

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

The French nation, it has been remarked, stands at this time in a similar dilemma. The present Constitution of the Republic must either be modified, or retained without alteration. But if the existing Government of the country is to be retained, then the Constitution must be modified and revised; and, on the other hand, if the Constitution remain exactly what it now is, the existing Government expires, and cannot legally be renewed on the same basis. So that to retain the Government the nation must sacrifice the Constitution, or to retain the Constitution it must sacrifice the Government. Which it will be must soon be seen, and there is no utility in any prophecies on the subject.

The excitement created by the advent of the new Ministry is gradually calming down, and as the Assembly has adjourned every Passion week, it is probable that there will be one week without politics. Already the leading representatives have left Paris for their country seats, and there is a total suspension of business in the Assembly.

The organs of the Conservative party have intimated that, though they look with suspicion on the new Ministry, they are willing to suspend hostilities, and to give the Cabinet an opportunity of showing by its acts that its intentions are as moderate as its professions. The *National*, and other Republican journals, declare that, if any attempt be made to revise the Constitution out of the limits prescribed by it, the masses of the people will resist it. The *National* asserts also that, in Paris and the departments, the mass of the people are not only resolved to prevent a revision of the Constitution by what they would consider illegal means, but also to insist upon the revocation of the electoral law of 1830, and a return to universal suffrage. The *Republique* turns to ridicule the report that it is the intention of the Ministry to propose to the National Assembly, to consult the municipal councils of France, before the discussion of the question of Revision by the Assembly. Such a proceeding, says the *Republique*, would be a mere deception, as the councils were elected under the influence of the events of June, 1848, and are not, therefore, to be regarded as the real representation of the present views and feelings of the people.

SPAIN.

The Moderate Party in Spain is extremely divided, and all its endeavors to form an Electoral Central Committee had hitherto failed. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Under Secretaries of State of the Departments of the Interior and Justice, have not yet been appointed. The Political Chief of Madrid had authorized the Progressistas to hold meetings, preparatory to the elections.

REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL.

Count Thomar's Government has a second time caused a military insurrection in Portugal. The Duke of Saldanha, whose decided opposition to any insurrectionary movement was long regarded as the chief guarantee of the peace of the kingdom, has now placed himself at the head of the armed opposition, and has succeeded in detaching a considerable portion of the army from its allegiance to the Queen's Government. For some time past, Silva Cabral, who has remained since 1848 on terms of deadly hostility to Costa Cabral, the Count de Thomar, his brother, has been engaged in connecting together by political ties the leaders of the Septembrist party and of the *Carista* opposition—Saldanha, Lavradio, and Magalhaes, who carry with them the great bulk of the Royalist party. The confidential agents of these chiefs and factions have been for some time in constant communication with Silva Cabral, and the movement which has just taken place would seem to prove that a very powerful political and military combination has now been brought to maturity against the Court and the Prime Minister. The troops at Mafra, Cintra, had Leiria had apparently been tampered with, and joined on the first summons the standard of the Opposition under such a chief as Saldanha. The fidelity of the garrison of Lisbon, which did not exceed 4,000 men, was doubtful, and the detachment of the Queen's forces sent to occupy Santarem, and accompanied by the King, was not expected to reach that important position before it had fallen into the possession of the enemy. Hitherto no appeal seems to have been made to popular sympathy, and we remain in the dark as to the avowed pretenses of the insurrection. The only cry appears to be, "Down with Thomar!" The insurrection was sudden and unlooked-for. On the evening of the 8th the Queen, Count Thomar, and the other Ministers, were at the Opera, and on the day before, the Duke of Saldanha presided over a meeting of railroad projectors. At the close of this meeting, he went to the House of Peers, and after dinner started for his country house at Cintra, which he has often been in the habit of doing before, so that the Government does not appear to have been particularly suspicious until it was known that six of his aides-de-camp had joined him. On reaching Cintra, he took the detachment of troops stationed there, and joined the 7th Regiment at Mafra, and on the 10th inst. there appeared no doubt that he was marching towards Santarem with the view of forming a junction with other regiments implicated in the revolutionary plans.

AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA.

