

The Politician.

THE BRITISH PRESS.

From the London Times.
ABSORPTION OF ROGUERY BY HONESTY.

A moment's reflection must convince any one that the presence of a criminal population—that is, of a section of the whole population living by crime, ever ready for crime, and under the constant surveillance of the police, cannot be tolerated in a small thickly inhabited island such as this is. An inevitable result in a few years time will be that we shall be compelled to clothe the police with arbitrary powers such as those which are exercised in France and in other continental nations. At this moment in London the police could, if authorised, make a clean sweep of well-nigh all the garotters, burglars, and violent vagabonds of London. They know these men live by crime; they know they have no other means of living; they know, in fact, of special crimes they have committed, but, because they have not a sufficiency of legal evidence to procure convictions, it is necessary to let the rogues wander about as they will. For the time, no doubt, such a system may last, but it will certainly break down in the presence of a good crop of burglars and garotte robberies. The Cromwell blood will at length swell in the veins of the mildest among us, and we shall certainly feel that the nuisance must be abated, and that the criminal population must be sent out of the country in one fashion or another. Our reformatories and philanthropic institutions are but feeble palliatives of a monstrous evil, which must in the end be dealt with in a far more summary and efficient manner. We think it quite necessary to follow Mr. M. D. Hill into the discussion of details, such as where the spot of deportation should be chosen. There is room enough yet in the British dominions, in some section or other of the planet, for half-a-dozen convict settlements. Some persons recommend Vancouver's island, others the Gulf of Carpentaria, and many other places. The probability is that any one of them would answer the purpose, if there were a serious design anywhere to bring the question to a practical conclusion. The error we have hitherto committed has been to consider "Once a convict settlement always a convict settlement;" whereas experience has shown that convict labour is highly advantageous in the first years of a young settlement, and afterwards the very reverse. Convict labour should make roads, build piers, and do the first rough work of a settlement. When a regular population begins to flock in, the farther influx of convict labour should be at once stopped. The predominance in numbers, in weight, and in influence must always be left on the side of the convicts themselves. Honesty should absorb roguery—not roguery, honesty. It is no wonder that the more advanced Australian colonies declined to be further saturated with the element of crime.

From the London Morning Post.
PRICE OF COMPLACENCY TO RUSSIA.

The page of recent history is widely open to the French Emperor as to all the world, and in it he may read how fatal to the restoration, and more especially to Charles X. was the influence of Russia. In the last years of Louis XVIII., when that generally sagacious king was weak in mind and feeble in body, Russia induced the court of the Tuileries to undertake the invasion of Spain. A year after the invasion, the monarch, harassed and chagrined, was in his tomb, and Charles X. had ascended the throne. Lured by the foreign bait held out to him by Russia, Chas. selected a pro-Russian minister, Polignac, who, by a system of vexatious oppressions and intrigue at home, and an encouragement of jesuits absolutists—very grateful and pleasing to Russia—raised the gorge of the French nation to such an extent that a revolution was the consequence. Had Charles X. followed the advice given by Talleyrand to Louis XVIII., or subsequently, on his death bed, to Louis Philippe, namely, to seek for and be firm and staunch to an English alliance, the elder branch of the Bourbons might still have been on the throne of France. Louis XVIII. was, however, coerced, *contra-cœur*, into engagements with Russia, and his brother adopted such engagements from conviction and choice—we know with what fatal result. Louis Philippe, who came after the elder branch, having sought and found an English alliance, was not faithful to it, as recommended by Talleyrand, and the unhappy consequences to his country, to himself, and to his dynasty are too well known and too fresh in the memory of readers to dwell on here. Complacency to Russia shortened the days and embittered the existence of Louis XVIII.—complicity with Russia drove Charles X. from a throne, and coquetting with Russia and compromising England made an exile and a wanderer of Louis Philippe.

From the London Morning Herald.
THE PERSIAN EXPEDITION.

