sity to treat this subject in one of my next letters. This much I may yet remark in this place, that little surprise ought to be felt, if a general movement should now arise in the Peninsula from a mere military rebellion, since the late financial decrees of the Government have converted the tax-gatherer into a most efficient revolutionary propagandist.

Austria holds at this moment the balance of war. If she has not yet marched her troops into Wallachia, it is only because she awaited the reply of the Emperor of Russia. The electric telegraph reports that Gorchakoff has now arrived at Vienna, the bearer of a disagreeable answer. For the first time the Austro-Prussian summons, dispatched on June 3d, has been published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. The principal passages in the Austrian summons are the following: "The "Emperor of Russia weighing in his wisdom all these "considerations, will appreciate the value which the "Emperor of Austria must attach to a discontinuance "of the advance of the Russian army in the Transdanu-"bian countries, and to the obtaining from him positive "indications as to the epoch, it is to be hoped not "very distant, when the occupation of the Principal-"ities shall come to an end. The Emperor Nicholas, "we are far from doubting it, desires peace; he will "therefore consider the means of bringing to an end a "state of things tending every day more to become a "source of internal trouble to Austria and Germany. "We are sure that he will not drive the Emperor "Francis Joseph to the necessity of considering for "himself the means of saving his interests, so much "compromised by the present situation, by prolonging "indefinitely this occupation, or by attaching such "conditions to the evacuation which it would be im-"possible for us to obtain."

The Prussian note destined to support the Austrian "summons" terminates as follows:

"The King hopes that the Emperor will consent to place the question at dispute on a ground offering a practical issue, in order to facilitate a satisfactory solution, by abridging and circumscribing the general action of both parties. Our august master hopes, therefore, that the present step will meet, on the part of the Emperor of Russia, with a reception similar in spirit to that which inspired it, and that the answer which we and the Cabinet of Vienna expect, with an interest corresponding to its importance, will be of a character to allow the King to withdraw from the painful necessities which would be imposed upon him by his duty and by his engagements."

Hess, the generalissimo of the Oriental army, will establish his headquarters at Czeraswitz. The *Soldatenfreund* of Vienna gives the following biography of Gen. Hess:

"*Feldzeugmeister von Hess* was born at Vienna in 1788; in 1805 he entered the regiment Ginlay as ensign, was lieutenant of the staff at the end of 1815, and appointed lieutenant-colonel and military commissary at Turin in 1822. Colonel since 1829, he became in 1831 quartermaster of the mobile corps of Upper Italy. In 1842 he obtained the rank of lieutenant-marshal, and was chief of the staff of Radetzky's army in 1848. To him must be ascribed the plan of the march upon Mantua, Curtatone and Vicenza in 1848, and that of the short campaign of 1849, terminating with the battle of Novara."

With regard to the avowed intentions of Austria in the occupation of Wallachia, I will quote from Austrian journals.

The *Oberpostamts-Zeitung* of Frankfort, organ of the Austrian embassy at the Bundestag remarks:

"By its geographical position, Austria is obliged to work in the most effective manner at the reestablishment of peace, by actually separating, through the occupation of the Principalities, the belligerent parties, and interposing between them at the most important place. If the Russians retire behind the Pruth, the Turks and their allies cannot then cross the Danube. If we take further into account that both parties have gained one experience and lost one illusion—the Russians having lost the delusion of their military predominance and the maritime powers that of the omnipotence of their fleets—it is clear that the actual situations render the resumption of peace negotiations almost inevitable."

The *Lloyd*, in its turn, observes:

"The disputed Territory, viz. the Principalities, would be left to the protection of a neutral power. A Turkish army could not take up a position on the banks of the Pruth. An armed mediator would stand between the forces of the western powers and those of Russia, and would prevent a collision in the Danubian Principality. Thus there would be, in point of fact, an armistice on the most important theater of war. If, indeed, the possibility of peace still exists, this measure might promote it. There can be no doubt entertained either at St. Petersburg or elsewhere, but that the determination of Austria to occupy the Principalities has been adopted with a view to peace, and that at the same time it is the last step which can be taken for the prevention of a general war."

The last and most curious article in this line occurs in the *Spenersche Zeitung* published at Berlin:

"It is confirmed that the embassadors of the four great powers will hold a new Conference at Vienna, firstly with a view to take cognizance of the convention of Austria with the Porte, and to declare it to be in conformance with the anterior protocols of the Conference; and secondly to come to a mutual understanding as to the manner in which the principles established by the Vienna Protocol of 9th April may be so modified as to serve for the positive basis of the future preliminaries, not of war, but of peace."

In the meantime Austria has profitted by these contingencies to project a new loan, of which the following are the terms of its official announcement:

"1. The amount of the loan is provisionally fixed at from 350 to 500 millions of florins. If the subscriptions reach this sum, the payments are to be effected during three, four, or five years, according to the amount of the subscription.

"2. The rate of emission is fixed at 95 in bank paper.

