

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.

The Temps publishes the following remarks on the 1st Session of the British Parliament. "The Parliamentary Session is about to close in England. It is the moment to cast a glance on the legislative labors of the Parliament, and on the position of the parties who there dispute the possession of power. The foreign policy of our neighbors is too frequently distinguished by a mixture of revolutionary passions and of selfish calculations. Nevertheless, one cannot avoid admiring the energy with which England has extracted herself out of dangers which on several occasions menaced her safety and her honor. The Crimean war gave her military reputation a serious check; a military revolt shook her authority in India; Chinese duplicity imposed on her a hazardous war at the extremity of the globe; it was found necessary to counterbalance in Italy and Syria the influence which generous intervention had given to France. Well! The indomitable genius of Great Britain came triumphant out of all these trials. England reorganized her army; repaired her fleets; fortified her coast; armed 150,000 volunteers; crushed the rebellion of the Sepoys; took advantage of our aid to open China; obtained the conclusion of the French occupation in Syria, and balanced the action of our arms in Italy by the action of her diplomacy. The power of the English abroad is far from being always beneficial, but the efforts by which they maintain that power are always worthy of admiration."

The following comments on Thursday's debate in the House of Commons are from the London correspondence of the Moniteur. "The declaration of Lord Palmerston on the French naval armaments has obtained no greater success than his previous ones. The leading London journals refuse to accept the policy, or the reasoning of Lord Palmerston—viz, that the armaments of England must be guided by those of France—that there is no possibility of a better understanding on this question; and that each nation must persist in a system of expenditure apparently interminable. These papers declare the notion to be monstrous—that France must not think of becoming a great maritime Power; and they see in the works going on in her arsenals a perfectly legitimate desire to secure the maintenance of her dignity and her safety. They affirm that the Emperor does nothing more than follow up the execution of the plans which he frankly made known some years back to Lord Malmesbury. Finally, they (the leading London papers) agree with Mr. Disraeli in protesting against those cries of alarm which are sure to be followed by large demands of money. On this occasion the Cabinet has evidently calculated too much on the credulity of the country, and it has only brought on itself the criticism of the country. The consequence, therefore, is a total difference between public opinion and the policy of the Ministers on this question. Every man in England wishes that she should have a strong and sufficient navy, and that the old maritime policy of the country should be kept up; but public opinion repudiates the notion that this policy must necessarily be inspired by a feeling of rivalry and jealousy towards France. The English people do not find so much to say about the addition of six new ships to the squadron of iron-cased ships. As to the reasons assigned by Ministers for that augmentation, they do not believe in these reasons; and they very strongly suspect Ministers of having padded them, not because they themselves believe in them, but because they regard them as the best means of inducing the House of Commons to vote the necessary funds. The result of the incidents is that on this question the country thinks in a more sensible manner than the Cabinet; that it has no fear or apprehensions as respects France; that England desires above all other things the French alliance; and that she will never permit her statesmen to lead her astray by vain alarms, or to persuade her that the Emperor has any hostile design against her. Consequently there is no reason, to a certain point, to regret this incident even in the interest of the good harmony between the two nations."

The political article in the last number of the Revue des Deux Mondes contains some comments on the late debates in Parliament relative to Sardinia and the naval armaments. The writer (M. Forcade) is rather sharp upon Mr. Kinglake and Sir Robert Peel, and he treats with ridicule the apprehensions of Lord Russell that the Emperor may be forced some day by his Chambers to annex Sardinia; or, rather, M. Forcade thinks that what Lord John Russell said was mere prolepsis. He inclines to the belief that Mr. Disraeli's suggestion about an understanding between the two governments was marked by sense. "Such reasoning is most conclusive," he observes. "But nations and governments can do nothing to abdicate the independence of their political action. They cannot bind themselves by engagements as to the direction they give to their armaments, and which would bind them to a foreign control. It is not possible, therefore, to solve the problem of the just proportion of the maritime forces of France and England in time of peace by means of diplomatic arrangements. Is there no other way of attaining the same result; and must we despair of seeing two rational countries avail themselves of peace to reduce their war expenditure? No doubt the understanding is possible on other conditions. It depends entirely on the mutual confidence of the two Governments, on the mutual faith which they may have in their pacific intentions; but, as we say familiarly, confidence does not come by command. Between Governments and peoples it is founded on positive guarantees more than on personal considerations. The most solid of these positive guarantees is what results from the power of Governments. If our Chambers had a more direct or more sustained participation in the direction of affairs—if foreign Governments could read more easily in their manifestations the expressed tendencies of opinion, the expressed will of the country, on questions which interest it—it is certain that between France and England, for instance, a serious doubt could not long subsist on the real intentions of the two nations with regard to peace. In our day secret diplomacy does not suffice for all the necessities of international policy. These are questions, and among them the most important, that of confidence, which are resolved better between Parliaments by the frankness and freedom of discussion, than by conferences of Ambassadors or protocols. For this reason we earnestly desire the progress of our institutions towards liberty."

