

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.

Notwithstanding the rumors of ministerial modifications, in consequence of a disagreement in the cabinet on the law of May, the present ministry is not likely at present to undergo any essential change. General Randon indeed is expected to resign the portfolio of war, and General Schramm, his predecessor, is designated by report as his successor; but this alteration has no political meaning whatever. It is reported that an act of impeachment will be brought forward at the re-opening of the Assembly against the members of the mountain, implicated in the French-German plot.

The ceremony of laying the first stone of the new markets by the President of the Republic has passed over without the slightest disturbance of order. The Socialists, generally speaking, obeyed the order of the central committee to abstain from any manifestation which might provoke reprisals from the Buonapartists; but there were as usual a number of men in blouses who ran before the open carriage of Louis Napoleon, "Vive la République." The cries in the crowd were chiefly "Vive la President," and "Vive la République."

M. Francois Hugo, the author of an article in the *Evenement*, and M. Paul Meurice, the responsible manager of that journal, were tried at the Court of Assizes on a charge of attempting to excite, by the article in question, hatred and contempt of the government. A verdict of guilty without extenuating circumstances was returned by the jury. M. F. Hugo was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment and 2,000f. fine, and M. Paul Meurice to nine months' imprisonment and 3,000f. fine. The court also ordered the suspension of the journal for one month.

The *Moniteur* of Sunday contains a decree placing the department of the Archdeche in a state of siege. M. Leon Faucher develops, in an address to the President, the motives which render urgent this severe measure, recommended by the Prefect and council-general of the department.

SPAIN.

The government of Louis Napoleon has urged on Queen Isabella the expediency of restoring Narvaez to the head of the Spanish cabinet. Christina, however, resists this change. But Lesraudi, the Minister of War, wants firmness to brave the displeasure of the Duke of Valencia, who is supposed to be on the eve of returning to Madrid. The reported journey of the Queen-mother to Paris is entirely devoid of foundation.

MADRID, SEPT. 10.—The diplomatist world is occupied with the negotiation between France, England, and Spain for joint representation to the government of the United States, to induce the latter to act with energy against the piratical expeditions directed from its states against Cuba. In case these designs should be overtly fomented, an alliance, offensive and defensive, for the protection of the rights of nations on this question, will, it is said, be formed between the three governments above-mentioned.

ITALY.

ROME.—A commission has been named for reforming the laws and reconstituting the tribunals. The Eternal City continues quiet, although every now and then an assassination is commenced. The French occupy all strategic parts, and have consequently complete command of this city. On the 31st ult. Count Colombi, the new representative of Spain, arrived. Monsignor Antonucci, who was Papal Nuncio to the Court of Turin, and left that capital on the promulgation of the Siccardi law, will probably be named Bishop of Ancona, that see being vacant by the death of Cardinal Cadolini. This step is thought to be the forerunner of his elevation to the dignity of Cardinal.

LOMBARDY.—The *Milan Gazette* announces officially the arrival of the Emperor for the 14th at Verona. The municipality of Milan has charged a deputation to go and invite the Emperor to visit that city. But it seems decided that his Majesty will take up his residence at Verona and Monza, passing through the Lombard capital to repair to the manoeuvres of Somma. Grand fetes are to be given upon this occasion. The King of Naples is to be lodged at the palace of the Viceroy; the Grand Duke of Tuscany, at the palace Archiato; the Duke of Modena, at the palace Belgioioso; the Duke of Parma, at the palace Little Modugno. The Pope is to be represented by the Prince Altici; and the Kings of Wurtemberg and Bavaria are expected. The Emperor is to return to Vienna on the 5th of October.

GERMANY.

It has been determined to have a Grand Industrial Exhibition of all Nations at Vienna next year.

M. Brauner, the clergyman of the German Catholics of Berlin, (followers of Ronge,) who has held this post for the last seven years, received a notice last Friday from the royal president of the police to quit Berlin within a week's time. The reason assigned for this measure was the exciting tendency of his sermons.