"3. The interest to be at 5 per cent., paid in real coin.

"4. The subscription is no forced one, the Imperial Government being about to appeal, through the constituted authorities of all provinces, to the *patriotism* of the subjects of the State.

"5. The loan will be employed to pay the State debt to the Bank, to the amount of 80 millions, with a view of thus restoring the value of the Bank paper. The surplus [it is very ingenious to call four-fifths of the whole a surplus] will be employed as resource for the budgets of coming years."

The *Lloyd*, of course, assures that this grand financial operation now contemplated (and almost for the first time!) must and will do away with the existing depreciation of the Austrian currency. Your readers will not have forgotten that it was this pretext which introduced almost every Austrian loan in this century. There are some points, however, in this grand operation which they might not hit upon, as they are carefully omitted from the above announcement. On this score *The Globe* of last evening remarks:

"This loan will be national; i. e. every tax-payer will be called upon to subscribe in proportion of the amount of taxes he pays. For the present some moral compulsion will be employed to precede positive compulsion. In point of fact, therefore, the measure amounts to the raising of an additional sum of taxes at once, with the promise that this particular sum shall be repaid."

It is curious what resemblance this grand operation bears in point of its pretexts as well as in point of execution, with the late Spanish decrees that now prelude to a revolution.

In my last letter I called your attention to the rights and position of the Wallachian people, in opposition to the diplomatic quarrels pretending to originate in their violation A report has just appeared in the Paris *Siècle*, of M. Barbo Babesco, prefect of Mehedintzi, in Little Wallachia, addressed to the Foreign Minister of the Porte, in which at length we hear a voice raised for the people of the Principalities treated with such shameful indifference by the "defenders of civili "zation." It commences with stating that "The Rus-"sians, to avenge themselves of the passive resistance "of a completely disarmed people, abandoned them-"selves to the most abominable acts of cruelty and "dilapidation on their retreat from Little Wallachia. "They have carried away the cash in the public chests, "the seals and the archives of the Administration, "and the sacred vessels of the churches. When re-"tiring they slaughtered the cattle which the num-"berless requisitions had spared; and these cattle they "took not away, but left to rot, merely to make the "people feel their cruelty and hatred." M. Babesco remarks with respect to the then rumored entrance of the Austrians into Wallachia, that "even a benevolent "foreign army is always burdensome for the country it "occupies." He says that Wallachia does not want the Austrians; that it is able to furnish a contingent of 50,000 men, drilled in arms and disciplined. In each of the seventeen departments of Wallachia there are at this moment 3,000 *gendarmerie*, wood-keepers, gamekeepers and ancient soldiers, who require only arms and to hear the drums beat, when they would burst upon the Russians. He concludes in the following words:

"It is arms we want; if there be not enough in your arsenals, the many factories in France, England and Belgium do not want them, and we are ready to pay for them. Arms! and again arms, Excellency, and before three months there will not remain one single Russian in the Principalities, and the Sublime Porte will find a force of 100,000 Roumans as eager as the Osmanlis to pursue and punish their common and implacable enemy."

The poor Prefect of Mehedintzi does not understand that it is precisely for preventing them to have arms, and along with the Osmanlis to pursue and punish the Russians that Austria subjects the Wallachians to her occupation.

Sir Charles Napier, say the Cockney papers, is trying to make the Czar's Admirals come out from Cronstadt, and to leave the protection of the granite-walls behind which they "tremble" before the Anglo-French fleet. But why don't the English sailors come out from their wooden walls and fight the Russians on their element, the land? Be it observed, that in spite of the English bravadoes, the Russians came out from Sevastopol, and "damaged" the Fury.

Baraguay d'Hilliers has been appointed commander of a division of troops to be embarked for the Baltic, the departure of which is fixed for the 14th inst.; England is to furnish the transports for 6,000 men. An equal number of troops with one field battery will be embarked on board the French ships. If we add to these numbers that of the marine-soldiers commanded by Col. Fieron, the effective of the whole Baltic division will amount to from 13,000 to 14,000 men, while at the same time the embarkation of troops for the Black Sea from Marseilles has not yet ceased; the process of disarming France having apparently not yet reached the desired point of "safety."

KARL MARX.

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From Our Own Correspondent.

LONDON, Monday, July 3, 1854.

The following is the text of the mysterious treaty between Austria and Turkey, which delivers up the Danubian Principalities into the hands of a power which is not at war, but on terms of amity with the Czar:

"1. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria engages to exhaust *(épuiser)* all the means of negotiation and others to obtain the evacuation of the Danubian Principalities by the foreign army which occupies them, and even to employ, in case of need, the number of troops necessary to attain that end.

"2. It shall appertain, for this case exclusively, to the Imperial Commander-in-Chief to direct the operations of his army. The last will, nevertheless, take care to inform, in due time, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ottoman army respecting his operations.