The Courrier de Dimanche publishes a piece of news which, if true, is not without some gravity. According to it the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg have positively contracted an alliance, and are both actively preparing to devise such measures as may be taken simultaneously by the two Cabinets in combatting a revolutionary tendency which menaces their existence. One of the first effects of this modern Holy Alliance will be shown in the protestation of Russia against erecting Italy into a kingdom. That an entente cordiale exists between the Cabinets of Vienna and St. Petersburg cannot be doubted, but it is difficult to say whether it is or not of the precise nature M. Ganesco says.

In Genoa, at the last municipal elections, out of 4,052 voters only 245 voted! "Armonia, August 1st." A letter from Nice, addressed to the Diritto, says:—"The hatred accumulated in the hearts of the people of Nice against foreign domination, bursts out some times in scenes of violence against the police agents, the soldiers, and sailors, when there are any here. It is difficult to count a week without there being some heads broken." This must be impossible, surely, after the universal suffrage has given that Italian town to Napoleon!

It appears from the returns made by the officers appointed to take the late census that the population of Paris amounts to 1,700,000 souls. In the year 1789 Paris contained but 650,000 inhabitants; in 1817, they amounted to 713,966; in 1841 to 935,261; in 1851, they counted above a million; and in five years afterwards they had increased to 1,174,346 souls.

An Imperial "Tiff."—A subject of no slight surprise among the persons composing the intimate entourage of the Court is the manner in which the Empress is quickly set aside just now. Her Majesty, who is usually the one person foremost in all amusements and pastimes, would it is thought, have particularly well enjoyed the sort of diversions that have been going on at Vichy, the military impromptu balls, charades, and other festivities of a remarkably unceremonious species; and it is thought rather odd that she should have been excluded from these whilst other ladies have been conspicuously associated in them. Some people even go so far as to tell you of grave dissensions between Louis Napoleon and his wife on the subject of Rome, and the assistance to be given to or the pressure to be put upon the Pope, and I am not prepared to deny that there are very wide divergencies of feeling and opinion upon this point between the imperial couple.—Paris Correspondence of the London Review.

ITALY. Our Weekly Register Roman correspondent reports that the health of Our Holy Father continues most satisfactory, and that Rome is perfectly tranquil. The Cardinal Archbishop of Naples had arrived in Rome. On landing at Civita Vecchia he was received with a salute by the French troops in garrison there. The Protestant and revolutionary papers have been magnifying the reported dispute between M. de Merode and General de Goyon. It is stated, however, that General de Goyon has written to the Emperor and to the Minister of War, indignantly denying that he had been guilty of the extraordinary conduct for which the semi-official prints have been praising him, and requesting the insertion of a note to that effect in the Moniteur. No such note, however, has been permitted as yet, to appear. Meanwhile, the Roman correspondent of the Monde, writing on the 3rd inst., says—"The Pontifical soldier, who was reported as the subject of a discussion between Mgr. de Merode and General de Goyon, and whom that General had taken by force, and in spite of the minister, from the Pontifical prison, to have him judged by a French Court Martial, was yesterday unanimously acquitted and set at liberty." The fact is, that a great fuss about nothing has been made by the revolutionary party; the wish being father to the thought, that this alleged misunderstanding would in some measure alter the present state of affairs, even if it did not precipitate the evacuation of Roman territory by the French. We may add, our own Roman correspondent gave all the particulars of this soldier's case in our number of July the 20th; long before the Pays and other French and English papers thought of making it an occasion of calumniating a member of Pius the Ninth's Government.

