contemplated by it, as I trust, be fully realized.

In calling you into active service against the Seminoles, and communicating to you the orders which had been given just before to Gen. Gaines, the views and intentions of the Government were fully disclosed in respect to the operations in Florida. In transcending the limit prescribed by those orders you acted on your own responsibility, on facts and circumstances which were unknown to the Government when the orders were given, many of which, indeed, occurred afterwards and which you thought imposed on you the measure, as an act of patriotism, essential to the honor and interests of our country.

The United States stand justified in ordering their troops into Florida in pursuit of their enemy. They have this right by the law of nations, if the Seminoles were inhabitants of another country, and had entered Florida to elude our pursuit. Being inhabitants of Florida, with a species of sovereignty over that part of the territory, and a right to the soil, our right to give such an order is the more complete and unquestionable. It is not an act of hostility to Spain. It is the less so, because her Government is bound by treaty to restrain by force of arms, if necessary, the Indians there from committing hostilities against the United States.

But an order by the Government to attack a Spanish post would assume another character. It would authorise war, to which, by the principles of our Constitution, the Executive is incompetent. Congress alone possess the power. I am aware that cases may occur, where the commanding General, acting on his own responsibility, may with safety pass this limit and with essential advantage to his country. The officers and troops of the neutral power forget the obligations incident to their neutral character; they stimulated the enemy to make war; they furnished them with arms and ammunition of war to carry it on; they take an active part in other respects in their favour they afford them an asylum on their retreat. The general obtaining victory pursues them to this post, the gates of which are shut against them; he attacks and carries it, and rests on those acts of justification. The affair is then brought before his Government by the power whose post has been thus attacked and carried. If the Government whose officer made the attack has given an order for it, the officer would have no merit in it. He exercised no discretion, nor did he act on his own responsibility. The merit of the service, if there be any in it, would not be his.—This is the ground on which this occurrence rests, as to his part. I will now look to the future.

The foreign Government demands—was this your act? or did you authorise it? I did not: it was the act of the general. He performed it for reasons deemed sufficient by himself, and on his own responsibility. I demand, then, the surrender of the posts, and his punishment.—The evidence justifying the conduct of the American general, and proving the misconduct of those officers will be embodied, to be laid before the sovereign, as the ground on which their punishment will be expected.

If the Executive refused to evacuate the posts, especially Pensacola, it would amount to a declaration of war, to which it is incompetent. It would be accused with usurping the authority of Congress, and giving a deep and fatal wound to the constitution. By charging the offence on the officers of Spain we take the ground which you have presented, and we look to you to support it. You must aid in procuring the documents necessary for this purpose. Those which you sent by Mr. Hambly were prepared in too much haste, and do not, I am satisfied, do justice to the cause.—This must be attended to without delay.

Should we hold the posts, it is impossible to calculate all the consequences likely to result from it. It is not improbable that war would immediately follow. Spain would be stimulated to declare it; and, once declared, the adventurers of Britain and other countries would, under the Spanish flag, privateer on our commerce. The immense revenue which we now receive would be much diminished, as would be the profits of our valuable productions. The war would probably soon become general; and we do not foresee that we should have a single power in Europe on our side. Why risk these consequences? The events which have occurred in both the Floridas show the incompetency of Spain to maintain her authority; and the progress of the revolutions in South America will require all her forces there. There is much reason to presume that this act will furnish a strong inducement to Spain to cede the territory, provided we do not wound too deeply her pride by holding it. If we hold the posts, her government cannot treat with honor, which, by withdrawing the troops, we afford them an opportunity to do. The manner in which we propose to act, will exculpate you from censure, and promises to obtain all the advantages which you contemplated from the measure, and possibly very soon. From a different course no advantage would be likely to result, and there would be great danger of extensive and serious injuries.

I shall communicate to you, in the confidence in which I write this letter, a copy of the answer which will be given to the Spanish minister, that you may see distinctly the ground on which we rest, in the expectation that you will give it all the support in your power. The answer will be drawn on a view, and with attention to the general interests of our country, and its relations with other powers.