"3. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria takes upon him the engagement to reestablish, by common accord with the Ottoman Government, in the Principalities, and as much as possible the legal state of affairs, such as results from the privileges secured by the Sublime Porte relative to the administration of those countries. The local authorities thus constituted shall not, however, extend their action to the point of wishing to exercise a control over the Imperial army.

"4. The Imperial Court of Austria engages, moreover, not to enter, with the Court of Russia into any plan of arrangement which shall not have for its basis *(point de départ)* the sovereign rights of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and the integrity of his empire.

"5. From the time that the object of the present Convention shall have been attained by the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the Sublime Porte and the Court of Russia. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria will make at once arrangements to withdraw, in the shortest possible time, his forces from the territory of the Principalities. The details concerning the withdrawal of the Austrian troops shall form the object of special arrangement *(ostensible)* with the Sublime Porte.

"6. The Government of Austria expects that the authorities of the countries temporarily occupied by the Imperial troops will afford all assistance and facility, as well for their march, their quarters, and their encampment, as for their subsistence and that of their forces, and for their communications. The Austrian Government expects that all demands will be attended to relative to the requirements of the service which may be addressed by the Austrian commanders either to the Ottoman Government by the Imperial Internuncia at Constantinople or directly to the local authorities, unless where reasons of great importance render their execution impossible. It is understood that the commanders of the Imperial army shall maintain the strictest discipline among their troops, and shall respect, and cause to be respected, property, the laws, the religion, and the usages of the country.

"7. The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Vienna in the space of four weeks at the soonest, if it be possible, from the date of the signatures. In faith of which the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed to it their seals.

"Done in duplicate, for one and the same object, at Boyndji-kent, this 14th June, 1854."

You see that by this treaty Austria becomes the arbiter of the present war; since, by the occupation of the Principalities, she arrests the offensive movements of the Turkish armies against Russia, and may at any moment return the provinces, not to the Sultan, but to the Czar. But, according to Article V, the Emperor of Austria is not bound to withdraw from the Danubian Principalities before the conclusion of a treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey; Austria, therefore, has a direct interest in the duration of the war, for maintaining and extending her influence in Moldo-Wallachia, which province she has always coveted. And again, according to Clause 4, the treaty of peace is to have for its basis "the sovereign rights of "the Sultan and the integrity of his Empire;" that is to say, the *status quo*, and not, as Lord John Russell and Lord Clarendon are bragging, security and guarantees for the future. Indeed, the conclusion of such a treaty puts the seal to all the precedent diplomatic transactions which have led to a state of things which is neither peace nor war—which, without giving any support to the Turks, wrests from their hands all the fruits of a dearly bought victory. Still the question remains involved in mystery, likewise, on another account: The Russians are withdrawing from Wallachia and from the Dobrodja, but not from Moldavia; it is, therefore, yet to be seen whether Austria will do more than step in, wherever the Russians are leaving, and prevent the Turks from pursuing their enemy. The Czar, apprised of the losses before Silistria and the death of Gen. Schilders, while both Pashkiewitch and Lüders are disabled, sent Gens. Czernitsheff and Bilikoff to the Principalities, in order to reörganize the army, which, as it seems, has again sustained a check at Trajan's Wall; still, the particulars about this action are wanting. In Asia, an advanced party of Bashi-Bozouks, belonging to Selim Pasha's army, was surprised on the 9th of June, by a superior force of Russians, near Kutaïs, in Georgia, (not *Kutaya*, as *The Times* blunders,) and lost a considerable number in dead and wounded. The Russians took two pieces of the mounted horse-artillery.

The fleet in the Baltic has not yet done any thing of importance. Bomersund has been bombarded, and the store-houses there burnt, and Tornea occupied, that is all; but Sir Charles Napier has now advanced near to Cronstadt, and an attack on the fortress is soon expected. The Grand-Duke Alexander, heir to the crown, who has always been opposed to the schemes and policy of his father, the Czar, is said to be consumptive; and since the symptoms of consumption were, from the times of Drusus and of Germanicus, always taken for the symptoms of slow poison, I would not be astonished at all if we should hear that the Russian party, or the Czar himself, had poisoned him. Such stories amuse the public.

The German papers continue to speak about the coolness in the relations between Austria and Russia; on Friday it was even said that Baron Meyendorf in Vienna has got his letter of recall, and that the Russians are occupying the passes of the Transylvanian Carpathians, the Czar being anxious to transfer the war into the plains of Hungary; still it is well known that all these reports are encouraged both by the Austrian and Russian statesmen, in order to throw dust into the eyes of western Europe, though it cannot be doubted that the Czar is highly incensed against Francis Joseph for having dared to volunteer his advice and counsel about the way in which the present crisis should be brought to a prompt end. "Russia is not "yet fallen so deep as to require the permission of "other powers whenever she makes either peace with "or war against the Sultan." Such was the haughty reply of Nicholas to the well-meant representations of Austria. It is more serious for the Czar that he has failed to raise eight millions sterling in Holland; his finances are at a low ebb.