The Monde correspondent states that M. de Cavour before his death did not sin through hypocrisy. He neither recognised, saw, or heard the Rev. Father Giacomo, and went into eternity without having made, or being able to make, the least sign of consciousness or repentance.—Weekly Register. The soldier whom General Goyon had taken by force from the Pontifical prison, to be tried by a French court-martial, was acquitted unanimously, and set at liberty on the 2nd inst. Another series of falsehoods which have been propagated all over Europe concern the summons to Rome of the Father Giacomo, the Administrator of the parish in which Count Cavour died. All Europe has been told that the Pope required the Friar to divulge the secret of the Confessional; that the Friar refused roundly, and that the Pope had confined him to the prison of the Inquisition. There is no limit to the malice of the inventors of falsehoods, or to the credulous stupidity of their dupes. Our Catholic readers are of course aware that the question to be put to Father Giacomo did not in any way concern what passed between him and his penitent in confession, but his own conduct, as to which it was important to know whether he had required a public retraction from the excommunicated sinner before reconciling him to the Church and administering the Sacraments. We are now informed by the Roman Correspondent of the Monde, that it is ascertained beyond doubt that M. de Cavour before his death did not add the sin of hypocrisy to his other crimes. He neither recognised, nor saw, nor heard the Rev. Father, and passed into eternity without giving, or being able to give, the least sign of comprehension or of repentance. Father Giacomo has already quitted Rome. He is a Franciscan Friar, but that in other respects he is anything but what he ought to be, is sufficiently well known.—Tablet. The Lombardo of Milan publishes the following curious letter, addressed to the Pope by an old woman, once a celebrated dancer:—"At the advanced age of 78 I humble myself in the dust, and bitterly deplore having occasioned many scandals by dancing in theatres during a period of 25 years, and having heaped up enjoyment and riches by the practice of that diabolical art. At this time, when the Roman Government is enduring such great anguish, I venture, unworthy sinner as I am, to come feebly to its aid with the trifling sum of 500 Austrian livres, which I offer as a contribution to St. Peter's penny, imploring at the same time his blessing and prayers for myself, my deceased father, my daughter Charlotte, and her son Eustasio and Elizabeth his wife, and all the children they may have, and finally for all my children and posterity, to the end that the good may triumph and the wicked perish. His Holiness' humiliated servant and sinner, Giuseppa Talandra, Ex-Grand dancer of the Ancient Cisalpine Republic (sic)."

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NAPLES, August 3.—Our city was the day before yesterday again defiled with impunity by sixty-four murders, committed against persons reputed as belonging to the Legitimist party. Cardinal Riarso Strozzi, Archbishop of Naples, a true type of charity and of virtue, was arrested and forcibly led on board a steam corvette, the Tancredi, and sent to Civita Vecchia. Forty ecclesiastics, among whom are several Bishops, have shared the same fate. On the passing of these victims of Piedmontese tyranny, the people shed tears and invoked the intercession of the patron Saint of Naples. Nevertheless, a few wretches, the refuse of our population, in the pay of the police, set up groans and insulting cries against the Cardinal and his companions in exile, and then most appropriately went to thank the Dictator, Orlandini, applauding under the windows of the Forestiera Palace, where he resides during the day. Terror and arrests without limit continue. Two ladies were arrested yesterday morning in the street. The editors of the Pietra Infernale, the Corriere, the Araldo, and the Settimana, have been thrown into prison without any legal form, and their journals suppressed. These journals, either Ultra-liberal or Legitimist, were guilty of exposing Piedmontese tyranny. Meanwhile the Sardinian troops continue to overrun the provinces, setting everything on fire, pillaging, and murdering. The orders of Orlandini are that those taken with arms in their hands are to be shot, and that the towns and villages which have given shelter to the Royalist bands are to be levelled to the ground. The "Generals" Finelli and Calatore overrun the Abruzzi, and the Pula like true barbarians, without leaving anything undestroyed on their way.