A charge, no doubt, will be made of a breach of the constitution; and, to such a charge the public feeling will be alive. It will be said that you have taken all the power into your own hands, not from the executive alone, but likewise from Congress. The distinction which I have made above, between the act of the Government refutes that charge. This act, as to the General, will be right, if the facts on which he rests made it a measure of necessity, and they be well proved. There is no war or breach of the Constitution, unless the Government should refuse to give up the posts; in which event, should Spain embargo our vessels, and war follow, the charge of such breach would be laid against the Government with great force. The last imputation to which I would consent justly to expose myself, is that of infringing a Constitution, to the support of which, on pure principles, my public life has been devoted. In this sentiment, I am satisfied, you fully concur.

Your letters to the department were written in haste under the pressure of fatigue and infirmity, in a spirit of conscious rectitude, and in consequence with less attention to some parts of their contents than would otherwise have been bestowed on them. The passage to which I particularly allude from memory, for I have not the letter before me, is that in which you speak of incompetency of imaginary boundary to protect us against the enemy, being the ground on which you bottom all your measures. This is liable to the imputation that you took the Spanish posts for that reason, as a measure of expedience, and not on account of the misconduct of the Spanish officers. The effect of this and such passages, besides other objections to them would be to invalidate the ground on which you stand, and furnish weapons to adversaries who would be glad to seize them. If you think proper to authorize the secretary or myself, to correct those passages, it will be done with care, though, should you have copies, as I presume you have, you had better do it yourself.

The policy of Europe respecting South America is not yet settled. A congress of the allied powers is to be held this year, (November is spoken of,) to decide that question. England proposes to restore the colonies to Spain with free trade and colonial governments. Russia is less favorable, as are all the others. We have a Russian document written by order of the Emperor, as the basis of instructions to his ministers at the several courts, speaking of the British proposition favorably, but stating that it must be considered and decided on by the allies, and the result published, to produce a moral effect on the colonies, on the failure of which, force is spoken of. The settlement of the dispute between Spain and Portugal is made a preliminary. We partake in no councils whose object is not their complete independence. Intimations have been given us that Spain is not unwilling, and is even prepared for war with the United States, in the hope of making it general, and uniting Europe against us and her colonies, on the principle that she has no hope of saving them. Her pertinacious refusal to cede the Floridas to us, heretofore, though evidently her interest to do it, gives some coloring to the suggestions. If we engage in a war, it is of the greatest importance that our people be united, and with that view that Spain commence it; above all that the Government be free from the charge of committing a breach of the Constitution.

I hope that you have recovered your health.—You see that the state of the world is unsettled, and that any future movement is likely to be directed against us. There may be very important occasions for your services, which will be relied on. You must have the object in view and be prepared to render them.

B.

Gen. Andrew Jackson to Mr Monroe.

NASHVILLE, Aug. 19, 1818.

Sir: Your letter of the 19th of July, apprising me of the course to be pursued in relation to the Floridas has been received. In a future communication, it is my intention to submit my views of all the questions springing from the subject, with the fulness and candor which the importance of the topic, and the part I have acted in it, demand. At present, I will confine myself to the consideration of a part of your letter, which has a particular bearing on myself, and which seems to have originated in a misconception of the import of the order under which I have commenced the Seminole campaign. In making this examination I will make use of all the freedom which is courted by your letter, and which I deem necessary to afford you a clear view of the construction which was given to the order, and the motives under which I proceeded to execute its intentions.

It is stated in the second paragraph of your letter, that I 'transcended the limits of my order,' and that 'I acted on my own responsibility.'

To those two points I mean at present to confine myself. But, before entering on a proof of their applicability to my acts in Florida, allow me fairly to state, that the assumption of responsibility will never be shrunk from when the public good can thereby be promoted. I have passed through difficulties and exposures for the honor and benefit of my country; and whenever still, for this purpose, it shall become necessary to assume a further liability, no scruple will be urged or felt. But when it shall be required of me to do so, and the result be danger and injury to that country, the inducement will be lost, and my consent will be wanting.