We ask, supposing war to be declared with Persia and hostilities to commence, how are we to make an impression on that country? We find that an expedition is under orders for the Persian gulf, composed, according to the latest accounts, of some five or six thousand men. The land forces have been collected from Hyderabad, Belgaum, Poona, and other places; they are destined, it is said, if the expedition sails for Bushire. Supposing Bushire to be invested and taken, what then? That place is 600 miles distant from Teheran, and 300, at least, from Isphahan and from the nearest point of Cabool. How, we should like to know, will such a step advance the object of the expedition, if that object be to assist Dost Mahomed, and repel the invasion of his territory? We could believe almost anything of the managers of the Crimean campaign, but it surely cannot be possible that they meditate sending an army to traverse hundreds of miles of a savage and impassible country, in the vain hope of reaching some point in the interior from which operations might be carried on. Persia, like that enormous empire of which it may be regarded as a tributary state, is impenetrable, at least by any force that we can send to invade it. The wily shah knows this well, or he would never have presumed to play fast and loose with us as he has done, and to offer every indignity possible to the British representative. The purposes of Russia and the use to which she has turned the shah have been no secret these twenty years. The siege of Herat in 1836 or 1837 was just as much the work of Russia as the siege which resulted, we are told, in August last, in the capture of that place; and yet this is the power which we suffered to escape when it was at our mercy, and actually concluded a treaty framed in the easiest terms it was possible to conceive. We may take up a position in the Persian gulf, and materially assist the scheme connecting the Euphrates with the Mediterranean by railway; but beyond the protection we can afford to the managers of that enterprise we cannot see what the Persian expedition can effect. The fall of Bushire, supposing the place to be defended, will be no sort of offset to the fall of Kars, and against what other point is the expedition to direct its operations? Our wise government understand, of course, what they are about, and we shall on the opening of parliament no doubt have some very lucid and important statements of their policy in this matter.—We confess to being unable to see anything in the design of a Persian expedition but another proof of the stupidity and folly which have marked every act of the Palmerston administration.

News of the Week.

From English Papers to the 23rd Nov.
EUROPE.

Russia.—*The Press.*—A slight modification of the law relating to the censorship of the press has just been made in Russia, allowing more latitude than has hitherto been conceded to historical discussions and criticisms of the policy of former governments provided that they are published in books of not less than twenty sheets, and provided that the existing government be not reflected upon.

Nicolaieff has now a garrison of 8,000 men, which proves that it will retain its rank of a fortress of the first class. Kiew has a garrison of 6,000 men of the 2nd corps, whilst hitherto it had only the reserves. The garrison of this place, which consists of 12,000 men, has not been increased. Kharkeff now forms the head quarters of the 6th corps. It is in the Caucasus that Russia is taking up a really imposing position.

The Crimea.—The Russians at Sebastopol are executing with perfect good faith the treaty of Paris. No project has been adopted by the Imperial Government for again raising the defensive works or refitting out a fleet. The vessels of war sunk in the roadstead have not been got up. The only thing has been done has been to endeavour to clear the entrance, so as to allow merchant vessels to pass in and out.

Increasing Trade.—Accounts from Russia continue to speak of the rapid development of the trade of the country since the conclusion of peace. The value of the exports from St. Petersburg this year is estimated at 200,000,000 of francs. Next to corn, it is stated that the most important article exported is tallow, of which more than 90,000,000 lbs. have been shipped.

Austria.—*Conference not to be.*—England and Austria will not consent to the resumption of the conferences, unless it is previously agreed that Prussia and Sardinia shall have no share in them when the Bessarabian frontier question is discussed, and there is no reason to suppose that the opinion of this Government has since undergone a change. It is stated that the Emperor fully shares the opinion of the British Government in respect to the conduct of Russia in the frontier question.

Robbers in Hungary.—The great Bakony forest is still the favourite resort of of houseless vagabonds and professional robbers, and that in

spite of the occasional razzias of gendarmes and troops of the line. A few days ago a highly respectable family were stopped by a gang of highwaymen, as they were dining near the outskirts of the forest, and robbed of everything which they possessed. Such things occur continually in Hungary, but mention has been made of this particular case because the malefactors evidently belonged to the aristocracy of that fraternity which confounds meum and tuum. "The robbers," say the persons who were robbed, "had very fine and well-fed carriage and saddle-horses, and the harness and weapons were remarkably clean and elegant."

