

The Politician.

THE BRITISH PRESS.

From the London News of the World.
THE OLD LION ALIVE AGAIN.

The public have been pestered and smothered in articles, letters, and paragraphs about the feeling of the Americans in reference to this war. Editors insert communications in their largest type and most prominent columns, assuring the humbled and mortified British people that they incurred the displeasure of a very wiseacre indeed—that Brother Johnathan is uneasy in his mind—that he hailed the declaration of hostilities with the deepest sympathy of a generous mind, and contemplated with enthusiasm the downfall of a tyrant, and the noble attitude of the allies as the disinterested assertors of justice, and the liberators of the distressed. Then our Walter-Savage Landor-bitten public instructors inform us that all the transatlantic henny has turned to gall, that the Lucius Sanius Brutuses of Kentucky have given us up, because we have not gone to fisty-cuffs with Austria—and that even the 'Wig Ticket' has given us over to the Devil, because we do not array the whole of Europe on the side of the Emperor of Russia; and because we do not think the best way of humbling the Czar is to call down upon our armies all Germany and Prussia besides. Perhaps we may be accused of judicial blindness if we say that we have never been enabled to detect in the other hemisphere any of those noble sentiments of which it seems, we enjoy the full benefit so long as we concealed our policy of only undertaking one enemy at a time. From slave holders and Texas buccaniers and Mexico moss-troopers, and Cuba burglars, and Canadian sympathisers, we indeed never expected much—and we have certainly not been disappointed. From the moment this war became probable, the one engrossing thought of Yankeeedom has never been anything else, than 'How many dollars can we make out of it! Which is the best speculation, Russia or England? Which is safest to pay in the end—the cause of human right or of tyrant Nicholas? It is said of one of these worthies, that in giving to a friend a detail of the bright prospects of the family, he dealt with much unction on the great success of his daughter Mary, and being asked what position in life she had attained, the fond father replied—'Oh, she's in the harlotin line.' About the principle on which American politics turn there is too much of the mere prostitute to render the opinion of the United States on European affairs entitled to any respect whatever. What sacrifice have they ever made for liberty or humanity? At the best, their only fanaticism has been not in favor of freedom, but of mere democracy—it is not the rights of man, but that particular form of claiming them which they regard as exclusively confined to republican institutions, which has at any time challenged their enthusiasm. But now even that pretext is torn from their selfishness. They openly court and adulate the tyrant of the North. The intense turf-hunting weakness of the people gapes at every particular of etiquette and state which their countrymen carry off from the Kremlin. 'Thus said the Duke—thus did his Grace infer,' is the drawing-room cant they like best to hear; in their souls they are snobs and flunkies; and their secret hearts have leaned to the despot's side all through this quarrel. At this moment their sole consideration is how will they get the Russian trade which England has sacrificed to the higher claims of duty?—Their diplomacy is a question of dollars—their highest idea of statesmanship is that sort of jockeyship which takes advantage of the high-mindedness of the honest nations, to jump into their shoes, and to reap the profits they have never sown—their sense of national honor being confined to the ambition of realising out of others the greatest amount of personal advantages to themselves. Let us no more be nauseated with the solemn affirmations of able editors that the eyes of America are upon us, and that its public opinion is fast flying to the side of the Czar. It has all along preferred continental despotism to the constitutional Government of England. Let it go—like draws to like—the citizens of the modern republic are at pains to assure all mankind that there are only two States in the world that are adapted to their spheres—democracy and autocracy; and it is but natural that those who covet the whole of one hemisphere for their own exclusive appropriation should look with favor on the military adventurer who seeks to appropriate the other. We dismiss them to their companionship with but this remark, that conciliation is a policy which seems only to stimulate their arrogance, and that the best way of dealing with them is to yield nothing to their bluster, and to stand strictly upon our rights. At home in this our Europe, the precious use of this war are to be found in the firm alliance which it has cemented, not merely between the Governments, but the nations of France and England. The voice, heart and soul of France and England will be but one; and the whole world will reverence and obey a power too mighty to be resisted and too just to be despised. This war has, in fact changed the

whole policy of England. Among ourselves, indeed we have our quarrels. Parby and Joan occasionally throw the bellows or tongs at each others heads. Church and State, Catholic and Protestant, Chartist, and Tory, have their grumbings, their grudge, their grievances. But in the face of a common enemy where is all?—When England is in the field—when St George has called to boot and saddle, and our common country goes forth to battle, domestic differences are buried in the one thought, common to us all, that Old England must not be beaten and that her glory and good name are equally dear to us all. Our sailors and soldiers have 'left their girls behind them' and their little ones—Alma has left—