This principle is held to be incontrovertible, that an order, generally, to perform a certain service, or effect a certain object, without any specification of the means to be adopted, or limits to govern the executive officer, leaves an entire discretion with the officer as to the choice and application of means, but preserves the responsibility for his acts on the authority from which the order emanated. Under such an order all the acts of the inferior are acts of the superior; and in no way can the subordinate officer be impeached for his measures except on the score of deficiency in judgment and skill. It is also a grammatical truth, that the limits of such an order cannot be transcended without an entire desertion of the objects it contemplated; for as long as the main legitimate design is kept in view, the policy of the measures adopted to accomplish it is alone to be considered. If these be adopted as the proper rules of construction, and we apply them to my order of Dec. 26th 1817, it will be at once, seen that both in description and operative principle, they embrace that order exactly. The requisitions of the order are for the commanding general to assume the immediate command at fort Scott, to concentrate all the disposal force of the division on that quarter, to call on the executives of adjacent States for any auxiliary militia force, and concludes with this comprehensive command: 'With this view you may be prepared to concentrate your forces and adopt the necessary measures to terminate a conflict, which it has ever been the desire of the President, from motives of humanity, to avoid, but which is now made necessary by their settled hostility.'

In no part of this document is there a reference to any previous order, either to myself or another officer, with a view to point to me the measures thought advisable, or to the limits of my power in choosing and effecting them. It states that Gen. Gaines has been ordered to Amelia Island, and then proceeds to inform that 'subsequent orders have been given to Gen. Gaines, (of which copies would be furnished you,) that you would be directed to take the command, and directing him to resume, should he deem the public interest to require it, the command at fort Scott, until you should arrive there.' Lastly, it mentions that—he was instructed to penetrate the Seminole towns, through the Floridas, provided the strength of his command at Amelia would justify his engaging in offensive operations. The principle determining the weight of references, in subsequent orders, to instructions previously given, is well settled. Such references are usually made with one of these two intentions—either the order is given to a second officer, to affect a certain purpose which was intended to be affected by another officer, and the instructions of the first are referred to as the guide of the second; or the order contains and is designed for an extention of authority, and only refers to anterior communications to give a full view of what has been previously attempted and performed.

In the first case it is always necessary to connect the different orders by a specific provision, that no doubt may exist as to the extent of the command; and thus the several requisitions, and instructions are amalgamated, and the limits of the agent plainly and securely established. In the second, no such provision is necessary; for an entire discretion in the choice and use of means being previously vested; the reference if there be any, is only descriptive of the powers antecedently given, and the results of measures attempted under such specifical limitation. But admitting, that, in the orders of December 26, 1817, there is such a reference as I contemplated in the first case, allow me to examine its character and amount. It is stated that 'orders have been given to Gen. Gaines, (copies of which will be furnished you') but without affirming that they are to be considered as binding on me, or any way connected with the comprehensive command that I should terminate the Seminole conflict. On the contrary, so far are they from being designated as my guide and limits in entering Florida, that, in stating their substance in the ensuing sentence, no allusion whatever is made either to means or limitation.

How, then, can it be said with propriety that I have transcended the limits of my orders, or acted on my own responsibility? My order was as comprehensive as it could be, and contained neither the minute original instructions, or a reference to others previously given, to guide and govern me. The fullest discretion was left with me in the selection and application of means to effect the specifical legitimate objects of the campaign; and for the exercise of a sound discretion on principles of policy am I alone responsible. But allow me to repeat, that responsibility is not feared by me, if the general good requires its assumption. I never have shrunk from it, and never will; but against its imposition on me contrary to principle, and without the prospect of any politic result, I must contend with all the feelings of a soldier and a citizen. Being advised that you are at your country seat in Loudoun, where I expect this will reach you, I enclose you a copy of the order to me of the 26th December, 1817, and copies of the orders of General Gaines therein referred to; and from a perusal of which you will perceive that the order to me has no reference to those prohibitory orders to Gen. Gaines that you have referred to.

It will afford me pleasure to aid the Government in procuring any testimony that may be necessary to prove the hostility of the officers of Spain to the United States. I had supposed that the evidence furnished had established the fact—that the officers of Spain had identified themselves with our enemy, and that St. Marks and Pensacola were under the complete control of the Indians, although the Governor of Pensacola at least had force sufficient to have controlled the Indians, had he chosen to have used it in that way. For the purpose of procuring the necessary evidence of the hostile acts of the Governor of Pensacola, I despatched Captain Young, Topographical Engineer, and as soon as obtained will be furnished you. I trust, on a view of all my communications, (copies of which have been forwarded by Captain Gadsden,) you will find that they do not bear the construction you have given them. They were written under bad health, great fatigue and in haste. My bad health continues: I labor under great bodily debility.

Accept assurances of my sincere regard and esteem, and am respectfully, your most obedient servant, ANDREW JACKSON.