AUSTRIA.

It is not denied, even in ministerial circles, that the state of public feeling in Hungary is very bad, although the naturally chivalrous character of the people prevents their seeking revenge in the same way as the Italians. The Hungarians have now lost the only organ of the press which openly advocated "Maygarism," the editors of the *Pesti Naplo*, who were in the service of the old Conservatives, having been changed by order of government. The Hungarian Jews, who were greatly alarmed lest they should be deprived of their recently acquired privileges, have received the assurance of Baron Gehringer, the Civil

Governor of Hungary, that government has not the most distant idea of taking from either Jews or Protestants any of the rights which they now possess.

The *Oest. Correspondenz* informs us that there is a great deal of political agitation going on in the principality of Servia. The Hungarian emigrants are accused of representing to the people that there is a very powerful Servian republican party which will join the disaffected Maygars in overthrowing the monarchy. The name of the well-known Austro-Stratomirowich, is mixed up in this matter; but the ministerial organ remarks that as a lieutenant-colonel in the Austrian service, his loyalty is beyond all question.

PRUSSIA.

BERLIN, SEPT. 13.—The King is said to have addressed a deputation that waited upon him soon after his arrival at Potsdam, in the following words:—"I am accustomed to find that my enemies are not ashamed to make use of the most abject means in order to render myself and the Queen suspected of the most absurd things, and thus to steal from me the confidence of the nation. For instance they have spread the rumor that I and the Queen have changed our religion. It always has been their custom to tell lies concerning me and my deeds, and when their stories have been proved false, they have invented new ones. As they found no confirmation of their reports relative to the expressions I used towards the Hohenzollern deputies, they forged the news of our having become Catholics. I declare all these rumors to be entirely false. I never had the least idea of changing my religion, and I authorize you, gentlemen, to make known publicly these my words."

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

In South Africa, confusion is becoming worse confounded. Sir Harry Smith could no doubt beat the Caffres if they would fight him in his own way; but that the obstinate savages will not do. Since the beginning of the troubles they have given way wherever the British troops appeared, to swarm back again the moment they marched on or were withdrawn. And now, leaving the Governor and Commander-in-chief to direct the evolutions of his soldiers in British Caffraria, they have crossed the frontier of the colony, filling every thicket and ravine with predatory bands, and carrying their marauding expeditions over all the Eastern districts. Bloodshed and plunder are the order of the day over half the colony and great part of Caffreland: in the work of killing most has been done by the English soldiers; in the work of cattle-stealing the natives appear to have had the advantage. To the North of the Orange River, the English Resident, by interfering in the quarrels of the natives, against the advice of the settlers, has incurred a smart blow. The spirit of turbulence and strife is spreading rapidly from one to another tribe of the dusky races. Nor is the temper of the White settlers of much better augury.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

THE NEW SOUTH WALES GOLD DISCOVERIES.—By the receipt of Sydney papers to the 2nd of June, we have further particulars and confirmation of the recent discovery of gold near Bathurst, New South Wales. By letters from that place, which is about 113 miles from Sydney, it is reported that upwards of two thousand persons were engaged in gold digging, and that a large amount had already been obtained—some in lumps weighing as much as 42oz.; it was however observed that, though some of the diggers had been eminently successful, the majority had been disappointed in the result of their labors, which had been very severe. Reports of gold being found in other parts of the country had been current, but as no specimens had been produced they were discredited, though several travellers and local geologists affirm that gold will be found to exist abundantly in the neighboring districts. The gold finding mania had already disturbed the labor-market in Sydney, and serious loss and inconvenience was anticipated from the withdrawal of tradesmen and laborers from their usual avocations. Hundreds were daily leaving for the mines, most of them badly provided for the journey, and many who had arrived at Bathurst had suffered considerable privations.—The prices of provisions had advanced, but supplies in abundance were expected from other parts of the country. It was anticipated that the news of this discovery would bring thousands of people from the other British colonies in Australia, New Zealand, and the Cape of Good Hope, and that, should their labors fail in finding remuneration at the gold mines, they would find profitable employment in the development of the other mineral and agricultural treasures with which the colony abounds.