Capt. Nasmyth, the correspondent of *The Times* in Bulgaria, was fortuitously in Silistra when the siege began, and offered his valuable service to poor Musa Pasha. He gives now the journal of the siege in *The Times*, which is highly interesting. We learn from it that an attack, which has been altogether denied by the Russians, actually took place, and was gallantly repulsed on the 9th. It was here that General Schilders lost his leg, and soon after, in consequence of mortification, his life. Schilders was renowned as the first engineer officer of the Russian army. In 1829 he successfully conducted the siege operations against Silistria, and succeeded in taking the very same Turkish fortress, before which he now was killed. The General was, besides, a ghost seer, an astrologer, and a spirit-rapper by conviction, and lost his life by too firmly putting faith in the prediction that he was not to die by the Turks. He therefore rode blindly into the fire, encouraging the storming party, when he was suddenly disabled by a cannon ball. He had twice to undergo the pain of amputation, and still could not be saved. Lüders, next to Schilders the best Russian General, received a musket bullet in his *knee*, not in his *chin*, as the *Moniteur* stated.

Parliament does not do anything, and will soon be adjourned. Indeed the English principles of Constitutional monarchy in practice much resemble Ministerial maladministration, not being checked in any way by their corrupt Parliament. A. P. C.

## KOSSUTH AT GLASGOW.

*From The North British Mail of July 5.*

A public meeting of the inhabitants of Glasgow was held this afternoon in the City Hall, convened by upward of a hundred electors and inhabitants, "to consider the war "policy of this country, more especially to protest, in the "present crisis of European affairs, against all compromise "or alliance with Austria, and to urge upon the Ministry "and Parliament to use their best efforts to secure such a "settlement of the Eastern question as shall create in Eu-"rope a final and effective counterpoise to northern des-"potism, and to take such other material guarantees as "shall in future effectually cripple the ambitious designs "of the Russian Czars." Bailie Macgregor occupied the chair, and an unusual interest was given to the proceedings from the circumstance that M. Kossuth, the late Governor of Hungary, had responded to an invitation to be present to address the meeting. The attendance was very large. M. Kossuth's appearance on the platform was the signal for loud and continued cheering, to which he bowed his acknowledgment.

The Chairman rose amid loud cheering, and after a few introductory observations, concluded by saying: Gentlemen—Let us be united in assisting our beloved sovereign in this emergency, and if we consider her advisers are not taking the right course to bring about an honorable and a lasting peace, let us tell in public meeting assembled our opinion. [Great cheering.] Without any further remark, but craving your assistance in supporting the Chair, and bearing with my infirmities, I beg to introduce to you our patriotic visitor, Louis Kossuth. [Tremendous cheering, and waving of hats, &c.]

M. KOSSUTH, on rising, was greeted with long and prolonged applause. On its subsiding he said: Sir, I don't know how it comes to pass, but a gloom of melancholy spread over my soul since I set my foot on Caledonian soil. Is it the mountains there, looking down from afar on me, and attracting my life-weary eyes to look up to them, and hence more upward yet to the everlasting source of consolation and of hope? It is long since I saw a mountain, sir, and yet it is at the foot of a mountain that I was born. The word home flashes through my heart, and all that there is yet of life in that heart soars on the wings of recollection to thee, my native land. My native land, a paradise on earth if thou wert but free—a gloomy churchyard as thou art enslaved. Or is it, perhaps, the spirit of your own nation's history—

"Glimmering through the dream of things that were:"

