

asks the same newspaper, "since not a single objection has been raised against this choice, although the name of Lord Elgin was pronounced by everybody from the moment that it was thought of to send a new plenipotentiary to China?"

Lord Elgin is neither a political user even a personal friend of Lord Palmerston. We may add, without fear of contradiction, that he frequently blamed the policy of the Secretary of State, and both the spirit and the proceedings introduced by the noble viscount into the international relations of England. For calling him to such an important post, Lord Palmerston must have been determined, not only by the gravity of the situation which is to be provided for, but also by the well-recognized necessity to alter the policy which has been condemned by the House of Commons. Between Lord Palmerston unreservedly approving of the conduct of Sir John Bowring and the same Minister entrusting Lord Elgin with the charge of directing the affairs of Canton, there is a thorough conversion, and as we willingly admit a very clever one.—The confidence at once accorded to the plenipotentiary will make up for that which the Minister will have so much pain to retract. Some days ago we said: "If Lord Palmerston, after the discomfiture which he just suffered, remains in power, he will remain much altered and much changed, if not entirely converted; it will no more be the Lord Palmerston of some years ago, nor even of some months ago." The nomination of Lord Elgin goes far to support our forebodings."

What will be the instructions given to the new plenipotentiary? Certainly we do not pretend to know them. But, if we are allowed to express our opinion, we believe them to be very simple and general. The cabinet did not disavow either Sir John Bowring or Mr. Parkes, because it could not; because, as was very clearly proved in both houses of Parliament, Mr. Parkes and Sir John Bowring did nothing but conform themselves to Palmerston's policy, and, perhaps, even follow precise instructions which emanated from Downing street. Their conduct in Canton is throughout after the manner of Lord Palmerston. The treaties with China were about to expire. It had been talked of to establish with France and the United States to bring about in common their being renewed.—This regular and slow proceeding, so well adapted to "true diplomacy," is in no manner to the taste of the noble lord. To provoke a conflict without well knowing what will come from it, to embroil for the moment matters, were it but for an opportunity to step forward and to reduce more or less his allies to the position of satellites and attendants,—this is the Palmerstonian idea, free from all drawbacks, and carried out in its most complete form. Wherefore, in fact, the recommendation addressed to Sir John Bowring to present again, at the first opportunity, the demand of entering Canton, according to the treaty of 1842? Wherefore the authority given him contrary to previous instructions, of employing the armed force without even referring to the government? Was it not quite natural to wait, in order to obtain an entrance to Canton, to negotiate the treaties' renewal? Evidently Lord Palmerston wished to strike a blow in those regions, to establish, as it were, the superiority and supremacy of England, and at the same time he flattered himself that the counter-effect in London would be favorable to his policy. He must soon know that in all probability he has been strangely mistaken.

It is useless to recall the effect produced in England by the news from Canton. Save some commercial houses of Liverpool and some merchants of London, who consider matters from a point of view not very disinterested, there was but one feeling in regard to the conduct of the Governor of Hong Kong, the bombardment of Canton, and that abuse of force, which was supported by a lie. The House of Commons was but the interpreter of this feeling, and amongst the members who, for party consideration, deemed it their duty to remain faithful to the ministry, there is, perhaps, not a single one who did not think like the majority, and who did not feel embarrassed by his vote. But in China itself matters seem to have gone much farther

than Lord Palmerston wished it. He met in the population of Canton a disposition to fight with a resolute force which he did not at all expect. What was originally calculated to remain a local and transient conflict, out of which he hoped to gain an easy triumph, threatens to turn out a general and serious war. Already Admiral Seymour has been obliged to give up a part of his positions, he seems to think less of threatening Canton than of covering Hong Kong, and the situation, such as has been revealed by the last news, does not fail to cause in England some uneasiness.

Let us hope that the fleets sent from Mauritius, and those which left Portsmouth will arrive in time to prevent a catastrophe. But even then, will all the skill, prudence, moderation, and firmness of Lord Elgin be sufficient to terminate peacefully and to the honour of Great Britain an affair so unfortunately engaged? It is clear that the Cabinet is not at all tranquil on this point. It is seen from the speech of Lord Palmerston, minister of war, in the House of Lords, on Friday last—and our readers will doubtless have remarked the phrase where he defends himself against ever having declared that he did approve the bombardment of Canton—it results from this speech that the government was unable to give Lord Elgin any precise instructions, and that it almost limited itself to recommending to him to exercise all his efforts for putting an end to the affair in a peaceable manner; that is to say, to drag England as fast as possible out of the embarrassment wherein Lord Palmerston put her. Evidently, people dare not in London rely on the employment of force, and prefer to give up for the present time the idea of striking a great blow, rather than to engage in a new war with the Celestial Empire.