The Austrian answer to Prussia's last note, says the *Cologne Gazette*, does not directly reject the Prussian proposition, and makes the return to the old Diet the subject of some preliminary discussion; the note is said to be most friendly. It contains the proposal that the Diet should be held in future in Vienna, whereupon Prussia has suggested that it should be held at Vienna and Berlin alternately. This is a strange protest of eighty-six Members of the

Second Prussian Chamber, published by the *Preussische Zeitung*, wherein the right of the President of the Chamber to call any Minister, speaking as such, to order, is denied. M. Manteuffel having been lately called to order by Count Schwerin, has given occasion to this. The protest maintains that as the Ministers of the Crown, as such, do not belong to the Chambers, the discipline of the Chambers cannot be extended to them. The conduct of the High Church (Puseyite) party in Prussia towards the "Free Corporations" is exciting a very general and lively interest through all Protestant Germany. The Prussian Clergy are, by the Constitution, quite independent of the Civil Government. Every complaint made against them to the Government meets but with one reply from the Minister, "We are not competent to interfere." The Evangelical Church is, by the Constitution, quite independent in all Ecclesiastical matters of the State.

It is reported in Vienna that the army in Italy is to be increased up to 200,000 men. The 9th division, at present in Vienna, was about to march into Italy.

The Anglo-French protest against the admission of the whole Austrian empire into the Bund, appears, says the *Constitutionnelle Blatt aus Bohmen*, to have excited some movement in the Russian Cabinet; for the Russian Cabinet courier has just arrived with despatches on this subject. Russia expresses in her note no objection to the incorporation, but thinks that with this view present circumstances should not be left out of consideration. The Imperial Cabinet will remain firm in its own purposes, nor suffer itself to be diverted from them by foreign considerations.

The Duke of Saxe-Cobourg and Gotha lately intended to visit Kiel, but on arriving at Hamburg, he had an interview with the Austrian Commissary, in consequence of which he returned to Gotha. The question being freely discussed, whether his Royal Highness, being at war, for his own State, with the King of Denmark, might not be legally arrested, on arriving in the dominions of the latter, as an enemy. The case is doubtful, it is admitted, as to the Duchy of Holstein; but it is denied that he would have incurred the risk had he crossed into Schleswig.

The *New Prussian Zeitung* states, that the mediation of Count Revintlow Criminal will probably obtain an unconditional amnesty of the Duchies. In the Prussian Upper Chamber, the formal permission to the law authorities to proceed with the prosecution of Baron von Arnim has been given.

INDIA AND CHINA.

We have intelligence from Bombay up to the 17th ult. The Governor-General was expected at Attock on the 4th of March, and at Peshawur by the 8th or 9th. His arrival was looked for at the frontier with some anxiety, and with the hope that he will be able to devise measures for rendering life and property more secure. Outrages were almost daily committed by the hill robbers, even within musket-shot of the cantonment of Peshawur. The mode of dealing with these tribes has yet to be devised. It does not appear that they are at present actuated by any hostile motives beyond the mere love of plunder. Regular military operations against them are ineffectual, but it was thought that the head man in each village might be made answerable for outrages committed within its boundaries, and that a well organized patrol of irregular horse occupying fortified posts at proper intervals along the passes, and supported by the troops at Kohat, Peshawur, and Attock, might, if organized on the footing of a police, prove successful in checking their depredations.

Peci Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur, the British agent at Bahawutopore, where he did good service during the Mooltan campaign, is now at Bombay, on his way to Europe and the Great Exhibition: and the Peninsular and Oriental Company have advertised an additional steamboat for the conveyance of those proceeding from India to England on that occasion.

The disturbances in China have recommenced. At about sixty miles from Canton the insurgents are assembled in great force—their avowed object the upsetting of the present dynasty. The commissioner appointed to the task of inquiring into the state of the disturbed provinces, instead of sending the Governor of Kwangsi in chains to Peking, as was expected, has, on hearing the evidence for and against him, forwarded a memorial to the Emperor, in which the whole blame is thrown upon Seu for his tardiness in rendering the required support, whereby the rebellion has now attained such a head, that, according to the *Friend of China*, "his Imperial Majesty's continued possession of the throne is quite a matter of uncertainty."

The *Singapore Free Press* has an account of a very extensive movement in the interior of that island against the converts to Christianity among the Chinese pepper and gambier planters. A simultaneous attack was made upon the bangsals or plantations of these persons in all quarters of the island by their heathen compatriots, instigated, it is believed, by the secret societies, which exert such a baneful influence over the Chinese population. Upwards of thirty bangsals were plundered, and the unfortunate owners and their Coolies driven out. The police in the interior was augmented, and warrants issued against a number of persons, but a very determined resistance was offered, and the police were obliged several times to fire in self-defence, by which, it is believed, ten or a dozen of the Chinese were killed. Several of the parties first apprehended were tried at the Session of Oyer and Terminer, and being convicted, were sentenced to transportation to Bombay. This does not seem, however, to have made much impression, as the Chinese appear to rely on their powers of combined resistance to avert further measures against them.

THE WAR AT THE CAPE.