is it this spirit that rises before my eyes and makes me sad? I don't know; neither will I ponder upon it. But so much I know, that the placid sadness on my brow has nothing offensive to you. Oh, no, I like to be among you. Be it from the air—be it from recollections with which this air is fraught—it would appear to me as if there were something congenial between Scotland and Hungary. [Cheers.] I fancy as if you were more apt to understand my thoughts untold, and my feelings unpronounced by words. It strikes me that your national name sounds like the name of a nation, which means something more than a mere aggregate of men blown together by a whirlwind of different conquerors succeeding and blending each other turn by turn. [Cheers.] The name Scot strikes me as the name of a nation of that original stock, which had known something "char-"acter;" it would appear to me as if you were of them who have not yet learned to smile at seeing the lustre of that frame fading away beneath the blast of "centralisa-"tion." I beg your pardon, but it would almost appear to me that, should I speak to you about Buda and Vienna, in connexion with the fatal word "centra-"lisation," you were apt to forget me and my theme, and go home musing about Edinburgh and London. It would appear to me that, though since the last pilgrimage of the "Stone of Fate" you have learnt to glory in the proud name of Britons, and have good reason to glory in it, still your heart has not unlearnt to throb with affection at the name of "Scot." It would appear to me that you are of those who, though happy, and prosperous, and free, still do not only know of things to boast of but also of some to regret. Therefore I feel more at home with you—I feel as if I were treading a soil more congenial to my own aspirations, to my own sorrows, to my own grief—I feel as if we had to hear a stronger echo from the recesses of your heart, should we appeal to Scottish sympathy, in the name of Poland and Hungary, blotted out from the list of the living as nations, and neither happy, nor prosperous, nor free, as an aggregate of men. But let us part with this. Each may have his own pang; yet, if such be the case with you, and you feel it, you want not a foreigner to tell you your own tale, and if you don't feel it, why tell you at all? Neither will I speak to you about evils all our own. Why should I do it? Is it to rouse you to compassionate emotion, and to make appeals to your sympathy? I have lived too long and too practical a life, sir, to do vain things. Sympathy, what is that? A sigh that flutters from the lips of a tender girl and dies in the whispers of the breeze. People in their individual capacity may know of sympathy, but when a people's aggregate sentiments become collected in the crucible of policy, sympathy vanishes in the air, like the diamond when burnt, and nothing there remains but an empty crucible, surrounded with the ashes of gross egotism. [Cheers.] The time has not yet come when nations will act from sympathy. That may be done when the world shall know of one Christian nation on earth. Until now I know of Christian men and women, but I know of no Christian nation, because I know of none which, in its national policy, ever has acted upon the Christian command—"Do unto others as thou wouldst "others do unto thee." [Cheers.] Why do I tell you all this, gentlemen? Is it because I am particularly anxious to make you perfectly understand the position in which I desire to appear before you, and because I desire you to judge my words, from a point of view the most dispassionate, free from all the glittering stuff of passing emotions? I desire you to understand that I am perfectly aware of the fact that Great Britain as a State will do nothing out of sympathy for Poland or Hungary, that Great Britain, as resumed by its Government, knows of no sympathy at all, or, if it knows anything about it, all its leanings are rather for the dynasties than for the nations. I know that Great Britain, as a State, never yet stirred a finger for the sake of national freedom abroad. I know that Great Britain, as a State, does not care a bit about seeing our nation oppressed, and that whatever be our sufferings, Great Britain, as a State, will not throw one straw of help to cling at it, even if we were evidently drowning forever, provided Great Britain be not forced to by its own interest; nay, I go so far as to be perfectly convinced that even in that case, Great Britain, as a State, will be extremely anxious to provide by some other means for its own interest, if possible, and if it can find out some such means, it will studiously avoid to employ those which would benefit any oppressed nation, and derange the security of the oppressors, so much is Great Britain, as a State, prone to look but to dynasties and governments, and to disregard the concerns of nations. I believe I am right in this estimation of Great Britain's policy, because it is the light of truth in history which brought that estimation home to my mind; but be I right or be I wrong, such is my conviction; I firmly believe that considerations of national egotism are the only power which may bring Great Britain to our side—but that without that imperious argument the oppressed nations on earth have nothing to hope, nothing to expect from Great Britain's sympathies. Penetrated as I am by this conviction, I desire explicity to state that in the matter we have to treat I discard emphatically any appeals to sympathy; I desire the arguments I told at Sheffield and Nottingham, and may tell here, to be judged exclusively from a British interest. It Great Britain which is at war, yours is the war, yours is the issue, your blood, your money, your sacrifices are at stake, your victory, your defeat are trembling in the balance; therefore it is the necessity of your honor, of your own interest, to consider with dispassionate but with comprehensive prudence what are the means best adapted to make your war effective in its issue, successful in its operations, requiring the least of your blood, the least of your money, and shortening the duration of the indirect but tremendous sacrifices which the war inflicts upon your commerce, your industry, upon the earnings of your working classes, and even upon your daily bread and meat. [Cheers.] Never in my life have I been in honor, in conscience more strongly convinced of anything than of this, that shall Great Britain attain the aim upon which it professes to be bent in this war, it must discard the false and ruinous alliance with Austria, it must recur to the Polish and Hungarian nationalities; or else it will see itself baffled in its proposed aim, and it will find all its sacrifices unavailing and vain. Strong in my conviction, like as the ancient martyrs have been in their faith, I even go so far as to say Great Britain, with all its pride, with all its immense power, stands more in need of the assistance of Poland and Hungary in this war, than the future of your poor down-trodden, fettered nationalities stands in need of Great Britain's protecting patronage. Great Britain's and Louis Napoleon's inconsiderate policy may make us suffer some months longer, or even some years; yet, so true as there is a God above us all, before the eternal decrees of whom we have to prostrate ourselves in adoration, even so I say we have a future, with or without Great Britain, in spite of Great Britain, against Great Britain, if it must be, yet our future is sure. But Great Britain—may it be as yet so powerful—may it have for allies whomever it likes to choose—Great Britain cannot prosper in this war without the assistance of the Polish and Hungarian nationalities. With this conviction penetrating every pulsation of my heart, I look with serene tranquillity to the future. Whatever Great Britain may do, it shall not at all disappoint me should I see my augury unheeded by your Government. Since Cassandra's times such has been always the tale of truth foretold. The votaries of short-sighted expediency, though forewarned, dragged the fatal horse of mischievous impolicy within the walls of Troy, and the grass is growing where Troy proudly stood, and other Cassandras came and spoke again in vain; but the inexorable logic of events rolled on, and nations had to groan where governments have sinned. Nations have to groan where governments sin: that is a sad word. I see it clearly before my eyes, that mistakes in your national policy must bring immense mischief and dreadful sacrifices upon the people of Great Britain; all in the same time prolonging and increasing the sufferings and difficulties of our nations oppressed on the continent, though our future remains, notwithstanding, sure. It is, therefore, that I would gladly contribute as much as I can to spread light upon the situation enveloped in darkness by prejudices and foul reasonings, in order that the people of Great Britain, always prone to do the right, might throw the weight of its sound common sense in the balances of its national policy. However, I am in an extremely embarrassing situation, Sir. The war in which Great Britain is engaged, having a direct bearing upon the future and the condition of my own country, I certainly think I have the most indisputable right to raise my voice in a concern which is evidently our own. [Cheers.] Thus it came to pass, that I took occasion to warn the British nation of being made subservient to Austrian despotism over Poland, Hungary, and Italy, and to tell her to beware of the alliance with Austria in this war, because