any other way. She was content from what they were. She is still, by means of her great wealth, the leading industrial power; but she has formidable rivals, and can hope to maintain her superiority only by free and unobstructed access to the markets of the world. There must be nothing to curtail and deplete in number the sources of her commerce. She has, too, by her system of free trade, which she felt herself compelled to adopt, that, by cheapening food, she might keep down the price of labor; and thus continue to manufacture cheap, and undersell her manufacturing rivals. She has by this new system made herself dependent upon other countries for a very large proportion of her raw materials. Much of these raw materials she now comes to her from abroad. She cannot afford to quarrel with the hands that feed her. Then her enormous debt—whilst peace and unexampled prosperity for nearly forty years have done little or nothing to reduce—what fearful additions would be made to it by a state of war. The burden is already as much as she can bear, and she cannot do it without selecting to make it heavier. What inevitable ruin would war bring upon her capitalists and fund-holders. Consols sinking from one hundred to fifty would beggar half the nation. All her pursuits and interests are, in fact, shaped for a state of peace; and war, a protracted and general war, would be the greatest calamity that could befall her. She has once begun, who could set limits to its extent or duration, in the present condition of Europe, where there is so much jealousy and discontent—so many elements of confusion festering and gathering for an outbreak? My opinion is that England will, if it be possible, avoid war. She is making the most of her present advantages before Constantinople, and talking loud and large; but she is altogether serious in it will she follow it up with blows? Will she "pass the Rubicon" if the czar should be so audacious as to pass the Danube? That is the question. The Russians have already crossed the Pruth, and she deems it wise not to make it a *casus belli*. Why? Do not Moldavia and Wallachia, both being to the Sultan as Serbia, or Rumania, or Constantinople itself? Certainly they do; but it is convenient for present purposes not to consider it—that is, for the purpose, if it be possible, of avoiding war. Does England or France think that the czar will be more moderate or more placable after being quietly suffered to obtain the vantage ground he has in the possession of the Danubian provinces than he was before? One would suppose they could scarcely think so. It is the policy of the czar to make them think so, that he may be allowed, in the same quiet and easy manner, to accomplish his ulterior designs. I have very little faith in his honesty; it is rather a scarce quality among sovereigns where their ambition is concerned.

On the whole, there are, I think, reasons to believe that England may, after all, draw back in this business, or go no further than to make a show of resistance, as she is now doing, though the czar should not be satisfied with his present acquisitions. Still, she may have so committed herself to her Gallic ally and to the Sultan, that she would certainly be obliged to act. It would encourage her to resist the demands of Russia by the promise of assistance. We do not know precisely how far she has committed herself, and therefore cannot say how far she may feel at liber-