JAMES MONROE, President U. S.

(To be continued.)

NEW YORK, March 4.

VERY LATE FROM ENGLAND.

This morning the packet ship Brittania, Capt. Marshall, was announced as below. At a late hour the Editors of the Commercial Advertiser received by this arrival, their files of London papers to the 1st of February, and Liverpool to the 2d, both inclusive.

IRELAND.

It will be seen by the extracts published below, that the Grand Jury have found bills against Mr. O'Connell and others; their trials were expected to commence immediately.

A correspondent of the London Courier says that 'the Government are determined to crush O'Connell, and upon the present prosecution hangs the peace of the country.'

On the 28th January, the Bankers and Merchants of Dublin presented their loyal address to the Lord Lieutenant.—About 400 gentlemen proceeded in carriage from the Royal Hotel, College Green, to the Castle. When the address was handed to the Earl of Anglesea, he placed his hand upon his heart, and said, 'this is one of the proudest days of my life.' On the same day the Lord Lieutenant held his first levee, at which there were 591 presentations.—The assemblage is described as the most respectable and influential that has been held for 20 years in the Court of an Irish Viceroy.

Mr O'Connell.—On Monday, Mr. O'Connell and the other persons who had been held to bail on the same charge with the learned gentleman, of 'having assembled and constituted a meeting prohibited by the Lord Lieutenant's Proclamation, and also, having conspired, by shift and device, to evade his Proclamation,' came before the Court of King's Bench in discharge of their recognizances. Mr O'Connell appeared in his gown and wig. Mr. Shiel was soon after visible in the passage set apart for the King's Counsel, when Mr O'Connell roared out 'make way for the King's Counsel.' The announcement was received with hisses and hooting, which lasted for some minutes after the exagitator had taken his seat.

The Attorney General did not avail himself of his privilege of proceeding by *ex officio* information, but resorted to the more constitutional mode of preferring indictments before a Grand Jury.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, after all the preliminary arrangements had been made, the Judges came into Court, and having taken their seats on the bench the Grand Jury were sworn.

After the charge had been delivered, the Attorney General said, 'My Lord it is so late in the day, that I could not without great inconvenience to the Jury and the witnesses, send up the bills; but at the assembling of the Jury in the morning, the bills will be ready to be laid before them.'—The Grand Jury then retired.

True bills found against the Agitators.

On Tuesday the Attorney General had endictments sent to the Grand Jury against several of the agitators, and among them Mr. O'Connell. Three witnesses were examined on the subject of the informations upon which the indictments are grounded. About one o'clock the foreman, Mr Alderman Montgomery, came into the jury box, and said the Jury could not understand why, in every count, the crime was stated to have been committed in the parish of St. Andrew, when they All knew that Home's Hotel was not in that parish. Judge Jebb smiled, and said it was perfectly immaterial.—From one until three o'clock the Jury were occupied reading the indictments; and after a most patient and attentive investigation, they found true bills against O'Connell, Steele, Dwyer, Lawless, Cloney, Reynolds, Redmond, Sheridan and Barbett. The Court allowed half an hour for Mr. Castello, the attorney, to bring Mr. O'Connell, into Court to be arraigned. Mr. Cullen afterwards appeared as attorney for all the traversers whom he undertook to produce in Court on Wednesday. Mr. Holmes applied for a copy of the information, which was granted.

In the Court of King's Bench on Friday week, the Attorney General said, that in case of the King against Mr O'Connell, he had to move for an attachment against M. P. Lavelle, proprietor of the Freeman's Journal. On the 18th of January, the traversers were arrested, and on the 22d an article appeared in the Freeman's Journal, which was a gross contempt of the authority of the Court, and was a letter signed by Mr. O'Connell. It might be divided into three heads—1st, it traduced and vilified the motives of the persons advising the prosecutions. 2dly, it attempted to overawe the Court he had the honour to address. 3dly, it sought to prejudice the public mind. The Hon Gentleman concluded by calling upon the Court for a conditional order, which the Court immediately granted.

Mr. Costello requested a copy of the indictment, which the Attorney-General said they should have.