Prussia.—*Berlin.*—A letter from Vienna says:—Not only is the Prussian Government opposed to England, Austria, and Turkey in the Bessarabian frontier question, but Baron von Manteuffel is endeavouring to consolidate the friendly relations which have recently been established between the Russian and French Cabinets. It is also related that the Prussian Minister-President speaks and acts as if the alliance between Russia and France were accomplished.

A letter from Berlin, in the Cologne Gazette, says:—A second proposition has been made by the Russian Government, and is favourably received here, with reference to the re-opening of the conferences. It is hoped that the concessions with Russia appears willing to make will influence the Governments which have hitherto opposed to the re-opening of the Congress.

German Opinions.—A person who has just returned from a tour in Germany says that, in several of the petty States, the greatest disappointment and dissatisfaction are felt at the idea that the Anglo-French alliance is not likely to be interrupted.

The Neuchâtel Question.—A paper of the 16th publishes an article directed against the Swiss press, in which it gives ground for believing that Prussia will exercise her direct authority over the Canton of Neuchâtel, and that the Government of Berlin will exact a recognition of its sovereignty.

Spain.—By a royal decree the state of siege throughout Spain has been raised. In the Council of Ministers extraordinary credits for divers services have been granted to the Minister of finances.

A letter from Paris, of Wednesday, says: "A great sensation has been created in Madrid by the news of the conference held at St. Cloud on the affairs of Spain, by the Emperor, Lord Howden, and M. Turgot. Persons well informed affirm that its result was the firm determination that France as well as England should not even make a single remonstrance, much less move a soldier or a ship, to save Queen Isabella or her dynasty, if by her folly, obstinacy, or obedience to bad counsel, she should bring on herself and her throne that measure of retribution which most people in Spain expect?"

Italy.—The Vienna correspondent of the Times says:—"It has more than once been hinted to me that Sir Hamilton Seymour has made 'unpleasant communications' to Count Buol on the subject of Naples' and a Hamburg paper has now received 'perfectly reliable' information from this city, that the British minister at the court of Vienna even spoke to Count Buol of the possibility of an eventual landing of troops in Sicily, if King Ferdinand II. remained obdurate. It does not appear at all probable that such an experienced diplomatist as Sir Hamilton Seymour would show the cards of his government to the Austrian minister for foreign affairs, but it certainly has reached my ears that he is not entirely satisfied with the policy of the Austrian cabinet in the Neapolitan question. By the by, information which probably deserves full confidence has reached me from Naples, that the lazzaroni and some of their scoundrel patrons have got up a plot for massacring the resident English and French, if their governments should take any hostile measures against the King."—The departure of the Emperor and Empress of Austria from Vienna took place on the morning of the 17th for Italy. Three weeks will be devoted to Venice. It is doubtful if their majesties will visit Milan.

The Siege of Herat.—The Pressed Orient has a letter, of Oct. 30, from Trebizond, the writer of which attempts to give such information as was obtainable about the siege of Herat, brought from Persia by the last Tabreez courier. The general in the chief command of the Persian troops, which have been engaged in the siege of Herat for several months past, contrived to put himself secretly into communication with some of the inhabitants of the city, co-religionists with the Persians, belonging to the same Mahomedan sect of the Shites. He induced them to open one of the city gates to him, on the night of the 30th of August, and to give admission to two Persian regiments.—The Persians, however, had only just got within the walls, when the besieged Affghans, armed with cutlasses, threw themselves in dense masses upon them, and the conflict was so fierce that the Persians, unable to make use of their muskets, were speedily repelled, with a considerable loss of men. It is said that a thousand of them, killed or badly wounded, were left upon the ground in the city. But the disaster sustained by the Persians did not stop there. Pursued by the Affghans as they fled, they suffered further losses, until they reached a brigade of the Persian army, which had been sent to meet and protect them. There was a Persian rumour at Teheran that Jussuff Tehazade, the Prince of Herat, had been taken prisoner; but this news is much in need of

confirmation, and seems to have been circulated only to counterbalance the discouraging effect of the defeat on the 30th of August. Since Persia has had occasion to perceive that a war with England is seriously to be feared, the moral condition of the country becomes worse and worse, and nobody can foresee the result of the deplorable crisis through which it is now passing.