Intelligence has been received from Cape Town up to the 7th of March. It appeared to be a general

impression that the war would be a very protracted and expensive one; that the colonists would avoid contributing towards the expense in any way, if possible; that unless the English made advances, the Caffres, spoken of as an intelligent brave race of men, would expel them from every part. To starve out the enemy, by destroying their crops and laying waste the country, appears to be Sir Harry Smith's present object. Already the ravages of the Caffres in the provinces of Albany and Somerset have been tremendous. "The losses of the colonists," says the *Cape Town Mail*, "must be reckoned by hundreds of thousands of pounds."

Sir Harry Smith himself was at King William's Town, with 1,675 men. His communications with Fort Hare were interrupted; and he could only communicate with Graham's Town and the colony by the sea route from Buffalo Mouth. Even this facility he owed to the services of a native ally, Pato, who kept the road open between King William's Town and the estuary in question. Six weeks' supplies had been thrown into Forts Cox and White. The prophet Umhlanjeni had a narrow escape in a razzia led by Colonel Mackinnon, on the 3rd of February. Seven hundred head of cattle were the reward of this foray. Graham's Town was left to the defence of its inhabitants, who mustered nearly 1,000 men-at-arms. Our troops had laid waste all the crops, villages, and huts near the Broad-drift of the Keiskamma, and in the Chumie Valley.

LONDON LABOR AND THE LONDON POOR.

BY HENRY MAYHEW.

THE POLITICS OF COSTERMONGERS.—POLICEMEN.

The notion of the police is so intimately blended with what may be called the politics of the costermongers that I give them together.

The politics of these people are detailed in a few words—they are nearly all Chartists. "You might say, sir," remarked one of my informants, "that they all were Chartists, but as its better you should rather be under than over the mark, say nearly all." Their ignorance, and their being impulsive, make them a dangerous class. I am assured that in every district where the costermongers are congregated, one or two of the body, more intelligent than the others, have great influence over them; and these leading men are all Chartists, and being industrious and not unprosperous persons, their pecuniary and intellectual superiority causes them to be regarded as oracles. One of these men said to me: "The costers think that working-men know best, and so they have confidence in us. I like to make men discontented, and I will make them discontented while the present system continues, because it's all for the middle and the moneyed classes, and nothing, in the way of rights, for the poor. People fancy when all's quiet that all's stagnating. Propagandism is going on for all that. It's when all's quiet that the seed's a growing. Republicans and Socialists are pressing their doctrines."

As regards the police, the hatred of a costermonger to a "peeler" is intense, and with their opinion of the police, all the more ignorant unite that of the governing power. "Can you wonder at it, sir," said a costermonger to me, "that I hate the police? They drive us about, we must move on, we can't pitch there. But if we're cracked up, that is if we're forced to go into the Union (I've known it both at Clerkenwell and the City of London workhouses), why the parish gives us money to buy a barrow, or a shallow, or to hire them, and leave the house and start for ourselves: and what's the use of that, if the police won't let us sell our goods?—Which is right, the parish or the police?"

To thwart the police in any measure, the costermongers readily aid one another. One very common procedure, if the policeman has seized a barrow, is to whip off a wheel, while the officers have gone for assistance; for a large and loaded barrow requires two men to convey it to the green-yard. This is done with great dexterity; and the next step is to dispose of the stock to any passing costers, or to any "standing" in the neighborhood, and it is honestly accounted for. The policemen, on their return, find an empty, and unwhearable barrow, which they must carry off by main strength, amid the jeers of the populace.

I am assured that in case of a political riot, every "coster" would seize his policeman.

MARRIAGE AND CONCUBINAGE OF COSTERMONGERS.

Only one tenth—at the outside one tenth—of the couples living together and carrying on the costermonging trade, are married. In Clerkenwell parish, however, where the number of married couples is about a fifth of the whole, this difference is easily accounted for, as in Advent and Easter the incumbent of that parish marries poor couples without a fee. Of the rights of "legitimate" or "illegitimate" children, the costermongers understand nothing, and account it a mere waste of money and time to go through the ceremony of wedlock when a pair can live together and be quite as well regarded by their fellows, without it. The married women associate with the unmarried mothers of families without the slightest scruple. There is no honor attached to the married state, and no shame to concubinage. Neither are the unmarried women less faithful to their "partners" than the married; but I understand that, of the two classes, the unmarried betray the most jealousy.