"Many a poor babe fatherless,
And many a widow mourning—
The wary to sleep, and the wounded to die."

Is there a double voice in the country as to our line of duty? Why every city, town, village, and hamlet has its meeting. The subscription list gets daily larger. The peer's £500 stands side by side with the artisan's crown. Most wondrous of all has been the prodigious valor of our warriors. The great proportion of officers killed demonstrates the thorough bred pluck and spirit of our gentry and nobility—that they have not 'fallen from the mettle of their pasture,' and that not a Norman Baron of all who came in with William the Conqueror, or went with Richard to Palestine, could boast of more courage, conduct and martial momentum than barons and esquires of this 19th century. The spirit of manly adventure is inherent in the race. We feel reassured—we triumph in the proofs everywhere afforded of the adamant proportions of this British character. We would have every citizen to be proud of being an Englishman—to desire to emulate these deeds—to sustain a greatness so sterling—an intrepidity so nobly achieved. Never—no, never since this kingdom had a history—has she proved herself more capable than now of teaching the nations how to live—to do battle with oppression—to stand forth the great sea-mark of justice to the human race—to rear the serene head of civilization above the ruffian billows of Northern barbarism, and frown them into stillness.

"I lay the proud usurper low—
Tyrants fall in every foe—
Liberty's in every blow,
Britons do or die?"

From the London Times.

THE WAR.—AUSTRIA AND THE WESTERN POWERS.

We do not envy the Emperor of Austria, if he bear in his breast a single spark of that manly and resolute spirit for which the world has been willing to give him credit, when he read the despatches which describe the ebb and flow of the obstinate and sanguinary battle of Inkerman. State policy is not to be influenced by merely sentimental considerations, else one might well imagine that the descendant of a line founded by a hero which has ever known how to draw the sword when danger menaced could not read without burning shame the tale of the struggle waged against such fearful odds for a cause the righteousness of which he has emphatically asserted, in which he above all men is bound by every feeling of honour, consistency, and self-respect to support. "Why lie I here, like a bed-ridden monk," said Ivanhoe, "while the game on which depends my life and death is played out by the hands of other?" The game on which hangs Austria's political existence is being played out by England and France before Sebastopol, and Austria stands at the easement, like Rebecca, behind her shield, a trembling and impotent spectatress of a drama in which she seems resolved to have no part except the catastrophe. Is it nothing to Austria that the conflict now going on should be decided in favour of either of the combatants, to each of whom she secretly lends support, and each of whom she has mortally offended? We do not pretend to overlook or misunderstand the policy on which Austrian statesmen profess to act. They avow the policy of selfishness, but they forget that selfishness is isolation, and that Austria cannot afford to be isolated. It is thought a master stroke of policy to have occupied the Danubian Principalities with the consent of one party, and without incurring the immediate hostility of the other, and thus, as it is said, to have secured to Austria the prize about which the East and West are contending. It is thought to have been a master stroke of policy to allow the other three great Powers to wear each other out by an exterminating conflict, and thus, as the result of every battle and every campaign, to make Austria relatively if not absolutely stronger; and, finally, when the weary belligerents shall make peace, to secure for Austria so great a preponderance in the councils of Europe as to enable her to take to herself what portion she pleases of the spoils of war. To enjoy during war all the advantages of peace, and to gain on the return of peace all the advantages of successful war—what policy can be more subtle, more far-sighted, or more profound? We have not, we think, understated the case which may be made in favour of that double policy in pursuit of which Austria made public profession of her sympathy with the allied powers after their first victory, and then prevented a diversion in

their favour which might have enabled them to reap that victory's fruits.