THE ARCTIC SEARCHING EXPEDITIONS.

The *Morning Chronicle* gives the following succinct statement of the facts regarding the late Arctic expeditions:—

"Sir John Franklin's instructions were to proceed, in the first instance, through Barrow's Strait, and, after reaching Cape Walker at the western extremity of that channel, to endeavor to take a south-west course to Behring's Straits; but, in the event of his failing to discover an outlet in that direction, he was to return east-ward as far as Wellington Channel, and to take a north-west course to Behring's Strait, if any presented itself. That he was unable to accomplish the first object, may be regarded as certain. The coasts of Barrow's Strait have been searched westward from Cape Walker, as far as Bank's Land, without any opening having been discovered by which the south-west passage could have been effected; nor have any traces of the missing party been found in the progress of that search. Having failed in the first branch of the alternative laid down in his instructions, Sir John Franklin would bend all his efforts to effect the second; and the dis-

coveries which have now been published establish beyond all doubt that he made the attempt, whilst they afford the highest degree of probability that he was successful in his immediate object of finding a north-western exit from Wellington Channel. For it is known, from the traces found at Cape Riley, that the missing expedition passed the first winter (1845-6) at the entrance of that channel; and Captain Penny's discoveries indicate, with irresistible force, the probability that Sir John Franklin subsequently found and effected the north-western passage, which his instructions directed him to seek.

"Starting northward from the neighborhood of Cape Riley, Captain Penny entered on the region of search assigned to him, in the course of last spring—a season when travelling over the ice is not only practicable, but, with proper equipments, easy of accomplishment, as is shown by the fact that some of the travelling parties from the various ships proceeded to distances of 400 miles, and returned. He soon ascertained that Wellington Channel, not very far from its entrance, takes a sudden bend to the north-west—the very direction which Franklin's instructions would have induced him to follow; and, as he proceeded along the frozen surface, he found, in the sensible improvement of the climate, a phenomenon, which sheds a cheering ray of hope on the fate of our long-lost countrymen. On reaching a distance of 180 miles from the junction of Wellington Channel with Barrow's Strait, Captain Penny discovered a clear open sea, with innumerable flocks of birds, Arctic animals, drift wood, and all the other signs of a more clement climate; and for sixty miles beyond he saw an unobstructed expanse of water. Further progress by sledges was, of course, impracticable; and Captain Penny returned to his ship, a distance of upwards of one hundred and fifty miles, to obtain a boat, which he carried over the ice in a sledge, with a view to pursue his researches on the waters of that great northern sea. But, on again reaching his former point, he found a strong wind, with a heavy sea, drifting in ice from the north-west, and the boat was therefore useless. Having but a single week's provisions, he had no alternative but to turn sorrowfully back from this most promising field of search—this magnificent opening into the great Polar basin, which, there is every reason to believe, was entered by the Erebus and Terror in the summer of 1846—this 'Queen Victoria Channel,' as it has been auspiciously named by the brave and successful explorer.