China is no longer what it was in the year 1842. On the one hand the hatred to foreigners seems rather to have been increasing than diminishing, and on the other hand its military condition and means of defence have been considerably improved. The palace revolution, so wittily called to mind by Mr. Gladstone, in his speech on the motion of Mr. Cobden, which at the beginning of the present reign threw down Wan-Tchang-Ha, first Minister, and Ki-Ju, the negotiator of the treaty of Nankin, was an event more important than is generally believed. The diplomatist and minister have been sacrificed to the hatred of strangers; and to the popular wrath excited by the concessions accorded to the barbarians in 1842. This feeling has not abated since 1850, it grew rather stronger, and the Son of Heaven is obliged to conform his policy to it. The treaties concluded with the Europeans were one of the grievances alleged against his dynasty by the rebels who have been waging war on him these seven years, and whom he is unable to conquer. To accord new concessions would be the same as to expose himself to lend new forces to the insurrection and less to his crown. The war with the barbarians may, on the contrary, bring back to him a portion of those who have taken part with the rebels.

At the same time, the army and the people have become accustomed to war whilst fighting against the Shanglees; and during their civil wars their fire arms have been very much improved. Ki-Ju, one of the statesmen who paid with disgrace the honor of having taken part in the negotiations of 1842, was the first author of these reforms. "He perfectly understood," says a reliable writer on this subject, "that the Chinese soldiers armed like the heroes of Homer, with bows and arrows, or embarrassed with old fashioned arquebuses, were unable to fight against European troops; he undertook to change their grotesque equipments." Percussion guns were fabricated under the superintendence of a prince of the imperial family; at the same time, the stock of munitions in the arsenals was increased and caps provided in number.

We all know that the most warlike and troublesome ministers are not always those who think most of the preparations which form the strength and security of empires. However, we believe that the successors of the negotiator Ki-Ju and of the peaceable Non-Tchang-Ha did not neglect to work out the reforms introduced by them in the military system of their country.

Therefore if the English should have a new

war with China they can no longer expect to meet with those badly armed soldiers they so easily vanquished some fifteen years ago. At the close of the last war they became aware that the Chinese troops grew more and more skilled to battle, and that, either having learned from their aggressors themselves to defend themselves better, or some foreign element having introduced amongst them new habits of discipline and notion of tactics, they opposed a stronger resistance to the Europeans. None of those who were present in the campaign of the year 1842, or who have perused the reports of the newspapers of that period, forget the savage energy with which Chin-Kiang-Fou was defended, or the stain thrown on the English name by the sack of that unfortunate city. To-day one may expect to meet, from the first fight, such soldiers as the defenders of that celebrated city.

It is not for us to say that the Chinese have already attained a point to fight advantageously against Europeans, but it is evident that, on their part, a resolute letter calculated and more difficult to conquer must be expected.—Being accustomed to war, better armed, and ever obstinate in their hatred against the strangers, war may be a bad means to bring them to new concessions; and this war, if it be unavoidable, may one day cost dear those who, without necessity, provoked it.

Therefore, we understand the first and only recommendation given to Lord Elgin to be to draw matters to a close as soon as possible.—England cannot think of new conquests in China; and the concessions she may still be able to obtain will never be equivalent to what a distant war will cost her, in which, whatever may be said to the contrary, she cannot hope for any help from her allies, and in which her enemies will be enabled to find—more or less directly—the occasion to humble, one day, her power and her pride. Will the wisdom, moderation and skill of the new plenipotentiary suffice to find an honorable way out of this difficult position? We do not know; but nobody was more worthy of such a mission, and the interest of his country is sufficiently deeply engaged for overcoming the hesitations of Lord Elgin to accept it.

### Arrival of the "ARABIA."

NEW YORK, 16th.

The Cunard steamship Arabia was arrived with Liverpool dates to the afternoon of Saturday, April 4th.

The English Elections were still progressing and in general were favorable for the Palmerston Administration.

The rupture between Austria and Sardinia has made no advance towards a settlement.

India affairs are said to be growing more threatening.

The China mails had been received in England although peace was considered probable, it is not officially announced.

GREAT BRITAIN.—The borough elections were progressing throughout the country. The Palmerstonians are confident of a large majority in the new House. The opposition admit that there will be a large majority, but say it will not be sufficient for Palmerston. There are 100 new men in the House and many old out. Mr. T. Baines is the Ministerial candidate for Speaker against FitzRoy.

Arrests were being made in Paris of conspirators against Napoleon.

The sixth meeting of the Neuchâtel Conference had been held, and the first protocol paraphrased.

SPAIN.—Reports say that the Spanish forces will, under any circumstance, occupy a portion of the Mexican territory to protect Spanish subjects.

AUSTRIA.—Austria has issued a new circular against Sardinia, and France and England have strongly remonstrated with both Austria and Sardinia to keep the peace.

PRUSSIA.—Prussia announces that she will maintain her policy respecting the Danish Duchies, and orders her coast to be placed in a state of defence.

RUSSIA AND THE EAST.—The Russians are concentrating forces at Arax against the Chirp-