On the 29th and 30th of July, Royalist columns and the insurgent masses in various localities, in accordance with a general order, attacked simultaneously the Piedmontese troops and National Guard, who are obliged to support the former, on every point in our several provinces. The Royalists gained a signal success. In the Calabria, especially near Carpoli, the Garibaldian volunteers, the National Guards, and the Piedmontese, were completely routed. Finally, at Auletta an obstinate fight took place

in the town and its environs, and victory remained on the Neapolitan side, who, after a brilliant engagement, occupied, with considerable forces, the bridge of Campituro, one of the strongest strategic positions in the kingdom, which commands the way to the Calabria. The country about Naples is in the power of the insurgents, who have established their general quarters at Salerno, where several thousands of the riflemen of the old Neapolitan army are grouped, and are in possession of several field-pieces of artillery, which are admirably served by former artillerymen. On the confines of the Abruzzi and the Terra di Lavoro, the important town of Sorso is invested on all sides by the Neapolitans, and the Piedmontese are entrenched there behind barricades.—Cor. Weekly Register.

We translate the following from various foreign papers:—The Lombardo relates that "on the 27th of July the Commendatore Ambrogio, General Santoue, and Colonel Bosco, brother of the General of that name, were shot in the Castle of St. Elmo. All the chiefs taken with arms in their hands are ordinarily shot by General Finelli without any other form of trial." Another correspondence says that in the district of Isernia the Neapolitan veterans, in garrison at Ciriella del Tronto, having refused to march against the Royalist columns, consisting in great part of their former comrades, have been decimated. The same correspondence states that at Campobasso the governor of the province has had shot a great number of men, whose only crime was that their names were found on a list taken from an insurgent.

The Popolo d'Italia of the 27th ult., says that 25 gendarmes, while patrolling near Capua, found on an individual a diploma of Francis II. At Marano and Quiliano nobody knew the individual. Not to trouble himself with any further inquiry, the officer commanding the gendarmes asked for a Priest at Quiliano, and expedited the individual into the other world after he had made his confession. The Armonia of the 31st ult. says—"At Somma, six men suspected of having intercourse with the reactionists, have been summarily shot. A pious and venerable priest asked the military authority to allow him to reconcile these unfortunate men with God. But the good priest was brutally repulsed with the answer 'You may confess them underground.'" The Gazette de France states that amongst the six victims was an old man of 80 and a boy of 14. The Armonia of the 1st inst. says a correspondence of the Regno d'Italia reports:—"We have news from Sicily. The Ministerial Deputies were obliged to remain on board the steamer which brought them back to Palermo because the people gave them to understand that if they wished to land they ran the risk of losing their lives."

A letter from Naples, addressed to the Patria, says—"400 insurgents had been made prisoners at Auletta; but on going from there to Salerno, they mutinied, and 300 of them escaped; 80 were immediately shot. Thirty houses at Auletta were burnt, several of the chief inhabitants were murdered, and the streets were filled with dead and wounded. The Hungaria legion (in which there are several English riflemen), sent with two field guns, arrived several hours after the fight, and returned immediately to Nola which had been left without troops."

received "good news." "I shall over with this Victor Emmanuel send some priests of the place, and we shall now have four rights and some things like quietude. These, it is true, are only two or three facts, but they came under my notice, and are very fair illustrations of what is the state of feeling in other parts." It is a mistake to suppose that they are "the only soldati banditi who create these disturbances." They gave an impulse, no doubt, to the movement which it would not otherwise have received, but the ignorance and the corruption of the people—say, from the highest aristocracy down to the lowest of the low-bred—provided materials sufficient for a counter-revolution.