"We own ourselves utterly unable to understand what reasons Captain Austin could have had for not following up this most important discovery. It is incomprehensible why he, with his four vessels, including two steam tenders, could permit himself to be deterred by an icy barrier—that near the entrance of Wellington Channel—which had disappeared in the season when Sir Edward Parry pursued his way to Melville Island, which must likewise have vanished in favor of Sir John Franklin's expedition—and which, in any case, cannot be regarded as permanent, now that a higher temperature is known to exist behind it. We have yet to learn also why he did not cross Barrow's Strait, which is but sixty miles wide, and take the steam launch from the stores deposited by Sir James Ross at Port Leopold; since, with the aid of that vessel—which might have been carried over the ice in separate pieces, and put together again, and launched in the open water of Queen Victoria Channel—there could have been no insurmountable difficulty in reaching that Polar basin, where, we unhesitatingly believe, that traces of the wintering places and progress of the missing expedition are to be found. In the absence of any official explanation, we can only conjecture that the drain which had been made on his stores by the various depots established at different points on a course that is now pretty nearly proved not to have been taken by the Erebus and Terror, together with his unfortunate ignorance that the supplies deposited by the North Star were within his reach, made him distrustful of his ability to enter on a new and untried channel.

"However, the only question with which we are now concerned is, shall this error, or misfortune, be repaired while there is yet time? Captain Penny is pleading earnestly with the Admiralty for a powerful steamer to carry him up to Lancaster Sound, before the ice has closed it for the winter, in order that he may immediately return to the search which was interrupted at the very moment when it began to wear its most promising aspect. Nothing short of this potent agency will enable him to return in time—but, with such aid, he feels assured of succeeding in that object."

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

(From the Rambler for September.)

A very stupid person, one day arguing with Dr. Johnson, replied to one of the Doctor's statements, "I don't understand you, Dr. Johnson." "Sir," said the Doctor, "it is my business to find you arguments, not an understanding to comprehend them." Thus it is a hard task to be obliged to put into intelligible language what is actually meant by those who advocate the principles of civil and religious liberty. Let us take civil liberty first. What is civil liberty? Is it a right possessed by every man to do just what he pleases? Does it mean universal suffrage and vote by ballot; or does it mean that, by the laws of nature, ten-pound householders alone have the right to make laws for the rest of their fellow-creatures? Does it include the rights of women, when it guarantees the rights of men? What are the rights of boys and girls, to which they are entitled by the principles of civil liberty? Do these principles give us the privilege of perjury, lying, stealing, of using foul language, of blaspheming, and so forth, *ad libitum*? And where is civil liberty to be found? Amongst Dorsetshire laborers? In the Kilrush union? In the French courts of justice, when an anti-Napoleonic editor is on trial? In Switzerland, when a government mob is burning the colleges of the Jesuits? In the cotton plantations in the United States? It is to be found in

theory in the "Utopia" of the Catholic Sir Thomas More, and in the "Republic" of the most Catholic-minded of non-Catholics, the philosopher Plato; but, in fact, it does not exist, and it never did exist, anywhere.

If by "liberty" is meant the permission to do certain things in certain circumstances, an intelligible explanation is affixed to the word. But then the whole notion, that there exists a certain principle of civil liberty to which all men have a kind of right, vanishes into air. "Liberty" then becomes nearly synonymous with "law," and "rights" with "duties"—a change in expression and idea very much for the better. Every man has a right to be governed well—that is, it is the duty of every man who possesses authority over his fellow-creatures, to employ that authority to their utmost advantage. This is a Christian doctrine, intelligible enough, and practicable enough; but what has this to do with universal liberty, or any other such hallucination? There are clearly times when an almost utter abolition of personal liberty is necessary for the happiness of every class in a nation. The sole question that ever comes into practical consideration is the degree to which the inhabitants of a state may be allowed each to follow their own inclinations, and enjoy an equality of privileges. Sometimes a monarchical despotism is the best practicable form of government; sometimes a wide oligarchy, like the present British constitution, in which the kingdom is governed by ten-pound householders, a small fraction of the whole population; sometimes universal suffrage and vote by ballot would ensure the best legislation and administration for the entire people; sometimes nobody under twenty-one years old ought to possess any political privilege; sometimes the franchise might begin at eighteen, or be postponed to twenty-five or thirty years of age; sometimes women ought to vote (as in England at present) in parish matters, but not in parliamentary elections; sometimes they might vote in all contests, sometimes in none. In all these arrangements no sensible man ever introduces the notion of liberty as an element worth a moment's thought.