Russia will not forget nor forgive the congratulations on the Alma, nor England and France the policy which has concentrated on their armies the forces which, but for Austria, would have been occupied in a hopeless campaign among the pestilential swamps of the Danube or the deadly marches of the Dobrujscha.—One condition of the success of the game which Austria is playing is, that at the close of the present contest neither of the belligerents should be in a condition to give effect to their displeasure. Let Austria weigh well her own position, as compared with that of those great powers whom she has thus mortally offended. It has been the tradition of European policy to maintain the Austrian empire, first as a bulwark against the Turks, and next as a defence against Russia. Austria has been the spoilt child of European diplomacy, the favourite of conferences and congresses—an empire made of dowries, appanages and donations. Hence she is composed of the most heterogenous elements of races, held together by the merest vis inertiae, each kept down by the rest, and performing in its turn this duty to its neighbours—each more strongly attracted to some foreign state than to that of which it is a reluctant federate. Hungary leans to Russia, Italy to France, and the Slavonian provinces own but slight sympathy and give but doubtful allegiance to their German masters. Such are the constituent parts of Austria, while England, France, and Russia, though differing widely in everything else, agree at least in this—that they are nations possessed of national feeling and spirit, with a population speaking the same language, organised under the same institutions—that they form, in fact, each a complete whole, which nobody dreams of being able to disintegrate; while Austria can hardly keep down the centrifugal force which is driving every province to fly off from the rest.—For such a country firm allies are absolutely needed, and firm allies can only be secured by a policy of honest and energetic consistency. Austria greatly deceives herself if she thinks that the consideration she has received is a tribute to her strength. In the interests of peace and order, in a spirit of forbearance and conciliation, England and France have abstained raising questions to the solution of which Austria can hardly remain indifferent. How long will this state of things last, and when it terminates what resistance can Austria disjointed and disorganised, offer to a serious attack, or where is she to seek for any ally? Let the storm come from what quarter it will, Austria will be found isolated without and divided within. Who would stir in defence of a power which has betrayed every one in turn, and which seems to have been placed between the belligerents expressly to compensate with a province or the lesser for his losses? The frontier of Austria towards Russia is a mere geographical line, and should it ever be the will of the Czar to celebrate a Te Deum in the church of St. Stephen, he will find Western Europe and Northern Germany attentive and not unedified auditors, and Italy and Hungary lending their voices to the chorus.

Nor is this the only danger. Two previous visits have made the French perfectly well acquainted with the road to Vienna, whether it be sought by Austerlitz or by Eckmühl. These things were done while Austria had Russia for an ally. Have they become impossible now?—How many sparks from a French Corporal's pipe would it require to set Italy in a blaze from one end to the other, and what prospect would there be of a reconquest of Lombardy, with France and England instead of the small kingdom of Piedmont to conduct the war? When Austria measures herself against the great powers, she must not forget that wherever her enemies appear they may count on the support of her own subjects. She is in the most imminent danger of becoming a second Poland, and affording, by her dismemberment, an indemnification for that war which she fondly thinks is being carried on for her exclusive advantage. We have no wish for this consummation. We have no other than a sentimental interest in making Venice a free port, and thus blighting in the bud the fortunes of Trieste. But we have an enormous interest in the success of our present operations. Give us time, and we can place any number of men required in face of the Russians but for the moment our armies are oppressed by superior numbers, while Austria sits complacently by with 500,000 men at her disposal and watches our efforts and our sufferings with cold and callous indifference. This it is allowed her to do now; but let her be assured that the opportunity is great and fleeting, and that if she allows us to struggle alone through our present difficulties she will have united the vanquished and victorious in one thought—the desire of vengeance on a power so specious, so timid and so perfidious.

From the London Observer.

MAGNIFICENT CANADIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE PATRIOTIC FUND.