For, let it be denied as strongly as men like, and smoothed down with the utmost care, the fact still remains the same, that in most of the towns there are many sympathizers with the reactionists, and intimate communications kept up with them. Confusion and suspicion prevail everywhere. Several arrests have taken place in the city this week, and important discoveries made. Many troops left for the Calabria on the 23d, and, if the bands of the brigands are small, they are so distributed about the country as to keep every place in a state of palpitation, and to render necessary the separation of the troops. In the present position none but a dreamer could expect consolidation and progress, and I have nothing to tell you but a tale of misfortune.

Was it merely to sweep off a few bands of brigands, General Cialdini would do the work quickly enough, but he has to encounter treason lurking among the highest and the lowest classes; corruption baulked of its usual perquisites; a large and compact body of clergy who are omnipotent for evil among a great proportion of an ignorant population; and—perhaps worse than all—that passive resistance which springs from moral cowardice, and the "laissez faire" spirit of Southern indolence. If he succeeds, as every friend of human progress would pray that he may do, he will win greater laurels than he has ever won before. More troops are continually coming in, and the address of the ex-Secretary General of the Interior, invoking the voluntary assistance of the inhabitants, is now put in a stronger form, and the communes are compelled to supply a certain number of persons to fill up the ranks of the "Colonne Mobile."

I am sorry to tell you that facts are continually occurring to show the justice of my views. In my last I told you that the Costiera, of Amalfi, had been disarmed, and the same step has been taken in places near Pozzuoli and Portici and under Vesuvius, and in various other quarters. It is only here and there, say some, that this has been found necessary, but the "heres and theres" are numerous and increase daily; and if large masses of the population are so unsobered or so uncertain, how are they to be trusted in a case of emergency? Then as regards the National Guard of Southern Italy, it cannot be denied that as regards fidelity, discipline, and pluck they are but a broken reed, without disparaging the many honourable instances to the contrary in Naples and in the provinces. They were formed in a hurry, without scrutiny, and at a time when everything looked bright, and they have not shown that patience which is necessary to the realization of the benefits of liberty. I ground my assertion on facts. For several months we have heard of whole bodies of the National Guard being disarmed in country places, scarcely a day passes in which some instance of the kind is not communicated; now and then we hear of a Captain of the Guard being shot, and of some being arrested. They have been discovered not only in communication with the brigands, as they are called, but acting with them. This is an old story of many months' standing, which should have suggested some decisive measure, such as a scrutiny and a pruning of the Guard, but it has only been talked of, and now it would be impossible to know in whom to trust. Let me advert to the model body, the National Guard of Naples, four battalions of whom were addressed by Cialdini last Sunday. Out of 15,000 men I have no doubt that 7,000 or 8,000 good men and true are to be found, who have done honour and will continue to do honour to their country, but the fidelity, the discipline, and the pluck of the others are little to be trusted. In saying so I repeat only what has been said to me by members of the guard. "In case of an outbreak in the city," they tell me, "we should be afraid of an enemy at our backs. There is the Major of our battalion, for instance, who is a rank Bourbonite, and was the intimate friend of the Commissary of Police Merenda; and many of the small shopkeepers who think only of their carlini and ducats, would be against us. Then there are many advanced in years, fathers of families, and others full of vittu, who would at least be an embarrassment. A scrutiny was called for long ago, but has never been carried out. A scrutiny has been instituted, indeed, for all the new members of the Guard, but none into those of whom it is actually composed."

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY. PESTH, Aug. 8.—In to-day's sitting of the Lower House, the draught of an Address from the Diet to the Emperor was proposed by M. Deak. The demands made in this Address do not differ from those contained in the first Address. It refuses the Imperial Rescript, and declares in conclusion that further negotiations are broken off. This Address was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted, and it was resolved to send it to the Upper House.