in harming by it Poland and Hungary, Great Britain harms herself. And in this endeavor to accomplish the duties of a citizen, I thought to stand before a constitutional people, jealous of its rights, and conscious of the criterion, essential to constitutional life, forcibly expressed by the old Latin phrase, "*Nil de nobis "sine nobis*," that is to say, "Nothing about the "nation without the nation. Therefore, believing that Great Britain's policy must answer Great Britain's will, and believing also that the British nation is Great Britain, I went so far as to request the people to declare its will, by passing resolutions, and signing petitions to the imperial parliament, petitions assuring, in the most humble and peaceful manner, the representatives of the people that their humble petitioners will ever pray. I assure you, gentlemen, in all sincerity, that in thus acting, I acted in perfect good faith. From my familiarity with the logical philosophy of constitutional life, and from my ignorance of the fact that British public laws is an exception to that philosophy, I really thought that it would neither be unlawful nor incompetent in the people of Great Britain to declare its will about peace and war, and to petition Parliament. Have I erred in this? I have but to plead ignorance in excuse, and plead it with all possible contrition; an ignorance, perhaps, excusable in me, a stranger, when I see the citizens of Sheffield, the citizens of Nottingham, and the citizens of Glasgow, sharing in my unintentional mistake. Well, Sir, I have the unpleasant duty to inform you that we have been all laboring under a delusion in this regard. I have an official authority for saying so much. The people of Nottingham, in public meeting assembled, passed resolutions much like those which I understand are about to be proposed to this meeting, resolutions embodied in a petition to both Houses of Parliament—the Duke of Newcastle, actually Minister at War, was requested to present the petition to the House of Lords. [Cheers.] I have been favored from Nottingham with a copy of the answer of the Duke, signed by his Private Secretary, and dated Downing-st., June 17. Allow me to read part of it: "The Duke of Newcastle "desires me to inform you (the Chairman of the meeting) "that it would be most unusual to present a petition to "Parliament having direct reference to a declaration of "war or the establishment of peace with foreign powers, "which are matters entirely within the power and preroga-"tive of the crown. The functions of Parliament could "scarcely be applied to either of these events until each "had actually taken place, and, under these circum-"stances, &c., the Duke declines to take any step with "respect to the petition." Now, if I be not quite mistaken in what little English I know, that answer means to say, "that the British nation has no right to meddle with those "matters until all is over;" consequently, be it right or be it wrong, no remedy is possible against it, because I certainly imagine that no possible subsequent censure can be reputed to be a remedy as it cannot make undone things that are done. [Hear, hear.] Nay, I am even made to understand from that answer, that though Parliament may have the right to speak about war and peace, after these events have actually taken place, yet the people has even then no right to petition, because now war is declared—the event has actually taken place; and still the pretension of having a petition about it presented is characterised as most unusual, and without precedent. Now, Sir, I may be very sorry, (as indeed sorry I am) to have to part with my cheering illusions about the constitutional value of British institutions, and to have to learn that, to use a scriptural expression, there is much of sounding brass and tinkling cymbals in them. Still I sincerely acknowledge that about this I have no voice in the chapter—it is an internal business, all your own. I, therefore, will even abstain from mentioning what would have been my own fate had I, when responsible Minister of the constitutional crown of Hungary, thus written to a Hungarian meeting; and, parting with the subject once for all, I have only to lament the extremely embarrassing situation in which I am placed on this occasion. From the British Government I scarcely can hope anything in the line of that policy which, all in being favorable to the just claims of the oppressed nationalities, I take to be the only sound and wise policy for Great Britain in the present war. How could I hope anything from that quarter, it having been already publicly reported in the papers, without any contradiction, that Lord Westmoreland, the British Embassador at Vienna, has given assurances to the oppressor of my country, to the effect that the British Government would oppose any attempt at making the Oriental question subservient to the projects of the Hungarian or Italian, or, I imagine, Polish national parties? It would almost appear from these assurances that the British Government meditates some Russian-like "in-"tervention," should our nationalities try to profit by the complications of the Oriental question for breaking the chains of foreign oppression under which they groan. It is true, we have heard Lord John Russell profess in the House of Commons, at least with respect to Italy, that Great Britain does not mean to oppose a national movement there. However, Lord Westmoreland, undoubtedly upon authority of his instructions, gave assurances that Great Britain would oppose it. And really we have seen of late so clashing contradictions, between ministerial assurances in Parliament, and in the communications of secret diplomacy, nay, we have even heard different members of one and the same Cabinet speaking, the one such rounds, and another such squares, that I for one could scarcely make out what is fish and what is flesh, and certainly could not have understood how, with such draggings to, and pullings fro, the British state carriage can move at all. Have I not been dispensed from the puzzling scrutiny, by observing that the British state carriage does not move at all; but, yielding to the pullings forward, and to the draggings backward, it appears quaking and shaking, and puffing and bending, but move it does not. In all history it has been reserved to the British Government of 1853 and 1854 to keep this powerful empire, for more than a year, in a condition which they themselves, with remarkable ingenuousness, professed to be neither peace nor war, and after that by this hybrid condition. If Britain has been made to experience, in its commerce and industry, all the calamities of an unfavorable war for more than a year, without being really at war; consequently, without any advance of moral or political compensation in return. At last, war having been decided upon already some months ago, it has been carried on, not so much by arms as by diplomacy, in such a way that the small advantage gained, not by British or French aid, but simply and exclusively by Turkish bravery, having been, by Great Britain and France, given over in keeping to perfidious Austria—that is, in keeping to one of the two hereditary and irreconcileable enemies of Turkey; the British nation is, at this very moment, not a hair's-breadth nearer to the definitive solution of the Oriental question than it has been fifteen months ago, thus perfectly justifying my bitter but true words, that Great Britain's state-carriage, tossed to and fro by the waving attitude of political expediency, did not move forward one yard's length in more than a year. And would to heaven it had but remained stationary! Yet not even that is the case—it went backward. The definitive solution of the Oriental question has been more complicated instead of becoming simplified. [Cheers.] You stand further off from the original aim than you were standing fifteen months ago. The British nation, which, with a generous impulse, meant to take up her arms and to untie her purse for the sake of the freedom of Europe, sees Great Britain "drifted" to the humiliating position, to have to give assurances through her Westmorelands to Austria—only think, gentlemen, Austria!—that the British Government will oppose freedom, should it endeavor to profit by the war. Woeful, gentlemen, woeful. Really it will be a strange sight to hear the Scotch bugle sounding under the walls of Rome, exciting the Cameronians to fight for the Pope against Italian liberty; or to see the British bayonets at Peste, Lombardy, Posen, or perhaps even Warsaw, opposed to the resurrection of Poland and Hungary! Your noble hearts feel revolted at the idea; you say it will not go so far. But I say unto you, let matters just go on yet a while as they are going, and it must, it will come to that. There may be still some in your Government who did not yet mean to go so far; however, they have already pledged Great Britain to oppose any attempt of national freedom, and it will not be in their power to stop half way. Expediency! thou false wisdom of the blind and of the weak! thou specter, reeking with the blood of murdered nations! thou who never weighest the consequences, but dost always sacrifice to a moment's fear the justice of eternity, and to a moment's rest the peace and security of centuries! thou who has been always found ready to purchase a tyrant's smile by the groaning of millions. [Cheers.] Expediency! Thine pathway is like the pathway of sin—one step upon its glossy slope and there is no stepping any more; it is Milton's bridge which leads