If any additional incentive to the generous impulse which now animates all classes at home in behalf of these most dear to those who have died for their country in the East, it will be found in the fact, brought by the American mail, that the Canadian Legislature have appro-

riated the truly magnificent sum of £20,000 to the Crimea Fund, in the ratio of £10,000 to France, and £10,000 to England. This, indeed, may be regarded rather as an imperial than a colonial contribution in its magnitude: and is in every way worthy of the public spirit, influence and foresight of our prosperous, loyal and patriotic colonial dependency. The appointment of the moiety to the French sufferers is most worthy of note, when the former connection of one portion of the Canadas with the French crown is borne in mind, and when it is recollected what devoted British subjects the inhabitants of that portion have long been and what are now the feelings which prevail between the English and French sovereigns and people. A more graceful offering, more appropriately conveyed, there could not possibly be than their division of a jointly raised fund for one and the same object, into two parts, testifying simultaneously to the individuality, nationality and commonality of the donors, recipients and purpose.

The proposition, originating with the Hon. Mr. Hincks, the late prime minister, was received with acclamation on all hands, by all parties from Lord Elgin, the deservedly popular governor general, to the newest arrived emigrant. It will doubtless be read with emulative admiration in all our colonies and at home, and still more so on the continent, where probably nothing is calculated to impart a more imposing or yet a more accurate idea of the wealth and generosity of the British empire than the spectacle of this impromptu colonial donation to benevolent purposes of a sum equal to the whole annual net income of more than one sovereign prince. A further evidence of the means of the Canadian Legislature, and of their magnanimity in dispensing them, is furnished by the fact of £10,000 having been voted to a special commission appointed to represent the products and industrial status of the colony at the forthcoming Paris Exhibition. No wonder that Canada should have attained so unexampled a degree of prosperity when what may be called her social affairs are administered in so wise and enlightened a spirit, and when all classes feel so meritorious a pride in making known the natural and acquired advantages that have invested her with such importance in the eyes of the mother country, and such attention in the estimation of all who meditate bettering their condition by removal elsewhere.

From the London Daily News.

STATE OF EUROPE.

It is most desirable that no rash or premature movement on the part of the Italian patriots should take place at the present time, when there is really no prospect of success; and this being the case there can be no practical harm in an arrangement between France and Austria which can have no validity whenever the state of affairs in Italy undergoes any material change. Still it is to be hoped that England is no party even to such an ephemeral understanding between the other two powers. Those details of the treaty, with respect to which our correspondent speaks with confidence, are briefly as follows; Russia is to be called upon immediately to accept of a peace on the basis of the four points, as interpreted in the treaty. This interpretation includes the throwing open of the Black Sea to the fleets of the Western Powers. Russia is not to be allowed more than six ships of war in that sea, and France and England are each (as we understand it) to be allowed the same number. An European port is to be established either at Batoum or Sinope, as a counterpoise to Sebastopol. As a guarantee for the free navigation of the Danube, the fortress of Ismail and all the Russian forts near the mouth of the river are to be destroyed.

Each of the Five Great Powers is to protect separately its own subjects in Turkey; and the protectorate of the Christian subjects of the Porte is to be exercised by them collectively. If these conditions are not accepted by Russia before the 1st or 2nd of January, the Austrian Minister at St. Petersburg is to be recalled; and if Russia continue obstinate till the second of March, Austria will declare war, send 20,000 men to the Crimea, and enter Bessarabia with the rest of its disposable forces. It is evident, on the most cursory view, that there are some points in the treaty, as it is described to us, that cannot possibly be permanent. Other powers—and in the foremost rank of these the United States of North America—will claim the same free access for their ships of war to the Euxine that is conceded to the Allies; and this of itself will render a modification of the terms of the convention at an early period inevitable. The joint protectorate of the Christian subjects of the Porte will of necessity prove a nullity. The rivalry of France and Russia, arising out of their respective protectorates of the Latin and Greek Christians in Jerusalem, would be a faint type of the incessant wrangling and intrigues to which a joint protectorate exercised by two Protestant, two Roman Catholic, and one Greek Power would give rise. There never will be any effectual interference with the internal government of Turkey on the plea of religion; and there ought not to be. But it is scarcely necessary to argue about the efficacy or the probable permanence of the contention between Austria and the Western Powers. It is in the last