RUSSIAN NAVY.—The following details respecting the Russian naval force are taken from official sources:—At the end of 1860 the effective of the navy was—Admirals, 95; other officers, 3,245; civil functionaries, 966; and sailors and marines, 55,216. The admirals, officers, and functionaries were fewer than at the end of 1859, but the sailors were 2,200 more. Of the total, 10 admirals, 2,332 officers, and 32,728 sailors were destined to serve afloat, and the rest for protecting the coasts. At the end of 1859 the fleet was thus composed:—Steam vessels—9 ships of the line, 22 frigates, 22 corvettes, 12 clippers, 79 gunboats, 2 yachts, 25 schooners, 8 transports, 49 small steamers, 11 sloops, and 3 floating batteries. These various vessels were of 36,935-horse power, and armed with 2,374 pieces of cannon. Sailing vessels—10 ships of the line, 6 frigates, 3 corvettes, 5 briggs, 17 schooners, 2 luggers, 3 tenders, 13 transports, and 12 yachts, the number of guns being 1,477. The total number of vessels was 813, and of guns 3,851. In the year 1860 the fleet was increased by the launching of the following vessels:—At St. Petersburg, a ship of the line, Emperor Nicholas I., of 111 guns; a frigate Oslabiya, 45; a corvette, Bagaly, 17; a floating battery, and various small vessels. At Cronstadt, a screw frigate, the Oleg, 67 guns, and the ships of the line, Sinope and Cesarevitch (number of guns not stated). At Archangel, a frigate, the Parzavel, of 63 guns, and a steamer, Solomola, of 240 horse power and 8 guns. At Nicholas, two corvettes, Yastreb and Kretchete, each of 9 guns; two steamers, Aloncha and Tolytydyg, each of 2, and an iron screw sloop. At Albo, a sailing yacht, Zabava, for the Grand Duke Alexis. At Bjornborg, two armed clippers, Abrek and Vnadrick, each of 5 guns. At Northfleet, in England, an armed clipper, Haidamak, of 77. At Havre, in France, two gunboats, Morre and Tulene. In addition, the construction of several other vessels for the fleet was commenced both in Russian ports and abroad.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE CZAR.—From a letter published in the Paris papers, and containing the most circumstantial details, it appears that at St. Petersburg a tragedy was on the point of being enacted, the effects of which had it been accomplished would have spread at least over one-half of Europe. A plot against the life of the Emperor Alexander, as well as against the lives of the different members of the Imperial family, has lately been discovered, in

which some of the highest members of the nobility and States functionaries were implicated. For some time past the house of a great functionary was the rendezvous for a great number of persons, who assembled there on divers pretexts. They were for the greater part government functionaries, retired officers, landed proprietors discontented with the law reforms, and individuals belonging to the different coteries into which the court is now divided. These personages, it is stated, became the centre of a conspiracy which aimed at the lives of the Emperor and his children, as well as the establishment of a constitution. The complicity of two ladies of the highest rank shows whom the conspirators had in view as their future Czar. Relations were also formed with some exiles, who were brought round by the promise of the immediate proclamation of a liberal constitution; a senator, who, on account of the favor he enjoyed at court, was considered to be the most fitting intermediary between the different malcontents; and the correspondence on the subject was carried on through him. However, the frequency of the meetings drew the attention of the servant to them, and a gossiping propensity on his part was the means of putting the police on the track, which they pursued, by the Emperor's orders, with the greatest circumspection. The letter further states that several persons who frequented the reunions were suddenly dismissed from their situations. This had the effect of, at once, arousing misgivings that they were discovered. Some strove to quit the country, and the ringleader in the plot became utterly deprived of reason. When all this was known to the Government, M. Patkul, the chief of the Russian police, made a domiciliary visit to the house of the senator, for the purpose of seizing all his papers. While doing so a colonel in the Russian army, and secretary to one of the ladies in question, came and displayed an order which empowered him to take possession of the treasonable correspondence. A warm contest ensued; but Patkul was the victor, and in the letters which he found was discovered the clue to the conspiracy. The two ladies were immediately ordered to leave St. Petersburg, and also forbidden ever to return there. But the fate of all the others has not yet transpired.