Departure of Mr. O'Connell.—The city has been the whole morning in a state of the greatest ferment and excitement, in consequence of the 'Trades,' as they are called, accompanied by the whole rabble of the metrophis, being in progress towards the agitator's residence in Marrion-square. There has been no proclamation issued for preventing the assemblage of this frightful mob; nor are we aware that the government or the magistrates contemplate any measures for preventing or dispersing the meeting. It appears to us strange—not being in the secrets of the executive, that that which was proclaimed some short time since as dangerous to public peace, should this day be considered as innocuous. We hope there is no wavering, no vacillating—above all, we hope there is to be no conciliation. Lord Anglesea is standing on the very brink of a precipice—one false step might prove destruction to himself and to the country. After the exhibition this day made, and the general terror that we know has been excited throughout the city, a call upon the loyal and well-affected portion of the citizens to arm themselves, in support of the authorities and for the preservation of the public peace, would be promptly met and could be advantageously made available. A notice was served upon Mr. O'Connell this afternoon, intimating to him, on the part of the crown, that his attendance in court would be required from day to day pending the proceedings.—Should he disregard the notice, and proceed to England, it is, we understand, the intention of the Attorney General to apply to have his recognizances entreated.

[Dublin Eve. Mail of Jan. 31.

The Marquis of Anglesea's Levee.—Never since the levee en masse which George IV received at the Castle of Dublin, has there been so imposing and so honorable a display of public feeling as we had the satisfaction of witnessing on Thursday. Upwards of six hundred persons attended to do honour to the nobleman, not merely as the representative of a generous and popular monarch—not merely as a member of a reforming administration, and the high officer who will have the honour (and, to such a man as he is, the heartfelt happiness of carrying the reforms necessary into execution—but to the man, to William, Marquis of Anglesea, the genuinely popular, the disinterested, the devoted friend to all classes of the Irish people. This display of public approbation, for his private worth and for his public services would furnish an answer to all the wild and silly rigmarole of the agitation, if reasonable men required any argument on the subject.

[Dublin Eve. Post.

ENGLAND.

The public were anxiously looking forward to the re-opening of Parliament, which was to take place on the 3d of February. The Morning Chronicle of Jan 31st, says, that

'Nothing is yet known of the Ministerial plan of Reform, whatever some people pretend. In fact, the Plan was only yesterday forwarded to his Majesty at Brighton; and till his Majesty's pleasure be known with respect to it, nothing can be known by the public.'

Subscriptions for the benefit of the Poles are announced in several of the London papers.

State of the Country.—Burning still continued in various parts of the country. A letter from Dover of the 30th of January, mentions that on the previous night two barns, filled with grain, were destroyed, near Lord Guilford's residences.

The Hampshire Chronicle notices several incendiary acts in that county. The Shrewsbury Chronicle mentions the burning of several stacks of hay and grain in that section of country. The village of Swinbon, near Wolverhampton has been the scene of several fires. We copy the following from the Liverpool Courier, of Feb 2d:—

Norfolk.—During the past week the portion of this county called Marshland, which had hitherto been exempt from such calamities, has been the scene of no less than three instances of the destruction of property by incendiaries.

Special Commissions.—The following is a summary of the convictions under the special commissions:

Berkshire at Reading.—The number for trial was 138.—Sentence of death was passed upon three, one of whom, Wilterborne, has been executed; sentence of death was recorded against 23; to be transported for fourteen years, 12; for seven ditto, 14; eighteen months' imprisonment, 7; twelve months' ditto, 13; nine ditto, 1; six ditto, 4, four ditto, 4; three ditto, 1; discharged, no prosecution, 14; acquitted, 19.

Abingdon.—One had sentence of death recorded against him; eighteen months' imprisonment, 3; twelve ditto 10; nine ditto, 11; six ditto, 5; three ditto, 6; two ditto, 4.—There were several discharged on their own recognizances.

Buckinghamshire.—The number of prisoners for trial was 126, sentence of death was passed on two, Thomas Blizzard and John Sarney, (not executed;) sentence of death was recorded against 19; to be transported for seven years, 3; various terms of imprisonment, from six weeks to two years, 26; recognizances for two years, 64; discharged on proclamation, 13; acquitted, 20.

Dorsetshire.—There were fifty prisoners for trial, and 68 charges in the calendar, some being indicted twice or thrice. There was no capital conviction. Sentence of death was recorded against five; to be transported seven years, 7, imprisoned two years, 1; eighteen months, 1; twelve ditto, 3; four ditto, 1; three ditto, 2; discharged on their own recognizances, 9; acquitted 14.