Smooth, easy, inoffensive, down to hell.

Yes, in the way I see Great Britain engaged in this war, Great Britain will needs come so far as to fight against freedom on the continent. This being the position as to the intentions of the Government, the logic of constitutional institutions would advise me to request the British people, that while the Government declares that the Eastern Question shall not be made subservient to Polish, Hungarian and Italian freedom, the British people should declare that it will not consent to let the question be made subservient to Austrian despotism. Such a declaration implies the passing of resolutions and presenting petitions; and such I understand is the object of the present meeting; however, the Duke of Newcastle tells me that the British people has no right thus to meddle with the matter; therefore, gentlemen, you will agree with me, I trust, that it is but proper and due on my part to have restricted myself to the statement of facts as they are, and leave the rest entirely to your own discretion. I can do so much with the more ease, because I learn with satisfaction that the arguments I told before on this subject are familiar with the citizens of Glasgow, eight hundred copies of my Sheffield and Nottingham speeches being in their hands; and I know that with intelligent and patriotic Britains it is not the sound of the voice, but the merit of the argument, which makes truth believed. I am glad to have an opportunity to make this remark, the more so because I have been honored by invitations from Leicester, Newcastle, Liverpool, Preston, Paisley, Keighly, Sunderland and Edinburgh—yet it is evident that I can not go everywhere. A free word, spoken in one free British meeting, if there be truth in the word, should be carried on the thousand wings of a free press, and thus carried should tell, and should bear, and have its effect everywhere. So requesting you to take these, my humble remarks, for an introduction to what I have to say this evening, and to read my evening speech, I will beg to conclude by saying that I have seen reported that Lord Westmoreland gave satisfactory explanations to Austria about the reception of what he calls "my renewed agita-"tion in England." I thank most respectfully the citizens of Glasgow for the noble Scottish answer which they have given to day to the explanations of Lord Westmoreland. [Cheers.]