THE BLOCKADE. (From the London Times, Aug. 8.) There was, however, one little incident in the last day of the session, for which we must ask a moment's retrospect, for it is a little cloud which although only as large as present as a man's hand, may come to overshadow the whole sky. Recent advices have told us that the American Congress had empowered its President to place ships-of-war of the Federal navy in the Atlantic Ocean and Gulf of Mexico, there to collect dues upon merchandise bound to the ports in the possession of the Confederate Government. This is about as threatening a piece of news as we could well have received, and it was upon every ground desirable that Parliament should not separate without some expression of opinion by the Government upon the point thus raised. Mr. Wylie, on Tuesday afternoon, asked a question upon the subject, and Lord Palmerston, with characteristic caution, said no more in his reply than was absolutely necessary to show that the pretensions to collect duties off a blockaded port was inadmissible. Lord Palmerston pointed out that "such a proceeding, if adopted, would be a practical suspension of the blockade, because a port could not be effectually blockaded and ships prevented from entering it, while at the same time customs' dues were levied on their cargoes as if they had entered." It is very important that this answer should be rightly understood, both here and on the other side of the Atlantic. Lord Palmerston would, as we apprehend, be very much misunderstood if he were supposed to have any doubt that the project of collecting duties in the Atlantic Ocean is altogether unjustifiable by any article of the law of Nations. What he evidently meant, and what his words convey, is that if a blockading force should allow any one ship to enter a blockaded port by reason of payment of duties, the blockade is from that moment raised, and all the rest of the world have from that time forth a right to go into the blockaded port without hindrance. The right of a belligerent is, not to keep out whom he may please from a blockaded port, nor to make his blockade an excuse for levying blackmail upon neutral vessels, but to keep out all the world impartially. He may seal up the Port, but if he lets one vessel in his right is gone. This is Lord Palmerston's answer, and it is sufficient for the occasion. When the Federal cruisers willingly allow a ship to pass into a blockaded port upon payment of customs the blockade will be at an end.

Behind this, however, lies the further question, whether the Federal Government has a substantive right to collect duties at sea. If such a right exists, it may be worth its while to forego the blockade and rest upon the right to collect customs, treating ships attempting to evade payment, not as blockade-breakers, but as smugglers. We apprehend that such a right was never heard of. We are dealing with the claim of right. As a matter of convenience or arrangement we may, of course, collect our New York duties at Calais, or we may pay over our New York duties at Liverpool; but as a matter of right, the Federal Government has just as much a pretence to place floating custom houses in the British channel as off Charleston harbor or in the Gulf of Mexico.—There is not one of the many authorities upon maritime law who does not agree that every possible dominion over the sea must be enjoyed as an appendage to the dominion over the land, and as inseparable from the land. There have been conflicts of opinion as to how far this dominion extends out to sea. A cannon shot from the shore has been the most general measurement, and the common assent now seems to be that the dominion of the country extends as far as the sea can fairly be commanded from the land. When the dominion of the land is lost, of course the appendant dominion of the sea goes with it. The shore waters of the Atlantic and of the Gulf of Mexico are the highway of nations, subject only to the peculiar rights of the owners of the shores, conceded to them for the protection of those shores. Now that the possession of the land is in other hands, the Federal navy has no right there, except in common with the rest of mankind, or as belligerents. To station a ship of war there, and to enforce payment from ships of commerce, would be simply an act of piracy.

Not only is this plain international law, but it is plain common sense. For what does the Merchant pay duties on his goods? For liberty to trade in the lands of a foreign Prince or Government. But, can these floating custom-houses give him such liberty? They can only allow him to pass them unharmed.—When he has paid their dues to the Federal officers he may be excluded from Charleston or New Orleans, or he may be compelled to pay duties over again to the de facto Government of the country to which he is bound before he is allowed to enter. This would obviously be the actual fact. But, again, the merchant pays duties for protection in his dealings, and for the remedies of the law existing in the country to which he carries his adventure. Do these Federal officers profess to give him this? Those officers cannot go there! they are alien enemies! they have no more means of facilitating commercial operations than they have in Paris or Vienna. It comes, then, simply to this;—that these Federal ships of war have no more right in the waters of the Southern ports than any other ship of war has, and have no power of benefiting a ship beyond that of letting it go by unharmed. So long as they are blockading the ports they are within their rights as belligerents; directly they begin to levy duties upon the ships of neutrals they exceed their rights.

These things are very plain. There is no ambiguity about them, and that is quite as well understood on the other side of the Atlantic as on this.

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