As regards the fidelity of these women, I was assured that, "in any thing like good times," they were rigidly faithful to their husbands or paramours; but that, in the worst pinch of poverty, a departure from this fidelity—if it provided a few meals or a fire—was not considered at all heinous. An old costermonger, who had been mixed up with other callings, and whose prejudices were certainly not in favor of

his present trade, said to me, "What I call the working girls, sir, are as industrious and as faithful a set as can well be. I'm satisfied that they're more faithful to their mates than other poor working women. I never knew one of these working girls do wrong that way. They're strong, hearty, healthy girls, and keep clean rooms. Why, there's numbers of men leave their stock-money with their women, just taking out two or three shillings to gamble with and get drunk upon. They sometimes take a little drop themselves, the women do, and get beaten by their husbands for it, and hardest beaten if the man's drunk himself. They're sometimes beaten for other things, too, or for nothing at all. But they seem to like the men better for their beating them. I never could make that out." Notwithstanding this fidelity, it appears that the "larking and joking" of the young, and sometimes of the middle-aged people, among themselves, is any thing but delicate. The unmarried separate as seldom as the married. The fidelity characterising the women does not belong to the men.

The dancing-rooms are the places where matches are made up. There the boys go to look out for "mates," and sometimes a match is struck up the first night of meeting, and the couple live together forthwith. The girls at these dances are all the daughters of costermongers, or of persons pursuing some other course of street life. Unions take place when the lad is but 14. Two or three out of 100 have their female helpmates at that early age; but the female is generally a couple of years older than her partner. Nearly all the costermongers form such alliances as I have described, when both parties are under twenty. One reason why these alliances are contracted at early ages is, that when a boy has assisted his father, or any one engaging him, in the business of a costermonger, he knows that he can borrow money, and hire a shallow or barrow—or he may have saved 5s.—and then if the father vexes him or snubs him," said one of my informants, "he'll tell his father to go to h—l, and he and his gal will start on their own account."

Most of the costermongers have numerous families, but not those who contract alliance very young.

"Chance children," as they are called, or children unrecognized by any father, are rare among the young women of the costermongers.

RELIGION OF COSTERMONGERS.

An intelligent and trustworthy man, until very recently actively engaged in costermongering, computed that not 3 in 100 costermongers had ever been in the interior of a church, or any place of worship, or knew what was meant by Christianity. The same person gave me the following account, which was confirmed by others:

"The costers have no religion at all, of what religion or a future state is. Of all things they hate tracts. They hate them because the people leaving them never give them any thing, and as they can't read the tract—not one in forty—they're vexed to be bothered with it. And really what is the use of giving people reading before you've taught them to read? Now, they respect the City Missionaries, because they read to them—and the costers will listen to reading when they don't understand it—and because they visit the sick, and sometimes give oranges and such like to them and the children. I've known a City Missionary buy a shilling's worth of oranges of a coster, and give them away to the sick and the children—most of them belonging to the costermongers—down the court, and that made him respected there. I think the City Missionaries have done good. But I'm satisfied that if the costers had to profess themselves of some religion to-morrow, they would all become Roman Catholics, every one of them. This is the reason:—London costers live very often in the same courts and streets as the poor Irish, and if the Irish are sick, be sure there comes to them the priest, the Sisters of Charity—they are good women—and some other ladies. Many a man that's not a Catholic, has rotted and died without any good person near him. Why, I lived a good while in Lambeth, and there wasn't one coster in 100, I'm satisfied, knew so much as the rector's name,—though Mr. Dalton's a very good man. But the reason I was telling you of, sir, is that the costers reckon that religion's the best that gives the most in charity, and they think the Catholics do this. I'm not a Catholic myself, but I believe every word of the Bible, and have the greater belief that it's the word of God because it teaches democracy. The Irish in the courts get sadly chafed by the others about their priests,—but they'll die for the priest. Religion is a regular puzzle to the costers. They see people come out of church and chapel, and as they're mostly well-dressed, and there's very few of their own sort among the church-goers, the costers somehow mix up being religious with being respectable, and so they have a queer sort of feeling about it. It's a mystery to them. It's shocking when you come to think of it. They'll listen to any preacher that go among them; and then a few will say—I've heard it often—'A b—y fool, why don't he let people go to h—l their own way?' There's another thing that makes the costers think so well of the Catholics. If a Catholic coster—there's only a very few of them—is 'cracked up' (penniless), he's often started again, and the others have a notion that it's through some chapel-fund. I don't know whether it is so or not, but I know the cracked-up men are started again, if they're Catholics. It's still the stranger that the regular costermongers, who are nearly all Londoners, should have such respect for the Catholics, when they have such a hatred of the Irish, whom they look upon as intruders and underminers."—If a missionary came among us with plenty of money," said another costermonger, "he might make us all Christians, or Turks, or any thing he liked." Neither the Latter-day Saints, nor any similar sect, have made converts among the costermongers.