The following were the resolutions to be proposed to the meeting:

"That this meeting is of opinion that the war undertaken against Russia is in the interests of justice and civilization, and should be prosecuted with vigor and resolution, so as effectually to crippie the northern autocrat for future mischief. And that, inasmuch as Russia has hitherto pursued an uninterrupted career of aggression and conquest, as exemplified in the robbery of Finland and the Crimea from Sweden and Turkey, the conquests of Georgia and Circassia, the overthrow and confiscation of Poland, and the oppression of Hungary, this meeting considers the Government of this country should contemplate no settlement as the basis of peace which does not compel the Czar to make restitution and atonement to the peoples of the territories he has burglariously appropriated or unjustly oppressed.

"That, inasmuch as this meeting is of opinion that no peace can be lasting or secure, which does not make Russia disgorge her ill-obtained plunder; and, as the partition of Poland by the latter power, aided by Austria and Prussia, has formed a pretext and afforded an example for all subsequent violations of the law of nations and public right, it is indispensable, both as an act of justice to a long-suffering and noble people, and as a security for the peace and independence of the other states of Europe, that the Polish nation be restored to its sovereign and independent rights. That in order, however, to effect this necessary and important result, it is incumbent on the British Government to enter into no complicity or compromise with Austria, one of the powers which shared in the iniquitous partition of Poland, all whose antecedents and sympathies are in favor of despotism in its most repulsive forms instead of institutions based on principles of rational liberty and progress.

"That, as the cause of Poland stands preeminent in the consideration of this meeting, from the fact that this country, conjointly with France and Turkey, is already at war with Russia—the most powerful of the spoliators of Poland—a petition be sent to Parliament praying that the restoration of Poland as an independent state shall be made one of the conditions of any peace that may hereafter be agreed upon by the belligerents."

## FEELING IN ITALY.

From the London Times Paris Correspondence.

The Mazzinian section of the Liberal party is the only one that is disposed, or pretends it is disposed, for action, and in spite of the miserable issue of the Sarzana expedition it is ever ready to urge its dupes forward. It is believed in quarters likely to be well-informed that the elements are already organized in Switzerland for another revolutionary attempt, but that they have been rendered null in consequence of the influence exercised by the French government in that country, and that the restablishment of friendly relations between the Canton of Ticino and the Lombard government, owing to the intervention of Gen. Dufour, had a good deal to do in the affair.

Such, at this moment, appears to be the state of the public mind in Italy. With reference to the Governments it may be said that the King of Naples has always had a decided leaning toward Russia, and his sympathies for the Czar continue the same, and this notwithstanding the part taken by Austria in the question of the East, and in favor of Turkey and the Western powers. That *penchant* is shown, not directly, but indirectly, by such measures as those respecting the exportation of sulphur, and the prohibition of the exportation of cattle and other objects necessary for the Anglo-French troops in the East. King Ferdinand seems to give himself airs, and affects to brave the wrath of the Powers, because he is aware that menaces against his Government mean only revolution, and that there is no continental Government which has not a wholesome fear of revolution. Nor does it appear that Tuscany is wholly exempt from reproach on this head, and her Government is accused of permitting Russian ships to assume the Tuscan flag, and thus disguised, victual in the Mediterranean.

As to the Court of Rome, a distinction ought to be made between Pius IX and his Government. The Pope is not favorable to Russia, for the simple reason that he considers him the most formidable enemy to Catholicism, but Cardinal Antonelli, Secretary of State, and the majority of the Sacred College are decidedly in favor of the Czar. A few Cardinals only are to be found who share the Pope's opinions, and among these was Cardinal Fornari, who died recently at Rome. Cardinal Fornari, a man distinguished for his scientific acquirements, was formerly professor of the Ecclesiastical Academy at Rome, and afterward Apostolic Nuncio at Brussels and at Paris. His leaning was decidedly French. The question of naming him Secretary of State, in place of Antonelli, was often mooted, but the anti French influence of the Sacred College resisted successfully, and Monsignor Fornari died without having attained the object of his ambition. He filled, nevertheless, some important offices, among others that of President of the Congregation of Studies, which is nearly identical with the duties of Minister of Public Instruction.

The Piedmontese Government is the only Government which shows itself frankly and loyally friendly to France and England, at the same time maintaining that political equilibrium which does honor to the loyalty of the King, the ability of the Government and his representatives at foreign Courts, as also the prudence of the Chambers and the good sense of