Hampshire.—The number for trial was 355. Of these six were sentenced to death, and two of them, Cooper & Coke, since executed; sentence of death was recorded against 98; transportation for life, 6; for seven years, 32; various terms of imprisonment, 58; fined, 3; recognizances to keep the peace, turned over to March Assizes, 3; not prosecuted, 15; bill thrown out, 5; acquitted, 58; discharged without trial, 3.

Wiltshire.—Left for execution, 2, Peter Withers and James Lush; death recorded against 42; transportation for fourteen years, 3; ditto for seven years, 102, imprisonment for various periods, 27; discharged on recognizances, 18; acquitted, 24.

FRANCE.

In a debate in the Chamber of Deputies on the 27th and 28th January, a Parliamentary conversation took place of a deeply interesting character. We quote from the Morning Herald on Feb. 1st.

The subject was introduced by M. Manguin, who called upon the Ministry to explain their policy with respect to Belgium and Poland. The challenge was accepted, and an interesting and important dicussion was the consequence.—M. Manguin taxed the Ministry with betraying the Belgians to the Holy Alliance—with interfering with them in the choice of a King, and in their daring project of re-uniting their country to France. This was the more ungracious, because the Belgians' only fault was the having imitated France in declaring themselves independent. He also inculcated them with respect to Poland. Gen. Sebastiana made a clever and pertinent reply. He reminded the Chamber of the proofs of attachment which France had already given to the Belgian people, in saving them from invasion by the troops of the Holy Alliance—receiving their Ambassador—securing them European neutrality upon the same footing as the Swiss, and, in fine, making common cause with them against the family of Kings.

He denied that the Belgians were unanimous in wishing for a union with France, and argued that the part which he had taken with respect to the Duke of Leuchtenburg savoured more of friendly admonition than national convention. France had large claims upon Belgian gratitude, and it was not taking too great a liberty to require a voice particularly when referred to, as to the form of government, which so near a neighbor ought to assume. Poland was 400 leagues distant from France, and nothing was to be done for it but through the medium of a Continental war, for which France was not anxious, though not unprepared. These arguments were re-echoed by the Minister of War General Lafayette maintained that France ought to adhere to the broad principle of protest against all international intervention, and ought to enforce it at all risks. M. Maugum concluded by saying that, if France was disposed to take Belgium under its wing, the Powers of the Continent were all too weak to interfere with it. The Ministers, one and all, professed their adherence to a pacific system.

BELGIUM.

In the Congress at Brussels, the proceedings of which are reported down to the 28th January, a proposal was made in the sitting of the 25th, signed by fifty-two members to elect the Duke of Nemours King of Belgium. Warm conversation ensued, on its being observed that those who signed the proposal, after asking for the Duke of Leuchtenberg, now asked for the Duke of Nemours. It was decided by a vote of 84 to 77 that there should not be a general committee, to arrange the mode of proceeding in the choice of a Sovereign. By a statement made in the sitting of the 27th, it appeared that the number of petitioners for the Duke of Nemours was 600; for King Louis Philippe 508; and for the Duke of Leuchtenberg 3,257.

The Court de Celles, member of the Belgian Congress, had a special audience with the King of the French, on the 29th January. On the same day a grand diplomatic dinner was given at the Hotel of Count Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian Ambassador.

We find in the London Morning Chronicle of the 14th, a long letter of O. P. Q. dated Paris, 11th January, from which we make the following extract relative to the Russian manifesto.