It may be urged in reply, that at any rate the profession of a love for civil liberty does no harm; that it helps to restrain the tyranny of the powerful; that it leads to practical reforms, and familiarises men's minds with the evils of bad government. We think very much the reverse. Cant is always mischievous; if it does nothing else, it makes those who utter it look like either tricksters or visionaries. It takes away people's attention from definite, real grievances, and their definite, real remedies. One single measure of redress of one single evil suffered by the poor, is worth a quarter of a century's cries in favor of their rights to full personal liberty. When an orator is eloquent on the glorious principles of liberty, he does about as much service to the oppressed as when he trumpets the praises of the "glorious Reformation," or the "glorious Revolution" of 1688.

But if the mischief done in the name of civil liberty is not a little, far more serious are the consequences of the upholding of religious liberty by Catholics. For religious liberty, in the sense of a liberty possessed by every man to choose his own religion, is one of the most wicked delusions ever foisted upon this age by the father of all deceit. The very word liberty, except in the sense of a permission to do certain definite acts, ought to be banished from the domain of religion. If it means anything more than a permission granted to individuals or to the Church to make their own choice in certain indifferent matters, or to retain their opinion on certain points not authoritatively defined, it is neither more nor less than a falsehood. No man has a right to choose his own religion. God never gave us such a permission. It is the one thing above all others that He has not given us. He has granted to individuals and to nations a vast latitude of choice in other matters, but neither to individuals or to nations has He conceded the faintest shadow of a choice as to his creed. What! shall a Christian dare to say that God has given us leave to treat Himself as a deceiver? That we are permitted to believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God or no, as we like? That the faintest choice is given to any human being as to whether he will obey the Catholic Church or disobey it? Will even a Deist pretend that God has granted us permission to deny his own existence?—None but an Atheist can uphold the principles of religious liberty. If there were no God, of course every man would have a right to his own fancies as to whether there were a God or no. Who should hinder him from believing that there is a God, though he were mistaken? But, short of Atheism, the theory of religious liberty is the most palpable of untruths.

Shall I, therefore, fall in with this abominable delusion, and foster the notion of my fellow-countrymen that they have a right to deny the truth of God, in the hope that I may throw dust in their eyes, and get them to tolerate my creed as one of the many forms of theological opinion prevalent in these latter days? Shall I foster that damnable doctrine, that Socinianism, and Calvinism, and Anglicanism, and Judaism? Are not every one of them mortal sins, like murder and adultery? Shall I lend my countenance to this unhappy persuasion of my brother, that he is not flying in the face of Almighty God every day that he remains a Protestant? Shall I hold out hopes to him that I will not meddle with his creed if he will not meddle with mine? Shall I lead him to think that religion is a matter for private opinion, and tempt him to forget that he has no more right to his religious views than he has to my purse, or my house, or my life-blood? No! Catholicism is the most intolerant of creeds. It is intolerance itself—for it is truth itself.—We might as rationally maintain that a sane man has a right to believe that two and two do not make four, as this theory of religious liberty. Its impiety is only equalled by its absurdity.

The political toleration of religious error is, indeed, quite another question. While it is impossible to maintain that every man has a right to his own religious belief, without identifying ourselves with the Atheist, we may lawfully, in certain circumstances, accord the most unlimited political and social toleration to the most audacious of heresies. It is only when Catholics become lax and worldly that they can cease to oppose heresy by argument and persuasion, or forget to labor for the conversion of unbelievers; but it is not so in the case of what is technically called "persecution." A Catholic temporal government would be guided in its treatment of Protestant and other recusants solely by the rules of expediency, adopting precisely that line of conduct which would tend best to their conversion, and to prevent the dissemination of their errors. It would do just what it does in the case of men who claimed a right to deny the rules of numbers or space. If some fanatic were