Intelligence from St. Petersburg, in the Correspondant de Hamburg, states that a considerable corps of Russian troops is concentrated on the frontiers of Persia and Turkey, to give effect in case of need to the influence of Russia, if the affairs of Persia and Afghanistan should assume a serious character.

UNITED STATES.

The President's Message.—Something more than one-half of the message is occupied with a labored special plea in defence of the new policy which this administration has adopted upon the slavery question. The President claims at the outset that this policy has been endorsed by the people in the recent election, yet he shows his consciousness of the fallacy of this argument by laboring through many pages in justification of that policy. If the policy has been endorsed, what need of occupying so large a part of the message to prove that it is judicious and wise? We cannot see that the President has adduced a single new argument—that he has suggested a single new thought in defence of his course. He has penned a special plea of very ordinary ability, but as good as lawyers usually make in defence of a bad cause; but his arguments have been again and again and yet again refuted.

It would be profitless to follow out the line of argument pursued by the President. We will not attempt it, but will confine our remarks upon this portion of the message to a notice of one single point. The whole slavery question, stripped of all its accessories and side issues, reduces itself to a difference of opinion upon this one point, the affirmative of which the President thus maintains:

"In the progress of constitutional inquiry and reflection, it had now at length come to be seen clearly that Congress does not possess constitutional power to impose restrictions of this character upon any present or future State of the Union. In a long series of decision, on the fullest argument, and after the most deliberate consideration, the supreme Court of the United States has finally determined this point, in every form under which the question could arise, whether as affecting public or private rights—in questions of the public domain, of religion, of navigation, and of servitude."

The slavery question is here stated in its simplest form, and there is an acknowledgment of the fact, which the Democracy have often denied, that there has been a departure from the principles of the fathers of the Republic. The framers and early exponents of the constitution, it is contended, were in the wrong when they assumed the power of restricting slavery in the territories. "In the progress of constitutional inquiry and reflection" we can see the meaning of the constitution much better than they could! We hold in opposition to them that it confers upon Congress no right to restrict slavery in the territories, and maintaining this opinion we have abrogated the enactments and repudiated the policy of those who, though they had wisdom enough to frame the constitution, had not the requisite common sense to interpret it properly. This is the quarter sovereignty doctrine plainly stated, and it would seem to be necessary only to state it thus plainly to show its absurdity. It is for maintaining the converse of this, for insisting upon the strict interpretation of the principles of the Constitution in accordance with the views of its framers that a very large portion of the people of the North are denounced in set terms by a sectional President. The assumption that the Supreme Court has lent its authority to this perversion of the Constitution is premature to say the least, if not entirely gratuitous. We are aware that by a series of decisions it has been gradually preparing the way even to legalize slavery in the Free States, in spite of their constitutional prohibitions and their local laws, but that it has decided that Congress has no power to prohibit slavery in the territories we deny most emphatically.

The sophistries of the President—his assumption that no human prudence, and no wisdom on the part of Congress that could have prevented the controversies in Kansas—that those who interfered to rescue that territory from the slavery to which it had been consigned, were guilty of impertinent intermeddling—and other specious arguments brought forward again notwithstanding repeated and most decisive refutations—all hinge upon this monstrous fallacy, that Congress has no power to mould the institutions of the territories. It would have been far more to the credit of the President had he rested his case with the simple assertion that his policy had been endorsed by Buchanan. There is a consciousness of wrong, to say nothing of want of dignity, displayed in the columns of labored and specious reasoning, by which he labors to prove that what is obviously a departure from first principles—what is inherently wrong—is just and proper, wise and patriotic.

Having relieved himself of the defence of his policy, President Pierce touches upon the other relations of the government with commendable brevity. The finances of the country are in healthy condition. The public debt has been reduced to \$30,737,121, which might be