'But what says France to this production? Let me tell you the truth, and the whole truth, 'without fear and without reproach.' Well, then, France has received and read the proclamation with disgust and horror. Her young men, and even her middle-aged men—I mean from thirty to forty years of age—are decidedly for recognising, without delay, the Dictator of Poland! They say that Russia denounced our revolution—refused to acknowledge our King—and even treated with indifference all our overtures, until the Poles declared their freedom, and drove from their kingdom the Grand Duke Constantine. Then, indeed, he sent an Ambassador—and he took care to send one before he published this dreadful document called the Manifesto, to his Russian subjects! They say that this recognition of France does not, therefore, come in good time—that the Dictator is as much Governor of Poland as Louis Philip is King of the French; or, above all, as the Provisional Government of Belgium is the Representative of the Belgians. They say, and that with great truth, does the Emperor seek to establish a difference between the cases of Belgium and Poland? There is none. Does he say the Belgians were united to the Dutch against their will? So were the Poles parcelled out to Russia. Does he say the Belgians drove away the Prince Frederick and the army? So did the Poles drive away the Grand Duke Constantine and his forces. Does he say the Belgians had reasons and excuses for their insurrections? No; if excuses were wanting, they had not one-tenth of the causes of complaint which the Poles had. Does he say that he (the Autocrat) does not mean to consent to this revolution? Neither did nor does King William of Holland; and yet the five powers have recognized the independence of Belgium. In fine, there is no distinction but one, which is, that the Emperor of Russia has an immense Russian army, and the King of Holland has only a few thousand Dutch troops. The young and middle-aged in France demand, therefore, that the Dictator of Poland shall be acknowledged—that Russia be now treated as a foreign power making war on an independent State—and that a French army do supply the place of French Diplomatists, should diplomacy be unsuccessful.

'The men in France, from forty to sixty years of age, are for peace! I speak of the majority, and more especially of influential and public men! I speak even of those who have given proofs of their attachment to the cause of liberty, and who have suffered fines and imprisonment for the sake of that holy cause. They say, if we make war on Russia for Poland, she will be joined by Prussia, Austria, Spain, Sardinia and Naples; and as England will remain neutral, it is very probable that our July revolution might be compromised, and even the Duke of Bordeaux return to France, guarded by foreign bayonets. The young men and middle aged men will not listen to such fears; they laugh at such chimeras. They say Belgium will be for us! Poland will be for us! the Italians will rise! the Piedmontese and Savoyards, and above all, the Swiss will be for us! and the Turks, if aided by us, will assist, with heart and soul, in driving back the influence as well of Austria as of Russia. And even in Spain and Portugal, they ask, have we not millions of friends to our cause and our revolution! In fine, the young men and middle aged men are for fighting at once the battle which must sooner later be fought, the people on the one hand and absolutism on the other, and when either the principle of 'popular' sovereignty or of 'royal' sovereignty will prevail.

The French Government is in an embarrassing position. The King loves liberty. Lafitte loves liberty. So do Barthe and Baude, and Merilhou, and Sebastiani. They all love liberty; and it would be to falsify all the acts of their life by a deliberate falsehood did we not admit this assertion to be true. But then they are but men—after all, they have passions, and ambition, and love of ease, and a wish for repose, like other men. 'The throne is young and new—it may be easily overturned or disturbed. Our revolution is hated, and must be so by all the powers of Europe, even by a large portion of influential men in England. Great Britain wishes us well but will not nor cannot fight for us; and although therefore, we desire with all our hearts that the Poles may establish their independence, and although we abhor as much as you can do this manifesto of the Emperor, yet we have adopted the principle of non intervention, and we must not interfere.'—This is the language which you hear every hour from Sebastiani, from Royer Collard, from Humann, and even from Lafitte and the King. But are the people satisfied with this reply? No they are not! They say the Poles are our friends, our allies, our former brethren in arms, and we are bound to help them. It was our revolution which induced them to revolt, and we must not sit by and behold them massacred.—The Poles at Paris encourage this feeling. They write and print and circulate addresses to the French nation. The journals assist the cause of the Poles. The schools and colleges are all with them. Public opinion is on their side. A war for Poland would be most popular, and millions would rush to aid them. What then, will the French Government do? If it shall make war, the wealthy, the proprietors, the Royalists, those who will have to pay war taxes, will make a cry and exclaim, 'so then France is to be Knight Errant for all the Revolutionists in Europe;' and if it shall not make war, the Poles will be crushed, liberty will receive a mortal stab, and the French Revolution will have been nearly made in vain.

'In the midst of this delay and uncertainty, a subscription has been opened at Paris for the Poles, and the people will send in their contributions.'

A GOOD ONE.

'Sir,' said a town officer to a young man with a sleigh and horse, 'it is against the law to drive a sleigh in the street without bells and you had better get them.'

'Don't be at all uneasy, Sir,' replied the young fellow, 'I never drive my sleigh without *belles*.' Two of the prettiest young ladies in the city were seated in the sleigh.

[Balt. Minerva.

I know no friends more faithful more inseparable than hard-heartedness and pride, humility and love, fear and impudence. [Lavater.

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